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No Union-Splitting Tactics.

"Those days are past, but there are still many reminiscences of union membership. Workers get lower rents and all kinds of rebates. Do you see, we have to be careful about taking members into the unions. We only take men who are actually employed or who can prove by their next jobs that they are bona fide workers. Even so, we have to clean the unions out occasionally." I asked if they threw out workers whose views they disapproved of. "Not at all, said Melnichanski. "We know, of course, that this is done in the capitalist countries. They are throwing Communists out of the American Federation of Labor. As if that whole great body had to be afraid of a handful of Communists. But with us, if a man is an actual worker, he has a right to be in the union, whatever his views."

We started another question. "They tell us that your union elections are bureaucratic and government-controlled," we said.

"Why, our very existence depends on keeping close to the rank and file. Not only our existence as labor leaders, but very lives. We know we would all be in jail or shot by white guards if we couldn't keep the confidence of the rank and file of Romanov workers. Of course, we have our disagreements and our occasional steam-rollers. But we couldn't get away with as much of it as the American Federation of Labor does. We simply couldn't risk a course that would lead to recession of any group of workers."

Close to the Rank and File.

"Come round and see for yourself," said Melnichanski.

"Ede Fimmen, secretary of the International Transport Workers, and formerly a member of the Secretaries of the Amsterdam International, has just been here, and he says that in no country are the trade union leaders so close to the rank and file. I am not denying that if some group wants to object, we can't prevent it. But if you know the temper of our Moscow workers, you know they are not bookish."

"Our very existence depends on keeping close to the rank and file. Not only our existence as labor leaders, but very lives. We know we would all be in jail or shot by white guards if we couldn't keep the confidence of the rank and file of Romanov workers. Of course, we have our disagreements and our occasional steam-rollers. But we couldn't get away with as much of it as the American Federation of Labor does. We simply couldn't risk a course that would lead to recession of any group of workers."

Advantages of Union Membership.

"You don't understand," he added, smiling, "the advantages of union membership. During the past seven years we have gone through two or three strikes, the loss of thousands of workers from the unions who tried to join in without being bona fide workers. In the early days of the revolution, we were doing some rather strenuous things. The workers were moving into the fine big houses of the bourgeoisie, we had a continuous propaganda for doing this. Houses were being searched and invaded."

"Now, how can a union card be except of search or from being moved out of his house; for he was a worker. So naturally, all those bourgeois tried to join unions. They couldn't join the metal workers, for they could tell by their hands that they weren't metal workers. But the clerks' union grew tremendously. And the teachers' and artisans' unions also. But they tell us now that the number of unemployed in these unions was very large for the new members had no intention of working at the trades, they merely wanted a union card."

IN A TRADE UNION CLUB

Party Industrial Methods and Structure.

By William Z. Foster.

When the Trade Union Educational League, which was founded in the Fall of 1920, got well under way in the spring of 1921, by the breaking of the Labor Heresy, it was an instantaneous success and almost immediately it became a great power in the labor movement. The objective was simple. The workers were in a militant mood. The employers were trying to rob them of the standards of living and the organizations established by them and they were resisting the invasion of the unions.

A veritable epidemic of strikes took place in practically all the industries. In the midst of such a situation the issue was being born and began to function. Its program of amalgamation and militant struggle generally against the employers, forced a ready response. The discontented elements accepted the league's leadership in the trade union movement, this term in the broadest sense. In the historic December and Portland conventions of the Illinois Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, it made its program the main issue before the labor movement. The success of the league attracted the most favorable comments from the Profiteers, which held the league up internationally as a model type of left wing organization and methods. By working aggressively through the leagues, our party largely freed itself from sectarianism and succeeded in establishing itself as a real factor in the labor movement.

Within the past two years the influence of the league has, in certain respects, sensibly diminished in the unions. It is true that during this period the league has won many substantial victories. Notable cases in point are the splendid showdowns made in the recent elections of the Miners and Carpenters. The last elections have undoubtedly shaken the bosses and swept that it once had. Especially has the league largely lost the leadership over the so-called progressive elements, that have been our greatest period in its early activities. The masses in the unions are not responding to its slogans as they once did. They are a strong factor for the league in its organized manifestations—local groups, national conferences, etc.—to consist merely of Communists and their closest sympathizers. The league is experiencing a sharp period of isolation.

Factors Making for Isolation.

Many factors have contributed towards making the unions less responsive to our slogans. For one thing they have, during the four years from 1920 to 1924, suffered big reverses in practically every industry, including steel, meat packing, clothing, textile, shoes, printing, railroads, building trades, etc. These declines, taken together with the spirit of defeat in the history of the American labor movement. But even wiping out whole sections of the best trade unions, they have also contributed greatly towards weakening the morale and fighting spirit of the rest of the organized masses for the time being, and towards making them less responsive to the efforts of the revolutionary left wing.

Another detrimental factor is the growth of the class collaboration movement. This took on its greatest impetus naturally enough at the close of the period of the great depression which was described above. The reactionary bureaucracy, feeling itself at the power of the employers and unwilling and incapable of adopting a militant policy of class struggle to withstand the attacks of capitalism, turned to the class collaboration policy of surrender, which is embodied in the shady schemes of labor battalions, B & O plane, workers' insurance, cooperative housing schemes, etc. To put across these conservative and demoralizing projects they are now poisining the trade union movement more persistently and systematically than ever with the slavest ideology that a class struggle against capitalism is impossible. Consequently they have lost the militant war against the left wing which is now such a striking feature of the present situation. This ruthless campaign of expulsion and other forms of terrorism, which has taken the form of the wholesale and illegal unseating of delegates in such former radical strongholds as the Minneapolis and Seattle central labor bodies, but practically made the Trade Union Educational League an underdog in the American labor movement and in the revolutionary left wing. This has, of course, rendered its work more difficult.

The splits attendant upon the growth and development of the labor-party and LaFollette movements also contributed towards making the trade union movement less responsive to our slogans. The split at the Chicago, July 3rd, 1922, convention, when the Federated Farmers of America split, caused primarily by the weakness of the Fitzpatrick group, detached from our following many valuable progressive elements. The same process of splitting took place in the Trades and Labor Congress in the fall of 1922, and was paralleled by the splits in the radical organizations of the unions. Other labor party splits had similar results. That fact that we had to make open warfare against the LaFollette candidates, which was at this historic conjuncture of the situation, also caused us to break with many valuable elements in the trade unions who, while willing to follow our lead on many issues, were not ideologically advanced enough to see through the sophistries of LaFollettism and when they broke with us, it was a blow practically to our whole program. The comparative defeat of the LaFollette movement, as measured by the extravagant hopes held out by its leaders also tended to create an air of defeatism among the masses and to make them less responsive to the left-wing program.

Shop Nuclei.

That objective conditions have become temporarily more unfavorable for our industrial work and that we are suffer-
ing from a considerable degree of isolation is incontestable. But what is far worse is the tendency of many comrades to accept this isolation as a matter of course, to rationalize it, and not to struggle against it. It is a fundamental mistake. We must break through our isolation at all costs.

To re-establish our connections with and leadership over the masses, especially in so far as the struggle is for the trade union movement, is one of the most urgent tasks now confronting our party. To do this, we must strengthen our organizational measures outside hereto are indispensable.

A basic necessity for developing proper connections with the masses, both organized and unorganized, is the reorganization of the Communist Party upon the basis of shop nuclei. This fact has been pointed out repeatedly at times that to many it will seem superfluous to mention it again. But it must be insisted and reiterated until the shop nuclei system is a reality. At the recent sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern the outstanding feature was the militant campaign to Bolshevize all the parties in the Communist International. And a most important phase of this was the rapid reorganization of the parties on a shop nuclei basis. The extreme weakness of our party organization, as established completely on shop nuclei, and the German, Czechoslovakian and other large parties are fast following suit. During the past year our party has taken its first steps in this direction. But the work will have to be pushed with still greater vigor and our whole party reorganized on the shop and street nucleus basis.

Shop nuclei will greatly unify our party and link it up closely with the masses. They will serve as the means of carrying out our political work among the vast armies of toilers in the industries. Among the most important functions will be the leadership and initiative in all matters of struggle, the representation of the shop nuclei and the presence of millions of individual unorganized workers. For this purpose the shop nuclei will be established in the big industries this stimulation and leadership of the organized masses in their struggles against the employers will be of tremendous importance.

Specifically, the shop nuclei will also play a big part in the organization of the unorganized millions into trade unions. In this connection it is pointed out that the organization of the unorganized is one of the historic tasks of our shop nuclei. The reactionary trade union bureaucracy has proved completely incapable of organizing the masses. The much-touted steel campaign failed utterly, and the Rank and File conference which was announced to the A. F. of L. will hardly fare better. The masses will not be greatly organized until the left wing is in position to do the job. A close network of shop nuclei in the various industries will contribute enormously by putting a positive shop nucleus into the mass will be so many live points among the inert millions in the industries. With them as a basis, it will be possible for us, setting upon the opportunities to initiate great movements among the masses and to sweep them into trade unions. The shop nuclei will be powerful instruments in furthering analysis of the shop movement.

They will be the great weapons whereby we shall fight against the menacing growth of company unions—a subject which I shall touch upon more fully in a later article.

Party Trade Union Fractions. Shop nuclei must be the foundation organizations for carrying out our industrial policies, and not just in order completely to organize the masses, especially the revolutionary sections of the masses, in the trade union movement. This is a fundamental task. The Communist trade union fractions are a fundamental of Communist organization and all institutions and organizations in which the party is carrying on work the Communist members shall form themselves definitely into groups, or fractions. Only in this way can they unify themselves and utilize the full value of organization. Such fractions are organized in legislative bodies, labor parties, trade unions, national and local organizations, etc. They stand directly under the control of the regular party organization, national, and local. The maturity and effectiveness of a Communist Party can be measured through much by the extent and flexibility of its fractions in the various organizations in its sphere of activity. The matter of party fractions was also greatly emphasized at the meeting of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern.

It is a weakness of our industrial work that the party as a whole has too little understood the necessity for and functions of trade union fractions. It is true that in trade union congresses our national labor bodies, and in local unions our Communist members function in a considerable extent as party fractions. But the system is altogether too fragmentary and casual. This must be made good. We must develop a whole system of trade union fractions, based upon a real understanding of their task in the general work of our party.

To this end a prime essential is that every working-class member of the party be required to join a trade union regardless of the obstacles in the way—the once again the Comintern and the American Federation are insisting upon it. But this proposition must be interpreted broadly. All those trade union members shall be definitely organized into Communist fractions to correspond with their local unions, city central bodies, international unions, etc. In all branches, C. C.'s and D. E. C.'s there shall be organized industrial committees to stimulate and direct their corresponding fractions. The whole trade union fraction system is specifically the national trade union fractions, shall be under the direction of the party as a whole.

The strengthening and developing of the trade union fractions is of real importance to the success of the party industrial work.

The Trade Union Educational League. In our industrial work there has been a strong tendency to consider the Trade Union Educational League groups as Party fractions and hence to resist them to Party members alone. This must be corrected. Party fractions and T. U. E. L. groups are distinct forms. The Party fractions are the crystallization of the party's policy into the various trade unions, while the T. U. E. L. is a left wing organization. The one is a definite Party structure, the other is an organization of autonomous movement. The Party frac-

The document was not drawn up in Moscow but in Berlin. Evidence indicates that it is the handwriting of a former Wristle officer named Gatschinski, now working as a secret agent and living at 96 Ansbacher-strasse, Berlin.

The strength of this preposterous forgery was two political parties—the Communists and the Peasant Party—are being induced to murder each other. The leaders are being hunted down and shot like wild beasts.

The Bulgarian Conflagration

By Max Shachtman

The Workers Monthly

FROM THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE comes the recent Bulgarian occurrence which "in the outburst of fury that followed the bomb outrage an army of police, militia and reserve officers searched out the most notorious Communists in Sofia and probably killed some 100 in cold blood."

This outburst of black reaction in Bulgaria is a continuation of almost unparalleled terror that has characteristic of the Zankov government since its victorious coup d'etat in June, 1923, when it overturned the rule of the peasants' party led by Stambulski. The wild acts of persecution that followed, especially after the failure of the Communist Party to issue the call of action to the workers and peasants, are incredible. Emile Vanderloude, one of the leaders of the Second International, has stated that the Zankov government has murdered 16,000 in the last eighteen months. Every leader of the Communist Party, of the Peasant Party, of the Macedonian national revolutionary movement, stands in daily danger of his life. Not even the sanctity of parliament has prevented the brutal murder of revolutionary deputies; even liberals, such as the lawyer, Pater, who defended the Communist deputy Dr. Maximov in court, are subjected to the bombs of assassins.
The Progress and Influence of Iskra

Iskra, resting upon the above-mentioned organizations, but even more upon its printed columns—iska—succeeded in capturing the workers' committees, the Gubkoms (district committees) in that day in a number of cities, and, above all, in both capitals.

An exceptionally important role, ranking with that of Iskra, was played by Comrade Lenin's book, "What To Do," published in the spring of 1902. It was an epoch-making work. There never was a book of such hectic work as that of Iskra. At the time, it constituted a reference-book, a gospel, for all active revolutionary Marxists. Since 1899, until 1903, that the material effect of the work that the book was having, began to subject it to a microscopic examination for points upon which they could base hostile criticism. The central thesis of "What To Do" was the same as that of Iskra: i.e., the hegemony of the proletariat. But, in addition, the book gave a trenchant exposition of the question of the so-called "Kustarntchevism," and the professional revolutionists.

Kustarntchevism

"Kustarntchevism" (home industry) was the term with which Comrade Lenin christened the petty sectarianism of certain self-isolated circles of revolutionaries. He criticized and ridiculed those revolutionaries who completely prided themselves upon the fact that in such and such a city one group existed—in another, all of two. Comrade Lenin wrote: "It must be made of 'home industry;' it was necessary during the sons of the bourgeoisie, go out by the thousands and tens of thousands to pick up crumbs, at a time when what we need is to develop revolution into a large-scale industry.

The Professional Revolutionists

Comrade Lenin was forced to wage a bitter fight in defense of the idea of an organization of professional revolutionists. It was an absolutely novel concept at that time, and appeared to many as "organizational delirium." But Lenin was correct in his stand, and this idea turned out to be particularly fruitful in its results. And, indeed, examining it from the viewpoint of the present composition of the revolution, it is evident that the idea that we, ordinary factory workers, twenty years later, the party so to say, draws nourishment from this group of professional revolutionists, is a fact. The old Russian police with their naked hands—to organize groups at this juncture, means occupying oneself with "home industry," with "pickpocketing." It is a new phenomenon, of revolutionary years, that each worker, who goes home at evening; and having slept, goes back to the factory again next morning. A considerable portion of the volume "What To Do" was devoted to the idea of an organization of professional revolutionists. It wielded a similar influence in the period directly following the period of the revolution. A certain member of the Bund, a supporter of the Mensheviks, who approved neither of the organization of professional revolutionists, in the struggle against "kustarntchevism," nor of a division of labor, wrote recently, recalling the period of 1906: "I have often wondered how wonderful it would have been, after all, if anyone ever had resembled that ideal revolutionist pictured by Lenin in his book "What To Do"?

After reading "What To Do?" the best of the Mensheviks, although raised as such by their party, did not acknowledge, how great and how vital a revolutionary truth was inclosed within the pages of this book. (Continued on page 282)

The Professional Revolutionists

This term, "professional revolutionist" also played a large part in the controversies of the Bolsheviks with the Mensheviks. For years the latter fought against the idea, asserting that the professional revolutionists would form a closed caste, isolated from the masses, and not breathing the same atmosphere as the workers. The conflict with the Menshevik (district committee) that day in a number of cities, and, above all, in both capitals.

The Professional Revolutionists

The isolation and to bring the broad left wing definitely under the leadership of the League. This is one of the most important tasks of the Workers' Monthly. We must insist on the necessity of making such united front slogans as will rally the masses, and to lead against our central enemies, the reactionary bureaucracy controlling the unions. For this purpose we must arrive at the mighty bloc. We must put the pressure on the employers. We must present the proletariat with such united front slogans as will rally the masses, and to draw them closer to us.

It is clear that this bloc can be realized already in the workers' movement and to a capitalist, in some cases even in the trade union movement and to an official. We must seize every opportunity to use these slogans, to bring the masses to the workers movement, and to alert the comrades to the need of such united front slogans.
especially amongst the leadership, are far more backward sharply, such as LaFolletteism, B. & O. Plans, etc. The old sharp opposition that exist between our revolutionary wing bureaucracy is too hopelessly reactionary to put forth even by the systematic and intelligent application of our united struggle, to unite masses of these into struggle against the bureaucrats. The basis of such united front movements must be at least the masses of workers, to bringing them constantly closer under the four stages outlined above: (1) shop nuclei; (2) trade union fractions; (3) T. U. E. L.; (4) progressive temporary allies, the progressives.

It fears sanguinary battles much less than formerly. We are all acquainted with the mentality of the masses of the working class, due to the severe defeats it has recently suffered on the battlefields of social democracy and syndicalism. This is a basic error which greatly injures our Party. We have not passed through a zone of utterly de-

Bolshevism and the World Situation

By Gregory Zinoviev

(Continued from page 432)

It feels much better to use the word Bolshevism. We are all acquainted with the mentality of the working masses of the world that has arisen since the war almost everywhere in Europe.

The Awakening of the Peasantry.

The awakening of the peasantry. One of the causes of the defeat of the Paris Commune was the hostility of the working masses for the success of communism. The Russian proletariat in 1905 was defeated primarily because the Russian bolshevism went against the working class. In all previous revolutions the revolutionary battles were approached this time, not on a neutral position but frequently was directly hostile to the workers. In our days, however, the peasants are beginning to organize a definite struggle against the capitalists and they will win the war against the middle and to stimulate the masses into ever more militant and extensive struggles against capitalism.

In Conclusion.

The Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin, was of the opinion that Russia was passing through, not 1905, but 1905. It regarded 1905 merely as a rehearsal; a second revolution was-wait! you was not 1905; you said the revolution was coming for czarism and the big bourgeoisie were incapable of solving the problem of the revolution from above. That is what I said on 1905, etc., right up to 1917. A little over a decade separated 1906 from 1917. Throughout the whole of this decade the Russian and International Mensheviks simply gloated over us: "Well you said it was not 1905; you said the revolution was coming, every day, how is your revolution? There do not appear to be any signs of effective organization of the workers."

"The Bolsheviki are dreamers, you had better come into our shop."

We said then and we say now: the hour will come when we will produce a new generation which will organize the workers, and to stimulate the masses into ever more militant and extensive struggles against capitalism.

We have not passed through a zone of utterly defe-

The Revolution Defeated.

But this explanation is inadequate. There is one factor here which demands considerable attention on our part. Germany at the moment, is confronted with the altered situation of the world, the situation of the world is not the same as it was. We must consider the situation of the world, and not the situation of the bolsheviki. The bolsheviki, Russia, in 1905, was defeated primarily because the bolsheviks were in closest possible organic connection with the T. U. E. L., and they are the basic instruments for the carrying out of Party policies in these organizations. The bolsheviks, yes, and a small crowd in our own left-wingers; but history proved that we were right.

The bolsheviks are dreamers, you had better come into our shop."

We said then and we say now: the hour will come when we will produce a new generation which will organize the workers, and to stimulate the masses into ever more militant and extensive struggles against capitalism.