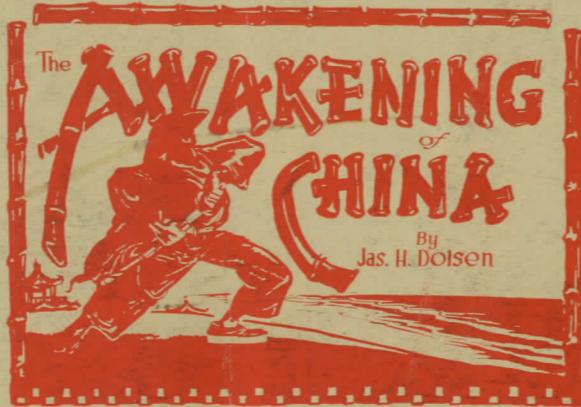


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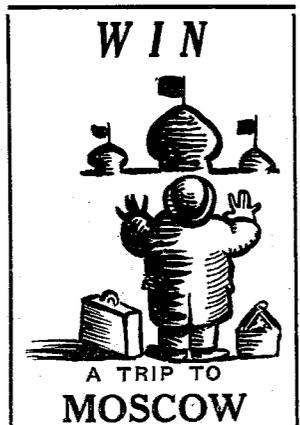
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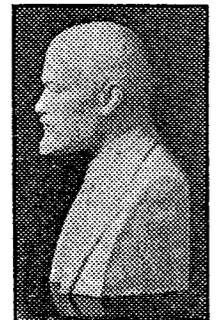
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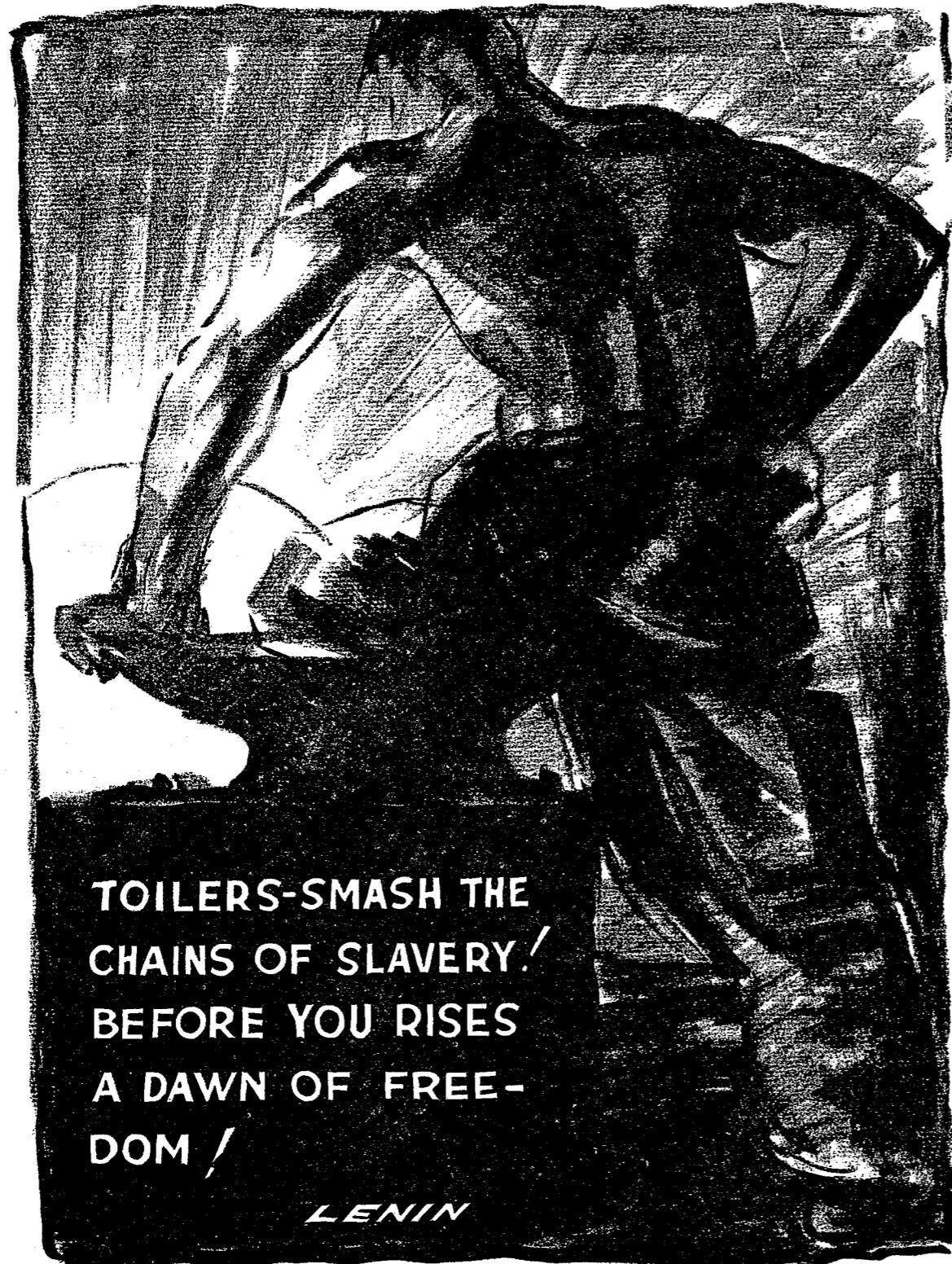
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VOL. V.

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MAY, 1926

NO. 7.

MAY DAY!

COMRADES!

Let us consider our position very carefully—let us examine the conditions in which we spend our lives. What do we see? We work long and hard. We produce endless wealth, gold and apparel, satins and silks. From the depths of the earth we extract iron and coal. We build machines, we outfit ships, we construct railroads. All the wealth of the world is the product of our hands, of our sweat and blood. And what kind of wages do we get for this forced labor? If things were as they should, we would be living in fine houses, we would wear good clothes, and would never have to suffer any need. But we know well enough that our wages never suffice for our living. Our bosses push down wages, force us to work overtime, place unjust fines upon us—in a word oppress us in every way. And then when we give voice to our dissatisfaction, we are thrown into prison without further ado.

We have convinced ourselves only too often that all those to whom we turn for help are the servants and the friends of the bosses. They keep us workers in darkness, they keep us ignorant so that we should not dare to fight for an improvement of our conditions. They keep us in slavery, they arrest and imprison every one who shows any signs of resistance against the oppressors—we are forbidden to struggle. Ignorance and slavery—these are the means thru which the capitalists and the government that serves them oppress us.

How can we then improve our conditions, raise our wages, shorten the working day, protect ourselves from insults, win for ourselves the opportunity of reading good books? Everybody is against us—and the better off these gentlemen are, the worse off we are! We can

This May Day leaflet of the League for the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Workingclass was written by Comrade Lenin in prison in the year 1896, and was distributed among the Petersburg workers in forty factories to the then tremendous amount of 2,000 copies.

"In preparing and distributing this leaflet we felt that we were accomplishing a great revolutionary act. A month and half later there developed the great strike of the spinners and weavers that began and grew precisely under the influence of the May Day leaflet and only waited for the occasion to go forward in more active form. This strike showed to us and to the whole world that our feelings had not betrayed us. The strike began precisely in those places where accidentally our leaflets had been particularly well distributed." B. Gorew-Goldmann.—"Out of the Party Past."

expect nothing from them, we can rely only upon ourselves. Our strength lies in unity, our method is the united stubborn resistance against the bosses. Our masters realize of course in what our strength lies and they try in every way to divide us and to hide the identity of interests of all workers.

But it's a long road that has not turning—and even the best of patience comes to an end. In the past few years the Russian workers have shown their masters that

the cowardice of slaves has changed into the courageous sturdiness of men, who refuse to submit to the greed of the capitalists. A whole series of strikes has swept thru various Russian cities. Most of these strikes ended successfully, especially in that they threw the bosses into terror and forced them into concessions. They showed that we were no longer cowardly paupers but that we had taken up the struggle.

As is well known the workers of many shops and factories have organized the League for the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Workingclass with the aim of exposing and removing all abuses, of struggling against the shameful oppressions and swindles of our consciousnessless exploiters. The League distributes leaflets at the sight of which the hearts of the bosses and their servants, the police, tremble. They are not frightened by these leaflets—they are terrified at the possibility of our united resistance, the sign of our great power that we have already manifested more than once. We, Petersburg workers, members of the League, call upon all the rest of our comrades to join the League and co-operate in the great task of unifying the working class in the struggle for their interests. It's time that we Russian workers smashed the chains that the bosses and the government

have placed upon us. It is time that we joined our fellow workers of other lands in the struggle—under a common flag bearing the words: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

In France, England, Germany and other lands where the workers have already closed their ranks and won important rights, the First of May is a general holiday of all labor.

The workers leave the dark factories and parade the main streets in well-ordered lines with flags and music. They show their masters their power grown strong and join in numerous crowded assemblies to listen to speeches in which the victories achieved over the bosses are recounted and the plans for future struggles are developed.

Because they are afraid of strikes no individual boss dare fine or punish the workers who are absent from work on this day. On this day the workers also fling their chief demand in the teeth of the bosses: "Eight-hour day." In other countries the workers are already proclaiming this. There was a time—and not so long ago—when they also didn't have the right

we are deprived of now, the right to give voice to our needs, when they were in such slavery as we are in now. But thru relentless struggle and heavy sacrifice they have won the right to take up collectively the affairs of labor. Let us wish our brothers that their struggle soon lead to the desired goal, to a society in which there will be no masters and no slaves, no capitalists and no wage workers, but all will work together and all will enjoy the good things of life together.

Comrades, if we fight unitedly and together, then the time is not far off when we too will be in a position openly to join the common struggle of the workers of all lands, without distinction of race or creed, against the capitalists of the whole world. Our strong arm will rise and the chains of slavery will fall. The toilers of Russia will arise and terror will strike the hearts of the capitalists and of all other enemies of the workingclass.

LEAGUE FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKINGCLASS.

Petersburg, May 1, 1896.



MAY DAY!!

The Fighting May Day

By Robert Minor

INTERWOVEN with the history of mankind is the tradition of a spring festival—ultimately fixed as the First of May—when the slave, the serf or the peasant with elaborate ceremony made believe of a social order overturned, with the slave arising to be master and the master subjected to the rule of the slave. May Day as a day of religious rite, tumult, liberation and rejoicing, existed in the folk customs of several thousand years. The custom survived into modern times. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England there were recurring incidents of rebellion, mutiny and disorder on the part of the toiling classes, which caused the tradition of May Day to persist within the changing social forms.

In capitalist society the modern proletariat, at its birth, inherited that vestige of the peasant tradition. But the peasant tradition, while retaining its essentially militant quality, of course took on an entirely new form when adopted by the modern proletariat. As the day of the modern working class it became historically bound up with the struggle for the eight-hour day.

The Eight-Hour Day Movement.

There can be no beginning of understanding of the significance of May Day to the present-day working class until we understand the tremendous part that the eight-hour movement has played in the development of the labor movement. The slogan of the limitation of the working day as "the first step in the direction of the emancipation of the working class" was raised by the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) in 1864. The Civil War in America had scarcely closed when the National Labor Union in this country raised the slogan of the eight-hour day (1866).

Rebellious May Day.

When in 1884 in the city of Baltimore, a

local organization of the Knights of Labor proposed that the First of May be chosen as the day on which to begin a wide struggle for the eight-hour day, this proposal was regarded as an effort to give the then impending mass movement a character bordering upon riot and disorder. The dusty records of the debates which occurred at that time over the question of choice of an opening date for the eight-hour struggle, show that the conservative leaders of the labor unions objected to May Day on the ground that the date was too closely associated in the popular mind with the tradition of rebellion against the social order. Terrence V. Powderly, grand master workman of the Knights of Labor, in order to eliminate the "red" quality and to transform the eight-hour movement into a respectable and patriotic affair, succeeded in having Washington's birthday, February 22, 1885, fixed as the date for beginning the movement instead of May 1.

But the respectable American plans of Mr. Powderly were upset by a diabolical plot. A sinister, un-American, foreign-born Jewish immigrant, Samuel Gompers, participated in a counter-move thru which the "red" holiday was again and finally fixed as the day for inaugurating that tremendous movement. At the annual convention in 1885, of the Federation of

Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, (the organization which evolved into the American Federation of Labor), the representatives of the Furniture Workers' Union proposed a motion that American labor should undertake to put into effect the eight-hour day on the first of May, 1886. Our friend the young Samuel Gompers, became so enthusiastic that he was not satisfied until he had succeeded in making the plan more definite and unequivocal thru a strong amendment which he proposed and had carried. With Mr. Gompers' support, and un-

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der the auspices of the American Federation of Labor, the ancient day of rebellion, which even Rome and Carthage had known in their own historical form, became indelibly fixed as the greatest of all the days to be celebrated by modern trade unions.

May Day, 1886.

It was that first of May, 1886, which became the biggest turning point up to that time in American labor history. The attempt to carry out the plan of establishing the eight-hour day in the McCormick Harvester works at Chicago brought about the strike which was led by that group of intrepid men who will be forever remembered as the Chicago Martyrs. Within three days blood was flowing on the streets of Chicago. The young, vigorous, brutish capitalism of the middle west, acting thru its direct agents, the city police of Chicago, attempted to crush the strike under the club, the gun and the horse's hoof. Seven of the police were mortally wounded by the explosion of a bomb thrown by some unknown person at the moment when the police advanced to ride down the unarmed crowd of harvester workers. There followed such an exhibition of terror as had never been known in America.

At that time the German immigrants were the "damn foreigners" who did the heavy labor of the factories and furnished the butt of all the anger and hatred that the American bourgeoisie must always pour out upon the most suppressed stratum of the working class which creates its wealth. Thruout all of the cities of the northern states raged the police terror against the "Germans"—the hated, "low" foreigners who were subverting American institutions by importing such damnable European ideas as the shorter work day and the organization of trade unions. Especially in Chicago the terror raged. All railroad stations were watched to prevent the departure of the "German agitators." Of course there was an association of the Haymarket affair with the First International which had been dissolved in New York some thirteen years before. The bourgeoisie which, in 1871, had blamed the Chicago fire upon the First International of Karl Marx instead of the cow of Mrs. O'Leary, found in the harvester strike and the subsequent bloodshed on Haymarket Square an entirely foreign movement.

But, curiously enough, we find at every step that the institution of the modern revolutionary Labor Day has its roots in American soil.

May Day Becomes International Labor Day.

In the United States, altho the Chicago affair of 1886 had frightened away the leaders of the Knights of Labor from any friendliness to May Day, the American Federation of Labor

stepped forward to preserve the tradition of the international Labor Day. The 1888 convention of the A. F. of L. fixed upon May Day of 1890 as the day upon which to enforce the demand for the eight-hour day.

It was undoubtedly the dramatic setting supplied by the martyrdom of the Chicago strike leaders which made unchangeable the identity of May Day as the International Day of the working class. In 1889, when the Second International was founded, its first international congress declared May Day, 1890, to be the time for demonstrations of the working class in all countries for the eight-hour day.

The proclamation of the Second International gave the international character. The following year, 1890, brought the first great worldwide series of May Day labor demonstrations. In Budapest, Hungary, 50,000 workers demonstrated. Eight or ten thousand workers went out on a May Day strike in Warsaw and the efforts of the police to repress the strike led to bloodshed.

In Germany the demonstration that year was carried thru, accompanied by a big strike in Hamburg. In Spain and other countries the day was observed with demonstrations. The leaders of the British trade unions evaded the task of a militant demonstration by observing the first Sunday in May, thus evaded the issue of no work on May Day.

Reformism Emasculates May Day.

In the successive years of the early nineties the institution of May Day developed with the international Socialist movement. Also the weakness that was in the Second International began early to show itself in a tendency to rob the day of its significance of class struggle; the tendency was to transform the demonstrations into mere celebrations of a "holiday." Nevertheless, the May Day remained the annual occasion for mass mobilization of the working class. No longer was it merely the city of Chicago, but all of the great cities of the modern world which saw the chiefs of the bourgeois governments nervously shifting their squads of mounted police—and sometimes even regiments of troops and also warships—during the last night of each April in anticipation of the coming red morning.

May Day in Czarist Russia.

The movement spread to far-away Russia—the Russia which was supposed to be destined never to know capitalism or the class struggle between the industrial working class and the capitalist class. It is interesting to note that in the days preceeding May 1, 1896, in a jail at St. Petersburg in the Russian empire, we find a young political prisoner surreptitiously scrib-

bling an appeal to the workers of St. Petersburg to "organize a general festival of labor" for May First. The young man was Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanov—afterwards to be known as Lenin. And here also the central slogan had to do with the demand for the eight-hour day, and it held out the promise of a revolutionary order. "On this day," wrote the young St. Petersburg prisoner of the czar, "the workers fling their chief demand in the teeth of their bosses: Eight-hour day. In other countries the workers are already proclaiming this. There was a time—and not so long ago—they also didn't have the right we are deprived of now, the right to give voice to our needs, when they were in such slavery as we are in now. But thru relentless struggle and heavy sacrifice they have won the right to take up collectively the affairs of labor. Let us wish our brothers that their struggle soon lead to the desired goal, to a society in which there will be no masters and no slaves, no capitalists and no wage workers, but all will work together and all will enjoy the good things of life together."

The May Day proclamation written by Lenin was signed by the "League for Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class," which was the kernel of the Marxian movement in Russia that was to develop into the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia and finally into the Communist Party. The proclamation which Lenin smuggled out of the prison was followed by a great May Day demonstration in St. Petersburg and a strike of 40,000 workers in the spinning mills.

From that time on up to and after the Russian revolution of 1905-6, May Day demonstrations played their part in the development of the Russian labor movement.

The opening of the twentieth century and the successive years brought May Day demonstrations in the majority of countries of Europe, of varying degrees of militancy. In 1909 in Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic, a May Day demonstration was attacked by the armed government forces, resulting in many deaths and wounded, and this was followed by a general strike.

And so on, up to the outbreak of the great world war in 1914.

On May First, 1914, in Russia, just before the opening of the war, there were various armed demonstrations and a strike movement.

War May Days!

May Day, 1915, marked the opening of the International Socialist Conference at Zimmerwald—so important in the history of the breakup of the Second International and the founding of the present-day revolutionary movement. In Moscow 19,000 workers of seventy-four factories went on strike. The biggest of the socialist parties on this day demonstrated

its bankruptcy and treason, when the social-democratic party of Germany made its May Day declaration an appeal to the working class to abstain from any action.

But the next year in Germany (1916) saw the great Berlin May Day demonstration led by Karl Liebknecht, during which Liebknecht was thrown into prison by the kaiser's police. In Moscow four workers were condemned to death and executed for participation in a demonstration.

The Russian Revolution.

The First of May in 1917 found the first phase of the Russian revolution in full swing with the government of the bourgeoisie striving to ride the storm in the place of the vanquished czar. The proletariat of Petrograd, together with the garrison troops, demonstrated on May Day for the removal of the Milyukoff-Gutchkov government which had proclaimed a continuation of the war. Two days later blood was shed in a clash with the reactionaries.

At the same time in the big cities of Germany great May Day demonstrations were carried thru in spite of martial law, the German working class youth being the most active in carrying the demonstration thru.

May Day Comes Into Its Own!

And since the Russian proletariat revolution, May Day has truly come into its own. The treason of the Second International, the necessity on the part of the leaders of the social democratic parties to function as agents of the bourgeoisie in repressing all effective actions of the working class, has left the field of May Day to the revolutionary Communist Parties and the Communist International. May Day, which during the hegemony of the Second International had become a more or less meaningless "holiday" of flower wreaths and timid evasions, has come into its own as a day of mobilization of the militant working class for the struggle against capitalism.

May Day in America.

But what of May Day in America, where we can almost say the revolutionary labor day was born?

An explanation of the fact that the revolutionary international Labor Day which had its origin at least as much in the United States as in any other country is now discarded by the leadership of the American trade unions, and has, in fact, become taboo even to mention in a "respectable" trade union hall, would be to explain the whole history of the American labor movement during the past generation. The rejection of May Day and the adoption of the

smug little custom of occasional parades on the first Monday in September—"Labor Day" celebrations that never have any mass character and that are usually mere occasions for speeches by venal local politicians of capitalist parties and a general orgy of promises of class collaboration—is an inevitable feature of the development of capitalist class control of the organized labor movement. And this is related, of course, to the rising of American capitalism into the imperialist stage, finally into the dominant position over the capitalist world. The plunder of a whole world flows more and more into the United States, and with this plunder the bourgeoisie of this country finds for the time being the possibility of raising the standard of living of the more highly skilled trades of labor to a standard equal to that of the petty bourgeoisie. Organization of labor is narrowed down to little more than the highly skilled trades, and the unions in these trades become instruments for monopolizing a relatively privileged position above the masses of labor which are not organized and not wanted in craft unions whose affairs are presided over by combinations of professional bureaucrats and the employers themselves. During such a period the dominant trade union officials, with the aid of police and employers, rule over the unions with an iron hand, expelling and excluding at will any workers or masses of workers whose inclusion in the unions would turn these organizations toward the struggle against the employers and for the masses of workers.

Inevitably anything that savors of militant class struggle—as the May Day of the international proletariat savors—becomes a red rag to the bureaucratic bull.

The Eight-Hour Day Today.

In recalling that the First of May is so irrevocably bound up with the struggle of labor for the eight-hour day, one is likely to fall into a reverie concerning the present time. The eight-hour day which had been in so many fields an accomplished fact for American labor, has been in many instances lost again. In the wealthy United States, the treasure-house of the capitalist world, where labor is by tradition and also by practice accorded a higher standard of living than in any other capitalist country, trade unions are being destroyed, displaced by company unions, deliberately gutted by trade union officials who weaken, discredit and enslave their own organizations, while conditions of labor such as the eight-hour day are being lost through a very large part of the manufacturing industries where once they prevailed. The corruption of the higher strata of skilled labor by the American bourgeoisie, made possible by the dominance of American capitalism even in this period of the decay and decline of capitalism as a world system—even this corruption of the

leading elements of the organized portion of labor is accompanied by wholesale assaults upon and unbearable reductions of the standards of living of the unprivileged, unskilled and mostly unorganized working class. And ultimately, with an inevitable crisis of American capitalism, even the relative privileges of the most exclusive skilled crafts will begin to be undermined and thus will be undermined the basis of the reactionary bureaucracy. It is something more than passingly interesting that the same trade union bureaucracy which co-operates with the American bourgeoisie in this course of events, keeps such a nervous policeman's eye upon every effort of the working class to celebrate labor's international May Day.

But in Europe even the subservient trade union bureaucracy does not succeed in eliminating the custom of celebrating May Day as the day not only of labor but of proletarian revolution. The yellow bureaucracy in European countries can do little more than pervert and dampen the ardor of the masses of workers for the celebration of the day of rebellion. True, they succeed in making the revolution not a revolution. The socialist revolution is transformed into an idealized bourgeois counter-revolution. But to destroy the significance of the revolutionary labor day, a whole culture of political perversion is necessary to the European misleaders of labor. May Day is celebrated, even when perverted, in Europe.

May Day, 1926.

But this May Day of 1926 may prove one of the most significant in history.

We will pass over the significance of this period in continental Europe where, from France where perpetual crisis looms over a three-cent franc to Poland and Roumania, where only a continuous military terrorism keeps "democracy" in existence.

We will pass to England, for this May Day. The center of the world's biggest capitalist empire is sick with fear, today. British capitalism, rotting at its roots, has postponed its crisis over the coal strike threat until the First of May. It is not altogether stupidity which causes the British government to bring forth solutions of a coal mine and transport controversy which do not solve. There is no solution of the dilemma of the British bourgeoisie within the capitalist system. The British bourgeoisie cannot propose proletarian revolution as the solution of its crisis, and therefore, it is not possible for the British bourgeoisie to propose any solution at all.

Except the Black Shirt.

As these lines are written the cables from London report a procession moving thru the

(Continued on page 332.)

Locarno-Geneva-Moscow

By Moissaye J. Olgin

OF all the post-Versailles international agreements, the pact of Locarno was declared to be the most important and most fruitful. Bourgeois and Socialist alike hailed it as the beginning of new humane relations among peoples and nations.

The Formal Content of the Locarno Pacts.

Formally, the pact of Locarno was a guarantee of mutual non-aggression between Germany and France. Both "high contracting powers" solemnly promised "that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other." Germany promised, besides, not to amass military forces within the demilitarized zone stretching over fifty miles from the French frontier. The two traditional enemies made a high sounding declaration of mutual respect and friendship. Germany gave her definite "moral" consent to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine; on the other hand, France left Germany a legal loophole of raising in due time the question of upper Silesia and the redoubtable Polish corridor. But this was "music of the future." For the present, the French and German governments guaranteed peace and good will. And, as is the case among highway and business men, a tangible security was required to back up the contracts. England was chosen the "impartial chairman" to decide what constitutes an "unprovoked act of aggression" and to rush to the aid of that power which, in the judgement of England, suffered injustice. Simultaneously, an agreement was concluded between France and Poland according to which France was to aid Poland in case of foreign aggression even if the Council of the League of Nations failed to find cause for the league's intervention. In order to show that Germany in actuality becomes a responsible member of the "family of nations," bearing both rights and duties before "civilized humanity," Germany was to be admitted into the League of Nations with a permanent seat in its council, sharing this privilege with England, France, Italy and Japan.

The Real Motives Behind Locarno.

Formally, it was a question of "peace," "co-operation" and "a new era of mutual confidence." Behind formal outward verbiage, however, there were hidden vital economic and political interests of the various capitalist states.

1. Locarno and Germany.

It was impossible that Germany should not realize the disadvantages flowing for her

from the pact of Locarno. The agreement left the Versailles treaty in full force. Paragraph six of the Locarno agreement said explicitly that "the provisions of the present treaty do not affect the rights and obligations of the high contracting parties under the treaty of Versailles or under arrangements supplementary thereto" (Dawes' Plan). The Locarno pact left intact not only the atrocious, economically impossible payments to be made by Germany according to the Versailles treaty and the Dawes' Plan which have actually rendered the masses of the German people serfs of the former Allies, but also the political provisions of Versailles which make it possible for France to march into German territory in case of non-fulfillment of obligations (as took place, for example, in the occupation of the Ruhr early in 1923). In other words, the Locarno pact drew Germany into the League of Nations to help the aims of the former Allies who offered Germany nothing in return outside of vague promises of goodwill. The pact of Locarno did not even guarantee the integrity of German territory in case of war between Poland and a third power, as it is obvious from that agreement that in such case France would send her troops thru Germany to aid Poland. On the other hand, the lessening of the military occupation in the German Rhine provinces and other regions as promised in Locarno, remained for the most part in the realm of words. It seemed that Germany lost much, gaining nothing at Locarno.

There was, however, one thing to which German capitalists looked with great eagerness as a possible result of Locarno, and that is foreign loans. Without foreign loans, German capitalism is no longer able to exist. In the one year of 1925, when the Dawes' Plan was in operation, Germany had to pay to the victors 1 billion gold marks, but at the same time it received a foreign loan of 800 million floated in New York and London. This year, the sum to be paid by Germany amounts to 1.2 billion gold marks; for the coming year the payments are 1.75 billion; for the following year, 2.5 billion, and so on. The Dawes Plan has been in operation for only one full year and already Germany is in the throes of a grave economic crisis which springs not from accidental causes but is inherent in the very internal and external situation of German capitalism—outworn and antiquated machinery, deterioration of the entire technical apparatus in consequence of the war and after-war situations, backwardness of the methods of production in agriculture, inadequacy of the railroads, but mainly the diminish-

ed purchasing power of the masses of the population who, earning less than in former years, are forced to consume less. In order to be able to meet the payments flowing from the Dawes' Plan, Germany must produce more and export more. In order to be able to meet the competition of other countries in the world market and at the same time retain the level of capitalist profits, she must increase the work-day and decrease wages. In order to continue in the present disastrous course, German capitalism would not hesitate further to lower the workers' standards of living, if it were not for the fact that there is a limit to the patience of the working masses, especially in times like the present, when the number of unemployed has reached two million. To maintain its power over disorganized and disgruntled Germany, where workers, peasants and the lower strata of the so-called white collar proletariat are becoming more and more restless, the German bourgeoisie must look to the other countries for favors in the form of loans which would enable it to improve the industrial apparatus and temporarily to prevent a revolt of the masses. It is because of the need of stabilizing one of the very important capitalist countries that the Allies held out to Germany the promise of loans. In Locarno, German capitalists once more sold German independence, harnessing themselves, as they did, to the chariot of French and British imperialism, for at least a temporary staving-off of the great debacle.

2. Locarno and France.

It was also not for humanitarian reasons but for political and economic advantages that France agreed to the pact of Locarno. Like the slave holder whom it pays to send a physician to attend to his sick slave in order to save his working power, so France is interested in maintaining the miserable "stabilization" of Germany in order to save the payments accruing to her according to the Dawes' Plan. On the other hand, France is waging a severe and exasperating war against the Riffs in Africa and the Druses in Asia, which makes it imperative for French capitalism to pursue a more peaceful policy on the Rhine. There is, besides, the tendency to combine the French ores of Alsace-Lorraine with the German coal of the Ruhr and the Saar in order to form one powerful industrial combination.

Above all, however, France needed the Locarno agreement to calm her own masses by a propaganda of peace and the promise of a "new renaissance." France, the victor, the hetman of Europe, the power that has gained more than any one of its former allies from the peace of Versailles, is in no position to overcome a permanent internal crisis. France is practically bankrupt. Interest on domestic loans eat up nearly half of the yearly budget which has

mounted to the height of 33 billion francs. Interests on loans owing to the United States are hardly being paid. Armaments and wars sap the vitality of the country. The franc is continually depreciating. The political situation is far from secure, one cabinet crisis following another. This year it was entirely impossible either to balance the budget or to pay 10 billion francs on domestic loans due December 8, 1925. The large bankers and manufacturers, of course, are not the sufferers under such conditions, but the situation of the petty bourgeoisie, the farmers, and the city workers becomes more and more difficult. It was to approach those masses with a promise of peace and prosperity that the Locarno pact was particularly needed by French capitalism.

3. Locarno and England.

Locarno was no less needed for English capitalism, which in the past war period had begun to view with anxiety France's growing strength in Europe, the French alliance with Poland, her influence over the Little Entente, the occupation of the Ruhr, and the manipulations of French militarists in other German regions. For England, the pact of Locarno was a means of thwarting France on the European continent. The delicate situation of France, immersed in war with colonial rebels, made it possible for England to secure a strong position thru the Locarno treaty—that of an "arbitrator" who, in case of war between Germany and France, is free to throw all his weight on the side of that power he would declare aggressor. The pact of Locarno made possible the outlook of a German-English rapprochement within the League of Nations as a menace to the Franco-Polish, Franco-Roumanian and other French alliances.

On the other hand, England was no less than France interested in influencing her own proletarian masses. There is no longer any "peace and prosperity" within the British Isles. Post-war England is no more the leading power of the world, as evidenced by her balance of trade, which fell from 153 million pounds in 1923 to 63 million in 1924 and to 28 million in 1925. England is ceasing to be not only the banker, but also the manufacturer of the world. The British dominions, the colonial and semi-colonial countries are developing their own capitalisms. The American manufacturer and the American banker are successfully competing with England both in the goods of the world and in the world of finance. The collapse of the empire looms up as a not very distant possibility. In the meantime, interests on internal loans amount to 1.5 billion dollars yearly, excluding payments on American loans; the army of unemployed remains above 1.5 million, rising some times to more menacing proportions; the labor movement is becoming more radical and

saturated with hatred for the capitalist system; the friendship between the English and Russian trade unions has become a fact, as is also the growing influence of the U. S. S. R. over India and the other colonies.

To combat the wave of unrest rising in England, the pact of Locarno had to be contrived. The prospect of a "pacified" and "united" Europe, of an increased English influence in European affairs, i. e., of an increased market for the English capitalists, the prospect of abolishing English military occupations of Cologne, etc., would have made it possible for the English bourgeoisie to demand of the labor leaders more "co-operation," to demand of the workers more efforts "to improve general conditions," fewer strikes, fewer demonstrations and protests, more "confidence" in the capitalist system, etc.

4. Locarno and Capitalist Stabilization.

If it is thus evident that behind the pact of Locarno there were clearly defined specific interests of the capitalist groups dominating the governments of England, Germany and France (the roles of Italy, Poland and Belgium were of much lesser importance) Locarno in general was an attempt to stabilize capitalism as a whole, i. e., to halt the further decay of the various capitalist countries thru a mutual understanding according to which the contracting powers agreed to limit their respective greeds, so as to let their neighbors get a respite in these harrowing times. The "spirit of Locarno" consisted in the working out of something like a general modus vivendi instead of sharpening the conflicts and inflating "national interests," the demands of the national bourgeois groups. Not much importance can be attached to the "disarmament conference" that was to spring like a peace-flower out of the soil of Locarno. However, capitalist Europe, where the number of soldiers is at present exceeding that of 1913 by one million, the total disarmament of Germany and Austria notwithstanding could well afford a partial and proportional disarmament without the least injury to the interests of capitalism and militarism. On the contrary, such disarmament would make it possible to divert large sums into other capitalist channels at the same time rendering the war machinery even more efficient thru the scrapping of obsolete armaments and the introduction of most modern methods.

The pacifist aspects and tone of Locarno were necessary for European capitalists mainly to pacify the working masses in the various countries. Locarno was to spread the illusion of a new pacifist-democratic era. Locarno was to show the masses everywhere, that the Communists are in the wrong when they assert that capitalism has entered the era of decay and ruin. Locarno was to serve as a shining example of the possibility for the present parlia-

mentary system, based on private property, to make the world safe for peaceful endeavor.

5. Locarno and the Soviet Union.

If Locarno was thus meant to manifest the constructive powers of the capitalist world, it was at the same time planned as a united front against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. England is interested in choking the Soviet Union not only because the latter is a source of inspiration and admiration for the oppressed nationalities of India and for the other colonial slaves and because the English workingmen have begun to conceive of a Soviet revolution as a way out of their sufferings; France is interested in throttling Soviet Russia not only on account of the milliards of czarist debts and on account of the Moscow influence both among the workers, the peasants and the colonial slaves; Italy is ready to sink its fangs into Russia not only because of all the above causes and to the fact that Leninism is the only real enemy of Fascism, but all these countries have, besides, a special economic interest in the overthrow of the Soviets, namely a market for the European manufactured products. England as well as France and America look with disfavor upon the growth of Russian industry. All of them, including Germany, would rather see Russia an agrarian colony of European and American capitalism. In a world where the difficulties of selling industrial products are continually mounting, the western powers would rather see in Russia a peasant people obtaining industrial products from abroad at a substantial price and providing the western world with cheap bread-stuffs and raw materials. A backward agrarian Russia would make it possible for Germany to sell the products of her factories and promptly deliver Dawes' Plan payments and this would free part of Europe and other countries from German competition, thus leaving greater elbow-room for England. This golden dream, however, is an impossibility as long as the Russian state is piloted by the Soviet government which is painstakingly building up the industrial apparatus and carefully controlling its foreign trade thru the government monopoly. Locarno was planned as a united front of capital against the Soviet Republics with the view of dominating Russia economically.

6. Locarno and the United States.

Behind the Locarno wedding party stood the capitalism of the United States. Outwardly America was careful to make the impression of non-interference in European affairs. True, the Dawes' Plan is American-made, the treaty of Versailles bears American signatures, and none of the international conferences of the last seven years failed to see American representatives in the role of "unofficial observers." For-

mally, however, America stood aloof. American capitalism chose the most favorable situation, all rights and no duties.

In reality, the enormous amounts of American capital invested in European countries, the dependence of American bankers on the situation in Europe make it impossible for the American government to remain neutral. American capitalism cannot permit German capitalism to go bankrupt. American capitalism needs a France that is capable of paying her debts. America is the greatest competitor of England in the world market and the future enemy of England on the battlefields. But, for the present, America cannot allow England to be convulsed by a revolutionary labor movement. America is peacefully trading with the Soviet Union, but as long as there is Communism in Russia, the greatest capitalist power in the world does not feel secure.

America need not pay attention to the details of European politics; she need not spend tedious hours around the conference table. One hint from Wall Street or from the White House, and Europe calls conferences, works out agreements, talks stabilization, declaims the beauties of a democratic-pacifist future. Coolidge's speech of last summer wherein he declared that Europe was in a bad plight due to eternal bickerings and conflicts and that America was about to wash her hands of that sinful and hopeless continent, is still in everybody's memory. Capitalist Europe cannot allow America to "wash her hands," i. e., to collect her bills. Capitalist Europe responded to that memorable speech by the conference of Locarno. Locarno was, for America, a political Dawes' Plan—stabilization of Europe was to make Europe safe for American investments. At the same time Locarno was to be the fulfillment of a wish uttered by Secretary Hoover not so long ago—a "Dawes' Plan for Russia." In return, America promised to enter the League of Nations thru the back door of the World Court and thus to become not only an actual but also a formal political partner of European capitalism.

7. Locarno and the League of Nations.

All this pacifist romance was to concentrate around the League of Nations. Germany was to enter the League and thus become a "collaborator" of the other powers. The pact of Locarno was to be part of the League legislation. The League's power over Germany and the fact that Germany brought into the League not a mailed fist, but the "ideas of justice and right" was to prove the "peace power" of the League and to lend it new prestige. The fact that the League had gathered under its wing all the nations of the world, save the U. S. S. R., was to prove its greatness. The Socialists of all countries, the International Socialist Con-

gress (the Second International), the leading Socialists everywhere (Hillquit in U. S.) experienced a new love for the League of Nations. Capitalism and socialism united in praise of this child of Versailles. International Socialism did its utmost to prove that Locarno was not aimed against the U. S. S. R., that Locarno was the beginning of a new free co-operation between nations.

After Locarno—Geneva!

ALL this glory is now a heap of ashes. Locarno is dead. "The spirit of Locarno" revealed itself not as a dove of peace with an olive branch in its mouth, but as an old witch with teeth of copper and claws of steel. The League of Nations received a blow from which it will not recuperate. The gloom in the camp of capitalism is that following a profound catastrophe.

After Locarno came Geneva to prove that the competitive struggle between the various national capitalist cliques is stronger than their consciousness of the necessity of at least a partial and temporary understanding for concerted action, that the contradictions within capitalism are stronger than its desire to form a united front against the common enemy.

It does not matter that at the last moment a victim was found to bear the brunt of formal guilt of the failure of Geneva. Nobody believes that Brazil of her own accord and on her own initiative declined to vote for the admission of Germany into the League Council. Even the arch propagandists of the bourgeoisie are forced to admit that if it were not for ten days of scandalous bickerings and haggling behind closed doors, Senor Mello Franco would never have had the courage to come forth with his veto. Senor Franco and his government are here in the role of the notorious switchmen to whom, in czarist Russia, all train wrecks were attributed. Behind Brazil and her representative stood the wolves of world diplomacy utilizing the veto as a shield for their shameful defeat.

And it makes no difference that at the eleventh hour Briand made it his business to laud the "spirit of friendliness and compromise" alleged to have been manifested by the Germans at Geneva and that Chamberlain was "happy to announce" that all difficulties among the seven Locarno governments had been removed. It does not matter that the Locarno signatories issued a solemn declaration asserting that the work of peace as accomplished at Locarno remained intact. All this eloquence only proves that at the last moment the capitalist diplomats had become frightened by their own defeat and attempted to cover with phrases the abyss that had opened under their feet. The abyss is there. It is dark and menacing. In it are buried all the hopes, prospects and illusions that were connected with Locarno.

The Differences at Geneva.

We do not know what actual differences brought about the collapse of Geneva. It is understood that France insisted on a permanent seat for Poland in the League Council to which Germany did not agree. It is understood, on the other hand, that Sweden and Czecho-Slovakia were willing to give up their non-permanent seats in order to make the entrance of Poland possible, and that the "high contracting powers" had given their consent to this compromise. The fact, however, remains that Germany has not entered the League and that all the beautiful Locarno illusions burst bubble fashion, because the capitalist powers could not agree on how to divide the world. The separate interests of the individual capitalist robbers proved stronger than the fear of chaos. This is one of the curses of capitalism. This is the power that leads to imperialism and to wars. It has undermined the capitalist order the world over. The centrifugal forces that brought about the eruption of 1914-1918 are at present in operation with greater tension. Chaos under such conditions is inevitable; proletarian revolution the only salvation.

Balm of consolation is being poured on the wounds of Locarno. The solution, it is declared, has only been postponed until September. Everything is alleged to be in the same situation as before the "hitch" of Geneva. But behind these consoling phrases there is a deep melancholy and not much far-sightedness is needed to comprehend that if no agreement could be reached in March when everything was so bright and rosy, it may be just as impossible to reach an agreement in September after six more months of continuous quarrels. The League of Nations hastily sent out invitations to a conference on disarmament and a decision was made to study the League Constitution with a view to changing it in the future. The prospect of a conference to study the American reservations to the entry into the World Court is also held forth. But all this cannot dispel the gloom. The revision of the League Constitution would have to be accomplished by the same wolves who flew at each other's throats at Geneva. Disarmament under the auspices of a discredited League would be only a mockery. The anti-League voices became particularly virulent in America after the Geneva debacle.

The League After Geneva.

The League emerges from Geneva a weakened, discredited institution, a ghost of itself. It is quite possible that quack physicians will try to mend its torn limbs and cover the rifts with adhesive plaster. The forces of destruction remain. The explosives which in Geneva revealed themselves in such spectacular manner, will continue their work on a growing scale.

The Results of Geneva.

The greatest socio-political result of the Geneva defeat is the death of the capitalist illusion which was to lull the minds of the masses. The League stands revealed before the masses of workers and peasants in such clear outlines that no amount of propaganda will be able to cover its hideous nakedness. What will Baldwin's government bring to the embittered masses of English workers? What can France offer to her dissatisfied millions? How can Germany face her starved and exhausted slaves? Neither the purring words of the bourgeoisie, nor the sourish honey of social-democratic speeches will be able to quiet the masses. The socialists themselves are witnessing a growing differentiation between their right and left wing, a process that began some time ago and that will only tend to increase the dissatisfaction of the growing class conscious sections of the proletariat. As far as influence over the masses is concerned, Geneva is the most glaring, the most flagrant defeat. If there was anywhere among workers and peasants a lingering belief in the constructive forces of the present system, Geneva has extinguished it for ever. The field is free for the communist parties who will know how to utilize the situation not only in Europe but also on this side of the Atlantic.

The Defeat at Geneva Is a Victory for the Soviet Union.

The defeat of Geneva is a double victory for the Soviet Union, first, because a hostile united front has failed to materialize; second, because the correctness of the Soviet solution of the national problem has been proven once more. Two systems of combination of nations made their appearance on the world arena after the war: **Sovietism**—a federation of autonomous national states which, having abolished private property in the means of production and having instituted the proletarian dictatorship, laid the foundations for a real economic and political co-operation to the welfare of all; and second, the **League of Nations** which, based on private property and capitalist exploitation and oppression, attempts to combine the individual states for common action. The former has grown, stimulated industry, improved agriculture, developed culture, witnessed an unparalleled growth of the cultures of the various nationalities, created real friendship and brotherly understanding between the individual states and nationalities composing the Soviet Union. The latter has gone from crisis to crisis, it has proved powerless to overcome the appetites of the individual states, to bring about a tolerable compromise, to stop the decay of the economic fabric and the degeneration of political power. In Geneva the entire League ideology received a mortal blow.

The defeat of Geneva is the victory of Moscow!

New Phenomena in the International Labor Movement

By John Pepper

(Continued from April issue.)

III.

The Roots of the Left Sentiment.

THE Two and a Half International attitude first became evident in the labor movement in the last years of the war and the first post-war years. As already mentioned, this trend reached its peak in 1920. The first appearance of the frost of relative capitalist stabilization nipped these extremely tender blossoms.

The roots of this evaporated Two and a Half International sentiment were the following:

1. The terrific economic collapse brought on by the world war, the inability of capitalism to satisfy the most elementary needs of the masses: No food! No clothes! No housing!

2. The disillusionment of the masses in the social patriotic policies of the Social Democracy.

3. The example of the young victorious Russian Revolution as an inexhaustible source of inspiration.

The roots of the new Two and a Half International sentiment are the following:

1. A number of economic crises in almost all of the important European countries. One must not lump together all these crisis phenomena. At least one distinction must be drawn: the crisis-type of Great Britain and France must be distinguished from that of Germany.

To the first group there belong the victorious countries in which the post-war crisis became evident only in the last few years, not as in the vanquished central European countries. Even within this first type there are of course important concrete differences: In Great Britain, an industrial crisis; in France, a financial crisis of inflation. The British Empire is at present experiencing the second shock to its power. The first in the middle nineties, caused by the rise of the young German Empire, for the first time threatened the privileges of the British labor aristocracy and led to the foundation of the Labor Party. The second came in recent years thru the predominance of American imperialism and the autonomy of the Dominions, and this will lead to the formation of a mass Communist Party.

The German crisis-type might be called a post-rehabilitation crisis since it attacks countries which have already gone thru a certain stabilization. The crisis prevails in Germany,

where after a year of quiescence the reverse side of the Dawes' plan is now revealed. It prevails in Poland, where the first collapse followed upon an already stabilized valuta. It reigns in Austria and Hungary where celebrations were once held on the League of Nations stabilization.

Common to the countries of both types is permanent mass unemployment which rages, however, not only in these countries but in Sweden, Denmark, etc. as well. By way of change: No widespread unemployment in France, but instead inflation and high prices.

2. Disillusionment of the masses in the Social Democratic Coalition Governments. The bourgeois-Social Democratic governments have become an international phenomenon. Theory and practice of the Second International are equally under the sign of the coalition government policy. It is well-known that the theory was formulated by Karl Kautsky: The political form of transition from capitalism to Socialism is not the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the bourgeois-Social Democratic Coalition Government.

There is hardly a country in Europe in which the workers have not had experience with bourgeois-Social Democratic Coalition governments. In Germany the Social Democrats participated three times already in coalition governments: 1919, 1921, 1923 and at the end of 1925 they are conducting a big debate on the possibilities of renewed participation. In France we find a typically French subtle form of coalition government, i. e., a disguised form: The Social Democrats are not in the cabinet itself but participate in the left bloc and support the government from the outside. The Labor Party government in Great Britain was formally a purely "workers' government" of the Labor Party, but in reality it was a coalition with the liberals since as a minority government it could not exist a minute without the votes of the liberals in parliament. In Poland the P. P. S. is in a coalition government—and what a one—with the most reactionary elements of big landowners and capitalists. In Czecho-Slovakia the Social Democrats are in with the Czech parties of large landowners and the bourgeoisie against the working class and against the national minorities. Even tiny Denmark has the good fortune to possess a Social Democrat government. Similarly in Sweden there is one which in reality is

a coalition with the Populist Libertarians since it is dependent upon the patronage of this party's votes. In Belgium, the "power" is now held by a government of Social Democrats and clericals. In Hungary the Social Democratic ministers sat in the cabinet of the white terror and twice saved Horthy from destruction.

The working masses have had bitter experiences with these Social Democratic coalition governments, which neither consolidate the political power of the working class nor ensure real economic advantages to the proletariat.

3. The strengthening of the position of the U. S. S. R. The chronic unemployment, the permanent governmental crises when government follows upon government, increasingly demonstrate before ever growing masses the hopelessness of capitalist anarchy in Europe. At the same time, however, the workers turn with increasing hope to the perspective of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Coming with the first ebb of enthusiasm for the Russian revolution, the conditions in the Soviet Union during the period of Civil War and famine constituted the "terrible example" for Social Democratic agitation. These times are past however.

Kautsky's nursery tales about cannibalism in the Soviet Union have lost their punch. The entrenchment of the Workers' Republic is today the strongest asset in the accounts of the world revolution. The effect of the strengthening of the position of the U. S. S. R. may be divided into the following headings:

(a) The rising standard of living of the Russian proletariat.

(b) The success in the construction of Socialism.

(c) The international recognition of the U. S. S. R.

(d) In connection with the mass unemployment in Europe the hope of gaining the mighty fields and tremendous population of the Soviet Union as a possible market for industrial products. (This is particularly obvious in Great Britain and in the attitude of the Austrian co-operators.)

IV.

The Characteristics of the Left Wing.

1. The left attitude is an international phenomenon, but as yet it possesses no really international connections. In Marseilles, at the congress of the Second International, the distinction between right and left did not extend to the individual parties but entire countries fought one another as solid units.

2. This left trend has thus far not broken thru the organizational boundaries of the Second International. It remains entirely inside of the Second International, but it has already de-

veloped entirely original new organizational forms. The following forms might be cited:

(a) The workers' delegations.

(b) The Anglo-Russian Unity Committee.

(c) The various unity committees and committees of action in the unions and in the factories.

(d) The Labor Party form which really constitutes a special form of united front organization.

(e) The interesting form of the minority movement.

3. In almost every country these left wing movements reveal a hostile attitude towards the "native" Communists, but they already manifest a cordial spirit towards the Russian trade unions or towards the Soviet Union and partially also towards the Third International. This represents a quite characteristic feature. One might say: The further away the Communist the better looking he is to the confused sentiments of these half-way men.

4. In all these movements one must sharply differentiate between leaders and working masses. Naturally there are exceptions but in most cases these left leaders are extremely vainglorious figures, very uncertain quantities. Very often we also meet the "commandeered" type of left leader who is simply assigned by the official party executive to the task of leading, i. e., misleading, this left movement. This is the Ebert method employed in the January strike in Germany: "to put oneself at the head of the movement better to be able to choke it off." The best examples are furnished in the party congress of the P. P. S. or of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. But of course, in the face of these commandeered leaders one must not forget the masses of honest Social Democratic workers in this opposition. Extremely typical is the statement made at the congress of the French Socialist Party by Reviere, a worker out of the factory: "We speak here in the name of the dues paying cattle" These workers already are conscious that they are oppressed by the leadership of their own party.

5. The social basis of the left sentiment is everywhere in the most proletarian centers. In Germany, the opposition is strongest in Saxony, which today represents one-fifth of the membership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Only 11 per cent of the Saxon toilers are engaged in agriculture. At the congress of the P. P. S. the oppositional delegates came from the industrial districts of Dombrovo, Lodz, and Radom. In France the North and the Seine organizations support the left wing.

6. The central question of conflict in all these struggles between the right and left wing is the question of the coalition government or the "gradualness" of the class struggle. It is no

accident that simultaneously in a whole series of Social Democratic Parties the question of participation in bourgeois governments is the central point of dispute. The mighty storm of protest of the left Social Democratic workers in Germany against the big coalition, the party congresses of the P. P. S., of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party and of the Socialist Party of France which because of this question were convened twice within a few months—all turn around the question of the coalition government. When we study all these party congresses, discussions, and resolutions, we see that the problem of the coalition government cannot be disposed of as a mere product of intrigue betrayals of the reformist leadership. Of course, the despicable treason of the Social Democratic leadership plays a big role in the origin of the traitorous coalition policy. But we cannot content ourselves with this statement. It is an undeniable fact that the mass sentiment of the Social Democratic working masses also plays a role in the forming of coalition governments. The trend of thought of these Social Democratic working masses must be closely studied if they are to be combated successfully.

What are the chief forms of these trends of thought, these arguments for a coalition government?

(a) The "fear" of the reaction. "If we do not take over the government the reaction will come." In France they call it the "black man"—"Bloc National"; in Germany "Burgerbloc"; in other countries, fascism. In Poland, Daszinski declaims with a remnant of his old pathos: "We had to form the coalition government because Sikorski wanted to send his regiments to Warsaw."

(b) The defense of the new national states. This trend of thought plays a big role chiefly in Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. Both are countries where recollections of a century of Russian czarist or Austrian Hapsburgian oppression are still fresh and where strong so-called "anti-government" national minorities exist, as in Poland (the White Russians and Ukrainians) and in Czecho-Slovakia (the Slovaks, Hungarians and Germans). The Social Democratic workers say: Our young national state is very weak and might easily be destroyed. For this reason we must enter a coalition government with our "own" bourgeoisie against the "anti-government" nationalities.

(c) We must get "something," something "immediate," something "tangible" for the working class. This is the third argument for the coalition government. Unemployment increases, the masses starve, they say to themselves: "When our leaders are in the government perhaps a crumb will also fall to our share." Particularly significant are the statements of the co-operators and trade unionists at the French Socialist Party Congress.

(d) "If we assume power alone we will be unable to hold it and then will come the White Terror." This is the fourth argument for a coalition government in the heads of the Social Democratic workers. Italy, where after the seizure of the factories came fascism, and Hungary, where the Soviet dictatorship was replaced by the Horthy regime—these serve especially as "terrifying" examples

*7. The question of the unity of the working class is also one of the most important points of conflict between the right and left wings.

8. Struggle or surrender in economic demands, in wage questions and strikes, constitutes another disputed point.

9. The attitude towards Soviet Russia is more and more strongly pushed to the foreground in recent times as a contested question.

10. The question of pacifist illusions (League of Nations, Locarno, Dawes' Pact) played an important role not only at the Marseilles congress but also in practically every country.

11. The conflict between the policy of support for the revolution of the colonial peoples and the imperialist attitude of the labor aristocracy is also on the agenda.

All these oppositional movements show a certain resurrection of the revolutionary phrase. As is known the by-gone Two and a Half International united the slogan of the proletarian dictatorship with the illusions of parliamentarism. The demand of the German Independents "the Soviet must be anchored in the constitution" is well known. The word "revolution" which in recent years it was no longer polite to mention in well-bred Social Democratic circles has been restored to honor in the party congresses of the Socialist Party of France, in the P. P. S. and in the German left Social Democratic press. In Poland the Radom delegate cries: "The revolution will come to us by itself and conquer by force." In Germany the left Social Democratic "Plauener Volkstimme" writes: "Revolutions are not made with grimaces." Compare Morel's speech at the January congress of the French Socialists as cited by "Humanite" as follows:

"We knew quite well what measures a Social Democratic government should undertake in the first hours of its power. It could do nothing within the sphere of parliamentarism. . . . No illusions; there are far too many in our ranks who do not see any further than parliament. We are there to defend the working masses and as long as capitalism reigns the working class will never get its due."

He was interrupted: "Go and join the Communist Party."

"Ha," he replied, "how thoroly it must have been forgotten in this party what socialism really is if it is no longer possible to speak at its congress as I do."

And he concluded:

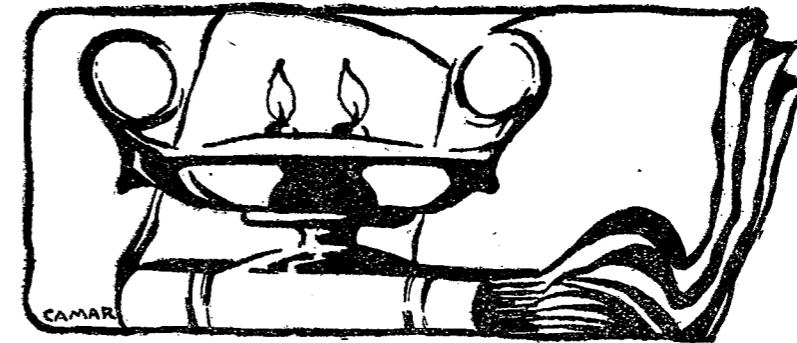
" . . . A further task is to prepare for proletarian unity on the trade union and political field."

And Renaudel indignantly cites the speech by Maurin from the "l'Étincelle": "The split was poorly executed in Tours." In other words they should not have separated from the left (from the Communist) but from the right, from the opportunists.

All these phenomena have of course, only a qualified value. Their presentation must naturally emphasize the new even if but to be able to combat the conservative inclinations in our ranks that sometimes underestimate the new.

It was not the task of this analysis to present the old, the known, the opportunist, the coun-

ter-revolutionary in the Social Democracy. In the final appraisal of these new phenomena, however, one must maintain the correct proportions. One must not forget for one minute that Social Democracy is and remains the ideology and organization of opportunism, that it is the representative not of the interests of the proletariat, but of those of the labor aristocracy. Still less can one succumb to the illusion that international Social Democracy, despite this left gesture, will ever be able to develop into a revolutionary party. The leader of the proletarian revolution can only be the Communist Party and the investigation of all left sentiments and left wings of the Social Democracy must be undertaken from the viewpoint of the development of the Communist Parties.



The Persistent "Mexican Question"

By Manuel Gomez

NO better example of the conspiratorial obscurity of the American capitalist press on matters of imperialist foreign policy can be found than the reports of the present Mexican situation. All one sees in the newspapers is that somehow or other, as if by magic, the differences over Mexico's oil and land laws have been "ironed out." The U. S. state department, which denounced the laws as inimical to American vested interests and loosed a furious assault against the Mexican government because of them, is now reported as completely satisfied. President Calles' regulations for applying the laws cause the New York Times to say that the conflict between the United States and Mexico "has reached an apparently amicable conclusion." To those whose memory extends over a period greater than 24 hours this happy solution must be extraordinarily puzzling. The laws were in accordance with Mexico's national-revolutionary constitution of 1917. As passed by both houses of the Mexican congress, they imposed important limitations—particularly with regard to the oil-bearing area near the seacoast—on the investment rights of foreigners in Mexico. Moreover, they provided that the foreign interests could not operate in Mexico under any conditions unless they first agreed to give up their old tactics of diplomatic bullying; that is, they would have to sign a statement agreeing to consider themselves as Mexicans before the law and pledging themselves to refrain from appealing to the diplomatic support of foreign representatives. American imperialism has indicated plainly during the last five months that it was ready to commit direct assault upon the sovereignty of Mexico rather than tolerate the oil and land laws. The Mexican government declared publicly that it would insist upon its national claims. How have President Calles' "regulations" reconciled these apparently irreconcilable differences? In other words, what is the present status of the "Mexican question?"

The newspapers are most unwilling guides here. One must wrench the truth from them. It is necessary to read carefully between the lines, to look for significant paragraphs buried deep in documents, to pick out sentences in speeches. When this is done it suddenly becomes plain that the "amicable" settlement of the U. S.-Mexican conflict is based upon the abandonment by the Mexican president of every important position that he had maintained.

Calles' "Regulations."

President Calles' regulations leave the American interests in undisturbed possession of their holdings, both within and without the so-called prohibited zones. They are permitted to extend their possessions also. In short, things are to be about as they were before the oil and land laws were passed. For all immediate purposes the laws are nullified in the supplementary regulations, issued ostensibly to put them into effect. Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution is to remain a dead letter, at least insofar as protection of Mexico against foreign capitalist monopolization is concerned.

Calles' Defiance Collapses.

During the course of the open and secret diplomatic offensive against Mexico—which had behind it the thoroly aroused forces of Wall Street and Washington and which included threats of a break in diplomatic relations, hints of possible invasion to protect American "rights," financial pressure of all sorts and hurried visits of oil magnates to Mexico City—there were repeated indications of a collapse on the part of the Mexican government. All Mexico, all Latin America, was behind President Calles in his public defiance of American imperialism. Organizations such as the All-America Anti-Imperialist League, with national sections in nine countries of Latin America as well as in the United States itself, rallied to his support in an effort to stiffen his resistance thru the pressure upon him of the united anti-imperialist front. But the counter-pressure from Wall Street and Washington was too strong. Calles continued to bluster that he would allow no outside power to dictate Mexico's laws to her, but he began to dangle more and more before Secretary Kellogg the promise of the forthcoming "regulations." In private his capitulation was much more definite.

The official correspondence, comprising ten notes and memoranda made public at last on April 11, shows, says the New York Times, "that the major American objections to the Mexican attitude have been removed."

The last Mexican note, dated March 27, gives a pledge that American interests in Mexico will not be deprived of their property but will be given renewable concessions confirming their old ownership titles.

Regarding the section of the land law dealing with agricultural property—which provided, among other things, that foreigners could under

no circumstances own more than 49 per cent of the capital in any corporation owning Mexican agricultural lands—the note of March 27 makes the following complete about-face:

"It is true that an alien who, prior to the going into effect of the law, represented 50 per cent or more of the total interest of any kind of association holding rural property for agricultural purposes, may retain the said interest without complying with Article 2 and that the right of his heirs to such interest in excess of 49 per cent is provided for in Article 6."

One of the most popularly prized sections of the land law (and one specifically provided for in Article 27 of the Constitution) is that which declares foreign landholders must agree not to invoke the aid of their governments in matters relating to their Mexican properties. Politicians had won much applause in Mexico by insisting vehemently that this provision was a basic principle of Article 27. However, in the correspondence with the U. S. state department, Mexico's foreign minister concedes:

"... Even tho an individual should renounce applying for the diplomatic protection of his government, the government does not forfeit the right to extend it in case of a denial of justice."

Thus every essential demand of American imperialism has been denied in words and conceded in fact. Mexico is in one sense worse off than before the oil and land laws were passed; for now the nine years' struggle to set up enabling acts for Article 27 has ended in disillusionment. The dreaded Article 27 has become something quite different. Equipped with enabling legislation at last, it has at the same time been stripped of its vital parts and its power to strike fear into the hearts of foreign capitalists has been destroyed. American imperialism has scored an important triumph.

The Mexican Question Remains.

What now becomes of the "Mexican Question?" Is it removed from the order of business of American imperialism? No one familiar with the situation will think of answering in the affirmative. The aims of Wall Street and Washington have been by no means attained in Mexico and the challenging aspirations of the Mexican people still stand in the way. Conflict is more certain than ever. The eventual outcome depends upon how soon the American working class realizes the necessity of militant support to Mexico, as the center of gravity for all Latin America in the common struggle against Wall Street.

The Significance of Mexico's Independence.

That Mexico, with her ore-studded and oil-rich territory lying contiguous to the greatest

imperialist power in the world, should have been able to preserve her independence while all the little nations around her have fallen absolutely under the Wall Street yoke is a fact whose significance has never been sufficiently estimated. The stubborn resistance of the republic immediately to the south of us has had consequences far beyond her own borders. It has acted to impede the rapid spread of U. S. imperialism over the South American continent.

Mexico's independence is no mere convenient camouflage, as in the case of Cuba, Santo Domingo or the Central American "republics." Economically, it is true, Wall Street has already entrenched itself in the country. Politically, while Mexico can scarcely be called a free agent (what small nation can?), she still stands unconquered. Her vigorous and enduring fight against foreign monopolists, her resistance to armed intervention, her neutrality in the war against Germany, her recognition of Soviet Russia—these things are unmistakable evidence of Mexico's independent line. The United States government, which appoints financial "advisers" as far south as Bolivia and which officially directs entire government departments in Peru, cannot boast as much control in Mexico as is implied in the term "sphere of influence."

The Beginnings of the "Mexican Question."

The "Mexican Question" has been before the American people, with brief intermissions, since the time of Porfirio Diaz. Mexico's revolution against feudalism, which was favored in its initial stages by the big capitalists of the United States, broke out before Mexico was a great oil-producing country. In 1911, when Diaz was overthrown, the production of crude oil in Mexico was 12,552,798 barrels; in 1921, when the output reached its peak, 193,397,587 barrels were produced. Ninety-nine per cent of all the oil produced in Mexico has been obtained since 1911. Oil was sufficiently important even in 1911 to be a factor in the revolution—with the British interests favored by and favoring Diaz, and the American interests backing Madero—but it was not the lure that it is today. American aggression at that time was therefore limited in its conscious objectives. It was limited not only because the temptation was not great enough but also because American imperialism itself, while already a mighty power going forward under the banner of the Rooseveltian traditions, had not yet really come into its own. In addition there was the rivalry of the British to consider; for the British occupied a strong position in Mexico, dominating railroads, public utilities and oil industry. Later, when American imperialism became surer, it determined to take over the country without further ado. The Pershing expedition and the occupation of Vera Cruz were tentatives in this direction. However,

the national-revolutionary forces of opposition in Mexico had also grown. These might have been swept aside if it were not for the approaching entry of the United States into the World War, which claimed undivided attention.

The Balance of Forces in Mexico.

The result of all this has been to create a peculiar jockeying position, a delicate balancing of forces, which left Mexico able to keep her head above water as an independent nation in spite of the indirect offensives that were hurled against her and in spite of serious encroachments on the part of American imperialism. Wall Street sought to play off one section of the Mexican revolution against the other, at the same time making use of the situation to completely displace her British rival. Armed intervention came more and more to the front as the ultimate desideratum of the imperialists, but in practise Wall Street was obliged to maneuver for control in Mexico thru financial and diplomatic pressure, thru bribery, intimidation, withholding of credit and subsidizing of counter-revolution.

Out of the policy of indirect offensive based upon a conscious program of ultimate invasion, come those recurrent conflicts which have been the distinguishing marks of what is spoken of in the United States as the "Mexican Question." The "Mexican Question" persists precisely because, with all the strength at the command of American capitalism, Mexico has not yet been made an integral unit of the American empire.

Mexico's Lure.

Copper, lead, silver and gold were the principal considerations of American capitalism in Mexico in 1911, and they are still of very great importance. Mexico occupies first place in the world as a producer of silver, second place as a producer of lead, fourth place as a producer of gold and a fifth place as a producer of copper. The bulk of the mining industry is in American hands, being completely dominated by the Guggenheim, Harriman and Ryan-Rockefeller interests.

Oil!

Oil, however, has long since come to the front as the most ardently coveted of Mexico's resources. The phenomenal development of oil as a fuel and the limited extent of the world's known resources have made this precious substance the gage of battle for rival imperialists from Mosul to Argentina. Great Britain and the United States are the chief antagonists everywhere in the world. Mexico, second only to the United States itself as a producer of oil, is an area of prime importance in the struggle. The United States, despite its own immense production, is importing \$200,000,000 worth of oil and

by-products from Mexico yearly. Much has been made of the decline in Mexican oil production since 1921. Some of this has been due to exhaustion of the wells but some is due to "pinching in" of wells to keep up prices on the world market. Nevertheless, Mexico's output last year exceeded 115,700,000 barrels. According to figures recently published by the Mexican government, Mexico has an extension of about 150,000,000 acres in the petroleum zone, and so far only 15,000 acres have been exploited. When we consider that this small portion has yielded a grand total of 1,260,368,720 barrels of oil with an estimated value of \$1,054,353,306, we realize the untold wealth yet in store for oil seekers, and the high returns received by the oil interests in Mexico. Standard Oil, which recently absorbed Doheny, dominates the field. Nearly 60 per cent of Mexico's oil output is controlled in the United States and American interests have an overwhelming preponderance in the ownership of the undeveloped oil lands. This control has not come without effort. The oil men have supplied a considerable portion of the "fuel" to the Mexican Question. Besides angling for special privileges with men inside the government, they had their hand in every rebel movement in Mexico during the past fifteen years. They have, on occasion, refused to pay taxes to the Mexican government, and on other occasions they have subsidized banditry in order to bring the government to terms. For months they maintained the bandit, Manuel Pelaez, in control of the oil fields against Carranza. The National Association of Petroleum Producers of Mexico has been in the forefront of the interventionist propaganda in this country.

Other Mexican products, such as zinc, sisal, ixtle, chicle, etc., are also of first-rate importance to American imperialism, which controls the market in each case.

Mexico's Foreign Trade.

Consideration of Mexico's foreign trade is most illuminating. In 1924 exports to the United States represented 80.16 per cent of the total, followed by Great Britain with 5.63 per cent, Germany 2.85 per cent, Cuba 2.62 per cent and France 1.36 per cent. Of the imports the United States furnished 73 per cent, Germany 7.25 per cent, Great Britain 7 per cent, France 5 per cent, Spain 2.33 per cent and other countries 5.42 per cent. Only three other countries do a greater volume of business with the United States than Mexico. The U. S.-Mexican trade in 1924 was valued at \$363,209,313. In 1925 it was \$302,162,269. This is a tidy sum, an item hardly to be sneered at, and one which clearly reflects the dominant position of the United States in the Mexican market.

However, it is the character of the trade quite as much as the volume which makes Mexico

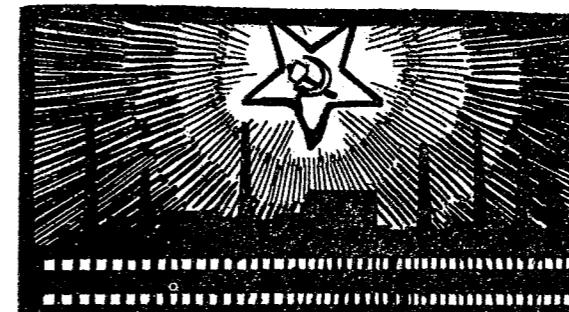
such an important factor in the economics of American imperialism. Mexico sends to the United States raw materials necessary for American industry. She imports manufactured products. Furthermore her imports from this country include about \$20,000,000 of machinery, \$13,000,000 of iron and steel foundry products and \$12,500,000 of automobiles, tires, vehicles and rolling stock. This represents to a considerable degree fixed capital which links up the American iron and steel industry more and more tightly with Mexico's industrial develop-

ment—and which many times is actually merely an addition to direct American investment in the country.

Mexico fits "naturally" into the economic order of American imperialism. The results achieved by American finance-capital under present conditions already show vividly the gains to be secured by direct imperial monopolization.

These are some of the reasons why the Mexican Question could not be and is not now a dead issue.

(Continued in June issue).



The Challenge of the Company Union

By Robert W. Dunn

What It Is. Some Distinctions.

IN speaking before worker forums in recent weeks I find, even among those who call themselves class conscious, a pretty dense ignorance of what constitutes a company union, as well as what to do about it. It seems that the tactics of confronting this menace to the American labor movement have not been worked out as explicitly as recent articles in the left wing press would lead one to believe.

For example, one worker rises in a meeting and describes, or rather refers to a mutual benefit association in a department store, calling it a company union. He is resistant when told that this is not a company union but a type of employee's association that has existed for thirty years in American industry, and that its functions are quite separate and distinct from those performed by the more recent company union.

In discussing company unions it is therefore necessary at least to make this distinction. Mutual benefit associations, some 700 or more of which exist in the industries of this country, are not to be included under the term "company union." It is true that such associations may, like the company union, bind the worker to the boss and paralyze his bent toward defensive trade union organization. But this amorphous type of benefit society, altho controlled completely by the employer, must not be confused with the elaborate machinery of conference, adjustment and "legislation" that comes within the proper scope of the company union. The latter must be a committee of some sort, a conference board, a congress, or a works council, to use the most common name applied to it by the employers. It must have some function in the plant in appearing to take up certain workers' grievances in no matter how limited a manner. This the mutual aid and benefit association never does, existing exclusively for the alleged purpose of protecting the workers against losses due to accident, unemployment, sickness and death. Indeed the employer-controlled mutual aid associations perform analogous functions to those performed among the Jewish workers, for example, by self-directed Workmen's Circles. Hence they should not be confused with the company unions any more than the trade unions of the workers should be confused with the Workmen's Circle.

Significance and Growth.

The growth in the size of industrial establishments and the great increase in the number of workers employed by one concern have made

the employers consider ways of dealing with their "human element" so as to keep it contented, faithful, and saturated with company esprit de corps. As an answer to this pressing problem of "morale maintenance in industry" some 800 and more corporations in the United States have set up one form or another of permanent committees thru which they can deal with their employees without the intervention of the "outside" trade union. These are called company unions; of course a wide variety of them exists depending upon the character of the basis of classification.

Altho a great deal of the original 1918-1919 "man-to-man" fervor for giving the workers "a share in management" has waned among the so-called liberal and Christian employers and altho the open shop movement proved, on the whole, successful in the metal, the lumber, the textile, the meat packing and the general manufacturing industry, the company unions have, as the capitalist spokesmen put it, become "settled and permanent systems of joint dealing and no longer mere experiments in human relations." They have grown steadily during the past few years from 225 in 1919 to over 800 today while the number of workers involved has risen from 391,000 in 1919 to more than 1,177,000 today. Possibly from one-third to one-half of these workers were in trade unions at the time of the peak membership of the A. F. of L. during and immediately following the war. In other words the company unions have not gained all, or at least the same workers, that the trade unions lost since 1920, as some writers have stated. They have, however, gained a part of what the regular unions have lost particularly on the railroads and in the other industries mentioned above. For the company unions have also been successful to a marked degree in industrial plants where no trade unions hitherto existed or where only the very feeblest attempts had been made to tie up the workers with the trade unions. The fact is, of course, that, of the gainfully employed persons in this country over 10 years of age, about one-fifteenth are in the trade unions, and only about one-fortieth in the company unions. The company unions have, however, during the past five years, made the greatest strides and have shown increases about equal to what the trade unions have lost. This tendency, tho somewhat reduced in acceleration, is likely to continue unless the trade unions are thrown into solid formation against the company associations.

Some typical open shop companies that have organized their workers into these associations follow.

1. In the Textile Mills.

In the textile industry—The Forstmann and Huffmann Co. at Passaic, N. J., German mill barons whose concern for their workers is illustrated by the present strike in their mills. When the strike was called the company union house of cards collapsed and no meeting of the Representative Assembly was called to consider wages or hours. The workers simply left the mills and the company union disappeared from the scene automatically. (As this story goes to press the company is trying to break the strike by calling these "representatives" into conference but the workers have been educated concerning the uses of the F. and H. Assembly and will resist all strike-breaking efforts of this kind).

There is also the notorious Pacific Mills at Lawrence with its Advisory Council Plan which the management has been introducing with scientific precision during the past three years for the purpose of "promoting understanding and fair dealing between management and employees." The delegates from the various departments meet to discuss with due solemnity such problems as the prevalence of cockroaches in the weaving shed, or the number of stray cats in the spinning room, or how wide the windows should remain open in the print works, etc. The results—management is entirely satisfied, in fact "highly gratified" at its success in ridding itself not only of the cockroaches (!) but of "labor troubles" and labor unions and especially of labor radicals. The workers, you see, are "cultivated" to see things from our point of view and the mill overseer and the other officials can tell their friends in the Shuttle Club of Boston that they have found a "new way" to deal with agitators. But they never permit workers to vote on such vital matters as wage cuts. They slash them first and then explain it to the committees. The committees do the rest, serving as a "medium of communication" thru which reductions are put over to the workers "in the right light."

Then we have Amoskeag, one of the greatest cotton plants in the world at Manchester, N. H., company-unionized from cellar to attic, from boiler stoker to doffer boy. The capitalists, please note, believe in 100 per cent unionization. No half way measures or craft distinctions for them. Skilled and unskilled are given equal rights under their "plant democracy." In this way they develop among the workers what they call "factory solidarity" as opposed to "class solidarity." . . . The Amoskeag has been under the sway of the company unions since 1923. Several wage cuts have been engineered

thru it. The United Textile Workers have been eliminated from the situation but still attempt to influence company union elections tho as yet without success. The most recent wage cut of 10 per cent was accepted by the company union in late March of this year.

In the southern textile mills company unions have been used at one time or another to combat the trade unions. Some of them, such as the one at the Durham Hosiery Mills, was abandoned after it served its purposes as a foil against the United Textile Workers. In the Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills in Virginia the company union has been voting itself wage slash after wage slash since 1920.

2. On the Railroads.

Consider also the railroads of the country on which the four great railroad brotherhoods and Mr. W. W. Atterbury now play such important roles. Both the reactionary train service brotherhoods and the ruthless hard-boiled railroad executives have held their own in recent years and have even reached a love feast rapprochement in the new Railway Labor Act which practically banishes strikes forever from the roads. However, in this exchange of Alphonso-Gaston courtesies many of the other craft unions have been left to the tender mercies of the company unions. The Pennsylvania, of which Atterbury is President, has crushed the shop crafts, the clerks, the maintenance of way men and the telegraphers' unions, all since 1922. The Union Pacific, the Southern Pacific, the Great Northern, the Santa Fe, the Illinois Central, the Atlantic Coast Line, the Erie, the Lackawanna and some 50 other roads have followed suit and deal with company unions in one or more branches of their service. On a few roads these weaker unions have been able to fight off the company "independents." But on others such as the Great Northern, the Santa Fe and the Union Pacific, the company organizations have secured complete recognition particularly in the shop craft trades.

3. Steel Company Unions.

We may also mention briefly the flourishing state of the company unions in steel particularly in the various plants of the labor-loving Bethlehem Steel Corporation at Bethlehem, Pa., and Lackawanna, N. Y. Charles Schwab, steel magnate, preaches industrial democracy to his slaves in these cities thru his yellow household unions. At the same time he breaks his contract with the United Mine Workers in mines in Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Other steel companies with the company union going at top speed are the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., the Inland Steel Co., the Wheeling Steel Corporation and a number of others not affiliated with the United States Steel Corporation

which, by the way, has not yet installed employee representation. Judge Gary, it is said, believes he can tend to the interests of his workers in a much more direct and Golden Rule sort of a way. Besides he is a little scared of company unions for a few of them got "out of hand" in the steel industry before the strike of 1919. He can give his steel toilers pensions and insurance and common stock and houses and safety-first campaigns and other welfare handouts and thus keep them pretty fairly and impotently contented at least during periods of labor deflation. Not even a fake "industrial democracy" scheme, Gary figures, is necessary to keep the 300,000 iron, steel and tin plate workers out of Mike Tighe's union. Paternalism plus spies plus the blacklist plus the local agents of the Federal Department of Justice, plus control of the newspapers are really all the Judge needs at present to keep his slaves faithful, loyal, patriotic and meek.

4. In the Rockefeller Companies.

Then we must not forget the company unions among the corporations controlled by the Rockefellers who were among the first to introduce these plans in American industry in the mines and steel mills of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. This plan has been studied by a number of investigators who were quite willing to give Rockefeller his due, but all have found it wanting from practically every angle except the angle of profits in Rockefeller's pockets. Of course the workers are smothered with welfare, and the company union is naturally advertised as the mother of all these sundry benefits. But the machinery of "collective bargaining" creaks at every joint and after all the "joint conferences" are over, the wages in the steel mill are determined by the management after an examination of the payroll of the U. S. Steel Corporation. And in the coal mines the elaborate "joint dealing" ends in nothing but the lowest scale the management dares give after considering scab rates obtaining in the non-union fields of Kentucky and West Virginia. The record of the much-touted Colorado Plan in 1925 alone is as follows: In March a 20 per cent wage cut. In August another one of 11 to 15 per cent. What happened at this time is described by the editor of the Colorado Labor Advocate:

"The Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. closed down certain mines. After the men had been partially starved into submission they were offered a chance to sign a petition asking for a wage cut. And as Vice President Lichty of the C. F. & I. told the editor of this paper, if they didn't sign the petition, their wages were not cut—the mines were closed. So thanks to the Rockefeller plan, Colorado coal miners are working 140 days a year at from \$3.25 to \$6.25 a day. They know they are helpless in the hands of the great corporation."

As for the Rockefeller unions in oil, witness the spectacle of the Standard of New Jersey—

as well as the Standard of Indiana, cooking up a similar plan that gives every appearance of being a glorious "worker participation" paradise . . . that is, until you steal up closer and scrutinize the camouflage. The Standard of New Jersey plan, like hundred of employer-inspired plans, gives the workers nothing but the opportunity of bringing up petty grievances and keeping on appealing them thru a labyrinth of committees and councils until a decision is handed down from the throne at 26 Broadway, New York City. The Standard of Indiana, on the other hand, gives its plan a touch of "impartiality" by referring unsettled grievances to none other than James J. Davis, millionaire ex-steel puddler, Grand Exalted Wizard of the Loyal Order of Moose and a strike breaker only second in rank to Calvin Coolidge himself. Both of these Standard companies do a lot of national advertising to spread the "truth" both about their products and about the wonderful system of "employee-employer relations" that obtains in the refinery towns. The expenditure for paint to color the billboard scenery of the nation and for ink to fill the spare advertising pages in the reactionary labor journals appears to pay the companies richly and helps it to "realize" fully on its substantial investment in company union frills.

Objectives of Company Unionism.

From the above sketches of a few sample company unions it should be clear to the reader that anti-trade union motives underly these company associations. However the company agents are usually not so frank, or so stupid, as to reveal these motives in public. When asked to explain why the company union looks good to them the corporations fold their hands in a prayerful attitude, lift their eyes toward the heavens, and recite any one of the following verses (exact quotes from their own mouths).

"Employee representation was adopted in recognition of the human desire of all of us to have a say about our jobs and the circumstances of employment."—Samuel Insull, Public Utility Magnate.

"Industrial representation for securing justice to both men and management thru cooperative methods."—Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.

"To provide effective communication and means of contact between management and the men on matters pertaining to industrial relations, and to insure justice, maintain tranquillity and promote the common welfare."—Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co.

(Hundreds of such seemly phrases will be supplied by the writer on demand. State length and style preferred. Wholesale quotations if desired).

However when the employing class and its agents have rare moment of lucidity, candor or intoxication, in club or on curb, it speaks in this way:

"Most of the shop committee systems in our factories were installed as a substitute for unions or to forestall them."—Textile employer to the writer.

"Before the plan was adopted agitators and malcontents had unlimited opportunity to present their own version of minor grievances and the employees rarely ascertained the real facts in a given case."—Phelps Dodge Corporation.

(Puzzle—Find the provider of the "real facts" after the plan was installed!).

"After all what difference does it make whether one plant has a 'shop committee', a 'works council', a 'Leitch Plan' . . . or whatever else it may be called? These different forms are but mechanics for putting into practice . . . 'familiar factory relations' and they all mean the one big fundamental point—the open shop."—D. R. Kennedy in "Industrial Management."

"Wages are determined by the management in the same manner as before the council (company union) was organized. Its function is to pass-on the wage cut with the least disturbance."—A student of company unions connected with several large corporations.

"The plan is of considerable aid in making the employees see the necessity of a decision that would otherwise be disagreeable and bothersome."—A well-known textile company.

"A great number of so-called shop committees are presumed to have a certain amount of authority. Upon close scrutiny it is generally found that this is mostly bunk."—Joseph & Feiss, open shop clothing manufacturers.

"I find myself, since the adoption of the plan, in a much better position to saturate the men with the idea of loyalty to the property owners."—President of the Browning Co., manufacturers of locomotive cranes, Cleveland, O.

It should be clear, then, to any worker who wants to get at motives, that pocket-book reasons, reasons touching the capitalist's fear and hatred of trade unions, are the real ones covering the hokum, the cant and the hypocrisy of the Rotarian speeches on idealism and democracy. Most company unions are introduced under one of three circumstances:

1. Just before a trade union is about to get busy in a plant.
2. Just after a trade union has been crushed in a strike or lock-out and when the employer wants to give the workers "something just as good without the militant features," or
3. When the far-sighted employer argues that, even with his plant in no immediate danger of trade unions, it might be well to prepare against the day when the trade union appears. The last category covers that rather large field of employers in industries that have never been organized but who know they will sooner or later have to face labor union issues.

Union Leaders and Company Unions.

What have the trade union officials to say about the company union? Well, some of them

are not faced immediately with the problem and have nothing to say. The building trades officials, for example, have no company union to harrass them. The needle trades unions, for the most part, have not been touched by it. The chauffeurs and teamsters union and the mine workers have run up against scarcely any company plans of this type. (The miners in some districts, however, are confronted with real dual unions covering a number of companies and sponsored and paid for by company money). Some of the most important unions in the A. F. of L. are thus displaying, if any, a merely academic interest in the development of the company union.

On the other hand some of the officials of such unions as the machinists, the electrical workers, the signalmen, the butcher-workmen, the railway telegraphers, and shopmen, and maintenance of way men, and clerks and expressmen, the molders and textile workers and street car men, etc., have at least engaged in heated verbal combat with the company unions. They have brought out the familiar trade union arguments against them and in some instances they have even come to very close grips with them in their efforts to bore from within and destroy them. In some instances these more progressive labor officials have shown some understanding of the needs of the situation and have been able also to wrest control from the company associations by means of appeals to the workers to stick to the real unions and to beware of the fakes and dummies prepared by the bosses.

Official A. F. of L. Attitude.

The A. F. of L. officially has taken its lead more from this second group and has expressed itself vigorously enough in words on the subject on several occasions and has even called on the trade unions to apply the "capture strategy" to the bosses' unions. At the same time these officials have sounded a much more moderate note in speeches before Chambers of Commerce and civic federations. They have said in effect to the great corporations:

"Please lay off that company union stuff. The company union is neither democratic nor representative of the will of the workers or the great masses of our citizenry. You are sure to have trouble with them in the long run. The only businesslike and sensible thing for you to do is to give US recognition. Then your troubles will be past. We will cooperate on production and lend a hand at efficiency and collaborate till the cows come home. We will, in fact, pledge our every effort to see that fair profits are returned even on your stock dividends. And above all else we will spank the Reds. We will drive every last agent of Moscow from the ranks—if we can. You know, of course, we have met with some difficulties recently in the furriers' and in the ladies' garment trades in New York. But we will do our damndest to deliver to your factory door—employee's entrance—tied up in a pale yellow ribbon a nice bundle of 100 per cent American wage workers who will serve you

loyally, devotedly and patriotically to the glory of God, Industry and the Republic—or until the next war calls them to fight for the Fatherland."

And so on. In short, the official overture played by the labor leaders on every occasion when the bosses must be approached in a conciliatory spirit—occasions which appear to be more frequent than ever in recent days.

What the Militants Can Do.

There are several things the trade union progressive can do to throw a note of discord into this harmony chorus of labor leaders and bosses and at the same time help to spike the company union.

First, he must do everything in his power to get any more or less progressive trade union official, if he has any in his union, to fight the company union harder, showing up its weaknesses, its duplicities and its hypocrisies at every conceivable opportunity. The militant can keep his eyes open for incipient company unions and tip off the progressive union leaders—again, if there are any—to the importance of nipping them in the bud.

In this connection—in his efforts to get his union to do something about it—the worker should avoid the indiscriminate use of the "labor faker" terms, at least until he has made a genuine and sustained effort to get cooperation with such union officials as there may be in his territory. And if he can't get the snails in the local union office to move he can appeal over their heads to the national headquarters of the union. And he can see that his letter is registered and that a reply is received. And if no reply is received then he can begin to sharpen up his phrases on the backwardness of the labor officialdom! In other words: Don't shoot until you see the whites of their lies—and be sure they are lies.

In the second place, if the worker is in a company union shop with no trade union yet in existence he must see that every angle of the company union is studied. He must find out how and why the bosses get away with it. He must work out methods for getting real demands introduced into the councils of the company unions. He must make friends with workers who are cold, warm and lukewarm toward the plan. He must get into touch with the nearest union office and try to dynamite the slow-poke officials into doing something to help him in his maneuvers against the company associations and, above all, he must build up confidence in the workers that they can have a real union if they will work quietly against the company union until the time for an open fight arrives.

In the third place, the worker if he has no company union in his own plant must find out in what other shops in his city the company union is active. He can help the workers in those shops to devise methods to defeat the tricks of the bosses. He can write stories to his labor press about the failures of the company unions. He can agitate for the real unions in the other shops and tell the company-unionized slaves how to build them.

There are of course as many tactics as there are possible situations to face. One for the worker in a non-union shop with a company union about to be introduced. Another for a worker in a shop where the company plan already exists. Another for the worker in a plant where the company union and the trade union are more or less equally matched, and so on.

Don't Do All Your Fighting with Epithets.

And finally, when playing the role of company-union smasher and worker correspondent combined, don't let your failure to get anything accomplished turn your article into a mere display of your spleen against persons who have—possibly thru your own blundering tactics—failed to cooperate with you. Weak men resort to denunciation to cover up their own incapacity for action. Workers who are trying to put the skids under the company unions must be patient if they would work with the workers who have already had their minds badly poisoned by the "identity of interest" philosophy of the bosses. These workers must be lead step by step toward an appreciation of the advantages of the trade union first as an "improver of conditions" and finally as a weapon for "capturing the whole works."

Such lecturing and suggesting as I have done in the above paragraphs would not be necessary if the left wingers were all doing their best to scotch the company unions. Many of them are not. Many of them, as I intimated at the start, don't know a company union when they see one. Some have even failed to get into the company unions in their own plant. The sooner the company union is faced as a reality rather than as a vague word, the sooner will the trade union movement benefit by the vigorous battles which class conscious workers should lead against the company-framed associations. These unions are a growing menace to the labor movement. No worker should fail to fight them and encourage others to fight them until they are destroyed and genuine unions take their places in every American industry and in every industrial plant.

"Join the Army--"

By Sam Darcy

WHEN Russian czarism was at its worst, when the black monarchy spread its mantle of terror and engulfed an unhappy people, there came from out of the ranks of the imperial army stories of terror that made the world gasp. The warning of 1905 sent a shiver of fear thru the ruling class, and the reaction to it, came in an intensified oppression not only of the civilian population, but also of the military forces.

Today in the United States the ruling class is drunk with power and success in crushing so large a part of the world under its iron heel. But it too has had warnings; the warning of the Russian revolution, the warning of the increasing number of strikes in this country and their increasing militant and often constructive revolutionary character; the warning of a Communist movement fast growing in Bolshevik consciousness. But American capitalism hasn't all the intelligence that we sometimes credit it with, despite its cunning in contriving class collaborationist schemes. Such methods they have not learned to successfully apply in the military form and thus there is today a growing discontent among the soldiery, especially among those being used for imperialistic purposes. It has been difficult to get the facts. But even the highest and thickest wall will sometimes spring a leak. . . .

Senator Watson's Disclosures.

The first leak was sprung in 1921. On November 1, of that year the cry of protest reached the smug Senate, the "tribune of the people," in the form of a speech by a senator from the most backward section of this country, the state of Georgia. There Watson spoke as follows:

"How many Senators know that a private soldier was frequently shot by his officers because of some complaint against officers' insolence; that they had gallows upon which men were hanged, day after day, without court-martial or any other form of trial? How many senators know that? I had and have the photograph of one of those gallows upon which twenty-one white boys had already been executed at sunrise when the photograph was taken; and there were others waiting in the camp jails to be hanged morning after morning."

The Senate body was aghast! The next day Wadsworth of New York made an attempt to kill the charges by referring them to the Committee on Military Affairs. But even Watson,

who is probably the most reactionary senator in Congress, could not stomach this. He again answered:

"I meant every word I said; I can prove every word I said; and I did not half say it, meaning that I did not half paint the picture. I have the photograph of the gallows upon which I say the soldiers were hanged in violation of all law; and I can produce the witnesses WERE IT SAFE FOR THEM TO APPEAR (in "free" America!—S. A. D.) I will not expose them to danger, but I will expose myself to it, and I say it is true.

". . . I can produce that Kodak picture, hastily taken, of at least one of the gallows upon which white men, volunteering, as it was said, to save civilization and make the world safe for democracy, were hanged like dogs. . . . and that they were shot by their officers without any kind of a trial.

"I can prove that they were made to go on useless hikes, and unnecessarily exposed and sacrificed and left on the road to die. . . . They were not allowed to write home and tell what they were enduring; their letters were censored; their letters were stereotyped; they had to conform to the regulations and say, 'We are having a good time and being treated nicely,' or they themselves were subject to barbarous punishment."

There is too much of this to give it all verbatim. Just a few more lines from here and there out of the speeches will give us a further idea of how much Uncle Sam cares for the sons of the working class who are recruited into the army:

"In their hospitals they were neglected. The officers made courtesans of too many nurses. In the hospitals on the roadside, wounded, suffering and dying, these men were treated inhumanely, and I was told so by the men themselves.

"I have had fathers tell me, with tears streaming down their eyes, tell me when I knew that their hearts were broken about the mistreatment of their sons. . . . There was the case of David Brown. . . . who had only one son inclined to be tubercular. Any doctor competent to practice should have known he was unfit for service; but he was sent to one of our camps in Georgia; he was brutally mistreated and left to die.

"One of the leading doctors in the State Sanitarium of Georgia told me. . . . that in

one night 65 of these young men died of pneumonia because they were not sufficiently covered with blankets, and did not have sufficient blankets."

The evidence went on to show of a certain Captain Harding of Ohio, who gave every soldier who was brought before him, twenty years confinement at hard labor whether, to use the witnesses' expression, "he stole some grapes or deserted"; of soldiers who sickening of the slaughter refused to carry guns and were bayoneted by the officers for it; of Negroes being hung on charges of suspicion that they raped children—charges which were never proven in court, etc., etc.

The Officer and the Private.

The officers of the American army are very carefully drawn from the bourgeoisie thru such institutions as West Point, etc. They are in a separate stratum of society, have their own special clubs and do not eat at the same tables as ordinary soldiers do. Evidence given at one time in the senate showed that officers committed unspeakable crimes and were never arraigned for it. One officer was virtually accused by the Secretary of State of having squandered \$600,000, and yet was never brought to trial; while privates were hung because they incurred the dislike of these very officers. In the Congressional Record of November 5, 1921, there are dozens of letters from ex-service men and their organizations which tell a terrible story of the brutalities committed in the army.

These facts were read into the record on the Senate floor. The Senate breathed hard—not because of the horror that was exposed but because the facts could not be suppressed. But they worked harder and the facts finally were suppressed—no investigation was ever held, and none of the guilty were ever brought to trial. Can even the blackest acts of the czar compare with these brutalities? And all this in democratic and "free" America.

But the exposures of 1921 were a warning to our government. Since 1921 any suggestion of possible exposure of conditions in the army were met with the severest reprisals.

In February, 1925, two soldiers stationed in Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, unable to bear any longer the conditions imposed upon them after they had signed up "to see the world," organized a section of the Communist movement, the Hawaiian Communist League, with about seventy-five members. This was done quite openly due to the inexperience of the organizers, Paul Crouch and Walter Trumbull, who were later arrested and given 40 years and 26 years respectively. Thus the government sentences two soldiers who were fooled into joining the army to 40 years' imprisonment for crying out against the injustice being done to them and their fellows, and protects officers who commit crimes

of real proportions in the very same army. Why? Because the private comes from the working class and the officer from the bourgeoisie.

class and the officer from the bourgeoisie.

In the April 17 issue of the Young Worker, Walter Trumbull openly accuses the Hawaiian officers of framing soldiers, accuses the U. S. government of arresting native labor organizers without cause except that they are labor organizers. Yet there has thus far been no answer to these charges. How can the government answer charges such as these—except to admit their truth. But they are still issuing the same lies in their advertising matter and consider it wiser to keep silence so that the many hundreds of thousands of young workers whom we cannot yet reach will continue to be fooled and will sign to join military bodies and be tortured for their fool-hardiness.

Recent Exposures of Military Brutality.

Readers will say that the facts quoted above are dated in previous years. Since then perhaps there has been considerable improvement. But this is not so. In the Congressional Record of March 22, new exposures of the maltreatment of soldiers come to light.

Commissioner Fenning's "Wards."

In Washington there is an institution called St. Elizabeth's Hospital. It is an institution that cares for mental defectives. Commissioner Frederick A. Fenning, a very influential member of government political circles, has had himself appointed guardian for many of the soldiers who are supposed to be mentally defective. But what did the evidence show?

First, that many of the soldiers were not defective at all, but were confined for other reasons, which we will go into later.

Second, that many of the soldiers had parents who had applied to have their sons released but had been refused this because Commissioner Fenning didn't want to give up his guardianship.

Third, that the coroner of Washington, Dr. Ramsey Nevitt, is a brother-in-law of Commissioner Fenning so that when patients die in St. Elizabeth's Hospital no reports are made which show the facts of the death in such a way as not to reflect upon Fenning.

Guardians of such soldiers are entitled to ten per cent of the income of the soldiers' estate. Here we come to the core of Fenning's desire to be appointed guardian. He is today guardian for 103 wards in one hospital alone. The exact number of soldiers involved has as yet not been discovered, but when there are in one hospital 103 wards, there are undoubtedly many hundreds more, for at least a few other hospitals are known to contain his wards. Whenever it had developed that a "new arrival" has an estate or is to receive monthly compensation from the government, the information is tipped

off to Frederick A. Fenning and steps are immediately taken to have him appointed guardian and he accordingly receives ten per cent of the principal of the estate and ten per cent of the income. And when one is guardian for at least one hundred and three wards, this adds up to a neat sum.

Congressman Blanton of Texas, in speaking about these conditions on the floor of the house, gives the suggestion that our government harbors a wide circle of grafters, among whom there is very efficient co-operation:

"Yesterday there were 4,417 patients in St. Elizabeth's. Many die there annually. New ones are taken in each month by squads. The turnover is enormous. Until a short time ago the firm of John Gawler's Sons enjoyed an exclusive monopoly on all undertaking business at St. Elizabeth's. . . . Commissioner Fenning is alleged to be Gawler's attorney. I have some very interesting statements from Washington citizens familiar with affairs at St. Elizabeth's concerning White, Fenning and Gawler."

St. Elizabeth's is only one example out of a multitude. In Pittsburgh, at the Aspinwall Hospital, the veterans have petitioned for an investigation noting in their petition that the conditions have become unbearable. There isn't any room here to list and go into every such case.

The Military Graft Ring.

There is a ring of blood-suckers who drain the veins of the soldier from the time he enlists or is drafted until the time that he dies. Not the least prominent of this ring are the profiteers who sell rotten material to the government endangering the lives of the soldiers in this way. In the March issue of the Workers' Monthly evidence has already been given of defective submarines and battle ships which sunk because of rotten mechanism and caused the death of the entire crew. Now we have new evidence.

Eight thousand automobiles sold to the government for war service were found to be defective. Lest the profiteers be exposed, they were placed at the fork of two rivers at Lyons in France just before the annual flood. When the flood came—the cars were reported damaged beyond use. The facts were given the Senate several times, but that august body is yet silent. Miles and miles of vehicles were stretched out along the road and soldiers were put to the job of destroying them. They could not be used because of factory defects and the profiteers had to be protected.

Again we must say that these are but examples out of the multitude. The Graft Ring around the army is very complete, and this necessitates the extremest severity on the part of the U. S. government against any soldier who complains, for the Ring and the government

officials are very closely tied up. When the soldier first joins there is graft in connection with his equipment; then graft in connection with his ammunition; then the Y. M. C. A. preys upon him on the battle field by charging and overcharging for comforts for which they have collected at home under the pretense of distributing them free; then grafted upon as he lies wounded in the hospitals; and finally grafted upon by the undertaker when he is buried.

These are not wild statements; they are supported by evidence carefully culled from the Congressional Record and government reports of investigations.

Who Profits Thru War?

What forces are there at work in whose interest it is that big armies and big navies should be built and wars be engaged in? Statistics conclusively show that the standards of living for the masses of the workers is considerably lower now than before the last war. The workers therefore can expect nothing from war. From the above facts it can be seen that the soldiers have little to gain from war. When we take large industrial corporations, however, we come nearer to the solution. It will be very enlightening to examine the following facts—comparing the profits of certain large corporations as they were affected by the war:

Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Schwab's plant, "earned" for the period 1911, 1912, 1913, the years before the war, an average of \$3,075,108 per year. In 1915 the profits jumped to \$17,762,813. In 1916, it jumped again to \$43,503,968. For 1918 this increased to a profit of \$57,188,769. This is after improvements and extensions of the plant had eaten up some fifty-five million dollars. In other words the Bethlehem increased its profits from approximately three million dollars before the war to about sixty million dollars after the war.

Let us take the next example of a large corporation which supplies material for war purposes, the DuPont Powder Corporation. Quoting directly from their financial report of 1918:

"The stock of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Company, the predecessor of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company, sold during the early months of the war at \$125 per share. The share of debenture stock and two shares of common stock of E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company, which were exchanged for the former security, are worth in today's market (Dec. 31, 1918) \$593, or an increase in value of 374 per cent. In the meantime (1915-18) the total dividends on the common stock of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Company and on the exchanged securities of E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company have amounted to 458 per cent on the par value of the original stock. It is difficult to imagine a more satisfactory financial result."

True it is difficult to imagine a "more satisfactory" result for du Pont, but it is easy to see the trail of misery that this "satisfactory" result has carried along with it for the workers.

Let us again take another large corporation from whom the government buys, The Anaconda Copper Mining Company. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company paid \$65,275,000 in cash dividends during the years 1915 to 1918. It also paid off a funded debt of \$15,000,000 in the same period, and invested, besides, \$54,466,703 in improvements. After this outlay, it had, on January 1, 1919, a net quick surplus of \$39,926,000 as compared with \$4,688,204 in 1914.

The United States Steel, with a total capital invested of \$750,000,000, made a profit in 1916 and 1917 of \$888,931,511.

This is the story of all the large corporations. While the battlefields were fertilized with the rotting blood and flesh of the soldiers, the millionaires at home reaped a harvest of gold.

Is the Soldier a Man?

And in the army the soldier is spied upon, watched, driven, and preyed upon by all sorts of schemes to make him a more efficient murder machine. The propaganda for enlistments screams louder than ever the lies that make a soldier enlist. When Walter Trumbull was released from jail he said that hardly a soldier would remain in Hawaii if it wasn't that they were unable to get off the island.

The intense and almost frantic denial by the government that the soldier has the most ordinary rights will become more intense and more frantic as the class struggle at home becomes sharper.

We Must Win the Army!

For us, our task is to win the soldier to us. He is born out of the working class and joined the army either because of economic pressure or because he was carried away by the lying lure of adventure and travel. In America we have many instances of soldiers refusing to attack striking workers when ordered to do so by their officers. This tradition must be strengthened. We must learn to act as a force which will help the soldier fight for better conditions for himself. The need for such a struggle will increase with still greater bureaucratization of the government as a result of the onward march of imperialism. The soldier is a powerful ally of the worker during a period of crisis. The winning of the army was one of the great achievements of our Russian comrades which made possible a successful revolution. The leaders of the struggle of the workers must not overlook this very important ally to the proletariat. Not only the origin of the soldier but also the conditions of his life make possible our close approach to him. We cannot be sentimental pacifists against war, but must realistically face the fact of a great army which we must win.

In Sweden, Comrade Brettling, the secretary of the Young Communist International section there, said during the course of an anti-militarist address that, "The capitalist class is teaching the soldiers to shoot, it is our task to point out the direction." He was given six months at hard labor for this. But that is the discomfort which revolutionary workers accept as a matter of course.



Lenin and the American Labor Movement

By J. Fendel

(Continued from April issue.)

IV. Peculiarities of the American Labor Movement.

IN this advanced country of capitalism, this country of the sharpest class contradictions, where, under the hypocritical mask of democracy there hides the most cynical and brutal dictatorship that kills opportunists with kindness and revolutionary fighters with lead and the electric chair—in this country, the many millions of workers are scattered, split up nationally, and in the trade union organizations, are weakly organized economically, very backward and unorganized politically, and eaten with the cancer of reformism.

"In the United States the immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe get the lowest paid employment, while the American workers supply the greatest percentage of those who are promoted to more responsible and better paid jobs. Imperialism tends to create privileged ranks among the workers and to separate them from the broad masses of the proletariat."*

This is the source of the "bourgeois proletariat" about which Engels wrote to Kautsky in a letter on September 12, 1882, in connection with the British working class. "You ask me: What do the English workers think of the colonial policy? Just what they think about politics in general. Here there is no labor party; there are only conservative and liberal radicals and the workers, in the calmest manner possible, share with them the benefits of the colonial policy of Great Britain and of her monopoly of the world market."**

These remarks of Engels are even more significant for the American proletariat which does not even have a Labor Party such as the British workers have.

In fact, it is in general true that the British and American labor movements have had and still have common fundamental features. These Lenin enumerates in his preface to the Russian translation of the book "Letters of Becker, Dlugens, Engels, Marx, and Others to Sorge."***

*Lenin: Imperialism, the Last Stage of Capitalism, p. 110.

**Cited by Lenin: Imperialism, p. 111.

***Lenin: Collected Works, Russian edition, vol. IX, p. 330.

"These features consist in the absence of any considerable general national-democratic task for the proletariat; the complete subjection of the proletariat to bourgeois politics; the sectarian isolation of small groups of Socialists from the proletarian masses; not the slightest success for the Socialists at the elections in which the working masses participate, etc."

V. The Question of Tactics in the American Labor Movement.

In a situation such as this the problem of proper tactics and practical policy for the proletarian vanguard, the revolutionary Marxist kernel, acquires great importance. The opinions of Marx and Engels on the questions of the Anglo-American (and German) labor movements, as seen from the above-mentioned correspondence with Sorge and the others, are held up by Lenin as an example, of materialist dialectics, of the "the ability to bring to the fore and to emphasize the various points, the various sides of a question as applied to the concrete peculiarities of various political and economic conditions."

"From the viewpoint of practical politics and tactics we have here an example as to how the authors of the 'Communist Manifesto' defined the tasks of the struggling proletariat in relation to the various stages of the national labor movement in the various countries."*

Lenin regards the words of Marx and Engels as to most appropriate tactics—especially in America—as being extremely instructive and important.

Marx and Engels criticize the Socialism of England and America with particular sharpness because of its isolation from the labor movement and its transformation of Marxism "into a dogma, into a petrified orthodoxy," a symbol of belief, whereas it really is a "guide to action." The English and American Socialists "cannot adapt themselves to the theoretically helpless but live, powerful labor movement surrounding them."

Lenin cites certain points from the correspondence which he calls "very interesting."

Engels writes in his letter of January 27, 1887: "Where would we be now, if in the period of 1864-1873, we had always insisted on going hand in hand with those only who openly recog-

*Preface to the Correspondence, as above, p. 331.

nized our program?" With regard to the request of Mrs. Wishnewetsky (the American translator of Engels) to attack Henry George for whom the American workers had voted at the elections, Engels write that the time was not yet ripe for that (Lenin's emphasis) as it would be better to allow the labor party to begin to form on a program that was not absolutely pure. "One or two million votes for a bona fide Labor Party at the present moment is of infinitely greater importance than hundreds of thousands of votes for a program that is irreproachably perfect." And further on ". . . to hinder the national consolidation of the Labor Party on no matter what basis or program I would consider a great mistake."*

Lenin points out that Engels was not deceived as to the true value of Henry George's ideas. He points out that Engels well knew that Henry George was the ideologist of the radical bourgeoisie and adds: "And Engels was not afraid of going to the polls with this real Socialist reactionary if only there were people who would foretell to the masses the consequences of their own errors."**

Lenin alludes to two significant policies of Marx and Engels: "They called most firmly upon the English and American Socialists to merge with the labor movement and to drive out the narrow and shrivelled sectarian spirit from their organization. With great firmness, on the other hand, they taught the German Social-democrats: Do not fall into Philistinism, into 'parliamentary idiotism,' into 'petty bourgeois intellectual opportunism.' On what do these varying instructions depend? They depend upon the varying concrete conditions of the labor movement.

"In such a country (Germany) where the bourgeois-democratic revolution remains unfinished, where 'military despotism cloaked in parliamentary forms' still reigns, where the proletariat has long ago been drawn into politics—in such a country, Marx and Engels feared above all parliamentary corruption and the philistine's softening down of the tasks and dimensions of the labor movement." That is how the matter stood in Germany. But how different things were in England and America. (In America things are still almost the same. Here the proletariat displays hardly any political autonomy whatever.) In countries like these the almost complete absence of any bourgeois-democratic tasks has the left the historic stage almost entirely to the triumphant, self-contented bourgeoisie who have no equal thruout the world in deceiving, corrupting, and perverting the workers.

"In such countries where there is no Social-democratic Party, where there are no Social-

democratic members of parliament, where there is no systematic, consistent Social-democratic policy at election time or in the press, etc. . . . in such countries Marx and Engels taught the Socialists to break with their narrow sectarianism at all costs and to fall in with the labor movement in order to agitate it politically."*

VI. The Third Party—Its Significance and Perspectives.

The problems of forming an independent labor party in America are closely bound up with the question of the so-called "two party system," and the "formation of a Third Party." In 1912 Lenin pointed out with regard to the presidential elections in America** that they were of world significance not so much on account of the great increase in Socialist votes (Debs received more than 1,000,000 votes) but primarily because the "tremendous crisis of the bourgeois parties and their disintegration was revealed in them and in the entry of bourgeois reformism as a means of struggle against socialism."

Up to that time the "two party system" had had almost undisputed sway and the internal struggles between the two parties were of practically no serious importance to the masses of the people.

"The people were deceived and turned away from their vital interests thru fruitless and empty duels between the two bourgeois parties."

"This two party system" is, in Lenin's opinion, "one of the most powerful means of hindering the establishment of an independent party of labor; at the end of the elections of 1912 this system went bankrupt. A new third bourgeois party made its appearance" (the national progressive party of Roosevelt received 4,000,000 votes in 1912).

The appearance of a new third party whose program touched upon questions of labor protection and trusts was very symptomatic.

"The new party is engendered by the present day epoch—an epoch that questions the very existence of capitalism." What brought it to life? The strength of the labor movement, the growth of socialism.

The question appeared as "How to save capitalism by means of . . . bourgeois reforms." (Lenin's emphasis.)

What did this new party stand for?

Lenin portrays it in a very exemplary manner. In its essentials it strongly resembles the La-Follette program."

"We are saving capitalism by reforms. We stand for the most advanced factory legislation.

*Same work.

**"Result and Significance of the Presidential Elections in America." Collected Works (Russian Edition). Vol. XII, Part 1, page 322.

We will introduce state control over all trusts (in America this means over the entire industry). We will introduce state control over the trusts in order that there should be no poverty, in order that every one should receive a decent wage. We will establish social and industrial justice; we bow and pay homage to all reforms; there is one reform and one only that we do not want and that is the expropriation of the capitalists."

Lenin denounces this bourgeois reformism. "It is clear that while these modern slave owners exist all reforms are an empty deception. But Roosevelt has been quite consciously put forward by the millionaire swindlers in order to preach this deception. State control which he promises will mean, as long as the capitalists retain their capital, nothing more than an instrument for the struggle against and for the suppression of strikes."

What kind of future has the third bourgeois party?

At best it can have only temporary success. "The American proletariat has already awakened and is standing ready. It meets Roosevelt's successes with cheerful irony. You, Roosevelt, have diverted 4,000,000 people by your promises of reforms. Fine! Tomorrow these four million will see that your promises were only a deception—these millions are following you today only because they feel they can no longer live in the old way."

And thus the American proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard are faced with the problem of creating an independent party of labor. The most appropriate line of tactics under these American conditions is, as pointed out by Marx and Engels in their correspondence with Sorge, the tactic of the united front with the working masses.

VII. Perspectives and Path of the American Labor Movement.

What are the perspectives of the labor movement in America and what tactics is it to pursue?

Lenin very soberly estimates the conditions of the American labor movement. In his famous "Letter to American Workingmen," August 20, 1918, he says: "We know that help from you, comrades, American workers, will be a long time in coming for the development of the revolution in various countries proceeds in varying forms and at a varying tempo—how could it be otherwise?"

But he knows that help will come. "There are already detachments of the International Socialist revolution. They are maturing, growing and becoming strengthened in proportion to the continuation of the Imperialist savagery. The workers are breaking with the social traitors, the Gompers, Renners, etc. They are proceeding

slowly, but steadily towards Communist tactics, towards the proletarian revolution, which alone is capable of saving culture and humanity from perishing."*

But perhaps in "America it will be possible to get on without a revolution? Kautsky asserts that in America and England Marx considered a peaceful revolution possible, i. e., thru democratic means."

In "The Proletarian Revolution and the Kautsky, the Renegade," Lenin denounces this renegade subterfuge of Kautsky's.

"The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is violence in respect of the bourgeoisie. The need for such violence is caused especially, as Marx and Engels explain, repeatedly and in detail (particularly in 'Civil War in France' and the Preface to it) thru the fact that there exists an army and a bureaucracy. But just these institutions did not exist in England or America in the 70's of last century, when Marx was making his observations, (tho now they do exist)."

And further: "Kautsky, the 'historian' adulterates history so shamelessly that he 'forgets' the fundamental fact, that capitalism of the pre-monopolistic era, of which the seventies of the last century were the highest point, was, in virtue of its fundamental economic traits (which were most typical in England and America), distinguished by a comparatively great attachment to peace and freedom. As against this, Imperialism, that is capitalism of the monopolistic era, that has finally reached maturity in the twentieth century, is, in virtue of its fundamental economic traits, distinguished by the least attachment to peace and freedom, and by the greatest development of militarism everywhere."

And so America also cannot evade the revolution. But does this mean that one can calculate it for a definite time? This is just what Kautsky accuses the Communists of doing. Lenin said in respect to this: "To charge one's opponent with something evidently silly and afterwards to deny this is the method of not very brainy people. . . . If the Bolsheviks based their tactics on expecting revolution in other countries in a definite time, this would be undoubted foolishness. But the Bolshevik Party has not been guilty of such foolishness. In my 'Letter to the American Workingmen,' I openly guard against such foolishness; I say that we do calculate on an American revolution, but not at any definite date."**

Lenin attached tremendous significance to the revolutionization of the American labor movement. In the same "Letter to the American Workingmen," he says, "The American revolutionary workers are called upon to play a particularly important role, especially now as they are the irreconcilable enemies of American im-

*Same work.

**Same work.

*Same work.

**Same work.

perialism, the newest and strongest and the last to participate in the world slaughter for a share of the capitalist loot.

"America has occupied the first place amongst free and cultured countries as far as the height of development of the productive forces and the application of machinery and all the latest achievements of technique are concerned. At the same time, America has become one of the foremost countries for the profoundness of the gulf that exists between a handful of brazen millionaires indulging in debauchery and luxury on the one hand, and millions of toilers eternally living on the verge of pauperism on the other. The American people, that has given the world the example of the revolutionary war against feudal slavery, finds itself in a state of the most modern capitalist wage slavery in the hands of a few millionaires. It plays the role of hired hangmen, who, to the advantage of the rich rascals, crushed the Filipinos in 1898 under the pretext of 'liberating them,' and, in 1918, is attempting to crush the Russian Socialist Republic, under the pretext of 'defending it from the Germans.'"

The sober estimation of the condition of the American labor movement at the present day did not shake Lenin's belief in the revolutionary future of the American proletariat.

"The American people have revolutionary

*Same work.

traditions which have been adopted by the best representatives of the American proletariat who have frequently expressed their complete sympathy with us Bolsheviks. These traditions are the war for liberation against the British in the 18th century and the civil war of the 19th century."

Just as these revolutionary movements were "lawful," progressive and necessary (as is also recognized by representatives of the bourgeois), so is the war against the bourgeoisie for the overthrow of wage slavery also lawful, necessary and holy to an immeasurably greater degree. (Meanwhile, "the representatives and defenders of the bourgeoisie, as well as the Socialist reformists, frightened by the bourgeoisie, cannot and will not understand the necessity and lawfulness of civil war").

The practical revolutionary theoretician, Lenin, soberly examined the perspectives of the American labor movement, and the tremendous difficulties facing it. He firmly believed because he firmly knew (armed with the revolutionary-Marxist method) that in time the American proletariat would also enter the world army of the socialist revolution as one of its strongest detachments. "The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will stand with us in the civil war against the bourgeoisie. In this conviction I am supported by the entire history of the international as well as of the American labor movement."

The Democratic Party

By H. M. Wicks

(Continued from March issue.)

Inaugural of Lincoln and Civil War.

Seward was still the undisputed leader of the republican party and the industrialists of the north implicitly trusted to his legendary genius to consolidate the nation. Lincoln was inexperienced and relied for the most part upon Seward.

The latter, flattered by the northern publicists extolling his ability to bring order out of the chaos that had been precipitated by the defeated democratic party, tried to affect a compromise, but failed.

The country anxiously awaited the inaugural address of Lincoln. On the appointed day it was delivered and began with the miserable assertion that slavery in the south was sound, that the union would last forever, that secession was impossible (though it was then an accomplished fact) and that fugitive slaves ought to be restored to their masters. Thus, this so-called emancipator began his presidential career with a speech damning to slavery the thousands of Negroes who had painfully and at the risk of their lives escaped to the North.

Seward, who had been militant before assuming office, became a snivelling compromiser whose caution bordered on rank cowardice. His antics were on a par with those of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, leaders of the first generation of northern industrialist statesmen. Every retreat, every act of hesitancy emboldened the democrat government of Jefferson Davis. The defiance of the South and the hesitancy of Seward and Lincoln caused widespread discontent in the North. Finally, in the midst of this situation, Lincoln and Seward fell to quarreling between themselves.

A whole series of war-like moves on the part of the South finally culminated in a declaration of war. During the four years' struggle on the field of battle, Jefferson Davis sent a flock of emissaries to Europe in order to seek support from England, France and Spain. Palmerston, premier of England, was in sympathy with the South, because of the close economic alliance maintained for so long between the cotton plantation owners and the industrialists of England. Not only was the South a source of raw material for Britain, but Palmerston desired victory for the South so that British industrialists could use that territory as a market for their products. Only the intervention of the British working class under the influence of Karl Marx, then in exile in England, prevented England entering the war on the side of the South. In France Napoleon III (Louis the Little) conducted intrigues against the North, and was willing to

aid Britain on the side of the South in return for Britain's aid against Germany. But neither country dared recognize the seceding states. Not merely was the democratic party responsible for secession and a break-up of the nation into two warring sections in order to extend and perpetuate slave power, but it stood ready, willing and anxious to enter into traitorous relations with European countries in order to maintain its power. Nothing was sacred to it except the divine right of slave masters to hold slaves.

The Defeat of the Slave Power.

During the second year of the civil war industry revived and in spite of the struggle many new railroad projects were launched by the capitalists of the North. In fact the industrialists took advantage of the struggle to engage in the most astounding series of governmental looting that history had up to that time recorded. Everything that could be taken was stolen by the prototypes of the present day capitalists. The war furnished such marvellous opportunities for stealing the land and natural resources of the nation that the profiteers showed no inclination for it to close.

The political victory of 1860 was consolidated by the military victory of 1865. The Civil War broke the hold of the slave power upon the government and shattered the political fetters that had paralyzed industrial development and, after the usual depression attendant upon the demobilization of the armies and reconstruction, there ensued a period of industrial expansion such as had never been equalled anywhere. In the 20 years from 1860 to 1880 the population accompanying the industrial expansion increased from 31,000,000 to 50,000,000, and almost the entire country became settled.

The Eclipse of the Democratic Party.

During these years the democratic party was in almost total eclipse. It was saved from extinction in the South only by organized terror against the freed slaves. Hordes of masked nocturnal marauders, the original Ku Klux Klan, rode horseback through the former slave territory scourging every vestige of revolt against the political machine that had been shattered in the impact of Civil War.

In every campaign the democratic party endeavored to win the support of the middle class elements of the North, but the role of that party as the defender of slavery, as the disrupter of the union, was so fresh in the memories of the voters that they mistrusted its sudden concern about the woes of the farmers and the middle



class and many years passed before it succeeded in becoming the party of the small bourgeoisie.

Though the republican party, after the war, spewed forth the most incompetent, inebriate aggregation of venal politicians that ever disgraced a nation, the democratic party remained impotent for many years. Andrew Johnson, who became president when Lincoln was assassinated after the close of the war had been one of the anti-slavery democrats of the South. He was chosen by Lincoln in the second campaign in order to strengthen the ticket. Johnson's sentiments swayed him toward the democratic party even after the war. In a perpetual state of drunkenness his speeches were ludicrous exhibitions of maudlin sentimentalism in which he abused his opponents and glorified himself.

Grant, who succeeded Johnson, was a typical military man, arrogant, gullible and eager for emoluments. He was an easy prey to Jay Gould and other capitalists and sanctioned a wild orgy of plundering that even eclipsed the Civil War period. In spite of his incompetence, his war record enabled him to defeat Horace Greeley, editor and publisher of the New York Tribune, who had been nominated by a convention of "liberal republicans" and whose candidacy was endorsed by the democrats who hoped thereby to become the political expression of the middle class as well as the southern plantation owners.

The infamous record of Grant and the great industrial depression of 1873 helped the democratic party rehabilitate itself in the eyes of the nation. That crisis marked the beginning of the development of trusts. Thousands of small merchants and industrialists were forced out of business, railroad building that had employed a veritable army of construction workers was curtailed, industrialists found their orders countermanded because the markets were glutted by the vast surplus accumulated in the period of industrial expansion after the civil war.

The industrial expansion after the war was accompanied by an equally marked agricultural expansion. Unsettled conditions in Europe aided American agriculture. Prussia and Austria were at war in 1866, and in 1870-71 occurred the Franco-Prussian war. Chaos in Europe curtailed production there and large quantities of grain were exported at high prices. The coming of peace in Europe threw vast energy into production there, which affected the American market. Agriculture also revived in Europe, while the extension of railroads to the wheat-growing plains of Russia opened to the world that vast area of production. This development in Europe forced down the price of American wheat from \$2.85 per bushel in 1867 to \$1.38 in 1872 and to an average of one dollar in 1876.

Democratic Party Experiences Revival.

This industrial and agricultural depression furnished fertile soil for the revival of the oppo-

sition party and the democrats took full advantage of it. In the elections of 1876 they chose as their candidate Samuel J. Tilden, who was a popular figure because of his exposure of that cesspool of corruption known as Tammany Hall in New York. He sent its leader, "Boss" Tweed, to the penitentiary and, although New York democracy fought him, he had discredited it too much for it to be effective. The republican party chose Rutherford B. Hayes, governor of Ohio. Neither of the candidates were victorious at the polls and the election was thrown into the house where Hayes succeeded, through corruption, in securing the presidency.

Desperately striving to appeal to the mass discontent in the nation, the democratic party did not succeed in rallying to its standard the full power of these elements. Its infamous record as the party of the slave holders prevented its winning unanimous support from the impoverished voters of the north.

The more militant of the northern elements turned toward Greenbackism, the first of the currency reform panaceas, and attracted support that, if thrown behind the democratic party, would have resulted in defeat of the republican party.

Revival and Election of 1880.

Industry by 1880 had revived and the building of railroads again proceeded, while the great combinations of capital were employing workers to the full capacity of their industries. Poor crops in Europe caused an agricultural revival. The republicans, with James A. Garfield, as the candidate, had an easy victory.

Garfield died at the hand of an assassin, who had been a disappointed office seeker and Chester A. Arthur, the vice-president, succeeded him.

A recurrence in 1883 of the industrial and agricultural crisis in a less devastating form, gave the democratic party renewed hope and they were successful in the elections of 1884.

The republicans chose James G. Blaine as their candidate. Blaine had been involved in the corrupt practices of the Grant administration and was thoroughly discredited during the campaign. Grover Cleveland was the successful democratic candidate.

It was their first victory since the election of Buchanan in 1856, but it was an empty one, as one group of democrats opposed to Cleveland's policies aligned their votes on the side of the republicans, to prevent consideration of the tariff bill which was designed to remove prohibitive import rates on industrial products and thus aid the middle class consumer.

Industrial Upheavals.

Every period of economic crisis was followed by a greater combination of capital, leading to monopolies. The power of these great combines was used to crush small competitors and to increase profits by intensified exploitation of la-

bor. A wave of strikes in the latter seventies, accompanied by outbursts of violence, had its reflex in the platforms of the two major political parties, both of which professed the deepest concern for the wage laborers. A revival of widespread industrial disturbances characterized the latter eighties, culminating in the eight-hour movement. The climax of a whole series of strikes came with the explosion of the Haymarket bomb in Chicago, May 4, 1886, and the subsequent judicial murder of leaders of that movement.

The republican party utilized these disturbances for political capital and claimed that the disturbed industrial conditions resulting in great strike waves were caused by democratic meddling with the tariff.

Amidst wholesale corruption, with charges of vote buying on both sides, the republicans with Benjamin Harrison as their candidate, carried the election of 1888.

Upheavals in the republican party over the spoils of office enabled Cleveland and the democratic party, appealing to the middle class with the tariff and vague currency reforms as their main issues to return to power in the elections of 1892.

The Panic of 1893 and Free Silver.

Following the consolidation of the industries into great trusts, the banks soon began to combine. Rockefeller and his trust, Standard Oil, that he had organized through the most brazen policy of crushing competitors, took the lead in this movement by gaining control of the National City Bank about 1890 and tremendously increasing its capital stock. This bank extended its tentacles until it controlled many of the largest banks throughout the country. Side by side with this bank combine, organized from the surplus realized from the oil trust, grew up the powerful banking combine headed by J. P. Morgan & Co. The middle class and the small industrial capitalists keenly felt the pressure of these two banking systems.

A wave of anti-trust legislation swept the nation, with most states passing laws against these combinations in industry. The state of New Jersey, however, was absolutely dominated by the interests, and passed a special law granting free rein to the trusts. As all other states had to recognize this Jersey law the trusts became legalized and proceeded more relentlessly than ever to crush the small business class.

During this period a political movement of the farmers and middle class sprang up that railed against the "money trust," and had as its main plank the old illusion of currency reform.

A sharp crisis in industry and agriculture and the resultant failure of more than 400 banks, mostly in the agricultural region of the middle west, initiated the devastating panic of 1893

and gave tremendous impetus to the populist movement.

A large section of the democratic party from the middle section of the country adopted the slogans of the populists, while remaining within the old party. Meantime Cleveland, as president, influenced by the bankers of New York, deeply resented this insurgency, and in combatting it openly aligned the government behind the trusts. His attitude toward labor was viciously despotic as was revealed by his crushing of the American Railroad Union strike with the use of federal troops in Pullman over the protest of John P. Altgeld, governor of Illinois and one of the democratic insurgents.

Strikes at Buffalo, Coeur d'Alene and in Tennessee preceded the Pullman strike and all of them had been lost through the intervention of the armed forces of the state. These defeats on the economic field caused the workers to turn toward parliamentary action to endeavor to achieve in that manner what they could not achieve in the direct struggle. On the parliamentary field labor supported the populists and the left wing of the democratic party.

The Rise of Bryanism.

Cleveland and his supporters were thoroughly discredited among the middle class of the nation. When 1896 and another presidential campaign approached, the populist movement had crystallized into a party that had gained remarkable local victories and was a power to be reckoned with. With the exception of the eastern wing of the party which Cleveland had dominated, the democratic party strove to qualify as the spokesmen for the middle class. The problem facing the democratic leaders was how to devise a means of liquidating the populist party and swinging that sentiment behind their party.

History decreed that William Jennings Bryan should be the medium through which this coveted end was accomplished. He had been one of the lesser lights supporting populism within the democratic party.

In 1890, when only 30 years of age, Bryan was elected to the House of Congress from the first district of Nebraska, until then a Republican stronghold. He first definitely formulated the political slogan that afterwards made him famous in a speech delivered in the House on August 16, 1893, when he advocated "free and unlimited coinage of silver, irrespective of international agreement, at the ratio of 16 to 1."

Currency reform had long been a favorite illusion of opposition movements in this country. It was the war cry of the Greenbackers who held that there was insufficient money in the country and that the government should issue greenback currency to struggling industrialists and small traders. The populists went a step beyond Greenbackism and advocated the free coinage of silver synonymous with the coin-

age of gold—or bi-metallism. Bryan advocated the coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 silver dollars to one gold dollar, the government to arbitrarily fix the limits of this production of currency. As every Marxian knows, it is impossible arbitrarily to set a price upon silver and gold for the simple reason that conditions of production constantly change in relation to both these metals, sometimes raising or lowering the value of one while the value of the other remains stationary. This economic absurdity, holding out the promise of "easy money" to the small capitalists captured the mind of millions of voters in this country through two Presidential campaigns.

At a critical moment, well-timed by his political advisors, during the Democratic convention of 1896 in Chicago, at the close of a long debate on bi-metallism, Bryan, in spite of a bad political record, having been defeated for re-election to Congress and for the United States Senate from his state, aroused the exhausted convention to wildest enthusiasm with his speech in defense of money reform. He concluded with the words: "You must not place a crown of thorns upon the brow of labor; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." His first nomination for the Presidency followed this speech. But 36 years of age, one year over the necessary age for that office, he waged a campaign that was unequalled in this history of American politics.

Finally Became Party of Middle Class.

Having stolen the thunder of the Populists, Bryan was able to deliver this movement to the Democratic Party. The long-hoped for achievement was a fact. The democratic party became the one political expression of the middle class of the United States, with Bryan as its undisputed leader.

The working class of the country, being almost wholly unconscious of its class interests, threw its support to this petty bourgeois movement. The majority of the organized workers were deluded into believing that its hope for better conditions could be realized by supporting the rapidly vanishing small capitalists against the trusts. In the ranks of the working class there was at that time but a very small group of students of history and economics who pointed to the fact that "trust busting" was an attempt to confine the highly developed capitalism of this country to the shell from which it emerged.

Bryan, in the 1896 campaign, polled a popular vote of 6,502,925 to 7,104,779 for his Republican opponent, William McKinley.

Under the McKinley administration the government was, as had been the case under all such administrations, the tool of the big industrial capitalists. In 1898 the government provoked the war against Spain in the interest of

the Havemeyer Sugar Trust and the American Tobacco Company. Bryan opposed this war, although he entered the volunteer army, attaining the rank of colonel. At the close of the war he opposed the retention of the Philippine Islands claiming the maintenance of a standing army in the Islands meant increased taxation for the common people of America.

A Pacifist Campaign.

In the campaign of 1900 Bryan was again the standard-bearer of the Democratic Party, opposing President McKinley, the flunkey of the trusts. The outstanding plank was still "free silver," but he waged his campaign on the slogan of "anti-imperialism." This was obviously a clear-cut campaign in the interests of the middle class. The theme of Bryan's speech against the Republican policy was that a continuation of McKinley in power would increase still further the burden of taxation, already too heavy for the small capitalists and farm owners. In spite of another bewildering campaign he was again defeated and by a somewhat larger majority than before.

The removal from the scene of President McKinley by an assassin's bullet placed the demagogic Theodore (Teddy) Roosevelt in the White House at Washington. Roosevelt's forte from the first was trust busting; a direct bid for the support of the petty bourgeoisie while functioning as political head of the Republican Party of industrial capitalism. Unable to prevent the renomination of the spectacular "Teddy," Wall Street endeavored to get control of the middle class Democratic Party and use it for its own purposes. At the 1904 convention Bryan resisted with all his power the efforts of Wall Street to name the standard bearer of the party that he had come to regard as his own. His efforts were unavailing and Judge Alton B. Parker, a Wall Street satellite, was elected to run against Roosevelt and was overwhelmingly defeated.

After this campaign Bryan made a trip through Europe and upon his return began a strenuous campaign for world disarmament. He electrified a large audience at Madison Square Garden and sent shivers down the spines of the trust magnates by advocating government ownership of railroads declaring that with the railroads in the hands of the "people" the farmers could market their produce without paying tribute to the railway magnates and the small business man could escape the excessive freight rates imposed by the private owners of the railways.

At the Democratic convention of 1908 Bryan routed the agents of the House of Morgan who came from the Eastern part of the nation and again became the Presidential nominee; this time against the trust-owned William Howard Taft. For the third time in his career he waged a strictly petty bourgeoisie campaign and again met defeat.

This time the defeat was more decisive than ever before and indicated the decline of the political power of the middle class that had been the backbone of the party.

Meanwhile finance capital, under the leadership of the House of Morgan, was growing more powerful and was far from satisfied with the policy of the Taft government, which was directed toward the defense of the interests of Standard Oil, the National City company and the powerful industrial group.

Becomes Political Expression of Morgan.

After the defeat of Bryan, the petty bourgeois leader of the democratic party, the House of Morgan intensified its drive for control of that party. The spoils politicians around Tammany willingly delivered that part of the organization under their control to Morgan. They welcomed the unlimited financial support of the House of Morgan and made such effective use of it that in the 1910 congressional elections, for the first time since the Grover Cleveland election of 1892, the democratic party secured a majority in the house of congress and increased its representation in the senate.

Thus the Party of the middle class capitulated to Finance Capital. Through a period embracing a quarter of a century the influence of that Party had declined in inverse ratio to the growth of the great combinations of capital. The class from which it derived its support, the petty bourgeoisie, was being sapped of its vitality, it did not have sufficient power and cohesion to maintain an independent political existence. The composition of the middle class that survived was rapidly changing. Instead of independent merchants and small manufacturers, they became more and more dependent upon the large industrialist and financial groups.

The Nomination of Wilson.

When the 1912 convention opened at Baltimore the Democratic Party was the private property of the House of Morgan. Champ Clark, congressman from Missouri, was Morgan's candidate. Tammany Hall and the eastern states delegations were determined to put through the nomination of Clark. But the petty bourgeoisie elements around Bryan were still powerful enough to frustrate this scheme. In a terrific speech against control of the Party by "the interests" Bryan personally assailed Charles F. Murphy, "boss" of Tammany Hall, and August Belmont and Thomas F. Ryan, representatives of the House of Morgan, who were delegates to the convention.

Bryan, throughout the long convention, opposed Clark even after the Missourian had received more than one-half the votes (two-thirds being required to nominate) and supported Woodrow Wilson, then governor of New Jersey.

Bryan was victorious and his nominee, Wilson, headed the ticket.

That same year produced a split in the Republican Party. Standard Oil insisted upon control of that Party and the renomination of Taft, but the Harvester, Packing House and Steel trusts concentrated upon Roosevelt. The tempestuous Teddy headed the Bull Moose ticket, endeavoring to capture the imagination of the middle class so they would support his branch of industrial capital by having his supporters and delegates to his "progressive party" convention parade the Chicago Coliseum singing "Onward Christian Soldiers" between gulps of strong liquor.

Pacifism in the Service of Imperialism.

In this three-cornered fight Wilson emerged victorious and when he announced the personnel of his cabinet William Jennings Bryan was secretary of state as a reward for having nominated the president.

From the very first day he occupied that office history played peculiar pranks with this champion of the middle class. His first act as secretary of state in the Wilson cabinet was in the interest of the House of Morgan although the "peerless leader" fondly imagined he was striking a blow at Imperialism. The Wilson administration, as its first international maneuver, announced the withdrawal of the United States government from the "Six Power Group" which had been trying to impose a loan upon China under the most shameful terms—conditions that amounted to partitioning China between England, France, Germany, Japan, Russia and the United States.

All the petty bourgeois liberals, the pacifists and the uplifters, hailed this act as indicative of the benevolent and humanitarian character of the Wilson government. Instead of the mailed fist of the conquerer against weaker nations, they extended the helping hand. Bryan, who had for years led the diminishing hosts of the middle class in its futile assaults upon the citadels of privilege thought he had at last realized his dream of disarmament and world peace. To his mind this vile conspiracy, the six power loan, was stifled by the valiant hand of the liberal Wilson government. And he was premier of that government!

Even the socialists indulged in the most extravagant eulogiums, hailing Wilson, and the democratic government as saviors of the world.

Meanwhile Morgan and his associates sat back and smiled at the antics of these liberals, knowing that the first act of the Wilson government had made it possible for Morgan to enter China and challenge the rest of the imperialist world, instead of sharing among a consortium of powers the resources and exploitation of labor in that vast country.

Morgan's Party Drives Toward War.

Wilson, from the time he entered the white house at Washington on March 4, 1913, until he tottered down the steps and into private life in 1921, was the consistent representative of Morgan.

When the world war broke out he admonished the nation to remain neutral in thought as well as in deed. He was consistent in that attitude because Morgan had not yet decided which side of the European conflict would best forward his interests. Industrial concerns under the domination of Wall Street sold ammunition and guns and other materials of war alike to the Central European powers and the Triple Entente.

When the British blockaded German and Central European ports, Wilson protested mildly, but Morgan was assured that Britain and France and Russia would purchase all that American industry could produce. In 1916 when Britain could no longer pay cash for its war materials purchased in the United States, Morgan floated a quarter billion dollar loan as a beginning. This was followed by billions of dollars being poured into the war on the side of the Entente.

Wilson, during his entire administration, had the benefit of the advice of one of the most astute politicians in the nation, Col. Edward M. House of the House of Morgan. Every act of the president was the result of the advice of House.

In the 1916 campaign when Wilson ran for reelection against Charles Evans Hughes of the republican party, his chief slogan was "Peace with Honor, He Kept Us Out of War." The war he is alleged to have prevented was the struggle in the interest of Standard Oil on the Mexican border. But he refrained from mentioning that during the previous year United States marines had invaded Haiti and forcibly dispersed a duly elected legislature in the interest of American imperialism.

The War and Its Aftermath.

Before Wilson was inaugurated for the second term it was evident that this country would soon be involved in the struggle. When in the spring of 1917 occurred the March revolution in Russia, removing from the forces of the entente twelve million men and when the guns of Germany were thundering at the gates of Paris the investments of Morgan were in danger, so Wilson, as the servant of Morgan, formulated the slogan "Make the World Safe for Democracy," to conceal his real motive, which was to defend the investments of Morgan's billions, and hurled this country into the imperialist war.

During the strife of war the middle class pacifists were in almost total eclipse and Bryan, who had assisted Morgan's man Wilson to power, played no role within that party.

When Wilson, at the close of the war, journeyed to Versailles and helped frame the treaty and draft the covenant of the league of nations, he never doubted his ability to force the nation to accept its role in that ambitious dream of world imperialism.

But the plan was blocked in the senate by the determined opposition of republican industrialists under the leadership of Medill McCormick, William E. Borah and others. This group with Warren G. Harding as their candidate, made opposition to the league of nations the burden of their campaign and defeated, in a spectacular landslide, the democratic candidate, James E. Cox of Ohio.

In the campaign of 1924 the middle class elements in the democratic party, under the leadership of Bryan, endeavored to regain control of the party machinery. But, although he managed to defeat the ignorant Tammanyite politician, Governor Al. Smith of New York, as presidential nominee, he could not defeat Morgan. The issues on which Smith had been defeated (anti-catholicism, prohibition, etc.) could not be used against all of Morgan's men, so the candidate became John W. Davis, attorney for the House of Morgan.

But again in this campaign the democratic party met defeat at the hands of the republican party with Coolidge at its head. But Coolidge is also the agent of the House of Morgan, because profound economic changes have removed the basis for a powerful industrialist opposition to the imperialist schemes of banking capital.

During the past five years the steady encroachment of finance capital upon industrial capital; the amalgamating of corporations into ever larger combines under the aegis of banking capital brought the republican party, to a pronounced degree, under the domination of the House of Morgan, so that it now defends the same interests as the democratic party.

One Party; the Servant of Three Classes.

The democratic party is unique in the history of political parties. As a general proposition when the class upon which a party is based is destroyed or sinks into impotency to vegetate as an adjunct of other and more powerful social forces the party that served it in its heyday dies. But the democratic party has shown sufficient vitality to exist as the servant of three distinct classes—the chattel slave owners of the South from the time of Andrew Jackson to the Civil War, the party of the middle class from 1896 to 1908-10, and the party of the House of Morgan (imperialism) from thence onward.

History played further pranks with it when, after using it to initiate the period of the domination of finance capital over the nation, the temporary triumph of the anti-leaguers in the republican party, placed it again in a secondary position.

History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

(Continued from March Issue.)

The Liquidators and the Bourgeoisie.

THRUOUT Russia the liquidationist movement found strong support among the bourgeoisie. The paper "Retch" gladly threw open its columns to the Mensheviks; their unions received support, while the members of ours were constantly suffering arrest. The Mensheviks worked legally within the clubs, and began to penetrate the trade union press. Liberals and monarchists openly took their stand on the side of the liquidators, hoping by their aid to destroy the party and demoralize the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

By 1908 the character of this movement had become completely manifest, and the term "liquidator" had acquired definite significance. A number of old worker Mensheviks went over to the extreme group "Our Czar," which was headed by Potressov, and became liquidators. At every step we encounter open renegacy. Mud is flung at the party's past, the illegal period declared to be a piece of stupidity, immaturity, lack of consciousness. They begin to preach conformity with the Stolypin's regime. Thus, side by side with the Stolypin Liberal party stood the "Stolypin Workers' Party." As their principal slogan the liquidators advanced the freedom of association, representing the matter as tho the Bolsheviks were opposed to such freedom. This is, of course, nonsense. The Bolsheviks were for freedom of association, but they maintained that under the czarist monarchy the working class would not obtain any kind of freedom whatsoever. In fine, the breach between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks was complete; the former placed revolution at the head of their program, while the latter preferred reforms within the monarchistic system. The Mensheviks had definitely become reformists, while the Bolsheviks remained revolutionists. We said to them and to the workers: whoever wants freedom of association must get rid of the czar who will never grant it; and the Mensheviks replied: whoever wants freedom of association must get rid of the illegal party, adapting themselves to the existing regime and becoming "European" social democrats.

The Party Mensheviks.

In addition to these two basic tendencies among the Mensheviks, the one inspired by Martov who remained within the party and there undermined it, and the other led by Potressov who openly called himself a liquidator, there existed still a third headed by Plekhanov. He had once more returned to the old days, once

again taking a stand on the side of our revolutionary tactics and founding a separate group which was known as the "Party Mensheviks." He participated in the "Social Democrat" which was edited by Lenin and myself and Martov and Dan of the Mensheviks. As a Party Menshevik, Plekhanov came to the defense of the illegal party with a series of brilliant articles. The Mensheviks began to jeer at him, saying that in his old age he had become "the bard of the underground." But this did not perturb Plekhanov, who, unlike many Mensheviks, was, despite all, a revolutionist a good deal of the time. Take for example the story, new to me, appearing in Martov's "History of Russian Social Democracy," to the effect that at the beginning of 1905, when the struggle with czarism was at its fiercest, Plekhanov came out in favor of terror. I had not known this. Martov writes:

"There was a moment when Plekhanov, long an opponent of terrorist methods put before the Party Council the question of an agreement with the Social Revolutionaries in regard to terrorist acts, which were fully expedient under existing political conditions. The agreement was frustrated only after the ultimatum delivered by Axelrod and Martov who declared that if it were carried thru they would leave the Party Council and appeal to the party. Among the Bolshevik elements of the party sympathy for terrorist methods increased, altho in general the party kept to its earlier position of rejecting terror."

A moment of extraordinary interest in connection with Plekhanov's biography and which at any rate establishes the fact that he was not at all a man turned out according to pattern. He opposed terror when he saw it operated to the disintegration of a mass party and mass struggle, but when he realized that matters were approaching a decisive blow then he himself brought up the question of terror.

Plekhanov—The "Bard of the Underground."

In those difficult years for the party (1907, 1908 and 1909) Plekhanov once again demonstrated his invaluable services, coming over to our side and becoming the "Bard of the Underground." He supported us in our illegal literary organ, and later in the legal, strengthening the position of the Bolshevik section of the Duma fraction, and giving us energetic aid in our struggle against those who were trying to bury the party. This was of extraordinary importance in the existing state of feeling, which is exceedingly difficult to picture today. At that time, after the defeat that we had suffered,

when an important portion of our forces had had to leave the country, when demoralization was everywhere visible—at that time, there was not a single organization in any locality where the provocateur had not crawled in; all were on guard against one another, all feared one another, no one trusted anybody else. On the literary field pornography flourished—"San-in" appeared. And this all also penetrated revolutionary circles as well. The Duma became completely counter-revolutionary. The party split up into little groups. At the same time the liquidationist section of the Mensheviks openly read a funeral sermon over the party, and its dirges resounded in Petersburg and Moscow.

And here, at this point, Plekhanov, with all the weight of authority he bore among the Mensheviks, raised his voice, and, while remaining a Menshevik, thundered against them for their liquidationism. And his voice came as a tremendous support to the Bolsheviks, proclaiming the idea of the underground party.

It can be said in general that the true leaders of a party become known only when it is passing thru a difficult period. And the tremendous growth of Comrade Lenin as a leader become increasingly clear at this difficult time; not so much in 1905, when things seemed to be on the upgrade, when the waves of revolution were mounting, when it was easy to direct the party—but in 1907, in the years 1907 to 1909, in the days of hopeless ruin, demoralization and collapse, when no one any longer believed either in the revolution or in the party, and when Comrade Lenin was the only one, or almost the only one, to defend the idea of the party by word of mouth, by his pen and by organizational work.

At this time a difference of opinion arose within the Bolshevik ranks along the lines of boycott or non-boycott, using or not using legal possibilities. The Mensheviks were also divided into two main camps—liquidators and partyites: Potressov and Larin on one side, and Plekhanov on the other, and in the center, Martov, who stood nearer to the Liquidators.

In 1909 the struggle among the Bolsheviks took on an acute character. At the beginning of the Third Duma in 1908, we had argued only as to whether we should participate in it. Now, however, the boycottist tendency had developed into a whole fraction, bringing forward the so-called "Otsovism." The Bolshevik fraction split over the three following questions: "Otsovism," "Ultimatism," and "God-creation." At first glance this may seem rather ridiculous, but when the explanation has been given it will be seen to be far removed from this. And so, first, "Otsovism."

"Otsovism."

A part of the Bolsheviks, among them a number of the oldest, and a part of the local organizations, for a time even an organization of such

authority as the Regional Committee of Central Russia, declared for the recall "otsiv" of deputies from the Duma. (Hence the word "Otsovism.") They advanced the following arguments: the czarist Duma is a Black Hundred institution and a true revolutionist has no place there; whoever enters it has become a liquidator, and has therefore, abjured the revolution. Following this line further they came to the following conclusions: making use of legal possibilities is in general not feasible, and therefore, societies and clubs are no place for an honest Bolshevik. This was an exceedingly dangerous tendency and one which played into the hands of the liquidators. In our paper "The Proletarian" which was published by Comrades Lenin, Kamenev and myself, we called them "Left Liquidators," showing that their conception, altho outwardly plausible and revolutionary, in actual fact tended towards cutting us off from living reality. It was just what the Mensheviks wanted that we should leave the trade unions, the Duma, and the places where the workers gathered. They would have been very glad to see us shut ourselves up in little circles and turn away from hard political reality. To repeat, this was an extremely dangerous tendency for Bolshevism, and if we had not opposed sufficiently strong resistance to it we should not have become a mass party. The strength of Bolshevism consisted in the fact that in the course of a decade at every stage of its hard journey it had understood how to wedge its way into the masses and to give an answer not only to the basic questions of revolution, but to each and everyday question of the workers' life. Observing today how the young Communist Parties in other lands are developing, we see that it is often just this elasticity that they lack. They become sectarian, withdrawing within themselves and keeping aloof from the masses, as was the case for a time with the Italian Communists. In this respect they repeat the mistakes of "Otsovism."

"Ultimatism."

The term "Ultimatism" comes from "Ultimatum." A whole group of Bolsheviks, possessing at that great authority, headed by A. A. Bogdanov, the author of the text-book on "Political Economy" (now he has left the party and is propagating counter-revolutionary Menshevik views thru the group "Ratotchaya Pravda" (The Workers' Truth), and thru the Proletcult and the Rabfacs (Workers' Schools), into which he is trying to insinuate himself, but in those days he was one of the most influential leaders of Bolshevism), A. B. Lunatcharski, M. N. Pokrovski and several other distinguished comrades (among their supporters, by the way, was also Maxim Gorki, who at that time was also extremely "left")—this group accused Comrade Lenin of opportunism, and organized

as a separate fraction of "Ultimatism." In essence, the difference between Otsovism and Ultimatism was only one of tinge. The Ultimacists said: "We do not propose to recall the deputies, but to present them with an ultimatum; those who do not subscribe to it must go." To this we replied: "This is the same sort of a soup, only a little more diluted. This is the same Otsovism. You want, under the pretext of an ultimatum, to recall our representatives in the Black Hundred Duma, where against all odds our comrades are succeeding in getting a revolutionary message to all Russia." The Ultimacists exercised great influence in the Bolshevik fraction, and among a certain section of the members of the Bolshevik Central Committee.

The "God Creators."

Finally, there was the third tendency, that is the so-called "God Creators," led by A. Lunacharski and M. Gorki. The chief literary documents of this tendency were certain articles by our friend A. B. Lunacharski and Gorki's "Confessions," a beautiful book, which many of you, of course, read, but which in its outlook on life belongs to the category of the "God Creators," that is, it assumes the existence of a divine scheme of things. In one way or another the disciples of this tendency paid tribute to the religious spirit. They said that of course they did not believe in the vulgar God, but they had some sort of a special, almost a Marxian God. At that time, as is always the case after a heavy defeat, a period of decadence in all fields was observable—in science as well as in literature—a blossoming of pornography, mysticism and all manner of religious tendencies. These tendencies swept along with them the most sensitive individuals in our party, those most naturally disposed in this direction, including Gorki and Lunacharski. They attempted, strange as it may sound, to bring about a marriage of "God Creation" with Otsovism. Gathering together a party school of twenty workers (the best that were to be found in the organization), they took them to the Island of Capri, where Gorki was living at the time, with the avowed purpose of giving them instruction in Marxism. In reality, the instruction was not so much in Marxism as in Otsovism and "God Creation." These workers were for the most part excellent material, and a number of them are today occupying leading positions in our republic. But the labors of the disciples of "God Creation" on the Island of Capri came to grief. The workers listened eagerly to the lectures on Marxism and the history of literature, which Gorki gave, and perfunctorily to those on Otsovism; but when it came to "God Creation," these proletarians declared: "No, it's enough!" It ended by more than half of the pupils, led by the late worker Vilonov, who had organized the school, fleeing from the island one fine night and mak-

ing their way to Comrade Lenin and the others who were living abroad at the time and publishing "The Proletarian." They transferred from the "God Creators" school to ours and later returned to Russia as representatives of our point of view.

This party school of ours played a very important role. At that time when there was no party this group of twenty leading workers constituted a real force, almost a Central Committee of our party.

The Struggle Against Otsovism and Other Tendencies.

We were forced to carry on a desperate struggle against Otsovism, Ultimatism and "God Creation" which ended with a split in the Bolshevik fraction. We gathered a number of local delegates from Petersburg and Moscow, called a Bolshevik conference and expelled the servants of God, Bogdanov and others, from our fraction. This chapter is one of the most important in the history of Bolshevism. A detailed account is given in the "Proletarian" in which a number of brilliant articles by Comrade Lenin appeared in this connection. The struggle was unbelievably hard, since our opponents had wide connections and since everyone knew them and many followed them. It was only after it had carried thru this struggle toward the left that Bolshevism finally took on definite form. Our opponents stigmatized us for our united front with Plekhanov. But we were right, and up to the present day we have retained our union with the followers of Plekhanov for the defense of philosophical materialism. Lunacharski and Bogdanov were both philosophical opponents of Marx, and Bogdanov was and remains a follower not of Marx but of Ernest Mach, whose philosophy has nothing in common with Marxism, as Comrade Lenin has pointed out in his philosophical work on empirio-criticism. But at that period many of our comrades in prison and in exile were reading Mach eagerly. And Bogdanov was drawing anti-Marxist deductions on the basis of the literary decadence and the general spirit of disintegration. Again I repeat that this was an exceedingly grave chapter in the history of Bolshevism. We made a united front with Plekhanov on the basis of the philosophical struggle for materialism. Bolshevism was forged into final form only then when it had gone thru the struggle not only with Liquidationism and with Menshevism, but also thru the struggle with "Left" Liquidationism and Otsovism, which had also found its way into the party under the name of "Vperyodism" (the "Forward" tendency). The so-called group of "Left Bolsheviks" availed themselves of the name of our paper "Vperyod" ("Forward") which had appeared in 1905, and began to publish a magazine under the same

name. The "Vperystodists" claimed that they were the genuine Bolsheviks, while we were "Bolsheviks of the Right Wing."

The history of the struggle with all these deviations is of especial value to anyone who desires to familiarize himself with the theoretical basis of Bolshevism. Bolshevism never believed that it must be the most "left" in the vulgar sense of that word. We always rejected that Leftism which reaches its logical conclusion in "God Creation," Futurism, etc., and carried on a decisive struggle against it. And thus Bolshevism was tempered not only in the struggle against decadent reformism and liquidationism, but also in the struggle against decadent idealism and political adventurism, for Otsovism was nothing but adventurism.

The whole of the year 1909 was passed in this struggle for the ideological rebirth of the party. The situation was, I repeat, an extraordinarily

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, Etc., Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912.

Of The Workers Monthly published monthly at Chicago, Illinois for April 1, 1926.

State of Illinois, County of Cook, ss.

Before me, a justice of the peace in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Walt Carmon, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the circulation manager of The Workers Monthly and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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Walt Carmon,
Circulation Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before this 1st day of April, 1926.
(Seal) S. T. Hammersmark.

(My commission expires May 22, 1928.)

difficult one. Not a few of our comrades lost every trace of revolutionarism and were converted into God knows what. Our whole party split up into groups, sub-groups, and fractions. During this difficult time our central task consisted in gathering together the party stone by stone, in making ready for its rebirth, and, above all, in defending the fundamentals of Marxism against every possible perversion.

This era in the history of Bolshevism is a real era of suffering, but also a glorious one. If Bolshevism had at that time made any theoretical or political compromise whatsoever with its enemies, it later could not have played the great role which it did play. This is the reason why these pages in the history of our party merits special and thoro study on the part of our youth, especially at this moment when there are once again appearing theoretical "modes" which in many ways are reminiscent of the period of decadence described above.

(Continued in June issue.)

The Fighting May Day

(Continued from page 296)

streets of that city. Several thousand bourgeois women are marching thru the streets led by a female celebrity who rides on horseback wearing a black shirt as a fascist symbol. The British bourgeoisie is preparing to meet the crisis with a fascist answer, but in doing so the British bourgeoisie hides behind its ladies' skirts.

The British labor movement has had some almost incredibly intensive development in the past few years. Cook, the leader of the miners' union, has occasion to remind the workers of England that the troops of the British army are not entirely certain to fire upon the strikers in the probably forthcoming general strike. The British workers have learned something of MacDonald, they have had their Scarborough Congress, they have had their Black Friday and their Red Friday, and they have been forced to discuss seriously in the trade unions on regular meeting nights the question of arming the working class for defense against the fascism which surely threatens them.

We do not know, but perhaps the British workers are ready for a very good May Day this year.

Review

MARX-ENGELS ARCHIV.

Zeitschrift des Marx-Engels Institute in Moskau. Herausgegeben von D. Rjazanov. I. Band. Marx-Engels Archiv Verlagsgesellschaft. M. B. H. Frankfurt A. M. (1925), V. I, pp. 550.

IT is indeed gratifying that Marxian scholarship has at last attained the possibility of organization and has found in the Marx-Engels Institute and the Marx-Engels Archive a central and unifying force. The Marxist Institute and its scientific organ promise to do what neither Grunberg's "Archive" nor the Archive of the S. P. D. at Berlin have been able to do, in spite of the fact that the former has become the center of all socialist research, and the latter is the possessor of invaluable source material in the form of newspapers, documents, letters, etc.

The work of the Institute in preparing a scientific edition of the complete works of Marx and Engels, in which the Archive will participate, as well as its activity along the entire line of the socialist and labor movement, will serve as a stimulus to Marxian research in every possible direction. The entire sphere of the superstructure, philosophy, religion, ethics, law, art, etc., in short, every form of human ideology, awaits a systematic, historic-materialistic investigation. And it is a sphere which cannot be neglected, not only for immediate practical reasons, but also from the point of view of an organized proletarian world-view. In this direction, the work and influence of the Institute will be invaluable.

THE Moscow Institute, which was founded in December, 1920, at the suggestion of its present director, Prof. D. Rjazanov, is primarily a research institute. It has set as its aim the creation of the best possible conditions for the study of the origin and development of the theory and practice of scientific socialism, of revolutionary Communism, as it was created and formulated by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The Institute goes farther, however, in organizing and directing a comprehensive research program, which finds expression in its publications.

Working in the face of great practical difficulties, the Institute has finally been able to build up a library of over 175,000 volumes, including material of utmost importance to the student of the socialist and labor movement. Special collections covering different aspects of the world movement were bought and the library was organized to be of practical use to the investigator. There are sections devoted to Marx and Engels, philosophy, political economy, sociology, philosophy of law, socialism, foreign affairs, Germany, France, England, a section for

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other countries, universal history, magazines and newspapers, a "Plekhanov-Kabinett" devoted to Russia, as well as a general reading room.

The Institute, however, has not limited its activity to collecting material and building up a research library. In addition to its publication activity in Russian, it has undertaken a task, the accomplishment of which would in itself be a great practical contribution to the scientific, and consequently to the popular study of the founders of scientific socialism, namely, the international scientific edition of the complete works of Marx and Engels.

Its Russian publications embrace the collected works of the classics of modern socialism, Lassalle, Plekhanov, Lafargue, Labriola, Mehring, Zaslitsch. Aside from this "Library of Scientific Socialism," a popular series, suitable to the purposes of the high schools of the Soviet Union, has been issued. Similarly, the Institute has undertaken the publication of a philosophic, economic and socialistic series in the Russian language, giving young Marxists the opportunity to thoroughly study the predecessors of Marx.

The first of these series, the "Library of Materialism," embodies the main classics of philosophic materialism, a special series being devoted to the "Selected Works of Hegel." In a "Library of Economic Classics," are included Petty, the Physiocrats, Smith, Ricardo, Mill and Rodbertus, a complete edition of Ricardo's works to be published first. The third series will offer the works of the most important utopian socialists. In spite of the many hindrances, the Institute has been able to publish 39 volumes in Russian within the last three years.

NOT the least of its publications, however, is the Marx-Engels Archive, the first volume of which appeared in October, 1925, and which will be welcomed by every serious student of Marx and Engels. It is published independently in Russian and German under the able editorship of Prof. Riazanov.

The Archive, following the aims of the Institute, dedicates itself to the study of Marx and Engels. It embraces the history of Marxism, its theory and practice, and, in a narrower sense, all Marx-Engels research, namely, the critical-scientific treatment of the life-history and especially the practical-political activity of Marx and Engels.

The Institute has set as the goal of the Archive the unification of the scientific research work of all Marxists. It "gladly opens its pages to every serious scientific investigation of the problems developed by Marx and Engels."

In addition, it will print unpublished manuscripts of Marx and Engels which will later be included in the collected works; it will also report on the activity of the Marx-Engels Institute.

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the first of which is devoted to original investigations. In the first volume this division contains, among others, an important contribution to the history of the First International by Prof. Riazanov, "The Founding of the International Workingmen's Association," as well as a study by A. Debodin, "Dialectics in Kant," the first of a series by the same author, on the history of dialectics.

The second section is given over to unpublished manuscripts of Marx and Engels as mentioned above. Under this head the present volume brings the first part of a hitherto unpublished manuscript, the "German Ideology," namely, "Karl Marx and Fr. Engels on Feurbach," which, according to Prof. Riazanov, embodies the first development of Marx's ideas on historical materialism. The manuscript, which Prof. Riazanov dates as 1845, leads him to conclude that the theory of historic materialism as it was developed in "The Poverty of Philosophy" and "The Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels was formulated not later than the fall of that year (1845).

In section three, the Archive will print documents on the history of socialism and the labor movement, especially those concerned with the biography of Marx and Engels, and above all their correspondence with their pupils and with people holding views similar to their own. The first volume prints the brief correspondence between the Russian revolutionist, Vera Zaslitsch and Karl Marx, in which the former, on behalf of her Russian comrades, requests Marx's opinion concerning the revolutionary role of the peasant communes of Russia.

A fourth section is devoted to criticisms and reviews of the literature of Marxism and to the history of the labor movement. In this division the present volume includes, among other things, a review of the newer writings on historical materialism.

Finally, the Archive has undertaken a task which forms one of its most gratifying divisions, namely, its attempt at a systematic bibliography of Marxism. The bibliography, covering the last sixty pages of the first volume (550 pages in all), includes the literature on Marx, Engels, and Marxism since the World War. It is excellently printed and conveniently arranged; and tho it is far from complete—it is especially inadequate in its English and American references—it promises much for Marxian scholarship and proletarian science. The individual worker will find it an invaluable aid.

Unhappily, the appreciation of the need for scientific research and Marxian scholarship is not very widespread in the American movement. Nevertheless, it is essential to encourage all those who feel an inclination towards such work. It is very desirable that those interested or engaged in Marxian research maintain con-

tact, and, if possible, coordinate their efforts. Furthermore, there are many difficulties of a practical nature in connection with our work which might thus be alleviated. Let us hope that the work of the Institute and the Archive will call forth a wider interest in Marxian scholarship in this country.

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