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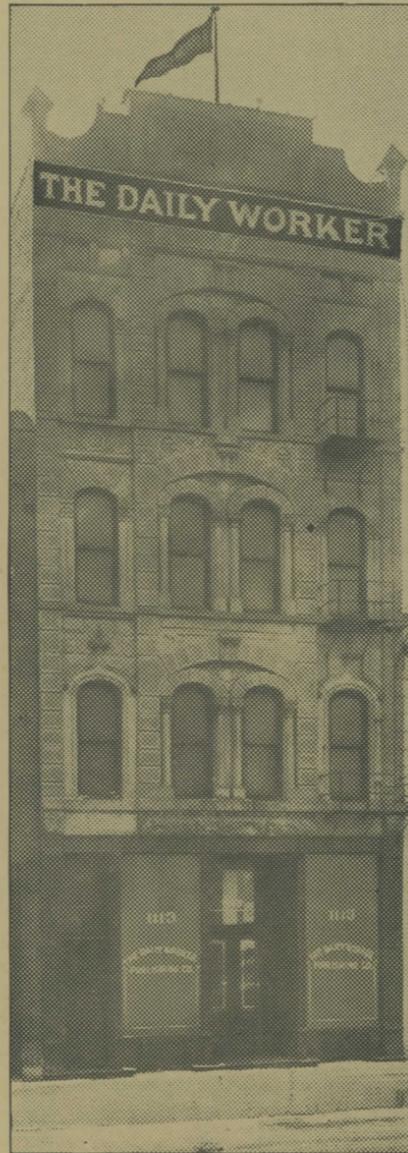
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# The WORKERS MONTHLY

A CONSOLIDATION OF

**THE LABOR  
HERALD**

**LIBERATOR**

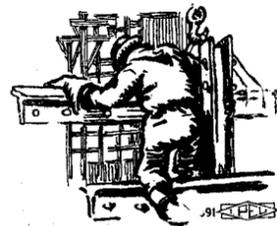
**SOVIET RUSSIA  
PICTORIAL**

APRIL  
1925



25¢

# BUILDING



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The most advanced, militant section of American workers donated the funds that established the paper that for one year has fought so well in every struggle of labor in this country.

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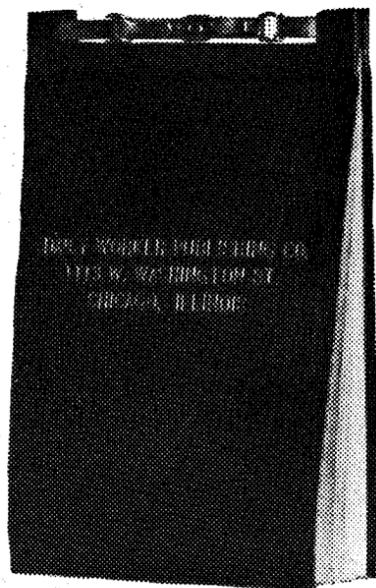
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THE DAILY WORKER

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# 750,000 Irish Workers and Peasants Are Starving!

## AMERICAN WORKERS!

Give, to relieve the famine stricken in Ireland as you gave to the workers and Peasants of Soviet Russia.



## AMERICAN WORKERS!

750,000 Irish workers and peasants have no food and no fuel. Demonstrate your international solidarity by coming to their assistance.

## FACTS ABOUT THE IRISH FAMINE

The entire western seaboard from Donegal in the extreme north to Cork in the extreme south is stricken.

\* \* \* \*

The famine area reaches inland along this stretch of country for about forty miles.

\* \* \* \*

The failure of the potato crop last year was the climax to several bad harvests.

\* \* \* \*

The incessant rains flooded the bogs thus preventing the cutting and drying of peat which is the main source of fuel supply on the west coast of Ireland.

\* \* \* \*

British steam trawlers ruined the fishing industry off the west coast.

\* \* \* \*

The Free State government is more interested in pushing a "hanging bill" thru parliament than aiding the famine victims.

\* \* \* \*

The Irish Workers and Peasants Famine Relief Committee with National Headquarters at 19 S. Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill., is the only organization in America which is active in the aid of the starving Ireland.

Irish Workers and Peasants Relief Committee, 19 So. Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill.

Find enclosed \$..... for Irish Famine

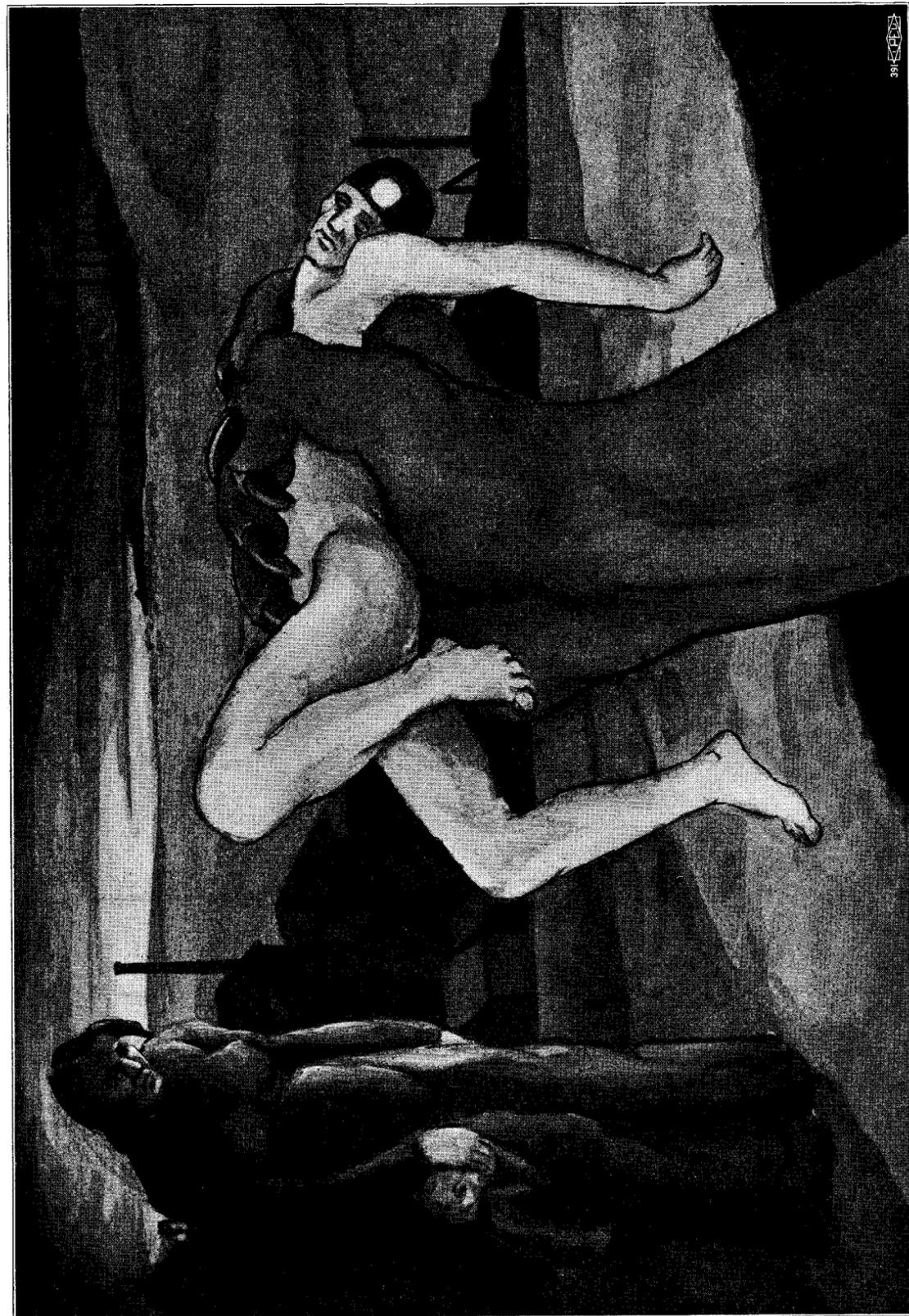
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Juanita Preval

FIFTY-ONE MINERS KILLED IN COAL MINE EXPLOSION AT SULLIVAN, IND.  
 Proper safety appliances had not been installed "because they eat up to much profit."

# THE WORKERS MONTHLY

A Combination of the Labor Herald, Liberator, and Soviet Russia Pictorial

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APRIL, 1925

No. 6

## Rear Admirals and Russian Recognition

By Earl R. Browder

**S**OME one has said:  
 "What fools think, is important because there are so many fools."



EARL R. BROWDER

What are the fools thinking—the rotarians, the kiwanises, the clubwomen, the little cockroach business men of the commercial clubs, the labor leaders and the ministers of the gospel—the socially articulate who get their opinions ready made from the Saturday Evening Post and the Sunday supplements and pass them on to their underlings?

What are the opinions of the middle class groups, who still mold to too large an extent the thoughts of the working masses of the United States, on British-

American rivalry, recognition of Soviet Russia, American imperialist policy in the Far East, the need for a larger navy and more aircraft?

These are the issues which are featured by the press and once we determine its attitude on them we have a good idea of the direction in which the ruling class of the United States wants the current of thought to flow.

When we take a good look at the questions treated by the capitalist press we notice something that gives us a start if we remember that isolation from world affairs was traditional for the United States just a few short years ago.

Every one of the burning issues of the day deals directly or is intimately connected with matters of foreign policy. Until 1914 the job of Secretary of State was a place to pension off some deserving political supporter. Today it is the most important post in the cabinet. Until the war for democracy began to make Europe a slaughter house the Secretary of State did not have work enough for one amateur stenographer. Today he has an army of attaches who keep their fingers on the pulses of every capital in the world.

One more thing the headlined news has in common—not one of these questions can be divorced from the rest or any solution arrived at independently.

American foreign policy no longer is confined to securing indemnity for the what was probably justifiable extinction of a photograph salesman in Costa Rica or the release of bibulous sailors from some one of the port jails of the seven seas; it is a world policy with the United States playing a dominant role in finance, diplomacy and in war—as in 1917.

Let us look for a moment at the international alignments.

Three great nations hold the center of the stage; around them, or rather within overlapping circles which they form, revolve the satellites.

Great Britain is the center of a world system. So is America.

So is Soviet Russia.

Great Britain and America have but one mutual bond—they are capitalist nations and hate Soviet Russia with all the bitterness that fear of their loss of power can arouse in them. At every other point they meet as enemies—in the field of finance, in the race for oil, in the contest for the power to rob China, in shipping and in the world markets.

There are two great wars being fought before our eyes—the war for world supremacy between Great Britain and America and the war for world supremacy between these two great capitalist nations and Soviet Russia.

It is well to say here that Soviet Russia merely symbolizes the force that contests with capitalism for power. It is the Communist International and the millions of workers and farmers of all races and nations who accept its leadership that British-American imperialism fears. It is an enemy WITHIN the gates which leaves capitalism without that primary military necessity—a strong rear.

America is in far better position in both the imperialist war and the class war than Great Britain. The working class of America has not tasted the bitter crust of mass starvation and hopeless unemployment

that is the daily food of the British workers. The trade union and political movement here is years behind that of Great Britain. The American workers are still obsessed for the most part with the fallacy that this is a land of equal opportunity.

America still feeds herself.

American imperialism moves into the conflict for world hegemony with a steady step. Her limitless resources that no foreign power can capture assure her of the material backing for markets and war. Her capitalists can devote all of their attention to creating the necessary mass psychological background for conquest.

For the present she does not fear Soviet Russia to the same extent as does Great Britain. America has no India along whose northern frontier are peasant and pastoral masses who see in Soviet Russia their deliverer.

Soviet Russia is much more of a menace to Great Britain than to America—Hughes could not see this, or if he did would not act accordingly. He has gone. The assiduous Senator Borah, the liberal middle class appendage to the Republican Party of big capital, gets the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations committee. Kellogg, ex-ambassador to Great Britain, who for eight months has been watching closely the foreign policy of our overseas cousins, takes the job of Secretary of State.

We have now a rough sketch of the world background and it resembles a powder magazine sheltering a number of careless boys who have chosen to hide from their parents while they smoke cigarettes.

All of the ingredients for a first class explosion are present. It has become apparent that what fools are thinking is indeed of some importance.

In the later part of February President Coolidge, Secretary of War Weeks, Secretary of the Navy Wilbur and other high government officials" (we quote from the Chicago Tribune) conducted a school in Washington. The school had but one course in its curriculum—"National Defense as Peace Insurance."

The fools were to be made to do some organized thinking.

The pupils were delegates from women's patriotic societies and the claim was made that they represented sixteen million club-women. They had been called to Washington to listen to the official reasons for a substantial increase in the armed forces. The instructors were almost without exception naval and military men.

Rear-Admiral W. W. Phelps was one of the lecturers. His remarks were given the greatest prominence in the capitalist press. Here are extracts from his lecture featured in the Washington dispatches:

The American open door principle has been invoked to help American citizens secure oil concessions. Wherever we turn, this principle has so successfully been combatted by the imperialistic

powers and fought by our own provincial powers for temporary partisan ends, that American rights and interests have been pretty generally defeated."

Let it be noted that the admiral uses the word "imperialistic" as an opprobrious term. Does America come under that classification? Perish the thought: Do we not know that it is only the enemy whose purposes are unholy and that the God of the Founding Fathers smiles warmly upon our own own unselfish motives?

"The result is that the bulk of the world's oil supply is in English control, and within another generation, when our own oil pools are drained, as they are being drained not only by us but also by England and Japan to conserve their own oil reserves, your navy and merchant marine will be at England's mercy for their fuel."

Here is the ancient foe, the hated redcoat of our school days, parading in full-plumed readiness, the "imperialistic" monster that Phelps, the outspoken militarist names with high disregard for diplomatic usage.

"As people are ordinarily polite the world over, none of them are so rude as to tell us exactly what they think of us. Given all these situations, it is not too much to expect that the nations who owe us huge sums which they spent settling quarrels among themselves, will coalesce whenever they can pos-

(Continued on Page 284)

## American Shibboleths

NO. 2 FREE SPEECH.



## "Let Your Superintendent Be Your Labor Leader"

By Robert Minor

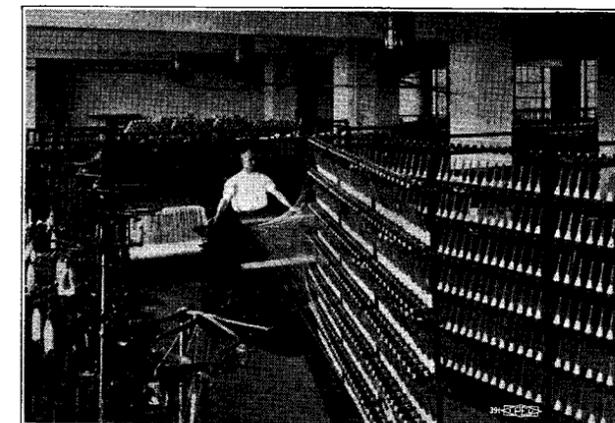
"GO AHEAD on the basis that your overseer and your superintendent are your labor leaders . . . Don't be misled by any so-called labor leader outside of your own mill to believe that it will profit you anything to do less work or to make more jobs for more people . . . In many mills wages have already been cut at least ten per cent . . . Increased production per operative, and a consequent lowering of the cost of production is going to be the salvation of cotton manufacturing in New England . . . In one cotton mill . . . the weavers used to run sixteen automatic looms; now they are running thirty-two automatic looms up to 60 inches in width . . . In another mill the operatives have doubled up on the work, . . . the weavers tend more looms, spinners tend more sides of spinning, card-room help tend three frames where they used to tend only two; all extra hands have been done away with, and this 100,000-spindle mill with 3,000 looms, which before the war employed 1,200 operatives, now runs full with 600 operatives, . . . This doubling up of the production per operative has become very common in New England . . . Go ahead on the basis that your overseer and your superintendent are your labor leaders, and make them be your leaders in fact as well as in name . . . Don't be misled by any so-called labor leader outside of your own mill to believe that it will profit you anything to do less work, or to make more jobs for more people . . . You can beat the life out of the operatives in any other mills if you will make a race of it . . . Go into the savings bank and ask the president of the bank, or the cashier if all of this isn't true. Ask the clergyman of your church."

The foregoing words are quoted from a single propaganda statement on behalf of the cotton and woolen textile capitalists of New England, which appeared in the Fall River Globe, February 9, 1925, as a paid advertisement signed by the "American Wool and Cotton Reporter." In quoting I have rather arbitrarily placed at the beginning two salient lines which appear again in their regular order; and I have deliberately omitted several plainly insincere references to "increased earnings" which are only a bit of raw lying intended to soften the hard fact of wage reductions.

### Program of Textile Multimillionaires

The quotation expresses in illuminating words the program which is being expressed in grim action in New England and elsewhere. Considering New England alone, the program constitutes an effort to transform the entire lives of hundreds of thousands of working-class population. It is hardly possible to make the reader understand the tremendous significance of this. It is not a mere reduction of wages; it is an effort to alter and further to degrade the whole basis of life of a working class population. The mill owners have plainly in view a plan to introduce into the wage-labor system a ghastly modern imitation of feudal class relationships—an effort which very logically raises the slogan "Let Your Mill Superintendent Be Your Labor Leader!"

As to the wage cut itself it is officially called "at least ten per cent." "At least ten per cent" turns out to be—in



IN A SPINNING MILL  
All these spindles are operated by a single worker. He receives somewhere around \$25.00 a week.

the pay envelope—often as much as twenty or twenty-two per cent reduction. That is, the reduction of pay in relation to the amount of time spent at work. But the reduction of pay in relation to the amount of labor done—that is, in relation to the amount of production—is in many cases more than fifty per cent. The mill superintendents do not speak of the reduction of pay without calling in the same breath for "doubled production per operative." And the proof that they mean to get twice as much production out of each worker, lies in their bland admission that with half the textile workers doing as much work as all did before, they intend to throw on to the street the other half of the mill force.

All over New England today, mill superintendents and overseers, under admitted and advertised instructions to "be the labor leaders in fact as well as in name," are propagandizing the mill workers to "do more work and get increased earning." For instance, in the Atlantic Mill—a woolen mill of a big corporation at Olneyville, a suburb of Providence, R. I., the superintendent came around to each weaver a few weeks ago to tell how each "could make more money." Each was to run three looms instead of two, thus turning out 50 per cent more goods and supposedly getting 50 per cent more piece-work pay. Very well; the weavers tried it. But no sooner had they gotten under way at this system, than the piece-work rate was reduced from \$12 per "cut" (roll of cloth) to \$8 per cut. At first glance this seems to be a simple case of speeding up the work while leaving the amount of earnings unchanged. But look again: Weavers cannot, in fact, keep up the pace. The result is that workers who were making about \$35 a week (skilled weavers) are now running three looms instead of two and receiving less than \$20 per week. And this is in woolen mills. Woolen mills are supposed officially not to be affected by the wage-cut, which is officially put forward as applying only to cotton mills.



SOUTHERN SENATOR PLEADING THAT ABOLITION OF CHILD LABOR WILL RUIN THE COTTON INDUSTRY

**"Slavery on the Banner—"**

This is the plan from the narrowest and most unimaginative point of view. Taken in this way alone it is a challenge to the American labor movement such as has hardly ever been equalled. It is a bold order for the complete liquidation of the labor movement in the textile industry, for turning onto the street half of the workers of the cotton and woolen mills to become a floating reserve army of unemployed, with the reduction of wages to an average level which has been estimated at \$16.20 per week, the abandonment of the eight-hour day and a lowering of the age-limit for child labor.

In 1864 Karl Marx on behalf of the First International wrote to Abraham Lincoln of the fact that "an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world 'Slavery' on the banner of armed revolt. . . ." That slavery had to do with the production of raw cotton on the southern plantations. Sixty-one years later, we are moved to speak of the inscription of the word "slavery" on the banner of cold-blooded, "peaceful" wage-exploitation in the process of spinning and weaving that same cotton into cloth. The analogy is not a bad one. Any wage-labor system is slavery. But here we are dealing with a wage-slavery more intensified and more brutalized than ever before—a form which is really typical now in the postwar epoch of imperialism. And in a way it appears as an atavistic development. For the textile barons are actually reaching into the backward sections of the South (where semi-feudal conditions have never been completely eradicated) and are deliberately trying to use these semi-feudal conditions as a lever with which to lower the standards of working class life of the old, classic textile district of New England.

The textile manufacturing industry at least so far as cotton is concerned is no longer a New England industry. Its

outposts reach to Los Angeles, and to Oregon, while its most thriving centers are now found in the backward, until now purely agricultural, regions of Alabama, Georgia, Virginia and North and South Carolina.

The standard of living of these southern states has been adopted as the goal of the entire textile industry. First, after the end of the world war, the textile interests, fat to the bursting-point with profits of war time, poured their surplus into the South. Little local mills were bought up, enlarged and re-equipped as branches of the big New England combines. But more important, huge new mills with vastly improved machinery were caused to grow like mushrooms in the little country towns of 500 to 1000 and 2000 inhabitants, as branches of New England corporations. The kind of labor found there is described by the enthusiastic agents of the mill owners, as "mountaineer" labor. Mill agents speak and write openly of this type of labor as being ideal because it has never known of such a thing as labor organization and is accustomed to the half-starved life of mountain agriculture. Enthusiastic "efficiency experts" shout with joy that there is no age limit (or practically none) for the employment of the children of these mountaineers. Farmers who have hardly known what it is to handle money, leave their mountain corn patches and bring themselves, their wives, boys, girls and babies to work in the mills for "real money," without much regard for the question of how much that money-wage is.

The attitude of the manufacturer toward the easily exploited labor of the South was expressed in the "Standard Daily Trade Service" last December: "Resistance to wage reductions in the South is not expected to be strong, inasmuch as this is a non-union section, but in New England the workers will in all probability unite to oppose them."

And as one of the manufacturers' "experts" said in a recent speech: "One of the big hopes of the South lies in maintaining the class of operatives that they now possess and also extending and intensifying the good feeling between the employee and the employer."

What the concrete substance of this "good feeling between the employee and the employer" in the South is, is stated by the Standard Daily Trade Service: "Wages are considerably lower in the South, to the extent of apparently 25 to 30 per cent. In addition, the working week is longer than in the North. Whereas the week in the Southern mills ranges from 55 to 60 hours, the 48 hour week is more or less general in the Northern factories. Furthermore, the Southern mills have been remarkably free from labor troubles, owing to the fact that unionism has made practically no headway in that section."

**"Welfare Stuff"**

To keep the condition of low wages, long hours and unrestricted exploitation methods in the South, the manufacturing interests have concentrated on "welfare stuff." The Southern villages invaded by the textile princes teem with "employees' clubs," company unions, company churches, etc. Many of the little mill towns are owned outright by the companies and are ruled from the mill office, where the factory superintendent has literally the power of a czar, with the power to hire workers, fire them, evict them from their homes, order them out of town, employ or fire the local preacher, and to control every act of the lives of the entire community.

And then this Elysian field of the South is played up against the standards of living of the North. In their intensive propaganda in New England newspapers the mill owners' spokesmen threaten the New England workers:

"The cotton mills of the South are busy and hundreds of them are running day and night. This is because the costs of production are lower in the South, wages are lower, hours of operation are longer, so those southern mills are getting business. The New England cotton mill operatives can overcome this condition if they want to do so. If they will all double up work wherever possible.—"

While playing this cynical game, the textile financiers of course neglect to mention the process of combination which has brought the whole of the industry, wool and cotton, North and South, practically under one pyramid of control.

**The Growth of the Combine**

The power of the colossal group of mills headed by William M. Wood—"Old Man" Wood of the American Woolen Co. (though he has technically resigned from that company)—is an example of present-day combination. The original woolen company now boasts of sixty woolen mills, located almost entirely in New England. But even this is only a part of that single group headed by Wood. "Old Man" Wood, founder and still in fact head of the big Woolen Combine, now also appears as director general and chairman of the board of the great cotton mill combine called the Consolidated Textile Corporation. This corporation has not only swallowed up the twelve big cotton mills of the famous B. B. & R. Knight company in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, but also twenty-odd other cotton mills or groups



TEXTILE BARON LISTENING TO HIS FOREMAN EXPLAINING HOW THE WHEELS GO ROUND

of cotton mills in North Carolina, Kentucky, Virginia, Indiana, Oklahoma and Texas. It boasts of owning cotton mills with a capacity of 350,000,000 yards of cotton textiles annually.

The big Pacific Mills, famous in the labor history of Lawrence, Mass., now have enormous establishments at Lyman and Columbia, South Carolina. Likewise the New England Southern Mills operate not only in Lowell, Mass., and Lisbon, Maine, but also at Hogansville, Ga., LaGrange, Ga., Tucapau, South Carolina, and Pelzer, South Carolina.

Then there is the big Manville-Jenkes combination of cotton mills, a \$35,000,000 corporation. It not only has three big mills in Pawtucket and others at Manville, Woonsocket and Georgiaville, Rhode Island, but also owns a big mill at Gastonia, North Carolina, and a smaller one at High Shoals, North Carolina, with which it has to compete so fiercely that it took the lead in this wage-cutting drive.

There is little or no real competition between "the North" and "the South" in the manufacture of textiles. The "competition" is chiefly a propaganda picture for the wage-cutting drive; further than that it is a case of the big North and South mill combines (which lead the whole industry in all respects) forcing the New England mill workers to compete in wages and hours with the Southern mill workers.

**"Welfare Stuff" in New England**

So far has the "welfare stuff" been carried in the South—and so successfully—that the mill barons are making experiments with introducing the same system in New England towns. For instance the Lorraine Manufacturing Company's mills at Pawtucket and Westerly, R. I., have begun introducing a system of "honor pins." Small jewelled medals are given to "faithful" employees. This poor slave who has had the "honor" to serve his master for five years gets a bauble to pin on his coat, with one star on it; ten years' service earns two stars, etc. Twenty-five years of slavery without kicking may bend the back and sallow the face, but it is worth while, for it brings from the generous-souled superintendent a nice medal "studded with real jewels," while the poor but honest hand who works in the mill forty years is promised a badge covered with "eight real sapphires" provided that during the forty years his conduct is characterized by "loyalty to the firm." This is one of the cheapest, most peurile examples.

The Pacific Mills have also undertaken to introduce a "welfare" system of corruption of the workers into their northern mills, preliminary to the wage-cutting drive.

And so on, ad nauseam, The "welfare stuff" is being introduced in the North, not for the first time, but on a wider scale than before, as a substitute for union organization.

**Resistance?**

New England textile labor has a glorious record of resistance in the past. There are many reasons to expect the mill workers of Lawrence, Providence, the Pawtuxet Valley, Blackstone Valley, Fall River and New Bedford and other towns, to live up to that record. Since the wage-cutting drive began four months ago, there have been many small sporadic strikes, several thousands of workers altogether, in many districts, being out at one time. But at the moment I write these lines, only a few hundred are out. Every ingenuity conceivable to a big, centralized, thoroughly informed and prepared employers' group has been used to isolate each case of resistance, and to beat it down—or even temporarily to surrender in any isolated section where forcing the issue would cause a spreading of the disaffection. The cuts, decided on long in advance, are being applied dip-

(Continued on Page 275)

## Comrade Frunse

WHAT sort of a man is it that has been chosen to fill Trotsky's post as head of the Red Army? Who is this Michael Vassilievich Frunse, the new People's Commissar for War in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Our readers will want to know.

Comrade Frunse is a tried and tested member of the Russian Communist Party, a brilliant propagandist and an organizer of proven ability. He is a Bolshevik of long standing. For a time he was a member of the central committees of both the Russian Communist Party and the Ukrainian Communist Party. One of the most popular soviet leaders in Russia, he springs from poor parents and has spent the greater part of his life fighting the battles of the toiling masses. The capitalist press refers to "M. Frunse's notable military career," but it should not be thought that Comrade Frunse is a "soldier by trade." He got his training as a Red Guard and as an officer of the Red Army. He is one of the new type of the military chieftains who learned their art in defense of the revolution.

Frunse learned his art well. It was he who commanded the soviet armies on the southern front in 1920 when the counter-revolutionary White Guard army of Baron Wrangel was finally vanquished and driven from the soil of Russia. After Wrangel's defeat, Frunse was decorated by the Central Control Committee and presented with a sword on which was engraved a portrait of Karl Marx.

Michael Vassilievich Frunse was born in 1885, of a poor peasant family, at Pitchpeka in Turkestan. His father was a Moldavian who became naturalized as a Russian. Comrade Frunse grew up in the direst poverty and early began to feel the urge of revolt. While a student at St. Petersburg Polytechnic Institute he became a member of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, immediately aligning himself with the Bolshevik wing. In the beginning of 1905 he went to work in the industrial region of Ivanovo-Vosnesensk. He took an active part in the December insurrection.

The Ivanovo-Vosnesensk Committee elected Comrade Frunse delegate to the third and fourth joint (Bolshevik-Menshevik) congresses of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party at Stockholm.

Between 1904 and 1907 he was constantly dodging arrest. Finally in 1907, he was arrested, convicted of membership in the Bolshevik Party and sentenced to four years at hard labor in Siberia. He made his escape from Siberia in midwinter, suffering great hardships.

At the outbreak of the March, 1907, revolution, Frunse was at Minsk, in White Russia. He immediately became one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement there. The months that followed were busy and dangerous ones. In common with every other working class leader, he was facing the supreme test of an open struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. When the November revolution flamed up Frunse put himself at the head of the armed forces of the Shusky-Ivanovsky region, made his way to Moscow with a detachment of 2,000 armed workers and soldiers and threw himself into the fighting.

In April, 1919, Frunse was appointed commander-in-chief of the Red Army forces on the southeastern front.

In June, he was appointed commander-in-chief of all the Soviet forces in the east.

In February, 1920, Comrade Frunse undertook to liquidate the counter-revolution in south Russia and by November of the same year the counter-revolutionary hordes of Baron Wrangel had been routed.

Comrade Frunse does not come as a new man to his present important duties. During the period of Trotsky's illness it is Frunse who has been the actual head of the Red Army.

Da Zdrastvooyet, Comrade Peoples' Commissar! We like your record.

## The Death of a Traitor



FRITZ EBERT, who died early in March, represented the shame of the entire social-democracy of Germany, and of the Second International. He went down with the armor of capitalism on his back.

A prominent social-democratic leader, protege of Scheidemann, Ebert was lifted to power through the revolutionary might of the workers, whom he and his party cynically betrayed. Ebert was elected to the office which held until his death, at a time when the fate of German capitalism was hanging in the balance. Capitalism was saved for the time being by Ebert and his friends, who drowned the workers' revolution in a sea of blood.

The murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are upon his head.

Shortly before his death, Ebert figured in a sensational libel suit which he instituted against a monarchist editor who charged the President with "unpatriotic conduct" during the munitions strike which took place during the war. Ebert proved that he was steadfastly loyal to the German capitalists and an unashamed betrayer of the German working class. The exposure of social-democratic perfidy brought out at this trial is said to have imposed too severe a strain on the nerves of even the hardened Ebert.

His death is lamented by the bourgeoisie of the world, but not by class conscious workers.

## The Evolution of Senor Calles

By Manuel Gomez

FIFTEEN months ago Calles meant protection for the toiling Mexican masses against clerical and foreign domination; today he means governmental oppression, compromise with the native and foreign enemies of labor, disillusion and continued suffering for the peasants.



The change has come about so quickly that it hard to realize even in Mexico.

General Calles was an avowed labor candidate. His platform, unclear and contradictory though it was, appealed directly to the workers and peons. Mexican labor was a unit in his support. For the most part this support was unqualified; only the Communists, who joined loyally in the united labor front behind Calles, took occasion to point out the limitations and dangers of the callista policy. Gen. Calles went before labor unions and peasant leagues. He delivered impassioned speeches against "the crime of capitalist exploitation," winding up with a pilgrimage to the tomb of Emiliano Zapata, the heroic and almost legendary Indian agrarian chieftain, where he declared that the policies of Zapata were his policies and pledged himself to carry out Zapata's program for the confiscation of large estates and their distribution among the peons. The Mexican capitalist newspapers were furious. And far more uncontrolled, because further removed from the presence of vengeful callistas, was the wrath of the kept press in the United States. "Narrow, stupid nationalism," and "intolerable Bolshevism" were the mildest of the epithets used. The Calles' program clearly did not augur well for the plan of American imperialists to dominate Mexico politically and economically. In the emergency of Calles' almost certain election, the Chicago Tribune came forward with a scheme for the "plattising" of Mexico—reducing Mexico to the present status of Cuba.

### A Sudden Chorus of Praise.

But the newspapers have changed their tune. As far as the Mexican press is concerned this might not mean so much, for Calles is now President of Mexico and Mexican papers are accustomed to mind their step when it comes to criticizing the President. With the American papers the case is different. Their comment is much more significant.

On December 19, 1920, the New York Journal of Commerce opined that President Calles was "going to be a pleasant surprise," and on the following day the Wall Street Journal printed the following:

"Composition of the Calles' cabinet has, in general, been well received and caused an optimistic impression among industrialists. Disregarding their personalities, and their clearly indicated labor tendencies, the view locally is that they are sound and not likely to advance any too progressive labor measures without due consideration."

On January 1, 1925, the Wall Street Journal declared:

"There is evident a constantly increasing sentiment of confidence towards the new government in both financial and commercial circles."

On February 1, the New York Times declared:

"The International Committee of Bankers on Mexico has found the new Mexican government entirely friendly and discussions have belied the previous intimations that General Calles had radical tendencies."

Two days later the Chicago Tribune printed a despatch from its Mexico City correspondent:

"The government will prevent unjust strikes, eliminate professional strike agitators and convert the committee of arbitration into a formal court which will be guaranteed by congress and the laws of the nation and against whose decisions there will be no appeal."

### Peons Disillusioned.

While the native bourgeoisie and the American imperialists have been finding hitherto undiscovered virtues in Calles, his supporters among the Mexican workers and peons have been leaving him one by one. The Communists, who never had any illusions about the "pro-labor" general, have now come out openly against him. The trust of the workers in the government is dissipated. Union labor has been subjected to a whole series of attacks. The peons have already been completely betrayed.

The opposition grows. Except perhaps for the little group of Communists, it is a bewildered, thwarted opposition, not knowing what to hope for next. The Mexican workers have been betrayed so many, many times. They had resolved at last to back only a labor government. And now this! Is there a way out for Mexico or is it only a mirage?

And the average American worker who has been trying to puzzle his way along through the tangle of Mexican events will be even more confused. What is this crazy Mexican drama? he will ask himself. Is there no end to it at all?

Ask Ed. Doheny of Teapot Dome fame, president of the Mexican Petroleum Company, who has just lent the Calles government 6,000,000 pesos. Ask Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co., head of the International Committee of Bankers. Ask Hearst.

### The De la Huerta Rebellion.

To be able ourselves to answer these questions: how Calles once represented something which he represents no more; how this man who was the real point of attack in the reactionary uprising of Adolfo De la Huerta is now becoming increasingly satisfactory to the reactionaries—we must first know something of the ill-starred De la Huerta movement, the history of which has never been written.

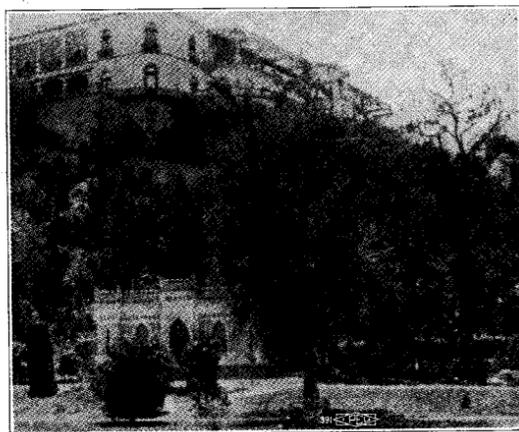
Such a revolution never was, on sea or land.

When before have there been disturbances in Mexico, capable, perhaps, of unseating the President, while at the same time no great cry went up from the big American financial interests which own hundreds of millions of dollars worth of Mexican property? As events progressed the comparative tranquility of our American financiers seemed almost incredible, for it persisted whether the armies of (then) President

Obregon met with victory or defeat. Prominent capitalists, when asked as to Mexico, smiled quizzically and said that everything was as it should be. The evidence of their faith was the firmness of the security markets. The five per cent bonds of the republic remained within one point of the price prevailing on December 6, 1923, when the rebellion broke out. Most important of all, vast quantities of new capital found their way into Mexico while the combat raged! While timid "outsiders" were getting rid of their Mexican investments the big fellows were gobbling them up.

What is the hidden mystery back of this state of affairs?

That Wall Street should have been prepared to greet with equanimity and quiet joy the prospect of a De la Huerta regime in Mexico was of course a surprise to no one familiar with the coming and goings of Adolpho De la Huerta while he



CHAPULTEPEC CASTLE, MEXICO CITY, OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT CALLES

was still Minister of Finance under Obregon. It was through the De la Huerta-Lamont and the De la Huerta-Doheny-Sinclair-Standard Oil agreements, which preceded American recognition of the Obregon government, that Wall Street's economic rule in Mexico had been consolidated. There remained the question of political control. De la Huerta's counter-revolutionary "pronunciamiento" aimed at the establishment of a reactionary regime based on the landowning and military classes, and dominated by foreign capital. It would have given the "golpe de gracia" to the policy of splitting up the large estates—and at the same time, politically, would have made Mexico a solid link in a homogeneous American empire stretching from the Rio Grande to the southern plateau of Bolivia.

There is a common belief that the De la Huerta episode was an anti-American, pro-English affair, backed by the British oil interests. There does not appear to be any warrant for this belief, except of course, that Obregon was not on any too good terms with the Britishers. An official of the American-owned International Banking Corporation said in Mexico City shortly after the De la Huerta rebellion broke out: "The political difficulties of the nation are being solved for the last time by the De la Huerta uprising. After this there will never be another revolution. Affairs will be settled right, and Americans who are in touch with the situation know it." (The Mexican World, Jan. 1, 1924.)

But the financiers of this country did not support De la Huerta as the weeks went by! They supported Obregon! That is a contradiction which reveals the whole course of the revolution as it developed.

#### A Change of Front.

While Wall Street and Washington were outspoken in their praise of "the accomplished Senor De la Huerta" (as the Washington Post called him during the first days of the rebel movement), they very soon shifted their position. There was no attempt at concealment. The United States government openly facilitated the triumphs of Obregon, not only by sanctioning a large loan but by allowing the Mexican federalists to cross U. S. territory—by shipping Obregon arms and ammunition while denying them to the rebels, etc., etc. All of which, we are told, was an earnest of our government's sudden devotion to constitutionalism in Latin America.

The lines of combat in Mexico were tightly drawn. On one side the allied forces of blackest reaction—De la Huertistas. On the other side the great majority of the Mexican population, including workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie—Obregonistas.

Yet few are so naive to suppose that the United States government backed Obregon out of regard for the workers, peasants and nationalist petty bourgeoisie.

The insurrection burst suddenly on the outside world, but in Mexico it was long preparing. It was a result of the growing aggressiveness of the Mexican landowners and stockholders, together with the resolute determination of the American imperialists to secure political as well as economic control of the republic on the south. A social basis had been forming in Mexico to link up and make solid the conquest of Mexico by foreign capital. It manifested itself in proclamations that "perpetual radicalism" in Mexican affairs could no longer be endured by the solid men of the country. It found more militant expression—in attacks on the workers, the spread of the open shop movement, outrages in Vera Cruz and Puebla, the rise of fascism and the organization by the big landowners of the notorious "Sindicato de Agricultores." This tendency picked De la Huerta as its candidate for the presidency against his erstwhile friend Calles.

#### From Ballots to Bullets.

But it soon developed that Calles could not be beaten. The social basis of the De la Huerta movement was not such as to make elections its strongest point. Mexican peons can be fooled, but they cannot be fooled in the name of reaction. Thus "democracy," as a method, was ruled out for the reactionaries. On the other hand, there was considerable dissension among the officers of the army, finding voice in the "juntas de protesta," etc., which suggested the possibility of a recourse to arms. One-fifth of the army was actually won over in the revolt.

The De la Huerta publicity bureaus explained the rebellion on the grounds that Obregon was showing undue partiality to Calles in the election campaign. The real foe was not Obregon but Calles.

In the actual fighting De la Huerta got no support except from the disaffected military, who were no match for the rest of the army backed by spontaneously formed regiments of workers and peasants. Within a couple of weeks it was plain that the revolt had missed fire. It was then that Wall Street deserted De la Huerta as a bad bet, while the English capitalists remained friendly to him in the vain hope that he

might win after all and thus put them in an advantageous position with regard to the competing American interests. Wall Street switched to Obregon—that is to Calles. And the workers and peasants who were fighting beneath the Obregon-Calles banner suddenly acquired a strange ally, whose powerful support was an important factor in helping Obregon to pacify the country.

#### Wall Street's Solution.

This was the cheapest if not the most favorable way out for Wall Street. It did not mean the immediate and complete subordination of Mexico that the De la Huertista reaction had promised, but a De la Huerta victory was out of the question. Armed intervention by the United States was a possible alternative, but this would have been a long, tedious and expensive task, which would not have been worth the cost, when the other alternatives of the situation are considered. An early peace, restoration of Law and Order in Mexico, were urgent necessities for the foreign investors. Intervention is to be put off indefinitely; it remains an effective threat, but the date of its actual occurrence will depend on the development of the various "peace offensives" in relation to the consolidation of Mexico with Central America and the islands of the Caribbean as the Latin American base of American imperialism.

Thus De la Huerta's ambition went glimmering. Already he is almost forgotten.

With the falling off in oil production in the United States and the probability of considerably increased production in Mexico during the present year, Mexican oil assumes an extraordinary importance for Wall Street. Even last year, when many wells were "pinched in," and output was systematically curtailed, Mexico produced more than 13 per cent of the world's total supply. The military-strategic as well as the economic-business value of this oil to American imperialism is so great that it is bound to be a central factor in American policy toward Mexico.

Calles has shown himself extremely friendly toward the oil interests—so friendly indeed as to secure that 6,000,000 peso loan from Doheny. Strikes in the oil region around Tampico have been ruthlessly opposed by the government and everything from armed force to bribery has been used to break them. The United States government did not support Calles for nothing!

#### Calles and the Bankers.

The President has declared his unequivocal determination to carry out the monstrous agreement with the International Committee of Bankers, which provides, among other things, for heavy interest payments on the national debt, reorganization of the National Bank of Mexico under Morgan domination, and return of the National Railways of Mexico to private ownership.

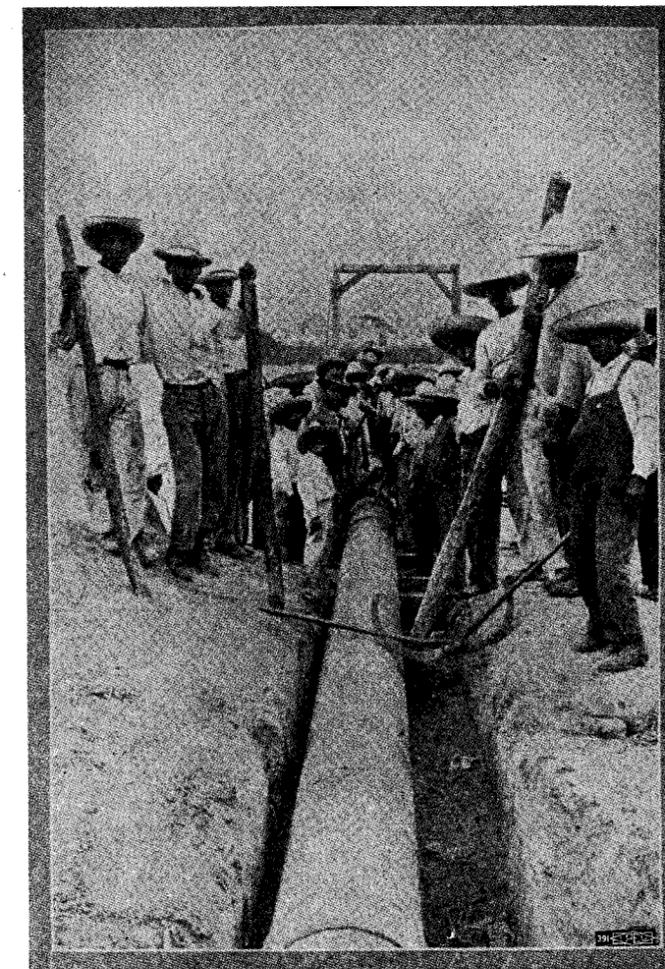
Apropos of the railroads, the following significant paragraph appeared in the Wall Street Journal of February 26:

"The situation was considerably relieved following announcement of the administration that henceforth the National Railways, previously operated autonomously, would be a direct dependency of the government under the Department of Communications and Public Works. THIS IS REGARDED AS A CLEVER MOVE BY PRESIDENT CALLES. IT MAKES THE LINES DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE TO THE GOVERNMENT, THUS AVOIDING LABOR QUESTIONS

AND STRIKES AND OPENING A CLEAR WAY FOR A READJUSTMENT PLAN." (Following in the footsteps of Obregon, Calles refuses to tolerate strikes among any section of government employees).

#### Introducing the Next President.

The connecting link of the Calles government with the Mexican masses is Luis N. Morones, Minister of Commerce, Labor and Industry, who is also, characteristically enough a connecting link with American imperialism, through the so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor which was established on the bed rock of the Morones-Gompers alliance. Morones is the big man of the Calles cabinet. He, and not the President, is the real power in the government. His career has been nothing short of remarkable. A few years ago he was going around to dirty, out-of-the-way meeting halls, talking to every little group of workers who would listen to him. He did not scorn to attend the most insignificant convention. A shrewd and decidedly capable opportunist, he has taken advantage of the shifting political background of Mexico to climb step by step to power by means of the immature and developing labor movement, inside of which he has succeeded in building up a potent personal



PEONS LAYING A PIPE LINE FROM ONE OF MR. DOHENY'S OIL WELLS

machine. Today, when the rank and file of workers and peasants have at last found him out and learned to hate him, the machine holds him in power. He is slated to follow Calles as President of Mexico.

As vice-president of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, he has allowed that body to become an out-and-out agency of American imperialism, upholding American military rule in Nicaragua and Santo Domingo, and muffling every voice of protest against Wall Street from the other Latin American delegates. In Mexico itself, he has carried out the Gompers policy of expelling Communists from the trade unions. He has also become a professional disrupter of "outlaw" strikes. Lately he has carried his strikebreaking activities into the Regional Federation of Labor (C. R. O. M.) itself. The climax came a few months ago when the federation issued a ukase to all local unions to the effect that it would not countenance any strike at all unless the matter was first submitted to the federation.

#### Open Betrayal.

But the most clear-cut betrayal by the Calles' regime is seen in the case of the peasants. Their arms have been taken away from them. Their attempts at organization have been interfered with. The agrarian program of the government has become a miserable farce, and the spontaneous attempts of peons to take possession of the land have been

brutally put down. In this way did President Calles fulfill his solemn pledge by the tomb of Emiliano Zapata!

The Calles-Morones elements do not relish the idea of becoming mere mannikins in the hands of Wall Street. They have a certain petty bourgeois pride and certain petty bourgeois interests of their own. They would like to play an independent role in Mexican affairs. But the only forces they can count on in such a policy are the working class and the peasantry and they have neither the resolution nor the desire to serve as sincere leaders of the workers and peasants. So they have come to terms with American imperialism.

Opposition to the treacherous tactics of the government is steadily accumulating among the masses especially in the trade unions. It lacks leadership, however. The Communists furnish the only intelligent and courageous guidance and they are very weak.

Nevertheless, the present situation cannot continue. Concessions to American capitalism mean eventual alliance with it, particularly when they go hand in hand with persecution of radicals in Mexico. This is a path along which the Mexican workers and peasants will not allow themselves to be led. Once again it will be shown that some other method than "democracy" must be used to force reaction upon the Mexican masses.

# Amalgamation from Below

By Wm. Z. Foster

**I**n every capitalist country the amalgamation of the trade unions is essentially a movement from the bottom. The rank and file of the craft unions, under imperative necessity to protect their standards of living from the attacks of the employers, realize the insufficiency of these antiquated organizations and demand their consolidation. Never do the bureaucracy display any foresight in the matter, never do they objectively consider the added power which amalgamation would give the workers, never do they, as real generals would, constructively consolidate the union forces as against the growing capitalist power. They are too immersed in their petty job-holding ambitions for that. They stand around inactive until the avalanche is upon them, until the capitalists have administered terrific defeats to the unions and the rank and file are raising a great cry for unity. Then sluggishly they reluctantly permit (permit is the right word) amalgamation to take place from rank and file pressure. In no capitalist country have the trade union bureaucrats, of their own volition, take the lead in the amalgamation movement.

Nowhere is the rank and file character of the amalgamation movement so pronounced as in the United States. Nowhere else do the bureaucrats offer such desperate resistance to the consolidation of the embattled craft unions. In England, especially after the defeat of the coal miners and the collapse of the Triple Alliance in 1921, the need for unity was burningly felt in the whole labor movement. A great cry for amalgamation, stimulated by the left wing, went up from the rank and file. To a considerable extent the bureaucrats have yielded to this demand. Many have even become mild advocates of amalgamation: the amalgamation movement, which had previously consolidated many unions such as N. U. R. and A. E. U. took on added vigor. Amalgamation occurred in the textile unions.

Much the same has happened in Germany. For many years and especially since the end of the war, the rank and file of the unions finding voice through the militant left wing, have demanded widespread amalgamation. The bureaucrats in many instances have not made an intransigent resistance to this demand. They have grudgingly allowed consolidations to take place in numerous instances, until seven-eighths of the entire movement is now combined into 12 large unions. The Leipzig convention, by a small majority decided eventually to reduce the total number of unions from 48 to 15.

#### Balking the Rank and File.

But what a different picture in the United States. Nowhere are the trade unions so hard pressed as in this country, nowhere are they more primitive in character and more unfitted to face the highly organized capitalist class, and nowhere has the rank and file raised such a far-reaching cry for amalgamation as in this country. Under our leadership, fully half of the whole labor movement demanded amalgamation. Yet the bureaucrats ignored this demand completely. With the most desperate resistance, they beat it back. Hardly a single amalgamation have they permitted to take place. In other countries the amalgamation movement is looked upon

as a sort of necessary evil by the bureaucrats, something to which they must yield sooner or later.

But in our ultra-reactionary movement the stupid and venal bureaucrats consider it a dangerous manifestation of Bolshevism, something that has to be fought to the death. They see the unions cut to pieces, but they will not amalgamate them, even though the rank and file cry out for it en masse.

This intransigent resistance of the bureaucrats towards amalgamation (even as to all other militant policies) poses a serious problem before the left wing. Ways must be found to overcome this resistance. Of themselves, the bureaucrats are sterile. They have no constructive policies. They are willing to see the unions destroyed or turned into mere company unions. This is the meaning of their many new schemes of class collaboration, such as labor banking, the B. & O. plan, workers' insurance companies, etc. The bureaucrats, unwilling to fight capitalism, would turn the unions into instruments with which the capitalists can better exploit the workers.

#### New Methods Needed.

The problem before the left wing is to find ways and means to bring still greater rank and file pressure to bear upon the bureaucrats, to develop more militant and effective ways of applying the left wing policies, and in this case, specifically, amalgamation. The passage of resolutions alone in local unions and in national conventions is insufficient. The union autocrats blithely ignore all such. They practically tell the rank and file to go to hell, and pursue their own sweet will along the fatal course of reactionary craft unionism. It matters nothing to them that large numbers of the best union members, discouraged at the failure to bring about amalgamation, quit the organization in disgust. Nor do they learn anything from such major disasters as the 1922 railroad shopmen's strike which cost the unions several hundred thousand members. They are dead to the interests of the unions. Their motto is, "After us the deluge." They hang on to their secure jobs as long as there is a rag of a union sufficient to pay their salaries. And when it dies altogether, they go for employment to the employers whose friendship they have sedulously cultivated while pretending to represent the interests of the workers.

The struggle for amalgamation must be sharpened, extended and intensified, and thus the bureaucrats made to bend to the will of the rank and file, which so far they have successfully flouted. In my article of September, 1924, in the *Labor Herald*, entitled, "The Next Task of the Left Wing," I gave an inkling of this necessity. The amalgamation movement must be brought still closer to the workers' lives. It must be prosecuted with added spirit and determination. It must take on more than ever a "from below" character. This means that our amalgamation program needs a certain elaboration, a closer and more systematic application than ever before. It must be definitely conceived and carried out under three distinct heads, all closely related to each other; namely, national, local and shop.

## Poems by Jim Waters

### STATISTICS

I'M tired of listening to sun-shine talk,  
This pie-in-the-sky stuff,  
This travesty on patient toil;  
Let the Jesus-screamers,  
The open-shop artists,  
And their ilk...  
Hook their fat necks over a flying emery wheel  
For... eight... long... hours;  
And to the beat and whir of machinery,

#### Chant this:

"I work to get money to buy food to get strong,  
So I can work to get money to buy food to get strong"...  
Then, maybe, they will understand  
Why the church pews are empty,  
And men die for unionism.

—Jim Waters

### TO A CERTAIN RICH LADY

**Y**OU stroke your fat cheeks with the exquisite touch of a connoisseur admiring an antique bronze.  
You loll in your velvet ease with the haughty air of a mediæval queen, and talk contemptuously about the multitudes.

There are a hundred thousand slaves toiling in the swelter of sweat-shops for a bare subsistence, that you might loll in your velvet ease and stroke your fat cheeks with the exquisite touch of a connoisseur admiring an antique bronze.

—Jim Waters.

### BELLIES

**A**T Washington,  
I saw a bass-drum belly  
Waddling through a luxurious corridor of the Capitol.  
This belly was a high dignitary  
Who sits on an authoritative bench,  
And dictates the laws to the gaunt bellies of the poor.  
There were other bass-drum bellies waddling about  
And lounging in executive chambers;  
They make the laws for the gaunt bellies of the poor.  
And I saw the bass-drum bellies of the rich,  
The bankers, the industrial magnates and their lackeys,  
Laughing, talking, whispering with these official bass-drum bellies.

And I thought: "What can be the meaning of all this?"

I looked to the North and saw the gaunt bellies  
of strikers unlawfully beaten and jailed.  
I looked to the South and saw the gaunt bellies  
of factory children denied their constitutional rights.  
I looked to the West and saw the gaunt bellies  
of farmers bankrupt by legalized robbery.  
Everywhere I looked I saw the gaunt bellies of the poor  
Oppressed and denied their constitutional rights  
By these official bass-drum bellies at Washington.  
Surely, I thought: "This is a Belly Government,  
Of, by and for the bass-drum bellies of the rich."

—Jim Waters

### National Movements.

Effective amalgamation usually can take place only when official representatives of the national and international unions assemble in conference, either of their own free will or by dint of strong rank and file pressure, and formally fuse together the organizations concerned. This is the experience of the United States, England, Germany, Russia, and all other countries where labor unions exist and have combined their forces. Hence, to bring about such official national amalgamation conferences must remain a leading objective of the amalgamation movement and every effort should be exerted to this end. A constant agitation must be carried on for the holding of these national unity conferences, to amalgamate all the unions of the country into a series of industrial unions, to amalgamate all the unions in a given industry into one organization, or to amalgamate the most closely related unions in an industry.

The Trade Union Educational League has well understood the necessity for these eventual amalgamation conferences and it has carried on a militant campaign for their calling. It has been the means of passing such amalgamation conference resolutions through thousands of local unions and scores of central labor councils, state federations of labor, and international union conventions. This was work in the right direction and it must be continued with redoubled energy. At present, however, because of the bitter resistance of the bureaucrats in the face of the big rank and file demand, a certain lassitude has fallen upon the amalgamation movement. But this must be relentlessly overcome. The question of amalgamation on a national scale must be made a first order of business in every trade union convention or meeting. The propaganda for industrial unionism through amalgamation must be prosecuted ceaselessly and with determination.

In fighting for national amalgamation, the militants have had to brave the tyranny of the autocratic trade union leaders. We have set up amalgamation committees, although these have been outlawed and banned by the bureaucrats who, if they could secure their arbitrary desires, would ruthlessly stamp out every semblance of the amalgamation movement. We have held national amalgamation conferences in individual industries, which have likewise been officially condemned by bell, book and candle. And we must envisage the calling, eventually, of a great amalgamation rank and file conference of all industries, no matter what the reactionaries may think or do about it. This kind of conference would be a powerful lever to force the bureaucrats into amalgamation. It was by the holding of such an unofficial convention in 1911, at the time of the great Harriman strike, that the militant elements amongst the railroad shopmen, compelled their officials to organize the present Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L. and to generally accept the principle of federation. It is only when the rank and file speak with such militancy and decisiveness that the reactionary bureaucrats take heed. This, of course, does not justify rash, impatient moves on our part.

### Local Movements.

But this fight for amalgamation on a national scale is not enough. Militant efforts must be put forth to raise the amalgamation issue more effectively upon a local scale and to bring about the greatest possible degree of solidarity among the related unions in the given industrial centers. Movements

must be carried on, of course, to amalgamate, so far as practicable, the local unions belonging to one and the same international, but even more important is it to bring about the closest possible relationship in a given industry between the local unions belonging to several international unions.

A vigorous and effective fight for amalgamation can be carried on in this field. In various industries, such as metal, building, and printing, there are councils already in existence loosely uniting the local unions in their respective spheres. Our campaign of amalgamation must include detailed plans to win over and democratize these bodies, which are now for the most part dead committees of officials. We must fight to give these bodies broader functions, to make them unite more closely the affiliated local unions. This fight must be two-sided: (a) to make these councils appropriate real power in the course of their actual functioning, and (b) to fight in the international conventions for the legal granting of such power to unite more closely the local unions. In industries where no councils exist, as for example in the needle trades, an industry ripe for amalgamation, fights should be initiated at once for their immediate formation upon a broad rank and file basis and with the maximum unity and functions possible. The fake Needle Trades Alliance in that industry must be fought. These very local struggles themselves, which must be directly coupled up with the struggle for amalgamation nationally, will greatly further the whole movement to consolidate the unions and will strengthen the left wing movement generally.

Militant action within such councils can achieve a solidarity theoretically impossible under the union constitutions. This was amply demonstrated in the great packing house movement. The Chicago Stockyards Labor Council was an instrument of real unity for the unions comprising it. Likewise the closely-knit councils that were developed in all important steel centers during the steel campaign of 1918-19. Still another instance that may be noted (of the many on hand) was the well known Chicago District Council of railroad workers, which, in the hey-day of the shop unions, was a powerful center of rank and file propaganda and action, notwithstanding the bitter opposition of the railroad officers. These militant councils cited, had they been controlled by reactionaries, would have been as dead as the ordinary metal, building, or printing trades councils are now. In such local bodies the essence of our tactics must be a persistent insistence upon more power to unite the unions. In spite of official opposition, this must be carried on militantly, although foolhardy impatience must be avoided. More and more functions must be won for such local bodies, more and more they must come to speak in the name of their affiliated unions on all vital questions. But such movements must stop short of actually breaking the locals away from their internationals. The question of national amalgamation must be kept in the foreground always.

But the local amalgamation movement must not stop with work within formally organized councils. Inter-union committees of all sorts should be set up on a united front basis, dealing with various vital issues of the struggle. These can well be used effectively for general left wing propaganda and to emphasize the demand for amalgamation. Along such lines there can be unemployment committees, organization commit-

*(Continued on page 282)*

# Max Eastman on Leninism

By Alexander Bittelman

### Eastman Misses the Main Thing

By this sort of reasoning Eastman shows that he had missed the most important feature not only of the wisdom of Lenin but of the whole philosophy of Marxism and Communism. It simply escaped the attention of Eastman that in the Weltanschauung of Communism there is no such precipice between theory and practice as his reasoning seems to presuppose. Quite the contrary is true. The most essential characteristic of Marxism is the fact that it is the theory and practice of class struggle and social revolution. According to Marx the chief task of a proletarian theory is not alone to study the world but to change it. Marxian theory and Marxian science are nothing else but a practical weapon in the hands of the proletarian vanguard for the destruction of capitalism and the introduction of the Communist order of society. This is precisely the way in which Marx and Engels themselves employed their theories every day of their active and strenuous lives.

Marx discovered the mechanics of history, says Eastman. Perfectly correct. But is that all that Marx did? Did it ever occur to Marx Eastman that Marx actually built a revolutionary movement of the working class? Marx was alive to every manifestation of the class struggle. Marx and his original group of followers actively participated in these struggles. The writings of Marx and Engels are not detached studies of the mechanics of history but concrete political statements of revolutionary leaders giving direction to the proletarian vanguard how to make history in the interests of their class.

Marx was as much a man of practical deeds as he was a man of science; Marx was a proletarian revolutionist—first, last and always. Marx was a theoretician, a scientist, an organizer, a statesman, a strategist and a tactician. His whole genius was a remarkably harmonious blend of theory and practice, study and action. In this respect there is practically no difference between the wisdom of Marx and the wisdom of Lenin. Furthermore, the very basis of Marxism is the organic and inseparable connection between revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice.

True, this organic connection between the theory and practice of Marxism had been broken for a while. It was broken by the opportunists of the Second International, notably, by Karl Kautsky, whose greatest crime against Marxism consisted precisely in this, that he attempted to transform Marxism from a science of proletarian revolution into an abstract theory of social mechanics. And it was no one else but Lenin that challenged this Kautskian parody of Marxism, thus re-establishing the broken connection between its theory and practice.

It might be well to say, just in passing, that the formerly rigid distinction between the scientist and the practical engineer, which is Eastman's formula for the relation between Marx and Lenin, is losing its actuality even in the sphere of natural science.

There is no such distance nowadays, intellectually or physically, between the chemist-scientist, the biologist, phy-

IN his article on "The Wisdom of Lenin," published in the Liberator of June and July, 1924, Max Eastman raises among others two important questions. First, the relation between Marx and Lenin. Second, the nature of Lenin's contribution to the proletarian class struggle and to the social revolution. To both these questions Max Eastman supplies an answer which, in the opinion of the writer of this article, is a wrong answer, one that is liable to give rise to serious misconceptions and misunderstandings. This mistake must be corrected.

### Is there such a thing as Lenin-ism?

Max Eastman does not believe that there exists such a thing as Lenin-ism. Max Eastman can see Lenin, the individual. He can see Lenin's wisdom as it manifested itself concretely through a number of decades in the proletarian struggle for power. But he cannot see the system of ideas, the co-ordinated and organically unified collection of revolutionary thoughts and principles which is being designated by the term Lenin-ism.

Says Eastman:

"There is a tendency among Russian Communists to put into circulation the word 'Leninism.' And it is natural, I suppose, in the absence of the man to try to erect his past judgments into a static thing. But these judgments were characterized primarily by their mobility and reference to a changing state of facts. Lenin did not create an ism. He did just the opposite thing; he took an ism down out of the intellectual heaven, and made it live and work."

It is at this point that Eastman raises the second question, the relation between Lenin and Marx. He says:

"His (Lenin's) name will stand side by side with that of Marx in the history of human culture exactly because of this difference. Marx abolished utopianism out of the theory of socialism; Lenin abolished utopianism out of its practice. Marx discovered the mechanics of history; Lenin was the first great historic engineer."

Eastman's reasoning presents itself to us in the following way. Marx was a scientist, a theoretician, Lenin was an engineer, a man who applied the science and theory of Marx to immediate, practical use; Marx discovered and formulated basic laws which, according to Eastman, are by their very nature static, immobile, unchangeable. That is why the discoveries and contributions of Marx became an ism, something, according to Eastman, which is static, immobile and unchangeable. While Lenin, on the other hand, was a man of practical deeds. His peculiar wisdom, according to Eastman, was "practical." He took Marxism, which was resting peacefully in the "intellectual heaven" and made it live and work. In other words, Lenin was dealing not with basic laws but with current, everyday life, which is not static but very much mobile and changeable. For this reason Lenin's judgments, "which were characterized by their mobility and reference to a changing state of facts," cannot be cramped into something static and unchangeable, that is, they cannot be frozen into an ism. Hence, there can be no such thing as Lenin-ism.

sicist, astronomer, psychologist, etc., and those applying these sciences to immediate, practical ends, such as, various kinds of physicians and practical engineers. The tremendous development and concentration of capitalist technic has brought science and its application together, even into one place, which is the laboratory of the large industrial enterprise. The scientist is no longer a recluse, isolated from the turmoil of everyday life, but an active cog in the industrial and social machine of modern capitalism. Scientist and engineer are not one and the same thing, but the difference between the two is one of degree rather of quality.

In the case of Marx, here, there was one of the most outstanding examples of science and action combined in one individual. Lenin was another example. In him just as in Marx we find this peculiar greatness of genius, the remarkable blend of science and its application, theory and practice combined in one. To say, therefore, as Max Eastman does, that Marx was merely the discoverer of basic laws and that Lenin was only applying these laws to immediate use is to miss completely the meaning of Marxism and the role of Lenin and Marx in the social revolution. Engineers at one and the same time. Both studied and discovered the laws of history in order to change it. The difference between Marx and Lenin is not the difference between scientist and practical engineer but the difference between the two social epochs in which the two lived.

The epoch of Marx was marked by the following two characteristics. First, the struggle of the world bourgeoisie for political power—the epoch of bourgeois revolutions—was coming to an end. Second, the world proletariat was making its first appearance on the political scene as a definite class having distinct class interests.

The epoch of Lenin is marked by quite different characteristic. First, capitalism having reached its maturity in the shape of imperialism has definitely entered its period of decline. Second, the world-war with all that this involves. Third, the beginning of the proletarian revolution.

Quite naturally the concrete tasks of the proletariat and its vanguard in the epoch of Marx would be different from the tasks of the proletarian vanguard in the epoch of Lenin. This being so, it would require no additional proof to see that the revolutionary theory and practice actually evolved during the epoch of Marx would be something quite distinct from the revolutionary theory and practice of the epoch of Lenin. Which is the same as saying that the epoch of Marx produced Marxism and the epoch of Lenin produced Leninism, both being the theory and practice of the revolutionary movement of the working class for the two respective stages in the development of world capitalism.

This fact also establishes the historic relationship between Marxism and Leninism. Leninism extends, develops and completes Marxism in the same way as the present (imperialist) era of capitalism extends, develops and completes the fundamental processes of capitalism of the era of Marx. Leninism would be impossible without Marxism just as the modern revolutionary movement would be impossible without Leninism.

#### Leninism or Past Judgments of Lenin?

But, says Eastman, there is no such thing as Leninism. There is only an attempt by the Russian Communists to erect his (Lenin's) past judgments into a "static" thing. This, according to Eastman, is wrong, because "these judgments were characterized primarily by their mobility and reference to a changing state of facts."

In other words, because Lenin's past judgments were based on concrete, living reality, therefore these judgments cannot be erected into a system. But the same is true of the past judgements of Marx and Engels. The same is true, in fact, of the "past judgments" of every great thinker. If Eastman's dictum holds good with regard to Lenin, it should be applicable to Marx as well. This means that there can be no such thing as Marxism.

But Eastman does not say that. He recognizes the existence of Marxism but denies the possibility of Leninism. However, as soon as Eastman attempts to formulate what to him is the essence of Lenin's wisdom, the (Eastman) immediately begins to erect into a system the past judgments of Lenin. That is, Eastman himself is making an ism out of Lenin's past judgments. Eastman himself formulates not less than four basic principles of what he calls "Lenin's method of revolutionary engineering." What is this, if not an attempt to create an ism out of Lenin's past judgments?

The trouble with Eastman's attempt at the formulation of Leninism is that it does not really give the essence of Lenin's contribution to the theory and practice of the proletarian struggle for power. According to Eastman, the following is "the first basic principle in Lenin's method of revolutionary engineering":

"That the inspired revolutionary idealist should participate personally in the petty and unrevolutionary and daily struggles of the workers for a pittance of life."

Lenin stressed that point very strongly, but this is not a basic characteristic of Leninism. It is Marxism. The same is true of another principle which Eastman presents as a fundamental of Leninism. It is this:

"Personal identification with the struggling class; ideological independence of them, and complete, explicit, continual expression of the revolutionary ideology."

This, too, is one of the practices of Lenin and of the movement led by him, but it is not a basic characteristic of Leninism. This principle was not only first formulated but also practiced by Marx and Engels.

The characteristics of Leninism must be looked for in the specific characteristics of the present phase of capitalism, the phase of imperialism and the beginning of the proletarian world revolution. What is the nature of present-day capitalism as distinct from capitalism of a quarter of a century ago? It is imperialism, the period of decline of the present order of society, the last phase of capitalist development. This is one of the essentials of Leninism.

Imperialist war on a world scale and its relation to the proletarian struggle for power—this is another problem created by present day capitalism, which found its solution in Leninism.

(Continued on last page)

*How capitalism feeds racial prejudices and takes advantages of them to beat down labor's living standards. The need for a united struggle of black and white workers.*

## Negroes in American Industries

By William F. Dunne

Two tendencies show themselves in the labor movement. One is the blind, dangerous and senseless hatred of the Negro workers, encouraged by the unscrupulous capitalists and carried on by the camp followers of capitalism—real estate sharks, prostitute journalists, labor misleaders and all the carrion crew that live on the offal of the system.

This is the tendency that brought white and Negro workers into conflict in the Chicago race riots in 1919, in which 23 Negroes and 15 whites were killed and 537 persons of both races injured.

The other tendency, manifested only by the Communist Party and the most intelligent and militant of the workers outside its ranks, is perhaps best illustrated by the white workers who gave their lives in an armed struggle to protect a Negro organizer of the Timber Workers' Union from the attack of gunmen of the Great Southern Lumber Company, November 22, 1919.

The heroic stand of these southern white union men shines like a golden star in the bloody history of 1919—the year in which the antagonism between white and colored workers, as a result of the advent of the Negro into industry,

reached its climax, expressing itself in race wars, lynchings and dozens of cases of terror against Negroes.

The employers have taken full advantage of the racial antagonism, if this term can be used to describe a problem that has, so far as the labor movement is concerned, an almost exclusive economic basis—the competition of the black workers with the white for the means of livelihood.

That Negroes were used to break strikes in the meat packing, steel and transportation industries, that they are undoubtedly hard to organize in some of the existing unions and are in many cases prejudiced against them, complicates the situation, but it no more proves that the Negro is a natural strikebreaker than the seduction of Negro women by white men proves that the whole male white race is engaged in this pastime.

There are two reasons for the Negro's distrust of the labor unions, but it is yet to be proved that a much higher percentage of Negroes than white workers remain outside of labor organizations which they have an opportunity of joining.

The fact that in those occupations and industries where there are functioning labor unions and where there are

*This is the second of Comrade Dunne's well-informed articles dealing with the Negro in industry. The first one appeared in the March issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY.*



NEGRO OPERATIVES IN LARGE HAT-MAKING ESTABLISHMENT  
This shop has been partitioned so as to segregate the Negro women workers from the others.

any considerable number of Negro workers, but little complaint of the attitude of the Negro workers is heard, is proof that Negro workers can be organized successfully. In the United Mine Workers of America there are not only hundreds of Negro coal miners but Negro organizers as well; in the Teamsters' union, the Building Laborers' union, the Longshoremen's union—organizations that have something of a mass character, there is practically no color discrimination and none of the racial prejudice found in other unions of the purely craft type.

The inescapable conclusion from the evidence is that when the Negro acquires industrial experience, is in actual competition with the organized white workers, two things happen—the white workers swallow their prejudices in the face of the need for better organization and the Negro worker abandons his suspicion of the labor union and its objects. This brings us again to the two principal reasons for the lack of organization among the Negro workers. They are:

1. The baseless prejudice of the organized white workers caused by

(a) Artificially created racial antagonisms—sexual jealousy fanned by the constant stream of propaganda, belief in the mental inferiority of the Negro, etc.

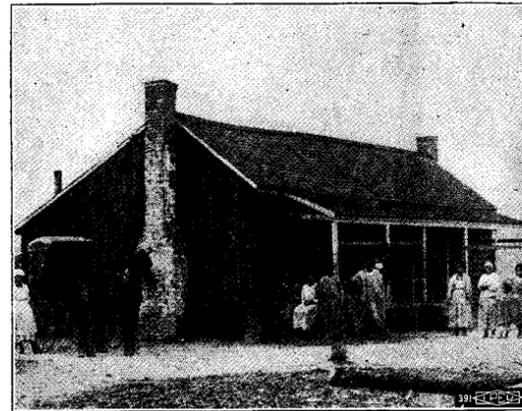
(b) The belief that the Negro worker is a natural strike-breaker as a result of his use as such in strikes of longshoremen, packinghouse workers, steel workers and other strikes.

(c) The distrust of the organized workers of any new element in the ranks of the working class (the Negro inherits the labor union prejudice formerly displayed against the foreign-born worker).

2. The Negro workers coming into industry are peasants with the lack of organizational experience characteristic of



NEGRO TUNNEL WORKERS



TYPICAL PLANTATION HOME OF NEGROES  
IN RURAL SOUTH

peasants the world over and with all of the ignorant peasant's suspicion of the city worker.

(a) Under the very poorest conditions in industry they have better wages, better food and better living than they have ever experienced before; they must acquire an entirely new standard of comparison before they are interested in unions.

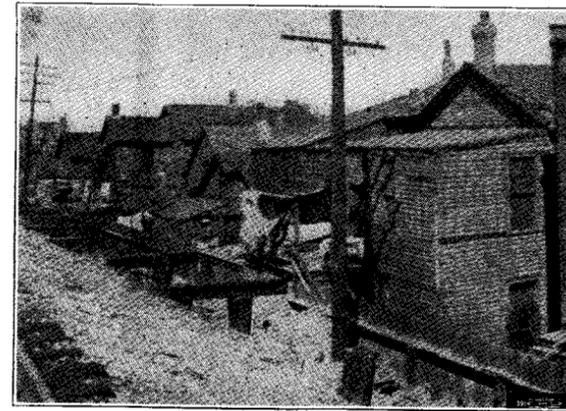
It must not be forgotten in making any estimate of the importance of the first reason given, that of the whole American working class numbering approximately 28,000,000, less than 4,000,000 are organized, even though we broaden the definition of "union" to include many organizations that are not unions at all in the correct sense of the word. The weakness of the labor movement is an important contributing factor to the unorganized condition of the Negro workers.

The second reason is clearly understandable and its primary importance is appreciated more fully when we find, according to a report of the United States Census Bureau entitled, "Negro Population in the United States, 1790 to 1915" (1915 saw the small beginnings of the Negro influx into industry) that of 5,192,535 Negroes in the United States in 1915, who were "gainfully occupied," 2,893,674 were engaged in agriculture.

In the south, in 1910, 78.8 per cent of the Negro population lived in rural communities and 62 per cent of all those employed were in agriculture. The peasant character of the Negro migrants is therefore clearly established and no one who has had any experience with American farmers and agricultural workers at the time of or soon after their transplantation into industry, will be inclined to blame the Negro peasant who is in process of becoming an industrial worker, for his lack of interest in unions.

If in addition to the well known difficulty of organizing farmers from the northern states, who in bad crop years have established quite a strikebreaking record of their own, we take into account the fact that the agricultural south is comparable to the last years of feudal society in Europe; that in the state of Mississippi as an example, the amount until recently allotted to the public schools was but \$6 per capita, we gain a larger insight into the background of the overwhelming majority of the Negroes who came into industry since 1915.

It is useless to rail at workers who are the product of such an environment as this. There must be understanding



REAR VIEW OF HOUSES OCCUPIED BY NEGROES ON  
FEDERAL STREET, CHICAGO.

and the patience which can come only from understanding. Industry itself is the chemist that compounds the antidote for the backward Negro worker, but while the harsh hand of the exploiter is forcing him to drink again and again of the bitter cup of the working class there must be the most energetic direction of the educational and organizational methods at the disposal of the working class.

Upon the white workers rests the responsibility for bringing the Negro workers into the class struggle. When the white workers rid themselves of their ruling class-inspired prejudices, when they see the Negro worker not as an enemy but as an ally, when they realize and acknowledge in tones that can be heard by the Negro workers (and by the capitalists who profit from and foment division of the races), that the Negro workers are necessary for the victory in both the daily struggle and the final victory over capitalism, the task of organizing the Negro workers will be found to be not so difficult after all.

In every union the left wing must carry on a constant and fearless struggle against every manifestation of racial prejudice. The militants must be prepared to challenge the trade union bureaucracy on this issue just as they have on the general questions of policy and tactics of the labor movement and as always the Communists must take the lead.

The work among the Negroes in industry must parallel the work done in the unions of white workers, but for some time it will be of a more elementary character and can only progress as the Negro workers can be shown by concrete instances that the American labor movement wants them as equals and because they are workers.

The Negro workers must be shown that the Workers (Communist) Party is the only party that fights their class and racial struggle uncompromisingly and without counting the cost. They must be shown by actual activity that the Communists are the foe of every enemy of the Negro worker whether he be Negro-hating trade union official or capitalist.

Like the white workers the Negroes are victimized and misled by their middle class. There is nothing more despicable in American life than the Negro business man, the Negro preacher, the Negro politician and the Negro journalist who smirk and grovel to the white tyrants and who teach the men and women of their race that the way to secure concessions

and recognition is by servility and meekness, by trying to outdo the white man in smug respectability. It is a matter of record that some of these traitors have sold their followers into industrial slavery by means of fake unions which were nothing but scab agencies.

These two-time betrayers—betrayers of the black race and betrayers of the black working class—must be fought and discredited and this will have to be done by Negro Communists—revolutionary Negro workers who understand both the racial and class issues in the struggle.

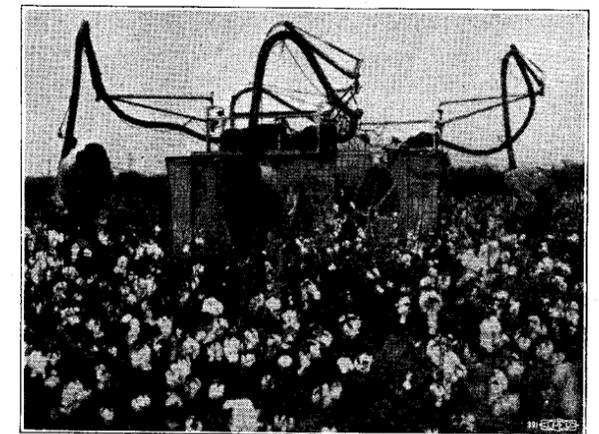
The Workers (Communist) Party must train Negro organizers and Negro writers so that as the labor movement is forced by economic pressure to organize the Negro workers, the Negro workers, acquainted by these leaders of their own race with the true role of the labor movement, can become a tower of strength to the revolutionary elements within it.

A survey of those unions that have organized Negro workers affords irrefutable proof that in the unions where black and white workers discuss the ways and means of combatting the tyrannies of the employers, the racial lines become so faint as to be almost invisible. The necessity for common struggle pushes into the background the question of color and it is soon forgotten. Quite aside from the increased economic and political power of the workers that the organization of the Negro workers brings, in the unions is where white and black workers meet in the nearest approach to complete equality.

In the labor unions is where the work of solving the problem of the Negro in industry gets the quickest results and it is there that the problem will be solved as well as it can be under capitalism, while the social-reformers and middle class liberals, "friends of the Negro," are lavishing wordy sympathy upon him and appealing to hide-bound enemies of the Negro to allow not quite so many lynchings next year.

The task that confronts the American Workers (Communist) Party in organizing the Negro workers and rallying them for the daily struggle and the final overthrow of capitalism side by side with the white workers is no light one. On the contrary it is a difficult and dangerous job.

No one who does not appreciate this fact should be allowed to come within a thousand miles of the work. It is something that cannot be expedited by undue optimism nor



INDUSTRY EVEN FINDS ITS WAY INTO THE  
SOUTHERN COTTON FIELDS

can the work be furthered by magnifying to Negro comrades the mistakes of the party and exaggerating its present strength and abilities.

Ill-balanced comrades who know little of the role of the Negro in American industry and less of the labor movement, comrades who appear to think that the whole problem centers around the right of the races to inter-marry, whose utterances give one the impression that they believe the labor movement, a product as it is of historical conditions in America, is a conscious conspiracy against the Negro workers, comrades who without thought of possible consequences would have the party begin immediately the organization of dual independent Negro unions, such comrades as these are useless in this work.

There are two things necessary before we can mobilize any great number of Negro workers for our program. The first is the development of some Communist Negro leadership. The second is a point of contact with the Negro masses.

There are excellent prospects for securing both these fundamental necessities and with the work already under way in the unions the American Communist party will be able to make steady progress in demonstrating to the Negro workers in industry and the whole American working class that it alone has a program for the working class, black and white, that strengthens it in the continual combat with the capitalists and that will bring the working class through victorious struggle, to full exercise of its power by the proletarian dictatorship under which men and women will be judged by what they do and not by the color of their skin.

Sometime this year will be held a conference of delegates from Negro working class organizations. Every effort must be made to have this conference representative of the most advanced group of Negro workers. It will be the first gathering of this kind in America and will establish a center for organizing work among the Negroes in industry.

There must be established as soon as possible a Communist Negro Press as a vital part of the party machinery. The existing Negro press is feeble when it is not actually traitorous.

The problem of the Negro in American industry has taken on an important international aspect. The colonial regions of Africa, where British, French, Belgian and Italian imperialists exploit the masses of Negro workers, are astir. As in America, the war brought the world to the masses of African Negroes. They discovered that the white tyrants had forced them to weld their own chains; that they were expected to fight and die to perpetuate their own slavery.

White supremacy is no longer accepted at the valuation placed on it by the white robber class.

Writing in a recent number of a semi-official publication of the British colonial office, a colonial bureaucrat tells of the changes taking place in the British African territories. He shows that the Negro tribes are holding tremendous semi-political gatherings at which a high degree of organizational ability is displayed. He writes of the complicated structure of Negro states destroyed by the white invader and tells of the new interest displayed by the Negro masses in the history of their states and customs before the white man came.

He cites their adaptability to modern warfare and modern machinery and warns the British ruling class that new and more subtle methods must be used if the Africans are to be kept within the confines of the empire.

From among the American Negroes in industry must come the leadership of their race in its struggle for freedom in the colonial countries. In spite of the denial of equal opportunity to the Negro under American capitalism, his advantages are so far superior to those of the subject colonial Negroes in the educational, political and industrial fields that he is alone able to furnish the agitational and organizational ability that the situation demands.

The American Communist Negroes are the historical leaders of their comrades in Africa and to fit them for dealing the most telling blows to world imperialism as allies of the world's working class is enough to justify all of the time and energy that the Workers (Communist) Party must devote to the mobilization for the revolutionary struggle of the Negro workers in American industry.

## Arditi di Guerra



### A COMMUNIST ANSWER TO THE FASCISTI

Poster put up by the Arditi in Milan, Italy. The Arditi were organized under the leadership of the Communists to fight fascism and counter-revolution.

## Poem to a Dead Soldier

"Death is a whore who consorts with all men."

**I**CE-COLD passion  
And a bitter breath  
Adorned the bed  
Of Youth and Death—  
Youth, the young soldier  
Who went to the wars  
And embraced white Death,  
The vilest of whores.

Now we spread roses  
Over your tomb—  
We who sent you  
To your doom.  
Now we make soft speeches  
And sob soft cries  
And throw soft flowers  
And utter soft lies.

We mould you in metal  
And carve you in stone,  
Not daring make statue  
Of your dead flesh and bone,  
Not daring to mention  
The bitter breath  
Nor the ice-cold passion  
Of your love-night with Death.

We make soft speeches.  
We sob soft cries.  
We throw soft flowers,  
And utter soft lies.  
And you who were young  
When you went to the wars  
Have lost your youth now  
With the vilest of whores.

—Langston Hughes.

## Park Benching

**I**'VE sat on the park benches in Paris  
Hungry.  
I've sat on the park benches in New York  
Hungry.  
And I've said:  
I want a job.  
I want work.  
And I've been told:  
There are no jobs.  
There is no work.  
So I've sat on the park benches  
Hungry.  
Mid-winter,  
Hungry days,  
No jobs,  
No work.

—Langston Hughes.



## The Day of the Workers

**K**INGS, Emperors, Czars, and lords of Trade  
Who have the power without the name,—  
Soon shall your brutal might be laid  
Low in red Revolution's flame;  
And from the wreckage of your empire rise,—  
Flinging the banner of rebellion to the skies,—  
The new world of the workers, which now seems  
To the fainthearted, the mirage of idle dreams.

One such republic stands impregnable today,  
After long years of war devastation.  
Soviet Russia! Thou hast led the way,  
Showing mankind how workers rule a nation.

Oh Revolution glorious! Oh banners gleaming red!  
Through the long years victorious! Above thy martyred dead,  
A mighty monument to them, the Soviet state now stands,  
Pointing the road of freedom to the workers of all lands.

Arise, oh workers, then and fight! The days of peace are gone;  
Class facing class in deadly war, the battle lines are drawn.  
The conflict wages fierce and fast, and many a man shall fall  
'Ere the flag of human brotherhood waves peacefully over all.

—James H. Dolsen.

# What is Worker's Education?

By Max Bedacht

**C**APITALISM reigns supreme in present day society. This rule enables it to dominate every manifestation of life of society; it controls the personal conduct of its members; it dictates the laws and supervises the machinery for law execution; it dictates its code of morals; it directs even the thoughts of the members of society. One of the instruments of this rule is the control of the educational machinery. The mentality and psychology of the masses which falls an easy victim to the guiles of the capitalist press and the preachers, which succumbs so easily to the germs of patriotic paroxysms without any attempt at resistance, which accepts as a natural condition that the editors, the preachers, or the government should do the thinking for them, this mass phenomenon is not a natural quality of man but is an artificial condition created and bred by a carefully devised system of education.

For capitalism, the object of education presents a two-fold problem. One is to supply to the prospective wage-slave the intellectual requirement to make him a useful wheel in the profit mills of present day society. This is a positive object of education. The other problem is a more difficult one. It demands that in spite of all the attempts to develop the intellect this intellect is to be kept down and paralyzed so that it may be unfit for further use. This is the negative object of capitalist education.

Society today has reached a stage of development in which even its most unimportant member must possess a certain degree of knowledge to make him useful. Since his degree of usefulness is not measured by his political understanding, but only by his value as a cog in the machinery of the profit mills of the present day rulers of society, this knowledge required is more of a technical nature. To supply this degree of knowledge is one of the objects of capitalist education. The three r's, possibly a little geography and grammar is all that is needed to accomplish this task.

All education involves a certain training of the mind. This training and in general the exercise of the mental faculties of the pupils present a dangerous prospect for the ruling class. Therefore this ruling class endeavors to accompany this positive education with enough hypodermic injections of intellectual poison to sterilize the minds of the pupils as much as it is possible.

In this manner the educational mills of capitalism try to accomplish the negative objects of education.

Much more energy, time, ingenuity and money is spent by the educational institutions of capitalism to paralyze the mentality of the pupils than to develop it. From a senseless declaration of allegiance to the flag that is required of little tots of six years of age up to the brand of history that is taught to the grown-up in night schools—all these are devices to negate whatever positive results education may have on the pupils. Even in such "non-partisan" sciences as arithmetic or reading and writing the negative object of capitalist education is taken care of by the selection of subjects and examples used in the schools.

In order to make of himself a fighter in the cause of his

class every proletarian product of capitalist educational mills must carry on a struggle with the prejudices and superstitions within himself, planted there by systematic public mis-education. So well are these prejudices planted that it is not sufficient merely to forget what one has been taught in school. This poison must be overcome by an antidote of positive knowledge and scientific conviction.

Thus one of the objects of proletarian education is dictated by these conditions. Educational endeavors to strengthen proletarian knowledge cannot merely aim at a completion of public school education. The aim must be rather to counteract this public school education. Proletarian education therefore cannot be non-partisan. There is no such a thing as non-partisan education. Abstractly speaking, proletarian education is non-partisan because it is based on exact economic, political and historic science, but the realities of life relegate abstractions to absurdities; in a class society not even exact science is non-partisan. Considered from a historical perspective, science is always the partisan and ally of social progress, and therefore, at a certain stage of social developments it becomes the ally of the ruling class of tomorrow. That ruling class of tomorrow is the proletariat.

The historical partisanship of science is not sufficient to aid the proletariat. Much depends upon the method of teaching, the selection of the sciences to be taught, the immediate objects pursued by the teacher, and the conclusions that the adherents of workers' education must systematically pursue.

In the selection of subjects, abstract sciences are carefully avoided or at least relegated to an unimportant position. The object of teaching is avowedly to create proletarian consciousness and anti-capitalist conventions.

The conclusions pursued by the teacher are always that: **knowledge without action in accordance with it is sterile knowledge, and is the intellectual twin brother of ignorance.**

But there is still another important consideration of proletarian education.

The emancipation of the workers can be accomplished only by the workers themselves. This means that the working class must act itself, as a class, in its struggle for emancipation. For those millions and millions of proletarians who alone can shake off the burden of capitalist exploitation, scientific education plays a very small part. This mass reacts in its struggle not on conscious and scientific considerations. Its actions are more or less impulsive reactions to the economic needs of the hour. It is true that the experiences derived by the masses out of these struggles develop some degree of consciousness and thus develop these struggles in volume and in definiteness of purpose. But this consciousness never reaches a stage where the struggle is fought by an absolutely consciously-moving mass, maneuvering it to a predetermined climax. It is clear that to await the final victory of the working class from conscious actions of the masses themselves is utopian. This utopia, in the last analysis, is sheer fatalism. It considers Communist society as the natural out-

come of capitalist society. It disregards entirely the terrible alternative that Marx pointed out in the Communist manifesto: that either the proletariat breaks the yoke of capitalist exploitation or society will be thrown back into barbarism. It is clear therefore that the proletarian victory is not just an abstract educational problem. No matter how Marxian the phrases may seem into which the "revolutionists by education" clothe themselves these phrases cannot conceal the petty bourgeois reformists hidden under it.

**A real proletarian education of the working class as a whole is not a prerequisite for the revolution. On the contrary, only a victorious proletarian revolution will provide the chances for this education.**

Even if it were technically possible to elevate the whole working class to a full consciousness of its class position and class interest, even then, the problem of the proletarian revolution would not be solved. A very high degree of consciousness may develop greater readiness for action but it does not replace the necessity for initiative and leadership. This need for leadership must be filled by an organization that can hear, see, think and speak for the working class. Such an organization must not only be the abstract head and thinking apparatus of the working class; it must be connected with the working class like the brain is connected with the body through a system of nerves. This organization, the head of the working class must penetrate and permeate the whole body of the proletariat with a system of nerves, with nuclei which transmit every impression that the problems of the class struggle make upon the great body of the proletariat to its head, to the leading organization, and which in turn transmit the understanding of this head, its determination for action, its clearness of aim to all the parts of the body of the working class. Thus united and purposeful action of the working class can be developed to the point of a proletarian victory.

**Such a head, such an organization, must be a class conscious revolutionary political party—A COMMUNIST PARTY.**

The necessity of the existence of a Communist Party as a necessary prerequisite for a proletarian victory makes it imperative that workers' education have as its aim the building and strengthening of such a party.

The leading proletarian party, the Communist Party, must think for the working class. To be useful, therefore, it must be able to think clearly and correctly. Marxism, Leninism, must supply it with the methods of clear and correct analysis.

But this party must also act as the nerve system for the proletariat. That is possible only if the party is a compact and disciplined body functioning with the precision of clock-work.

The general aim of the workers' education cannot be an abstract educational one. Any venture of "workers' education" based on abstract educational aims is nothing but an intellectual slumming expedition. Nor can workers' education merely aim to increase the usefulness of the wage worker in the industrial machinery of society by developing his intellect. That is pure and simple bourgeois education. Workers' education must not only be education of workers, but must be primarily education for the workers. In other words it must be revolutionary education.

In view of the revolutionary educational needs of the workers, non-partisan education is bourgeois partisan. Work-

ers' education must facilitate the proletarian struggle; it must develop action; it must aid in the building of the leading revolutionary party, the Communist Party; it must increase the efficiency of that party.

**Workers' education therefore not only cannot be non-partisan, but must be Communist education or else it is not revolutionary.**

First, it must be Communist in the sense that it revolutionizes the conceptions of the workers, that it helps the proletarians to overcome the negative influence of public education, that it puts the workers intellectually on their own feet and eliminates capitalist editors and preachers as their recognized thinking apparatus.

Second, it must be Communist in the sense that it leads to a clear understanding of the conditions of proletarian emancipation, that it leads to the building and strengthening of the first prerequisite of a victorious proletarian struggle—the Communist Party.

Third, it must be Communist in the sense that it develops desire and readiness for action, that it does not merely create a basis for philosophic brooding and idle speculation as to how society ought to be or could be better, but that it leads directly to a struggle to change society.

To repeat, it is clear that workers' education cannot be non-partisan. Its purpose dictates its character. It must be Marxist education. But its Marxist character must not consist in phrases but in applied Marxism. It is not a recitation of a Marxian formula that will attest to the quality of a revolutionary leader in the proletarian struggle but the ability of such a leader to analyze the immediate problem and condition of the struggle in a Marxian manner.

The greatest teacher of the working class in that respect was Lenin. **Leninism is revolutionary, scientific action and active revolutionary science.** It is Marxism alive, understanding the present day conditions of proletarian emancipation and at the same time applying the forces of the proletariat to these conditions in the most scientific and effective manner.

Workers' education is an indispensable method to increase the efficiency of the organized advanced guard of the proletariat, the Communist Party. The only standard by which the proletarian character of education can be measured is the degree to which it tends to increase the efficiency of the Communist Party and to advance the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

## FABLE

"I AM salt", remarked one drop of water in the ocean to another.

"I am sadly exploited," remarked one man in a crowd of laborers to another.

## This is Number 38

*If the number appears on the address label of the wrapper on this issue of the Workers Monthly when you receive it by mail, it means your sub has expired and it is time to*

**RENEW!**



The Company Union Holds a Meeting

# Communist Policy and the Peasants

Speech Delivered at Moscow District Conference of the Russian Communist Party

By I. Stalin

COMRADES, I wish to say a few words on the foundations of the political line which the Party is taking at present as regards the peasantry. There can be no doubt as to the especially great significance of the peasant question at the moment. Many people are so carried away that they say that a new era, the era of the peasantry has begun. Others are inclined to take the slogan: "The face to the village!" to mean "the back to the town!" Others again even think of a political "Nep." This is of course all nonsense, is pure exaggeration. Apart however from this exaggeration, one thing remains, that is that the peasant question at the moment, precisely at this moment, is gaining great significance.

The first reason why the peasant question has such special significance for us at the present moment, is that among all the allies of the Soviet power, among all the chief confederates of the proletariat — and in my opinion there are four of them — the peasantry is the only ally which can be of immediate help to our revolution. It is a case of immediate help, under the present conditions. All the other allies, who have a great future before them, and who represent a splendid reserve for our revolution, are nevertheless at the present moment not in a position to be of immediate help to our power, our State.

#### Four Allies of Soviet Power.

Our first, our chief ally is the proletariat of the advanced countries. The advanced proletariat, the proletariat of the West, is a gigantic force, and it is the most faithful, most important ally of our revolution and our power. Unfortunately the revolutionary movement in the highly developed capitalistic countries, is in such a condition that the proletariat of the West is not able to give us direct and decisive help. We have its indirect moral support, the value of which to us is immeasurable. That however is not the immediate help which we now need.

The second ally is—the colonies, the oppressed peoples in the less developed countries, which are oppressed by the highly developed countries. That, Comrades, is the greatest reserve of our revolution. It is however developing far too slowly. It is therefore not capable at present of giving us immediate help for the consolidation of our power, and for our socialist economic construction.

We have also a third ally, intangible, impersonal, but of the highest degree of importance. This is those conflicts and contradictions between the capitalist countries, which indeed have no direct expression, but without doubt signify a great support for our power and our revolution. This may seem strange but it is a fact. If the two chief coalitions of the imperialistic countries had not had to fight one another to the death, if they had not seized one another by the throat, if they had not been occupied with one another, but had time to concern themselves with the fight against our power, it should not have been able to maintain itself.



STALIN

The conflicts between our various capitalist enemies are, I repeat, our strongest ally. What is there to say about this new ally? World capital began to recover in the post-war time, after several crises. This we must recognize. The most important of the victorious states, England and America, have now acquired such power that they are materially in the position not only to make capitalism more or less endurable in their own countries, but also to infuse new blood into France, Germany and other capitalist countries. This is the one side, and this side of the question illustrates that the contradictions between the capitalist countries do not, for the time being, develop as quickly as they did immediately after the war. This is an advantage to capital and a disadvantage to us. This process has however another aspect. Its reverse side consists in the fact that, in spite of all the comparative stability which capital has for the time being been able to accomplish, the contradictions between the advanced exploiting countries and the backward exploited colonies and semi-colonial countries is becoming more and

more acute and intense, and threatens to frustrate the aims of capital from a new and unexpected direction.

#### The Plus and Minus of the Situation.

First of all the crisis in Egypt and in the Soudan — then a whole series of complications in China which may kindle a dispute between the "allies" of to-day and undermine the power of capital, another series of complications in North Africa where Spain is losing Morocco and where France is now stretching out its hand for the latter but cannot occupy it (as England will allow France no control over Gibraltar) — all these are facts which in many ways remind one of the pre-war period and which must signify a danger to the constructive work of international capital. This is in general terms, the plus and minus of the development of the contradictions. Since however the plus side of capital in this respect exceeds the minus side, and since armed conflicts between the capitalists cannot be expected from one day to the next, it is clear that things are not yet as we would wish them with regard to this third ally.

There remains the fourth ally, the peasantry. It lives side by side with us, we are building up with it — for better or worse, but always with it — a new life. This ally is not very strong; the peasantry is not as reliable an ally as the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries. It is nevertheless an ally, and among all allies the only one which can to-day give us immediate support and receive our support in return.

For this reason the peasant question is of such special significance, just today, when the development of revolutionary crises has slightly slackened. This is the first reason for the special significance of the peasant question.

#### Significance of the Peasants.

The second reason why we place the peasant question in the center of our policy is that our industry, which constitutes the basis of socialism and of our power, is dependent on the home agricultural market. I do not know how things will be when our industry is in full bloom, when we are meeting the requirements of the home market and facing the question of conquering foreign markets. And we shall have to face this question — of that there is no doubt. It will hardly be possible for us to count on taking foreign markets away from capital which has so much more experience. We shall however be in a decidedly better position as regards markets in the East, with which we have fairly good relations and which relations we shall improve. The chief products with which we shall supply the East and in regard to which we shall have to fight out a competitive war with the capitalists, will doubtless be textile products, means of defence, machines etc. This however concerns the future of our industry. As regards the present when we have not yet exhausted even a third of the possibilities of our agricultural market, our chief problem is the question of the home and particularly of the agricultural market. Just because at present the home market is the chief basis of our industry, we, as the representatives of proletarian power, are interested in improving agriculture in every respect, raising the material position and the purchasing power of the peasantry, bettering the relations between proletariat and peasantry and realising at last that coalition of which Lenin spoke and which we have not yet realised in the way we should. This

is the second reason why we, as a Party, now place the peasant question in the foreground and why we must give particular care and attention to the peasantry.

These are the preliminary conditions of the policy of our party on the peasant question.

The greatest danger is, that many comrades do not at present understand this peculiarity of the situation.

\* \* \*

#### Trotskyism and the Peasant Alliance.

Is this question then — the peasant question — in any way connected with the question of Trotskyism?

Trotskyism implies a lack of confidence in the power of our revolution, a lack of confidence in the alliance of the workers and peasants, a lack of confidence in the coalition. What is our chief task at present? It is, to use Lenin's words, to turn the Russia of the "Nep" into a socialist Russia. Is it then possible to carry out this task without an alliance of the workers and peasantry? No, it is impossible. Can we then realise this coalition, this alliance between workers and peasants, without destroying the theory of lack of confidence in this alliance, i. e. the theory of Trotskyism? No, this is impossible. The conclusion is plain: if we wish to rise victorious out of the "Nep," we must part company with Trotskyism as an ideological tendency.

Before the October revolution, Lenin frequently said that among all our ideological opponents the Mensheviks are the most dangerous, as it is their aim to sow distrust in the victory of the proletariat. He explained that it was therefore impossible to achieve the victory of the proletariat without destroying Menshevism.

I believe that there is a certain analogy between the Menshevism of that time, the October period, and the Trotskyism of today, the period of the "Nep." I believe that among all ideological currents, at present, since the victory of October and under the present conditions of the "Nep," Trotskyism must be regarded as the most dangerous, as its aim is to sow mistrust in the forces of our revolution, in the alliance between workers and peasants, in the transformation of the Russia of the "Nep" into a socialist Russia. Therefore, unless we destroy Trotskyism, we cannot achieve victory under the present conditions of the "Nep," we cannot transform the Russia of to-day into a socialist Russia.

This is the connection between the policy of the Party as regards the peasantry and Trotskyism.

## Rising Waters

To you  
Who are the  
Foam on the sea  
And not the sea—  
What of the jagged rocks,  
And the waves themselves,  
And the force of the mounting waters?  
You are  
But foam on the sea,  
You rich ones—  
Not the sea.

—Langston Hughes.

# The Fight for World Trade Union Unity

By Tom Bell

*"The one great need at the moment is a united front against all capitalist forces. Hence the need of a real live International Trade Union movement . . . No leader must be allowed to stand in the way of a united front for 1925."—A. J. Cook, Secretary, Miners' Federation of Great Britain.*

THE struggle between the Communists and the Social Democrats for leadership of the masses of the working class in Europe has assumed the shape of a struggle for unity of the world trade union movement. The Red International of Labor Unions is leading the movement for unity while the right wing leaders of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions fight against unity.

The R. I. L. U. calls upon the workers to organize unity "from the bottom up," in spite of the opposition of the traitorous leaders who oppose it. Amsterdam attempts to demonstrate to the workers that the slogan of unity is merely a "Moscow" plot.



A. J. Cook

The two trade union internationals are separated by a deep gulf of principle and practice. The conduct of the Amsterdammers during the world war, their defense of capitalism in Central Europe and Italy in 1918-20 when the workers were attacking the capitalist state, and their aid to the capitalists during the vicious assault upon the standard of living of the entire working class, the purpose of which was to restore the equilibrium of capitalist economy—all of this proves that the role of the Amsterdammers is to preserve capitalism.

The R. I. L. U. stands for uncompromising struggle against capitalism for the dictatorship of the proletariat and Communism.

The issue of world trade union unity is fundamentally a question of whether or not the unions are to be used for fighting capitalism, or if they are to be brakes on the struggles of the workers. The drive for unity is essentially a drive for mobilization of the workers against capitalism. The right wing Amsterdammers understand that and they therefore fight against unity.

The Amsterdam leaders stand for unity with the capitalists. They endorsed the Dawes' plan and have displayed their willingness to aid in putting this plan into effect. The response to the unity slogan of the R. I. L. U. imperils their alliance with capitalism. As leaders of mass trade unions they are of value to the bourgeoisie as "labor lieutenants," but if they lose control of the masses, their value is nil.

### The Leftward Movement in the British Unions.

The drive for unity has found a response in the British labor movement. The visit of a delegation from the Russian

trade unions to the Hull congress of the British unions laid the basis for closer relations between the two movements. This was carried further by the British delegation to the Sixth All-Russian Trade Union Congress. There the Russian unions decided upon the establishment of an Anglo-Russian Unity Committee to take up the struggle for world trade union unity.

The attitude of the British trade union delegation to Russia was a severe blow at the entire reactionary wing of Amsterdam. Sensing immediate danger, the capitalist press lost no time in slandering and villifying the delegation. Purcell, Tillet, Bromley and the other left wingers became objects of hatred to the capitalists and their agents—the reactionary Amsterdam right wingers.

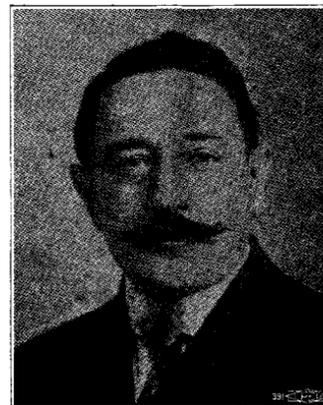
The fact that the British trade unions have endorsed the movement for unity in spite of the right wing leaders of the German, Belgian, Dutch and Swiss unions is a severe blow at those in Amsterdam who stand in opposition to unity and the struggle against capitalism. The British trade unions constitute the most solid basis for Amsterdam in Europe, just as the British Labor Party is the basis of the Second International. When the leaders of the British unions decide to join the Communists in the struggle for unity the Amsterdam right wing can see the handwriting on the wall.

The left wing development in the British unions has its roots deep in the masses of the organized workers. It denotes the radicalization of the oldest trade union movement in the world, a leftward movement on the part of what have always been looked upon as the most staid and conservative trade unions in the entire labor movement.

This orientation of the British trade unions has its impulse in the economic crisis under which the British workers have suffered since 1920. The army of unemployed has numbered hundreds of thousands, and at the present time numbers about 1,500,000. The offensive of the capitalists on the standard of living of the workers resulted in drastic wage cuts and worsening of working conditions. The reactionary leaders played their part in defeating the workers, as such infamous betrayals as that of "Black Friday," when the miners were betrayed by the leaders of the Triple Alliance.

Labor's "taste of power" with the formation of the MacDonald cabinet, and the spectacle of a "labor" government carrying out the instructions of the financiers both in foreign and domestic policy, broke large numbers of workers from their moorings. MacDonald in his anxiety to serve the British capitalists contributed to the development of a movement that means the end of MacDonaldism in the British labor movement.

This leftward movement is no mere "tendency," but has already crystallized into actual organizational strength. The offensive strikes during last year, in support of demands for



Dudilleux, Secretary of the C. G. T. U. of France. A strong advocate of trade union unity.

wage increases, the enormous growth of the National Minority Movement (the British equivalent of the Trade Union Educational League), as shown at the recent London conference where 600 delegates represented over 600,000 organized workers, the election of A. J. Cook as secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain on a left wing ticket—all of these things show the depth of this left movement.

This movement among the British workers is the basis for the adherence of certain outstanding trade union leaders to the struggle for unity initiated by the R. I. L. U. And because of the enormous importance of the British unions to Amsterdam the right wing Amsterdam leaders are forced to fight unity by pretending to agree with it "under certain conditions."

### Amsterdam Presents "Conditions."

The R. I. L. U. makes one demand upon the Amsterdam leadership: In conjunction with us convoke an all-embracing world trade union congress for the purpose of establishing one trade union international. Let the majority decide who will lead the new international—if you of the right wing have the majority then we will submit to the discipline of the international and continue to work among the masses to win them over to our viewpoint.

This does not suit the right wing of Amsterdam. They see the menace to their own positions in a world congress composed of representatives of the organized masses. While they like to pose as being the only legitimate leaders of the trade union movement they do not relish the idea of confronting the representatives of the masses in a world congress. Therefore they erect "conditions" in order to sabotage the calling of a world congress.

The Amsterdam right wing demands that the unified international shall continue in the same rut as the Amsterdam international of treachery and betrayal of the workers. They want assurances that the alliance with capital will be maintained, that national autonomy will be guaranteed so that the workers of one country can be used to scab on the workers of another country, thus making an international struggle impossible. They demand assurances that the single international would not attempt to mobilize the workers for a revolutionary struggle against capitalism, and would more especially wish to see a "congress" held which would be confined to representatives of the officialdoms and would enable them to pose before the workers as having done their duty in the cause of unity while effectively sabotaging it.

Together with these demands they conduct a campaign of villification against the R. I. L. U. and the British leaders who stand for unity. The Amsterdam right wing is desperately fighting to maintain their position as the agents of the capitalists in the ranks of the trade union movement.

### The A. F. of L. and Unity.

The movement for unity not only disturbs the capitalists of Europe, but also affects the plans of the American imperialists. The re-entry of American capital into active participation in European affairs through the Dawes' plan and the signing of the Paris reparations agreement whereby America will receive 2¼ per cent of the reparations squeezed out of the German working class gives American capital a direct interest in maintaining the Amsterdam right wing in the saddle. The success of the Dawes' plan depends upon the docility of the European masses, and one factor in preventing a revolt of the workers against the intensified slavery of the Dawes' plan is the traitorous leaders at the head of the trade unions. American imperialism has every interest in preventing unity, and the ascendancy of militant leadership in the trade unions.

The Amsterdam right wing is faced with the great problem of finding a solid basis upon which to combat the tendency towards unity in the I. F. T. U., since the British unions have lined up against them. In this way, the interests of the Amsterdam right wing and the American imperialists are identical. Both can aid each other in this struggle. The Amsterdammers can help the House of Morgan by continuing as its agents in the European trade unions to prevent a labor revolt against the Dawes' plan, and American imperialism can aid the Amsterdam right wing by bringing the American Federation of Labor into the Amsterdam International as a bulwark against the left leadership surrounding Purcell and his comrades.

That there is a tendency actually to accomplish this was shown at the El Paso convention of the A. F. of L. in the negotiations that took place between Gompers and Grassmann representing the German trade unions, Swales representing the British trade unions, and the representative of the Canadian Trades Congress.

The policy of the executive council of the A. F. of L. has always been determined by the wishes of the government at Washington. Since 1914, the Gompersian policy has been identical with that of the state department of Morgan's government. When the Wilson policy was one of "neutrality," Gompers led the unions in that path. When it suited American imperialism to enter the war, Gompers efficiently lined up the unions for the slaughter. At the end of the war when the republican administration adopted the policy of withdrawal from European affairs, Gompers withdrew the A. F. of L. from all connection with the European labor movement on the grounds that Amsterdam was "too socialistic" in its tendency. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy is openly the instrument of American capital for controlling the organized American workers.

### The A. F. of L. as a Bulwark Against Unity.

Now that it is imperative that American capital participate actively in European affairs the A. F. of L. will once more establish connections with the European labor movement. The entry of the A. F. of L. into Amsterdam will be only for the purpose of strengthening the right wing and conducting a struggle against trade union unity. Just as American capital has set out to take Europe into receivership, so also will the labor wing of American imperialism, the A. F. of L., attempt to take the European labor movement into its hands to control the workers for the benefit of Morgan and Co.

This scheme was halted by the death of Gompers, but his successor, Green, has already established the fact that he believes in continuity of policy and will take up the task of controlling European labor for American capital.

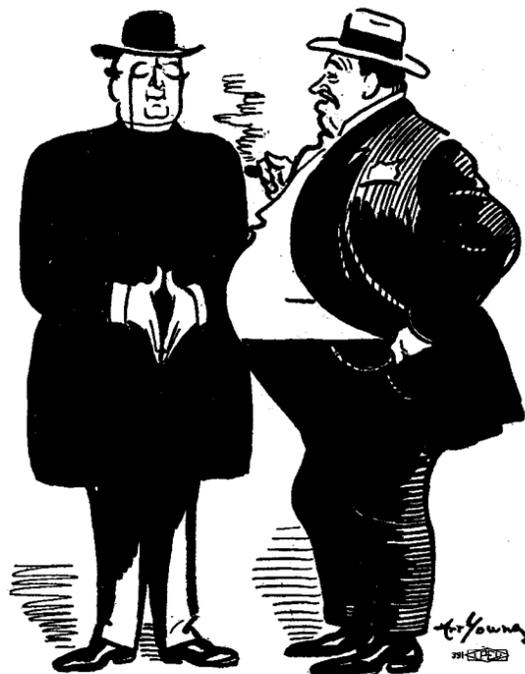
The steps thus far taken for the calling of a world congress to effect trade union unity have resulted in the establishment of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. This has laid the basis for further work in establishing unity between the two most important sections of the European trade union movement. The Russian unions constitute the basis of the R. I. L. U., while the British unions are the most important section of Amsterdam. The establishment of this unity committee is an organizational crystallization of the split in the Amsterdam leadership between the right and the left. This step brings the question of unity vividly before the workers of Europe.

The struggle for unity consists in the mobilization of the workers for the struggle against the reactionary leadership of the trade unions. Unity can be accomplished when the sabotage of the reactionary leaders has been broken, and to do this the workers must be mobilized. "Unity from below," will accomplish this by means of taking the question of unity to the workers in the factories, mines and mills. The organization of conferences on the question of unity, as was done in Britain by the National Minority Movement, and the establishment of unity committees composed of workers belonging to parallel trade unions, in this way the struggle for unity will receive the support of the workers and bring unity.

In America, the Communists are faced with the great task of preventing the American trade union movement being used as an obstacle in the road of world trade union unity. The El Paso convention demonstrated the complete dominance of American imperialism over the A. F. of L. From the defeat of the mildest resolutions, regarded as dangerously progressive by the Gompers machine, to the enunciation of the "Monroe Doctrine of Labor" by Woll, it was shown that Gompersism is synonymous with the control of the American unions by American imperialism.

But in the United States there are signs that a deep-going, left wing development is on the way in the ranks of the organized workers. The results of the elections in the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and the United Mine Workers, where the Communist candidates received thousands of votes that appalled the bureaucrats, and precipitated in the former an orgy of expulsions against the leaders of the left wing, show that thousands of workers are responding to the programs and policies of the Workers (Communist) Party and the Trade Union Educational League.

In every struggle of the workers, in strikes, against unemployment, against the labor bureaucrats, in union election campaigns, the Communists have raised the question of trade union unity. That this is having effect among the workers is shown by the discussions taking place in many local unions, particularly in the miners' union, and the resolutions being passed condemning those who obstruct the work of unity. The continuance of this work, the building of Communist and left wing trade union fractions, establishment of shop, factory and pit committees, and the mobilization of the rank and file for militant struggle against the imperialist agents who dominate the unions in the United States, point the path by means of which the Communists in the United States can aid in the struggle for world unity.



**ENTHUSIASTIC CLERGYMAN:** "Will your firm make us a contribution to help build the new cathedral?"

**CAPITALIST:** "Sure thing, son. We'll take up a collection in the factory this afternoon."

## Between Waves of Revolt.

**S**TEP on the cur, he is crushed  
The voice of revolt is hushed.

Friend deceives, foe defeats him,  
Hope abandons, hate eats him,  
Again, as through the ages,  
Seeking work without wages,  
Having life without living,  
Getting naught for his giving.

Mother Earth, womb and grave,  
Fondly takes her final slave,  
Final slave and first master,  
In this day of his disaster.  
She gathers, and she heals him;  
She whispers, and she steels him;  
Muscles flex, his eye flashes,  
Hope flames from its ashes!

Step on the cur? But take care!  
He wears an ambiguous air,  
Reflects—and consorts with his clan;  
Is patient—proceeding by plan;  
And the tools that he chooses  
Have ominous uses. . . .  
Politician, employer and king,  
Take heed—he's recoiling to spring!

—J. W. Wallace.

# What the Miners' Union Needs

By George Voysey

**N**OW that the election excitement is over and the left wing within the U. M. W. of A. counts its supporters by the hundred thousand (officially 66,000) it will be well to survey the situation internally and externally and get down to a unified plan for future activities. As the recent candidate of the left wing for international president of the miners' union, I have no illusions as to the part individuals play in left wing victories in the trade unions.

Revolutionary leadership we need and must have, but the day has gone when the individual, because of his pleasing personality or of his personal progressive views, can sway the revolutionary miners and their followers into action. True, it is a decided advantage to have nationally-known rebels lead the fight but it is not a dire necessity, and it would be ruinous to consider it a principle. The miners' election established one fact, namely, that the progressive miners want to know the policy and the program of the candidates they are expected to vote for, and the prominence of the candidates is secondary.

The removal of Howat, MacLachlan, Myerscough, and others as possible opponents of the John L. Lewis machine naturally weakened the left wing to some extent but the result of the election has raised its morale a hundred-fold. If anyone is losing any sleep over the election it is John L. Lewis and not the progressive candidates or the left wing they represented.

### Internal and External Situation

Internally the miners' union is in bad shape. When a membership loses faith in its leading officials, demoralization is bound to take place. With an official policy of class collaboration, an agreement entered into which has as its basis the elimination of 200,000 miners from the industry, a union official payroll that would stagger a bankers' association, and a drop in paid-up membership, eight months after the Jacksonville Agreement was made, of 118,017 in the bituminous districts, it is little wonder that the morale of the membership is low.

Every proposal suggested and every step made by the class conscious miners are blocked by a reactionary officialdom. Even measures proposed for the relief of the starving miners are deliberately sabotaged by the officialdom; unemployment councils have been declared dual unions and those participating threatened with expulsion (as was the case in a recent decision made by the District Executive Board of District 12.)

Externally, we are facing another wage cut campaign. The coal operators think we are so badly demoralized that not only can they introduce a wage cut but they can do the job that they failed to do in 1922, namely, destroy our union completely. In spite of the persecution of the revolutionary miners by expulsions, etc., in spite of our weakened condition and loss in membership, I feel confident that in the coming struggle the miners will live up to their fighting record and let it be known for all time that the U. M. W. of A. is here to stay and that instead of being wiped out it will extend its influence to cover the entire industry.

### The Force of Those 66,000 Votes

In the inevitable struggle that every miner knows is coming, and which our officials are making no preparations to meet, we will face an entirely different situation than any we have ever been in before. A new condition exists, that requires new tactics, new and more far-reaching demands to be made. And the revolutionary will of the membership will have to be considered and enforced. A vote of "66,000" "cast" for Communist trade union policies will not allow itself to be ignored.

The lot of the miners has always been hard. Long periods of unemployment have been the rule rather than the exception. The present depression has exceeded anything that the miners have ever suffered, and the end is not in sight. In fact, the working class of this country is now faced with a permanent unemployed army and the miners form a goodly portion of it. No need to give figures on the present unemployment in the mining industry. The question that confronts the militant miners is the permanency of this state of affairs and how it must be met.

### Refuse to be "Eliminated."

The elimination from the industry of 200,000 so-called surplus miners would not solve but aggravate the situation. During the process of capitalist decay and as we get closer to a revolutionary crisis, a period of intensive exploitation sets in, the extent and success of this increased exploitation depending entirely upon the organized resistance of the working class. The worker produces more than before and receives relatively less in return in the form of wages; meantime the ever-growing army of unemployed gets new recruits.

"Produce more and cleaner coal so that the operators in the union fields can compete with the coal produced in the non-union districts." "Two hundred thousand miners must get out of the industry." These are some of the, to say the least, stupid remedies offered by our officials and by the coal operators to meet the present deplorable situation. How nonchalantly these raisers of blooded stock, these wealthy swivel-chair leaders tell us, who have worked all our lives in the industry, that we have produced too much coal and that we will have to find new employment! "Sixty-six thousand" miners said no: it is not we but you and the mine operators who must go.

### Immediate Needs of the Miners.

The taking over of the industry by a workers' and farmers' government will settle the question so far as capitalist exploitation is concerned. But what must we do now to meet the coming onslaught? What must be our immediate demands? The election program of the progressive miners explained thoroughly the position of the class conscious miners. In the present situation we must insist on:

A fight against wage cuts—for a wage increase.

A six-hour day and five-day week.

Unemployment insurance to be taken out of the profits of the industry and administered by a committee of miners.

A national agreement to cover the entire industry.

These four points must be the basis of the struggle and must not be compromised. There are many other demands, but these four should form the basis of any agreement. Any agreement that does not carry these four cardinal points is not worth the paper it is written on and only postpones the struggle to the future. In order to prepare ourselves for this life and death struggle that faces us, we must demand from our officials the following:

That immediate preparation be made and date set to enforce these demands by a national strike.

That all paid officials (organizers, etc.), be taken out of organized districts and placed in non-union fields.

That each district be instructed to elect a specified corps of organizers to be sent into the non-union fields.

That an intensive organizational campaign be immediately started.

That our International officers be instructed to negotiate with the railroad unions for the purpose of forming a strike alliance.

Against the "open shop."

For the nationalization of the mines, to be administered by the Miners' Union.

We are faced with a serious situation that requires immediate and determined action. This action can only come if the revolutionary rank and file members force the officials to act. Every day's delay places us in a weaker position. Act now and act quickly!

## North Dakota's Communist Legislator

**S**TANDING out from the throng of small town bankers, ambitious and unscrupulous lawyers, shopkeepers and well-to-do farmers who are the legislature of the sovereign state of North Dakota, is the gray-haired figure of A. C. Miller, the first Communist farmer to be elected to a legislative body in the United States.

This alone would make him a landmark in the history of the labor and revolutionary struggle, but it is the soil from which he came that makes him typical of the Communist movement.

His father was a German revolutionist, born in Essen before the Franco-Prussian war that brought the iron and coal of Lorraine to Germany's rulers and made of Essen a symbol of economic and military power which in 1914 became the center of the war.

### Father Fleed From Bismarck's Persecution.

A student of Marx in his boyhood, A. C. Miller's father came to the United States in 1849 to escape the Bismarck exception laws that drove the early socialist movement into illegality.

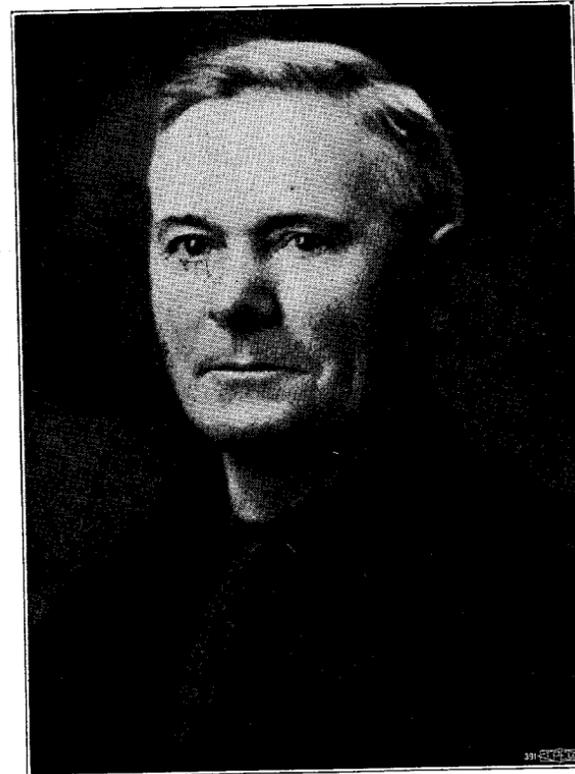
Born on a farm in Missouri, in 1870, Comrade Miller experienced all the hardships of the American peasantry. When twenty-one years of age he went west and for eleven years led the life of a migratory worker. Then he married and settled down to the task of wresting a living for himself and family from the reluctant soil of the wind-swept Dakota prairies.

He joined the Socialist Party when it organized in North Dakota and took an active part in all its campaigns. He has never voted for a Republican or Democratic presidential candidate. In 1923 he joined the Workers (Communist) Party.

### In the Non-Partisan League.

In the great agrarian revolt which, having its inception during the war period, crystallized around the Non-Partisan League in the Northwest states and shook them to their foundations in 1919-20-21, the revolt which was already dying out when LaFollette decided to capitalize it for the middle class—Comrade Miller took more than his share of the work, trying always to keep clearly defined the class issues of the struggle.

In North Dakota, the mortgage shark, the International



COMRADE A. C. MILLER

Harvester Trust, the elevator and milling combine with headquarters in the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, the local commercial clubs and all the leech-like elements that prey on the farmers, have had a fertile field. The machine of the Republican Party rolled over the poor farmers at every election with resistless force.

When poor crop years and low prices came there was nothing for hundreds of farmers to do but pack their few household belongings and leave their land and machinery to the banker vultures. But Comrade Miller stayed and fought.

### No Cinch for the Farmer.

The life of a farmer in North Dakota is not easy under

any circumstances. In winter the climate is of the arctic kind with piercing winds that drive the snow through the smallest crevice in the isolated farm houses. Fuel must be bought. The Dakota plains are treeless except along the muddy flats of the Missouri and Red rivers where a few cottonwood trees are found. The spring rains flood the roads, soften the gumbo soil to a glue-like paste, and make them impassable. The summers are burning hot, the water has a high alkali content and drouths are frequent.

Comrade Miller stuck. He had seen enough of the United States to know that hot or cold, wet or dry, the farmer is always fighting nature while the banker, merchant and Harvester trust waits to pluck him if he wins.

Comrade Miller decided long ago that he might as well fight his part of the class struggle where he was. He is still fighting.

His sturdy figure in the North Dakota legislature, his tanned and determined face lined with the wrinkles carved by sun and wind, his unmistakable proletarian character—most of all his program—the program of the Workers (Communist) Party of America—puzzle and worry the flower of the North Dakota babbitts gathered in Bismarck. More and more they understand that here is a new kind of farmer-legislator that cannot be fooled by fair words nor brow-beaten by curses.

### Not a Legislator But an Agitator.

One day they will understand completely. Then they will know that this American-born son of a German rebel was the forerunner of a host of Communist farmer and worker legislators who used the platforms of the capitalist state to expose to their fellows the tyranny and rottenness of capitalism and to welcome the advent of a workers' and farmers' government which they helped to build.

## The Bishop and the Famine

By T. J. O'Flaherty

**T**HE clergyman who is unable to explain a mystery is a little entitled to wear the priestly robes as a labor faker who cannot count himself into office deserves to rank among the bonafide bureaucrats of labor. The writer has never heard of a priest who threw up his hands in despair in front of a mystery. His business is to make mysteries more mysterious and to turn quite matter-of-fact occurrences into insoluble riddles. Take the famine in Ireland for example.

Anybody but a bishop would look to the earth, sea and sky for a solution, and perhaps to the existing social conditions and the government which prescribes the rules and regulations for that system. Not so a bishop. Once the people begin to probe for causes in an effort to solve their problems, the priest business is in a bad way. When the great famine caused by the drought, the civil war and the allied blockade hit Russia in 1921, the Irish priests told the peasants that God was visiting his wrath on those people for denying his existence and chopping the Czar's head off.

The Irish peasants devoutly blessed themselves and perhaps cursed the Czar, for whom they had no earthly use, having heard that he was related to the king of England. An Irish peasant would rather shoot a king than a hare any day, but the priests and the bishops were under contract to the British government to boost them to their parishoners. Perhaps the Irish peasants believed that the famine in Russia was due to a deity's wrath. And perhaps they did not.

### Famine "Conceived in Sin"

But what caused the present famine in Ireland? A conspiracy of earth, sea and sky, plus the criminal negligence of a capitalist government, declare those who have not had their brains extracted by religious superstition or their honesty raped by the capitalist government and its myriad agencies. Not so the bishop. "The Lord is punishing the Irish people for the guerrilla war that raged since the Easter Week rebellion and the civil war that followed the Black and Tan days." This is the answer of Bishop Fogarty of Killaloe.

Famines are no new phenomena in Ireland. Along the entire west coast from Donegal in the north to Cork in the south, the land is very poor and though the population is not large, the barren soil is barely able to support the inhabitants. When the noted English revolutionist, Oliver Cromwell, overran Ireland with his god-loving Covenanters, he drove the peasants off the fertile plains and sent them to the bleak and desolate west coast. "To Hell or to Connaught" was the ultimatum. They went to Connaught as they thought. But it was the nearest thing to hell they ever experienced, though they did not realize it. Their descendants have been on speaking terms with famines ever since.

### When the Potato Crop Fails

The staple food of the peasants on the west coast is the potato. When the potato crop fails they are out of luck. That was the cause of the terrible famine in 1847, of which James Connolly writes so powerfully in his "Labor In Irish History."

It began on a small scale in 1845 and lasted until 1849. Its peak was reached in "Black '47" The money value of the potato crop was estimated at \$100,000,000 yet the agricultural crop of Ireland in the year 1848 was valued at \$250,000,000, which proves that even though the potato crop failed, there was enough agricultural produce to feed twice the population, if as Connolly says, "the laws of capitalist society were set aside and human rights elevated to their proper position."

In those awful years, shiploads of grain left Irish harbors for the markets of the world, while Irish mothers were dying in thousands by the roadsides with starving babies drawing on their shrunken breasts. "England made the famine by a rigid application of the principles that lie at the base of capitalist society" declared Connolly. And it can be as truthfully said today that the Irish Free State government is responsible for the hunger agonies of the thousands of men, women and children, who see the wolf of hunger moving relentlessly on their homes.



IN THE DAYS OF "PLENTY"  
The ordinary family meal of potatoes and milk.

#### Worst of Four Crop Failures

In many respects the present famine in Ireland is worse than the one that raged through four frightful years in the middle of the nineteenth century. Then, only the potato crop was a failure. Today all the crops have failed and in addition the fishing industry was ruined through the activities of a syndicate of British steam trawlers. At least 750,000 peasants are involved. As the case in the former famine this year's harvest was only the worst of four successively bad ones.

The Free State government which has a lot of dignity to uphold is doing everything possible to suppress news of the famine, just as the government of Queen Victoria of England did when news of the disaster of 1847 reached the outside world. A donation sent by the Turkish government to the famine sufferers, through the British government was returned by order of Queen Victoria, with the informative tip that England would take care of any little unpleasantness that might exist.

#### Cosgrave Emulates the Queen

President Cosgrave of the Irish Free State has taken a leaf out of Queen Victoria's book. When a New York newspaper cabled him for facts about the famine, he replied that though there was abnormal want on the west coast, it was nothing to get excited about. The resources of the Free State could cope with the situation. He was joined by the archbishops and bishops who are strong bulwarks of the Free State government. The Free State government needs another loan and the bankers are not usually anxious to throw their coin into a famine-stricken country.

As a result of this policy of suppression, very little news of the famine has sneaked into the American press. But the Irish Times of January 17 writes: "In this Free State, within a few hours journey from the capital, exists physical and mental distress as great as may be found anywhere in Europe, yet our people are curiously indifferent to it. Hundreds of people cower miserably in fireless cabins and women and children are dying of slow starvation."

The headquarters of the International Workers Aid in Dublin received a pitiful appeal for help from the staff of the school at Moenacross in County Donegal. "We the

teachers of the above school, beg to place before you the very pressing needs of the children in our charge. The parents of the children are unable to provide food, much less clothing or boots. It is pathetic to watch the poor pinched faces watching the few fortunate children who have lunch—fresh bread without butter or jam."

#### Peat Bogs Affected by Rains.

Another investigator into the famine situation, not a radical, writes: "I can honestly say I have not seen a proper fire in any house I have visited since Christmas."

An officer of the Board of Guardians in Fermanagh sums up the situation: "No crop, no seed, no means, and in some cases the children have no clothing."

In 1847, the Irish nationalist "patriots" could attribute all their sufferings to the British government. Today the governmental apparatus is at least in the hands of native Irishmen, no matter how much they move in accord with the desires of the wire pullers across the channel or perhaps the Wall Street bankers. Queen Victoria returned the donation of the "Terrible Turk" in 1847. President Cosgrave advises the American bourgeois press, that the Free State can take care of the famine without any outside help.

Eamon De Valera, leader of the bourgeois anti-treaty

(Continued on Page 283)



IN THE STRICKEN REGION

## The Barmat Scandal

Teapot Dome was the acme of respectability compared with the present Barmat Scandal in Germany. The Barmat affair reveals the complete inner demoralization and degradation to which the German Social-Democratic Party has sunk. The banker, Barmat, bought and sold prominent Social-Democrats as if they had been so many sacks of flour or barrels of fresh fish for the market. Through the complicity of Social-Democratic ministers, at the head of which was no less a figure than Bauer, Barmat received 45,000,000 gold marks in special credits and in addition cheated the government out of 15,000,000 gold marks which had been advanced to him by Postmaster General Hoeftle (Center party). The Social-Democrats, Heilmann, Hermann, Muller and Wels are involved in the scandal, as is also ex-President Ebert's own son.



"NICE FRESH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS FOR SALE!"

### "Let Your Superintendent Be Your Boss"

(Continued from Page 247)

lomatically, one mill at a time, to avoid concerted resistance on the part of the enormous mass of textile workers. And the truth compels the statement that to every appearance the mill owners are "getting away with it," on the whole. The miserable tactics of trade union officials' rushing into each local area of trouble to insist on delaying action and making adjustments separately for each tiny handful of skilled workers, with any concession to the employers that may be necessary to avoid "trouble," serve the employers as full and complete co-operation to put over the "deflation" drive without any real resistance on the part of labor. When we realize that the mill owners' program calls for the complete elimination of labor unions ("Let the Superintendent be Your Labor Leader!"), it becomes almost incredible that trade union officials should strive, not to widen the resistance, but to isolate and dissipate resistance.

The importance of resisting this drive cannot be overestimated.

Nor can the opportunity for the laboring masses be overestimated. There is here an opportunity for a stroke in labor organization seldom equalled in the history of this country.

There are far more than half a million textile workers in the United States, north, south, east and west. They could be made into one of the most powerful labor organizations in the world. But with what instrument can they be united? The organized labor movement practically does not exist in the textile mills. There are unions, yes. And we do not wish to combat, or to weaken in the slightest degree those fragments of unions which do exist. But at best they are but pitiful fragments. Their officials, for the most part, have an outlook which can see nothing more ambitious than the adjustment of each case of friction on a local basis, considering usually only isolated groups of skilled workers (even though these are fast losing their favored position and their numerical proportion to unskilled workers), and accepting any compromise in preference to a struggle.

There is the United Textile Workers, with a handful of members—hardly a handful in proportion to the number of workers engaged in the industry. This is the A. F. of L.

union claiming jurisdiction over all. Its president, Thomas F. Mahon, makes wildly passionate speeches to induce workers not to strike, and his greatest concern in this crisis is to "fight bolsheviks" and to claim jurisdiction for his own stagnant bureaucracy, rather than to organize a mass resistance to the wage-reduction. Then there is the American Federation of Textile Operatives, independent of the A. F. of L. and supposedly a rival union, although its attitude seems to be rather friendly toward a united front of all textile labor organizations. This is a union having locally a strong hold in Fall River and New Bedford and a few other New England towns, but altogether it is an even smaller handful than the United Textile Workers. There is also the Amalgamated Textile Councils, a still smaller union found for the most part in and around Providence. This union openly declares its opposition in principle to dual unionism, and constantly seeks to encourage every move to bring about a united front of all textile unions, as well as endorsing the movement for amalgamation. It never encourages a worker to quit another union, and it recognizes the cards of all other textile unions. But its membership is but a few hundred. Further than these unions there is but a fond memory of the I. W. W., and another tender recollection of the O. B. U.

This is the union situation. In practice it amounts to this: There is no organized resistance to the anti-labor drive. What can be done?

Nothing but an organizational drive on a wide national scale can accomplish a substantial result. The existing unions, all taken together, do not reach into one-tenth part of the field. For under the present wide spread of the textile industry, with the southern mills being played at will against the New England mills, no labor organization can make much of a dent in the situation unless it can reach into the southern states and make at least some showing toward touching the big new mills which are producing now more than half the manufactured cotton products of the United States.

I think this ought to be considered a job for the Communists. But it is a tremendous job, one which would tax the strength of any organization. The Workers (Communist) Party and the Trade Union Educational League have undertaken the job. In New England the party has raised the

slogan of the united front, and under that slogan in several mill towns united front rank and file committees, composed of workers either belonging to the various unions or not yet organized, have been formed. They have held mass meetings with some success.

#### What NOT to Do

Above all it is necessary to keep away from the fatal pit-fall of the past: the multiplying of the number of unions. Repeatedly the crises in the textile field have been solved (solved from the manufacturers' point of view) by some fervid reformer rushing in to form a new union, thus intensifying the struggle between groups of workers over the issue of "which is the best union," instead of broadening the struggle against the employers. The servility of the Gompers bureaucracy, compared to the flare of militant spirit which invariably accompanied the formation of each new organization, has always given plausibility to such "new union" tactics. But the net result has always been more division and fewer organized.

What is needed here is not another "fresh" union. What is needed is a strong rank and file movement of members of all existing unions and of workers as yet unorganized, refusing to consider making a "new" union, unqualifiedly condemning dual unionism and determined to compel the amalgamation of all those which now exist and the organization of the unorganized. The slogan for a preliminary step should call for the immediate joining of all existing unions into a united front for resistance to the wage cut and resistance to the employers' attempt to liquidate unionism.

The effort to prevent such a movement slipping into the old "dual union" rut will be difficult. Already the first steps

toward the formation of a united front have been viciously denounced by our old acquaintance Thomas F. McMahon, president of the United Textile Workers, as a repetition of the old tactics of forming another "good" union to supplant the "bad." Mr. McMahon, a typical Gompers bureaucrat, has already seized upon the name of the "united front textile workers rank and file committee" and has twisted this into the supposed name of a new union—a mythical "United Front Textile Workers" union. But Mr. McMahon can be stopped at this game if the united front movement takes on strength and determination enough to force the issue in McMahon's own union.

But the work needs to be enlarged to a scale ten times bigger. More speed needs to be gotten into it, and a longer reach. The party has urged its members to redouble and multiply their efforts to make a distinguished showing in this crisis. The Trade Union Educational League has joined in the call for mobilization. The Young Workers League has done likewise.

In the strenuous days that lie in the immediate future of the class struggle, the Workers (Communist) Party will be proud indeed if it can look upon a tremendous, militant industrial union of half a million textile workers, and say that it is a result of our young party's activity in the present crisis. And unless the party, and the Trade Union Educational League, and the Young Workers League, do successfully mobilize and successfully carry out a major campaign in this textile crisis now, and quick, the capitalist order will have won a victory over the working class of the first order, and further and further in the industrial life of the county will ring the latest, most cynical scab battle-cry:

"Let the mill superintendent be your labor leader!"

## History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

### The First Party Congress.

AND now let us return to the Union for Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class. The first congress of our party, held in Minsk, March 1, 1898, was made up of representatives of these "Unions," from Petersburg, Moscow, Ivanovo-Vosnesensk, Kiev and other cities, and also of delegates from the Bund, and from individual groups publishing workers' papers. The delegates, eight in all, can be given by name. From "Rabotchi Gazeti" there were Edelman and Vigdorchek. (Both are living: the first a Bolshevik; the second, alas, a right wing Menshevik.) From the Petersburg Union for Struggle came S. E. Radchenko, who died in 1912. (His brother, E. E. Radchenko, is alive and active in our party.) The delegate from the Kiev Union, was Tuchapsky, who, if I am not mistaken, is also dead; from the Moscow Union, Vanovsky; from the Ekaterinoslav, Petrusjevitch; from the Bund, Kramer, Kosovsky and Mutnik. Concerning the latter I can say nothing; but Kramer and Kosovsky I knew personally. (They are, alas, the rightest of right wing Mensheviks.)

Such was the makeup of this first congress, which attempted to carry through the work of creating a party. The congress elected a central committee, appointed an editorial board for the central organ, and sent out a call, written, as I

have said, by that same Struve who is now one of the bitterest enemies of the working class. I advise you to read through this document, which may be found in a number of books, including the supplement to "Outlines of the History of Social Democracy in Russia," by N. Baturin.

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of quoting two passages from this call. Characterizing the international situation, Struve wrote as follows about the revolution of 1848, just fifty years afterwards, in 1898:

"Fifty years ago there swept over Europe the vitalizing storm of the 1848 revolution. For the first time the working class came upon the scene as a mighty historical force. By the aid of its efforts, the bourgeoisie succeeded in sweeping away many antiquated monarcho-feudalistic forms. But it quickly recognized in its new ally its worst enemy, and betrayed it, and itself, and the cause of freedom into the hands of reaction. But it was already too late: the working class, beaten back for a time, ten or fifteen years later again stepped out upon the historical stage, with forces redoubled, and class consciousness revived, a fully mature fighter in the cause of its own liberation."

Later Struve describes the treacherous role of the international bourgeoisie, and then proceeds to the evaluation of the role of the bourgeoisie in Russia. In the course of this

description—and this is of peculiar interest—he makes the following statement, word for word:

"The further east of Europe it is (and Russia, as you know, is east of Europe), the weaker, more cowardly and abject becomes the bourgeoisie in its political relations, and the greater the cultural and political tasks falling to the lot of the proletariat."

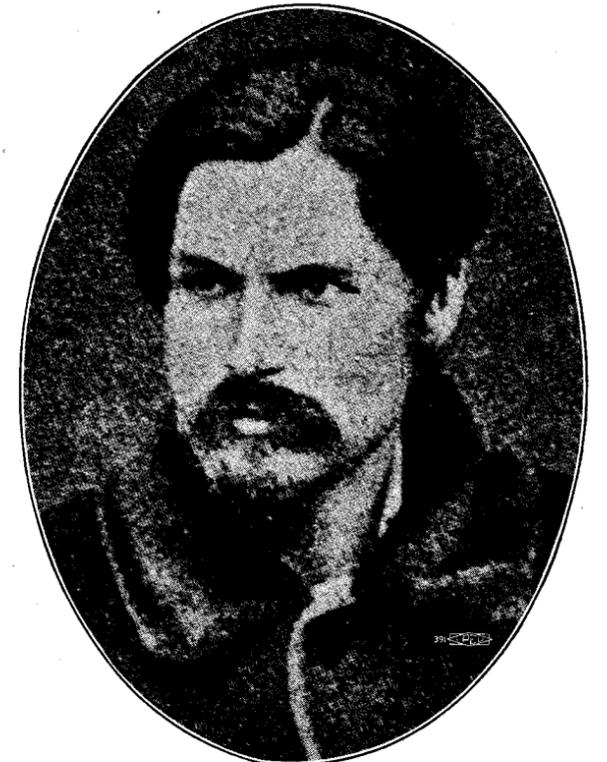
I think that Struve can be forgiven much for these prophetic words. It was in truth, of himself, of his own class that he wrote. And for us it only remains to repeat after him: "The farther to the east, the weaker, more cowardly and abject becomes the bourgeoisie in its political relations." And no one has demonstrated this more clearly than Struve himself.

### Economism.

At the end of the nineties, at the time of the first party congress, two currents became discernible, not only on the literary field, but also in the workers' movement, and even in the Social Democratic Party, though the latter had hardly taken on definite form as yet. One of these currents, which received the name of economism, I shall try to outline briefly. At the start I must say that economism was intimately bound up with the struggle of the tendencies appearing within 'illegal' Marxism. And, to state concisely the essence of the controversy between the revolutionary Marxists of this period, the advocates of political struggle, the "Iskrovzti" (the Iskra group), the future Leninists, on the one hand—and the economists on the other, it may be said that everything came down to the role of the proletariat in the revolution, to the question of its hegemony. This concept served during the course of 30 years as the fundamental dividing line, appearing in many settings, and in a variety of forms. In 1917, it lined up the Mensheviks and us on opposite sides of the barricades; in 1895, it assumed the form of a purely literary controversy; and from 1898 to 1900 it resolved itself into a struggle within the party. . . . And now, looking over the facts, you will see that there exists a personal bond between the adherents of economism and the representatives of the right wing of legal Marxism, the future builders of the Menshevik party. There is one and the same line of development: from legal Marxism through economism to Menshevism; next to liquidation, and then to what we have at the present time, when the Mensheviks have definitely gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie. It is one logical chain. The question of the hegemony of the proletariat is of such importance, that no one who commits an error in regard to this question can escape the penalty. Whosoever stumbles in regard to this point, is compelled by the laws of gravity to fall lower and lower.

### The Origins of Economism.

Economism arose in the second half of the nineties, when social democracy was advancing from the group stage, or "Krushkovshina," as it was called, to mass activity. What is meant by "Krushkovshina"? From the appellation it is apparent that this was a period when the party was composed of very small, individual propaganda groups. Nothing else could be done at the time, since it was scarcely possible even to gather the workers into individual units. But when the movement began to grow and spread, then, on the basis of the great strike movement to which I have referred, the revolutionists began to set themselves new and larger tasks. They said: "We must not be content with groups, we must ad-



KALTURIN, one of the Founders of the North Russian Labor Alliance, referred to by Zinoviev as the First Nucleus of the Russian Communist Party

vance to mass-activity, to agitation; we must not only endeavor to bring together individual workers, but to organize the working class." And here, at this extremely important juncture, the tendency known as "economism" was born. I shall now show why it was given this name.

When we began to advance to the mass organization of the workers, then questions of the economic struggle and the day to day life of the workers naturally began to play an extremely important role. Moreover, during the group period propaganda only had been carried on, but when group activity developed into mass activity, propaganda had to be replaced by agitation.

Observe, by the way, that there is a difference between agitation and propaganda. Plekhanov carefully differentiated them. He said: "If we give a number of ideas to a few people, that is propaganda; if we give one idea to many people, that is agitation." This definition is classic, and really does distinguish agitation from propaganda.

During the group period, propaganda was carried on, that is, a number of ideas, a whole "weltanschauung," in fact, were propagated among small groups of people; in the agitation period, on the contrary, an effort was made to instill into the minds of a large number of workers one fundamental idea, that of the economic subjugation of the working class.

And so, at this time we switched over to the economic field. It was not at all fortuitous that one of Lenin's first works was a pamphlet "On Fines," which were at that time imposed upon the workingmen and women of Petersburg, for lateness, poor work, etc. These fines and deductions were

the topic of the day, one-fifth and sometimes even one-fourth of the wages being taken off. And therefore, whoever really wanted to touch the masses, in a vital spot had to talk about fines. Thus, it was not irrelevant that the first leaflets of the "Union for Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class," written by Comrade Lenin, partly when he was at liberty, and partly in the Krete prison, were devoted to the question of *kipiatoks* (supply of boiled water for making tea), and various other abuses prevailing in the shops. At that period, they had to approach the workers through purely elementary questions, for only thus was it possible to arouse from their dreams the slumbering working masses, in great measure illiterate peasants, not accustomed to protest or to organization. Hence is it clear why the Marxists of this time thus emphasized immediate economic demands.

But here there occurred a dialectic freak, such as can often be observed in the march of historical events. While correctly laying emphasis upon immediate economic demands, some of the active workers, who in reality only chanced to be traveling along with us at the time, Mensheviks of the future, twisted the conception of economism to mean that the workers ought not to interest themselves in anything save narrow economic questions; all the rest, they said, was no concern of the workers, they had no understanding of it; and it was necessary to speak to them only of things immediately effecting them, i. e., of economic demands alone. And thus the word "economist" came into existence. It was not applied to specialists in economic science, but to those who maintained that it was necessary to speak to the workers of nothing beyond *kipiatoks*, fines, and similar matters. The economists even went so far as to deny the necessity of struggle against the autocracy. They said: "The workers do not understand this; we shall frighten them away if we come to them with the slogan, 'Down with the autocracy!'" Developing and "deepening" their views, the economists finally evolved the following "division of labor": the liberal bourgeoisie were to occupy themselves with politics, and the workers with the struggle for economic betterment.

#### The Leaders of Economism.

If I name the figures who were the leaders of this tendency, you will recognize quite old acquaintances. They were Prokopovitch and Kuskova, the same who were last year nicknamed "Prokukish." At that time they were members of the social democratic party, and participated in legal Marxism. There is nothing fortuitous in this fact. Like Struve, many active radical intellectuals entered the Social Democratic Party, and were reckoned among the leaders of the workers. And thus, this same Prokopovitch and Kuskova came out with their credo in the cause of economism, attempting to demonstrate that the workers ought not to meddle with politics, that this was the affair of the liberals, and of the bourgeois opposition in general. The workers' job, they claimed, was limited to economic demands. And more. In the struggle with Plekhanov and Lenin, Prokopovitch and Kuskova went so far as to pose as the only genuine lovers of the workers. They said: "We are the real friends of the workers. Here you are thinking about overthrowing the autocracy, about the revolutionary political struggle. This has nothing whatever to do with the workers! You bring forward problems of a bourgeois democratic character, but we, the true friends of the workers, we say to them, the autocracy is

not your concern—you must think of *kipiatoks*, of hours, of wages."

What does this all mean? Again, and once again—an absolute lack of understanding of the role of the working class as hegemony. The intention of the Marxists was not in the least that hours and wages should be forgotten. Both Comrade Lenin and the Union for Struggle for the Liberation of the Workers understood this. Of course, we wanted to raise the wages and improve the conditions of the workers, but in our estimation this was not enough; we wanted the workers to govern the state, to be its masters and its rulers. And—we said—there is no question in which the working class should not take an interest—above all, the question of the czarist autocracy, which directly concerns them. We stand for the hegemony of the proletariat, and we shall not allow the workers to be driven into the burrow of petty economic demands. Thus spoke the opponents of the "economists."

Prokopovitch and Kuskova supported several groups in Russia, including the one centering about the illegal paper, "Rabotchi Misl," published in Petersburg in 1896, by Takh-tarev, the author of various valuable historical studies on the workers' movement, and one of its active leaders during the nineties. Lokhov-Olgin and the Finn, Kok, collaborated with him on the "Raboschi Misl," which exerted considerable influence among the Petersburg groups. This organ and its directors energetically supported the views of Prokopovitch and Kuskova, that the working class must occupy itself only with those economic questions directly concerning it, and not devote itself to politics.

The first answer to this tendency was given by Plekhanov in a book entitled "Vademecum" (guide). In this he completely shattered the theories of Prokopovitch and Kuskova, and dealt the "Rabotchi Misl" a number of telling blows. He showed that whoever wants to leave the workers nothing but the pitiful crumbs of "economic" demands, and opposes their occupying themselves with politics, is no leader of the workers.

An even more effective answer was given by Comrade Lenin. The latter was at the time in exile in Siberia, and there, in a far-off village, he wrote a remarkable reply to the economists, getting a number of fellow exiles who were in agreement with his viewpoint to add their signatures to his. Comrade Lenin was always distinguished from Plekhanov in that he always tried for concerted, organized action. Comrade Lenin's reply was circulated among all the workers groups. A pamphlet by Lenin, entitled, "The Tasks of Russian Social Democracy," appeared abroad, with an introduction by the present Menshevik, Axelrod, who twenty years ago, could not find praise enough for Lenin's insight. In this pamphlet, Lenin dealt with the question of the hegemony of the proletariat in concrete fashion, combatting the economists, the opponents of this idea, along the whole line.

The economists were decisively defeated at the beginning of the twentieth century: by 1902 their song was sung. But from 1898 to 1901, in a certain sense, they dominated contemporary thought. At that time, thanks to them, the workers' movement was in the gravest danger, for the slogan of the economists was exceedingly alluring to the untrained workers, and it was an easy matter to catch them with this as bait. And had Plekhanov and Lenin, and then other active leaders in the Russian workers revolutionary movement, not

combated this tendency within the movement, at this time, who knows for how many years it would have been diverted to the path of "economism"—that is, of opportunism.

#### A Center of Economism Abroad.

We see by instances arising within both legal and illegal Marxism (economism was illegal; the Czarist autocracy hunted it down, and it was forced to get out papers and leaflets illegally), we see by these instances in what direction tended the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie, who, under the correlation of forces then obtaining, in many cases went right into the party of the workers, endeavoring to infect it with the virus of compromise, and the poison of bourgeois ideas. Sometimes this was done in the literary field, as in the case of Struve, in his "Critical Notes," or of Tugan-Baranovsky, sometimes in the field of organization, as in the case of those "economists" who founded "The Union of Russian Social Democrats" abroad, and published the "Rabotchi Misl," which had a large circulation. On the staff of this paper were a number of extremely active participants in the workers' movement of the period, for example, Martinov, who in the course of time attained prominence among the Mensheviks, and recently came over to us, Akimov-Makhnovetz, Ivaninin, Krichevsky and others. They entrenched themselves abroad, creating an emigrant center, but they also had papers, circles and committees in Russia, through which they carried on a systematic campaign to turn the whole workers' movement to the right, to push it in the direction of a policy of moderation, and to compel the workers to think only in terms of their narrow economic interests. Their ideology was very simple and extremely dangerous; the worker must know his place, must not meddle with politics, not display any interest in the czarist autocracy. He must work only for the improvement of his own craft conditions, not aspiring to higher things, but leaving all that to the liberals. Of course, it is understood that all this was not put in such a crude fashion, but more skilfully, and, very often, with entire sincerity, for men like Martinev, Teplov, Akimov-Makhnovetz, or Tartarev, did really believe that thus it was, and thus it had to be. This concept, I repeat, was in the highest degree dangerous, because it might well have seduced the untried masses, whose economic situation was so desperate. And if this had come about, the revolution would have been delayed for many years, nor would the working class have succeeded in playing an independent role in it.

#### The Role of the Working Class from the Viewpoint of "Economism" and of Bolshevism.

The adherents of "economism" did not acknowledge the role of hegemony for the proletariat. They said: "What, according to you, is the working class—a messiah?" To this we answered, and we still answer: messiah, messianism, this is not our language, we don't care for this sort of phraseology. But the concept underlying it, we do accept. Yes, in a certain sense the role of the working class is that of messiah, messianic in that it is this class which will free the whole world. The workers have nothing to lose but their chains; they have no property, they sell their labor, they are the one class interested in rebuilding the world from new beginnings, and capable of carrying the peasantry along with them against the bourgeoisie. We shun semi-mystical terms, messiah, messianism, preferring the scientific: **hegemony of the proletariat**—that is, the proletariat, which is not satisfied with gaining a 10 per cent wage increase, or cutting the work-

ing day in half, but declares: I am master. I create the wealth for capitalism which brought me forth to its own destruction. For the time being, I work, a wage slave, for capitalism, but the hour of the expropriation of the expropriator will come, and the moment arise, when the working class will take the power into its own hands.

#### The Hegemony of the Proletariat—All Power to the Soviets.

The word "hegemony" is foreign. Now the workers have taken it over into the Russian tongue; the hegemony of the proletariat means, speaking in terms of today, all power to the Soviets, all power to the working class. Many years went to the fashioning of this slogan, and it was tested for years in the furnace of struggle, enduring not only in bitter combat with the autocracy, and with the cadet party, but also with the right wing of legal Marxism—with economism, and finally, with Menshevism. And this is why the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat is the fundamental ideological basis of Bolshevism. It is one of the pillars on which the Bolshevik Party rests. And every conscious adherent of Communism must give thought to this question if he wishes to understand the history of our party.

END OF CHAPTER II.

(Chapter III will begin in the May issue.)

(EDITOR'S NOTE—From the March issue Zinoviev's work is being translated by Amy Schechter.)

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# The International

**ITALY** THE most significant development in the struggle of the Italian workers since their seizure of the factories in the fall of 1920 is just coming to a head. The workers in the Fascist unions have joined the workers in the General Federation of Labor in the great metal strike that has swept across the whole of northern Italy, over 100,000 being involved. Having at last come to the realization that they have nothing to expect from class collaboration save starvation and slavery, the workers in the Fascist organizations are turning to their own class for aid in the struggle.

The strike centers are in Turin and Milan, the strongholds of the Italian metal workers, where in 1920 the flame of revolt burned the fiercest.

The capitalist press reports that the manufacturers are "bitter and chagrined, declaring that the Fascist labor unions are biting the hand that fed them."

**FRANCE** DURING the last weeks, in the face of the grave financial and economic crisis developing in France, the crystallization of Fascism as a definite social force, and the bitter assault on hours and wages in the name of the Dawes' Plan, the Unity Confederation of Labor (C. G. T. U.), has been redoubling its efforts for amalgamation with the reformist Confederation (C. G. T.), holding thousands of meetings and demonstrations throughout the country.

In the course of its unity appeal, the C. G. T. U. declares:

"There is but one enduring unity, that is, a unity which guarantees free expression to all tendencies within the trade union movement, and imposes discipline on all in obedience to the sovereign power of trade union congresses.

"This is the unity that all members of the C. G. T. and C. G. T. U. must demand.

"Addressing itself to all the workers of both confederations, the C. G. T. U. declares that if they desire it, complete and lasting trade union unity can be realized before the end of 1925.

"These two confederations will hold their respective congresses in Paris next September on the same date.

"The C. G. T. U. proposes that at the end of these congresses there shall be held an Interconfederal Unity Congress which shall decide upon the amalgamation of the organizations."

**TURKEY** WITHIN the last months the militants in the Turkish workers' movement have defeated the anti-labor policy of the government and the yellow leaders at every turn by a remarkably energetic and skillful application of the principle of boring from within. In

a manner reminiscent of the tactics pursued by the Bolsheviks in the Zubatov unions organized by the Czar's secret police, the Turkish Communists went into unions organized by the government with the aid of stool pigeons and yellow leaders, and captured them for the militants.

In 1923, the Turkish government, faithful to the class collaboration policy attempted in all war-ruined countries, convoked an Economic Congress in Smyrna, inviting delegates from industrial, commercial and labor organizations to attend. The government called the Congress in the belief that it would be able to utilize Turkey's victorious role in the war to whoop up enthusiasm for various measures that it wished to put over at the expense of the workers and peasants, but under the guidance of the Communists, they refused to be bamboozled by appeals to their "patriotism," and instead put up demands of their own. Taking alarm at this new tendency, the government cut short the Congress, and straightway began a systematic suppression of all workers' and peasants' organizations. One by one the trade unions were dissolved, and the labor code of Abdul Hamid, which, though in a limited form, conceded the right of organization to the workers, was abolished. The government's pretext for the latter step was that a new and more systematic code was to be drawn up, but no move was made to carry out this promise. In addition, all those labor leaders who refused to become the tools of the government were subjected to persecution, imprisonment or exile.

Realizing from the restlessness of the workers, however, that the situation might soon get beyond control, the government established its own "unions," making sure of the yellow leaders by means of personal concessions, and putting in stool pigeons to control the new organizations and spy upon the workers. Instead of holding aloof from these yellowest of yellow organizations, the militants entered the "unions," advising, educating and leading the rank and file, and keeping up a steady fight against the yellow officialdom. Finally they forced the latter to ask the Minister of Labor why the new labor code was not forthcoming, whereupon a measure was at length formulated, but submitted not to the workers, but to the Chamber of Commerce for approval. The Communist press, leading a violent attack on the government for this procedure, demanded that permission be given to call a labor congress to consider the whole question.

Secure in the belief that their tools controlled the "unions," the government consented, and the congress was called for February 20, of this year, at Constantinople. As soon as the 150 delegates, representing 30,000 organized workers were assembled it became evident that the militants were in control, however. A counter-measure to the government measure was adopted, a committee elected to follow up the matter, and a deputation sent to present the demands of the workers to the National Assembly at Angora. Now the workers are demanding the right to organize a real Labor Federation, and are confident of their ability to force through their demand.

## THE WORKERS MONTHLY

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### Time Clocks for Senators, and Other Problems.

THE country is still ringing with the latest Hell and Maria explosion. And with reason. Vice-President Dawes is now the "minute man" of the Coolidge Administration (although he sometimes arrives at the scene of battle a minute late!) Dawes' inauguration day outburst before the Senate was an Administration affair; it is one of the most important and significant developments taking place in Washington in recent weeks.

It constitutes due warning that henceforth Big Business expects the capitalist government to serve capitalism promptly and efficiently, without any monkey shins.

Senators talk too much. They are too much entangled in the red tape of their own self-importance. They consume too much time. As a result, the Sixty-eighth congress closed without acting upon a number of important measures, such as the Muscle Shoals bill and the McFadden banking bill, in which the big capitalists who own congress are interested. The only sign of efficiency displayed by Congress was in raising its own salary. That sort of thing has happened often enough to be more than mildly annoying. Capitalism has become modernized; why not the capitalist state? The archaic senatorial rules, the easy-going methods of the past, must go. This is, frankly, a business age.

Big Business has consolidated its control on the economic field and its contact with the machinery of government is therefore enormously simplified. It was not for nothing that Dwight Morrow's friend, Cal Coolidge, was made President of the United States, nor that Wall Street contributed so many millions to the last senatorial and congressional campaign funds. From now on the responsiveness of the government to the demands of Wall Street is expected to be immediate.

The militant temper of American capitalism, its class consciousness and its determination to allow no "left wing deviations" to go unpunished in Congress, are further seen in the disciplinary measures applied in the case of LaFollette, Brookhart, Ladd and the other "insurgent Republicans" who were stripped of their seniority privileges and their patronage. The important committee posts formerly held by these erring brothers now pass to senators of the safe and sane type. Big Business is not disposed to monkey with LaFollette in its anti-labor schemes with regard to the railroads and it is in no mood to waste its patience on Ladd in the matter of public lands.

The LaFollettes and the Ladds are absurdly helpless before this juggernaut that rides over them. They are afraid to champion the interests of the workers, for whom indeed

they have little use. They appeal from capitalism to capitalism. What they want is a return to the capitalism that is irrevocably past—the capitalism of individual buccaneering and petty strifes, where their own personalities would have plenty of room to expand. Their case is hopeless.

### Unhonored and Unsung.

THE problem of what policy to adopt towards the Conference for Progressive Political Action, by the Communists was considerably simplified by the sudden and unheralded, though expected, demise of that organization.

Its career reminds the writer of a story told of an Irish peasant whose virtues were so few that even the professional eulogists who attend Irish wakes were at a loss to find something to say in his favor when he passed beyond the dark ocean.

One of the mourners, who had an exceptionally original turn of mind, after expectorating in the ashes of the turf fire, suddenly solved the problem that was agitating every mind at the wake by remarking, "Well, if he was good for nothing else he could smoke a good pipe of tobacco."

If the C. P. A. was good for nothing else at least it could hold conferences. It has held its last.

### International Transport Workers' Convention.

TRANSPORT is a vital nerve in the modern economic organism. In the single word "traffic" is comprehended the regular and incidental movement of iron and steel goods, textiles, the ordinary necessities of life, workers, scabs, ammunition, armies. Whoever controls the transport systems exercises a control over the lives of millions of men, women and children throughout the world.

Today capitalism controls them—and in the Western Hemisphere that means Wall Street. Practically every important line connecting American ports is dominated by the big Wall Street shipping combine. This gigantic trust is the implacable enemy of every seaman or harbor worker seeking a decent standard of living. Working conditions on the ships are abominable. Wages are forced lower and lower. For years, shipowners have followed the practice of breaking strikes by playing off the Latin American workers against those of the United States.

At last the transport workers are coming together. In convention at New Orleans, March 1-3, the first step was taken toward the creation of a single all-American transport workers' federation, which, together with the transport workers of Europe and Asia, would carry on the struggle for a better day in the transportation industry. Eleven delegates were present representing the following organizations: Argentine Transport Workers, Cuban Longshoremen and Harbor Workers, Seamen's Union of Ecuador and the Marine Transport workers of the I. W. W.

For the smallness of the convention the I. W. W. can only blame themselves. They called the convention on ridiculously short notice and for a date which conflicted with the world conference of transport workers held in Berlin under the auspices of the International Propaganda Committee of the R. I. L. U. The former executive committee of the I. W. W. marine transport workers' organization was severely censured by the delegates for withholding information from the membership concerning the world conference of Red transport workers.

Another reason for the lack of response on the part of Latin American unions is the isolation policy pursued by the I. W. W. marine transport workers in the past.

But despite its limited representation, the convention points the way to union of the transport workers of North and Latin America, an immediate and paramount necessity in the face of the encroachments of American imperialism. A second convention will meet on January 15, 1926, in Havana, Cuba.

The Latin American delegates showed plainly that they realize the need for unity and are willing to make sacrifices to attain it. On their part, the wobblers showed an unmistakable willingness to give up many of their old prejudices. They gave up any claim they may have nurtured as to their being the whole works, agreeing to merge with the others in a single federation of transport workers. Moreover, they agreed to refrain from criticizing the political connections of the Latin American unions.

International strike action was decided upon by the convention, a most important decision, even if it proves to be nothing more than a slogan for the present.

The shipping interests may take warning that the workers of North and Latin America are amalgamating their forces, that the day will soon be past when the bosses can attack the unions one at a time in isolated fashion and overwhelm them. When the all-American federation is a reality, carrying on an aggressive, revolutionary struggle against Wall Street, the knell of the bosses' control over transportation will have sounded.

## Amalgamation from Below

(Continued from page 254)

tees, strike committees, and the like established. In the great fight of the Chicago building trades workers two years ago against the infamous Landis Award, the instrument used by the militant elements was the Publicity Committee which was controlled largely by "progressives" and Communists. The building trades council was hopelessly in the grip of the reactionaries and played no part in the defensive struggle. In the days when he was making a semblance of a fight against the anthracite mine operators, Cappellini, notwithstanding bitter opposition from the local and national labor fakers, built up a network of unofficial grievance committees which he later used effectively to raise his traitorous self into power. Such local rank and file committees can and should be organized in many industries around the demands and needs of the workers. Their struggle and experience can be used effectively to organize the demand for national amalgamation and to put teeth into it.

### Shop Committees.

In addition to the movement for amalgamation on a national and local scale, the amalgamation campaign must be also carried on in the shops. Here it takes the form of a fight to establish shop committees. In the future shop committees are bound to assume tremendous importance in the American labor movement. They must be organized with a broad rank and file representation, not only from the workers in the unions, but also from the unorganized. They will then be the binding element among the workers on the job. They are the future bases of the trade unions. They serve to bridge over the artificial organization barriers still existing between the

workers, and to balk the schemes of the class-collaborationist leaders to divide and defeat the toiling masses. They are the most effective centers of revolutionary propaganda and action. Shop committees when properly organized constitute amalgamation in the shops.

It may be safely prognosticated that a vigorous movement to organize shop committees will meet with the most stubborn and determined resistance on the part of our reactionary trade union leaders. But the movement must be pushed through nevertheless. In England, during the war, when the metal workers, spurred on by the sluggishness of the old trade union machinery, set up shop committees, they encountered the active opposition of the union bureaucrats. But they persisted in spite of this and succeeded, while objective conditions were favorable, in developing a real solidarity among the workers notwithstanding the multiplicity of unions. The shop committee movement in Germany has faced an even more dogged resistance than in England. Every attempt of the Communist left wing to make a revolutionary weapon out of it has been met with wholesale expulsions and general persecution. But the struggle is being continued, expulsions or no expulsions. Under no circumstances could the German Communists meekly submit to the dictum of the controlling bureaucrats that the shop committees, which are officially recognized by the unions, should practically remain on paper and be nothing more than weak grievance committees.

American trade union leaders will resist the shop committee movement much more recklessly and desperately than their English and German prototypes have done. But this resistance must be circumvented. The shop committees must be formed in spite of it and given the broadest organizational base possible. They must struggle to win control over the right to hire and fire and to generally protect the workers' interests in the shops.

### The Everyday Struggle.

Another important consideration is to bring the amalgamation movement close to the workers' lives by identifying it with their everyday struggle against the employers. The masses are not and cannot be interested in amalgamation as such. Only the militants are far-sighted enough to want amalgamation in itself. What the masses want is to win concrete demands, and they are interested in amalgamation only insofar as they can see that it will help them secure these immediate aims. Hence to tie the amalgamation movement up with the everyday struggle of the workers is a fundamental necessity. An amalgamation movement not based upon and locked in with the immediate necessities and demands of the working class is like a locomotive without steam, or a body without life. It is as dead as a doorpost. The great power of the amalgamation movement among the railroad shopmen was its close identity with their memorable strike of 1922.

It is not enough to point out in an abstract way that amalgamation will produce better and stronger unions. This must be demonstrated in the actual struggle itself. Every mass movement of the workers, offensive or defensive, should be accompanied by a conscious drive to consolidate the unions. The shoe workers' militants are proposing to call a general amalgamation convention of their unions. This should set as its definite purpose the fighting of wage cuts in the shoe industry. Similarly, in other industries, the fight against reductions in wages should open the door wide for big amalgamation drives. Wherever the workers are in strug-

gle, whether it is against wage cuts, against unemployment, to organize the unorganized, or whatnot, the agitation should be seized upon and linked up with the ceaseless drive to unite the scattered unions into powerful combinations. By bringing the amalgamation movement down from the abstract and by identifying it with the workers' every day battles it is made into a living factor in the class struggle.

Amalgamation will not come from the top. The bureaucrats will not consolidate their organizations, even though petitioned to do so by vast masses of the rank and file. Our experience teaches this definitely. They must be pushed into it by an irresistible surge from below. The militants must stir the masses, on the basis of their everyday demands, to press resistlessly against the bureaucracy at every point. The amalgamation plans to be worked out by the T. U. E. L. militants in the various industries must bear in mind the foregoing principles. They must develop national, local and shop organizational amalgamation forms and drives. And all must be inextricably interwoven with the struggles of the toiling masses. This way lies the consolidation of our present weak unions and the laying of foundations for a trade union movement capable of playing a real part, not only in the day-to-day war against exploitation, but also in the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## BOOKS

### Judith Saving Her Soul

This Mad Ideal, By Floyd Dell. Publisher, Alfred A. Knopf. Price, \$2.00

FLOYD DELL'S specialty, as evidenced by his first three novels, is the study of contemporary childhood and adolescence. His new novel is concerned with the same subject. It must be said, however, that "This Mad Ideal" does not reach the mark set by "Moon Calf," "Briary Bush," nor even "Janet March." And there is even less of the class struggle in it. The masses seem to exist somewhere far away.

The tale is told in rather colorless style and language. One does not look back on any section of the story with a reminiscent thrill. It is hard to believe that the man who wrote that breath-taking chapter on burlesque in "The Briary Bush" also is the author of "This Mad Ideal." The outstanding fault of the book seems to be that it had to be forced over some two hundred fifty pages when it could have been told, perhaps more effectively, in about half that space.

In spite of its defects, however, the life story of Judith Valentine, from the age of four to about twenty, is mildly interesting. The picture of the little girl in a small New England village, though overdrawn at times, is charming. The death of Gloriana, her mother, after a short career as a singer, which has followed her separation from her husband and a few years of work "by the day" doing housework, brings Judith into the home of her Aunt Emma in Pompton.

It is here that Judith spends the rest of her childhood and young girlhood. At the age of twelve she learns that girls must not climb trees because it gives boys a chance to look at their legs. For some mysterious reason this must not be allowed. From then on life becomes a struggle between her own conceptions and those of the world of Pompton.

She attends high school and learns that there are "dirty" books, among which Thomas Hardy's "Jude the Obscure" is classed. Unlike Tennessee Franklin, a fellow student, she has not the courage to fight against the tyranny of the school principal, Mr. Sopwith, but finds refuge in writing poetry.

There is an excellent character sketch of Mr. Sopwith, the sincere but mentally short-sighted reformer. Also his son, whom Judith later loves after her fashion, is graphically depicted as a product of parental oppression. Judith strengthens him and helps him to rebel against his father.

The most lovable and vivid character in the book is the editor of the Pompton "Patriot," Mr. Byington. He habitually fortifies himself with alcohol, but "there's a reason." Once he says to Judith:

"Why do I drink whisky all the time? Well, I couldn't tell you that, exactly. But I suppose that if I had started out with a sensible ambition, say, to become an important citizen of Pompton and the editor of the 'Patriot,—why, I might not need so much whisky to get through the day. . . . The trouble is that I started out to be something entirely different. Ideals—that's the trouble. Put it down to ideals. Yes, Judith, the next time you meet a temperance reformer, tell him that the true way to get rid of drinking is to abolish ideals."

Hugh Massingham, a clever newspaper man, boozier, boaster, cosmopolitan and Bohemian, contributes considerably to Judith's education. She absorbs everything he has to tell her of his adventures and loses interest in him.

Finally Judith leaves Pompton, goes to Boston and then to New York, having decided not to marry Roy Sopwith, the sweetheart of her high school days, who is in Boston studying art. She reasons that, being Gloriana's daughter, she could not be happily married. New York holds out the promise of a career and adventure, whereby she can save her soul from all that Pompton would have it become.

On the whole, one can spend a not unpleasant few hours reading "This Mad Ideal," neither losing nor gaining much thereby.—I. D.

## The Bishop and the Famine

(Continued from Page 274)

on the ears of the world, the machinery of working class relief was set in motion and tyrannized, landlord-infested, priest-ridden Ireland, will for the first time in her painful history feel the warm touch of international friendship that will alleviate the distress of the famished workers and peasants and draw them closer into the great movement that is rapidly forging the weapons of steel, to sweep aside the obstacles that prevent the useful classes from enjoying the good things of life, while the parasites revel in luxury.

When that time comes, the bishop will have to do some real explaining.

## Rear Admirals and Russian Recognition

(Continued from page 244)

sibly do so on whatever policies will seem to them calculated to break our favorable balance of trade."

..... One of the primary objectives of the League of Nations, under the leadership of England, is to devise some policy to destroy the American favorable balance of trade."

..... Serious differences are brewing with England over shipping policies. These differences can be prevented from developing into conflict only by a strong navy. That America determines to build up a great merchant marine fleet has created against us the bitter animosity of the English shipping interests."

Notice that the England is mentioned specifically SIX times. Japan ONCE. This is an approximate indication of the extent of the menace of each to the imperialists of America.

Japan interferes in two spheres only—oil and China—and in a minor degree.

England ranks first as a rival in China (the admiral mentions the failure of the "open door" policy to "protect American interests.") Second, England is a competitor for the world's oil supply. Third, she is the most powerful of the defaulting debtors. Fourth, she is our chief trade rival. Fifth, she is a danger to the American merchant marine. Sixth, she has the most powerful navy in the world.

Yes, Japan takes sixth place as a potential foe. Not in point of time, for we may have war with Japan before we clash with England, but England is the enemy against whom most of the energy of the nation is to be directed.

No more frankly provocative speech has been delivered by a responsible official of the United States since the parliamentary battle over the armed ship bill when the "twelve wilful men" exhausted their vocabularies in denunciation of the motherland.

Such statements, unless disavowed immediately by the state department, are generally taken to mean a severance of diplomatic relations. The admiral, however, has not even been rebuked. The tolerant attitude of his superiors is a striking contrast to that displayed towards General Mitchell, who spoke out of his turn and exposed the weakness of the air fleet.

Navies are the weapons of aggression in the far reaches of the Pacific and Atlantic. It is a navy more powerful than Britain's that our imperialists want.

The admiral's fiery remarks were a juicy bit for the capitalist press correspondents who have been surfeited for

eight years or thereabouts with the official bunk concerning "hands across the sea," "blood is thicker than water" and "the noble mission of the two great anglo-saxon races." The correspondents raced for the War, Navy and State departments. The admiral would undoubtedly get his, they told one another. Not so.

The Secretary of State said there was "nothing in the offing that could not be settled diplomatically."

The Secretary of War said, "Nothing has come up that cannot be settled."

The Secretary of the Navy—"He just grinned." That was that. Evidently Admiral Phelps had obeyed orders and said what he was supposed to say.

Let us discount as much of the admiral's speech as we wish. Let us say that 75 per cent of it was "navy propaganda." After all what is a navy? It is an instrument of aggression and not of defense—it is the modern weapon of imperialism.

And what is the reason for the announcement from official sources of the intention of the administration to open negotiations with Russia?

And what became of the disarmament conference Coolidge was going to call and which sent the pacifists into an ecstatic delirium? It has disappeared from the capitalist press.

It is not wise to have fools do too much thinking about disarmament when the need is for a larger navy, more oil for that navy so it can extend the American world empire.

But other admirals have been turned loose to guide the thoughts of fools. Admiral Fiske, speaking in New York last month was more general, but just as emphatic as Admiral Phelps. Admiral Fiske merely glorified war before the Wayne County, Pennsylvania Society of New York. This American Bernhardt declared:

"War has been a protector and promoter of civilization in the main. In fact, no civilization has ever existed except under the protection of some organized government, which maintained order by employing military force, and which has been brought into existence by a succession of wars. Furthermore, no recognized government has ever been able to continue long, unless it could and did protect itself by war.

"As to the expense of armies and navies, we ought to realize that the money spent on a navy goes as wages to American workmen in every industrial and mechanical art and manufacturing business in the country. The nation would not be any poorer if the navy were made ten times bigger than it is."

To these and other utterances of Admiral Fiske the capitalist press did full justice. The New York World headed the story: "Fate of Carthage Menacing America," declares admiral; War Promotes Civilization; Sees Need to Protect Wealth; Better Spend on Navy Than on Furs and Silks."

The country that is to play Rome to our Carthage? Great Britain.

What do the revolutionary diplomats and political observers of Soviet Russia say of the connection between the British-American rivalry, America's strained relations with

Japan and the new Administration policy towards Russia? Their opinion is well worth reading. It is the considered opinion of Communist diplomats whom MacKenzie of the Chicago Daily News compliments by saying that Soviet Russia "for the moment at least has beaten the United States in the diplomatic battle in China. . . got the better of Britain in Afghanistan. . . in Europe, is diplomatically gaining ground every week." No diplomacy, says this enemy of Communism, "of our age has gained such triumphs."

Says the Soviet Ambassador to China, Karakhan, in a recent number of the International Press Correspondence:

"The agreement with Japan, which has strengthened our position in the Pacific Ocean, serves as a warning to America, that by refraining from concluding a treaty with us, it is only worsening its own position. . . For Japan the agreement has at present a still greater importance than for us. The threat of isolation which characterizes the present situation of Japan, is removed by the existence of a power on the Asiatic continent friendly to Japan. . . We look forward to extensive economic cooperation with Japan, which will offer us the possibility of developing our productive forces and of supplying Japan with those raw materials without which she is completely dependent upon America and England. . . reports received from America go to prove that America is beginning to perceive all the disadvantages of the non-existence of relations with us. It is true that these reports express the fear that negotiations with America will be equally prolonged and difficult as were the negotiations with Japan. But I consider this to be incorrect. As a matter of fact, there are fewer disputed questions separating us from America than was the case in the negotiations with Japan."

This is a plain statement that the driving force of her imperialist policy in the Far East forces America to recognize Soviet Russia.

Let us quote one more Russian. Peritus, writing from Moscow, is even more specific than Karakhan. Speaking of the rumors of recognition following the resignation of Hughes, he says:

"The key to the solution of this very interesting event is to be found in the increased activity of American world policy. Viewed from this standpoint, the recognition of the Soviet Union is only part of a big scheme, but a part which has now become essential for the further development of America's active policy. This development is now becoming impossible without the establishment of relations with the Soviet Union. . . the active participation of America in the reconstruction and pacification of Europe by an inescapable logic leads America to a resumption of relations with the Soviet Union. . ."

"The active policy of the Soviet Union in the Far East, the strengthening of its influence in China, the far-reaching changes which are taking place in China itself, the strengthening of the anti-American elements in China, the approaching arrival of an official representative of the Soviet Union to Tokyo,

these are some of those facts which are inevitably driving American policy to greater activity in the international field. Aggressive imperialism in the Far East was represented by the Anglo-Japanese alliance whilst America represented the policy of non-intervention in the inner affairs of China and of the open door for all. Since the Conference of Washington the Anglo-Japanese alliance has ceased to exist. In its place there is at work in China the Anglo-American bloc, which is in no way an alliance. The Anglo-American bloc is due to the fact that England does not venture to intervene in China without America. As the next step there appeared the necessity for a solution of the very acute problem of interallied debts: a problem which is indissolubly connected with the economic relations between the West and the Soviet Union. The problem of international debts and the resulting possible profound changes in French policy must compel American policy to a more active participation in all European affairs.

"The economic interests of America, especially the oil interests, are drawing it into the affairs of the Balkans and the Near East. An important role in the raid of Achmed Zogu into Albania was played by the support of American agents who are connected with great American firms. The oil interests of America in Mesopotamia and the greed on the part of Americans for concessions in Asia Minor led to the well known intervention of the American observer in Lausanne, who insisted upon the protection of American interests, the more so, as in Persia the policy of America is closely connected with the world interests of Standard Oil.

"But the international policy of Standard Oil brings America into immediate contact with the Soviet Union. Standard Oil has for a long time favored boycott and intervention against Soviet Russia and staked all its cards upon counter-revolution. But times change and the policy of Standard Oil towards the Soviet Union has undergone a complete alteration. More and more is Standard Oil becoming a big purchaser of the oil products of the Soviet Union. As Standard Oil is one of the largest undertakings in existence dealing with mineral oil, it has to purchase crude oil from abroad, particularly in view of the visible shrinking of the supplies in America."

Do we need additional evidence of the relationship of forces in world affairs that changes the American policy towards Russia? Here it is.

According to the latest figures on oil consumption furnished by the Department of Commerce, American industry and the American navy is using 18,000,000 barrels of oil more than is produced at home. The navy needs a minimum of 10,000,000 barrels annually.

Hardly had the resignation of Hughes been followed by the announcement of a change in the Russian policy of the Administration than the news was released that Standard Oil had purchased 150,000 tons of kerosene and 20,000 tons of gasoline from the Baku and Grozny fields of the Soviet Government and had taken an option on 50,000 tons more for delivery in 1926.

Great Britain is not going to get the oil from the only remaining source of supply open to American imperialism abroad if our patriots can help it.

The Communist International has said over and over again that the imperialist rivalries within capitalism are the greatest factors making for revolution. The diplomacy of the workers and peasants government of Russia, which is Communist diplomacy, has been based on the ineradicable conflicts within capitalism. Has it met the final test? Has it worked?

Let the capitalist press and the more despicable enemies of Soviet Russia and the Communist International,—the "socialist" hangmen of the revolution—answer this question as America, the would be conqueror of the world, bows to forces that the youngest Communist understands, forces unleashed by the capitalist system and used against capitalism by revolutionary workers and peasants of the Communist Parties of the world.

If we read the more intelligent capitalist press, from now on we will find that Soviet Russia is no longer the black-guard among nations. The capitalist press will discover that tremendous changes have taken place in the internal affairs of Soviet Russia, changes that will be given as reason why "democratic" America can now do business with her.

The menace to world peace will now become the Communist International and its leaders. Already the capitalist press has spoken very sympathetically of Trotsky and all the harlot tribe of journalists emphasises the handicaps placed

on the soviet diplomats by the Russian Communist Party.

First the European press and now the American press devotes much space to the discussion on Trotskyism in the Communist International. Zinoviev is vilified as only Lenin was before his death. The evidence of any opportunistic tendency within the International bring encomiums for its adherents and for the first time we begin to read in the capitalist press of "sane Communists."

In war on the Communist International and the Communist Parties, Great Britain and America can join hands. Not only will these greatest imperialist nations form a united front for this offensive but into it will come France and Italy, Germany and the Scandinavian countries followed by all the vassal states from Rumania to Finland.

Two wars are in preparation. The imperialist war for the control of the world by one or the other of two powerful nations—and the war between capitalism and Communism.

Is it important to know what the fools are thinking and how it is that they think as they do? I think so.

More important that this however, is the Communist duty of preventing the middle class fools from dragging in the bloody wake of imperialism, in its internecine strife and in its war on the world revolution, our class—the working class.

This is the task of the Communist Party of America and it is a task made not less but more urgent by the coming recognition by America of Soviet Russia—a change in policy that indisputably means the intensification of the conflict between British and American imperialism.

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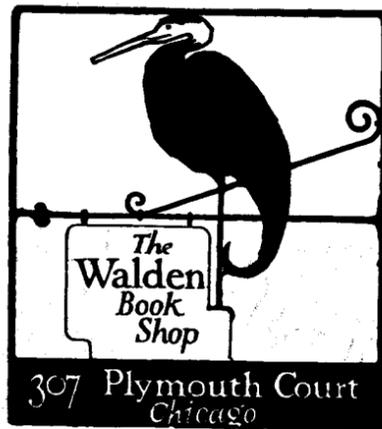
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(Continued from page 256)

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