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THE workers, students, and intellectuals of China are calling aloud to all workers and liberty loving people of other countries for help. Never before has such an appeal been sent out by the Chinese. Thousands upon thousands of Chinese are on the verge of starvation. For months they have been carrying on strikes against pauper wages and miserable living and working conditions. In addition they are waging a bitter battle against not only their own oppressors, but also against foreign invasions of capitalist dictatorship, that in attempting to destroy any vestige of self-determination still left to the Chinese people. In the past few weeks, hundreds of defenseless Chinese workers and students have been shot down in cold blood during peaceful demonstrations. From out of the wounds of the Chinese there flows the red blood of rebellion against oppression, tyranny and exploitation.

A Chinese school-teacher, after making a heartrending talk about the suffering of his people, cut the tip of his finger off and wrote with his own blood upon a placard—"Chinese, awaken! Offer your lives to save China!"



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

Published monthly at 1113 W. Washington Blvd. Subscription price \$2.00 per year. The Daily Worker Society, Publishers.
Entered as Second Class Matter November 8, 1924, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

VOL. IV.

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OCTOBER, 1925

No. 12

From the Third Through the Fourth Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party

By C. E. Ruthenberg

IN his report to the Fifth Congress of the Communist International Comrade Zinoviev declared:

"I think it is quite clear by now that the Communist International, in its earliest years, in a number of countries, was only a society for the propaganda of Communism without being aware of this itself. At the beginning, we thought we were very strong, but as a matter of fact, in a number of countries at that time we did not have Communist Parties, but only great propaganda societies."

Later on, in the same report, he declared:

"In spite of all weaknesses, in spite of all shortcomings of our sections, we are now in a number of countries, no longer propaganda societies, but we have grown into a Communist Party and in part even into a mass Communist Party."

Comrade Zinoviev made clear at the Fifth Congress, and this was emphasized still more strongly at the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International, held last March, that there was still a third stage in the development of the Communist Parties, that is, the Bolshevization of the Communist Parties.

The three stages of development—propaganda sects, Communist Parties, and Bolshevized Communist Parties—are also the stages of development of the Communist Party in this country. If we examine the history of the Communist Party in this country, we will come to the conclusion that our Party has definitely left behind the stage of development in which it was a propaganda sect and that it has created a firm foundation of policies and tactics for its development as a Communist Party—even a mass Communist Party—and that it now stands before those great tasks which will make it really a Bolshevik Party.

From the time of its organization in 1919, until the organization of the Workers Party at the end of 1921, was, roughly speaking, the period of the existence of the Party as a propaganda sect; the period from the formation of the Workers Party until the Fourth National Convention which closed on the sixth anniversary of the formation of the

Communist Party, was the period of the development and growth, with some setbacks, into a Communist Party; the Fourth National Convention is the opening of a new period in the development of the Party which gives the promise that the Party will become not only a mass Communist Party, but a Bolshevik Party. The Fourth National Convention can be said to have definitely crystallized the policies and tactics which make our Party a Communist Party and also to have laid down the beginning of the program through which the first steps will be taken for the Bolshevization of the Party.

The Period of the Propaganda Sect

THE purpose of this article is not to present a detailed history of the entire development of the Party, but rather to deal with that important phase of its development which took place between the Third and Fourth National Conventions and in the Fourth National Convention. It is necessary, however, briefly to sketch the earlier years of the Party development in order to lay the basis for discussion of the last twenty months of the Party history, and also to clarify what are the characteristics of the three stages of development of a Communist Party pointed out above.

The Communist Party came into existence in the United States, as elsewhere, in response to the ferment caused in the socialist parties by the Russian Revolution. It was the historical example, that is, the establishment of a proletarian state through an armed uprising of the working masses, the sweeping away of the old parliamentary form of government, the establishment of the new workers' government upon the foundation of the soviets, that drove into the socialist parties the wedge which split them into two sharply defined groups, those who pretended they could achieve a socialist society through forms wrung from the capitalist state and those who saw the only road to socialism, the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist Party organized in the United States in September, 1919, clearly stated this fundamental difference in principle in the program it adopted. Its analysis of the development of the socialist party showed that reformist



British Labor to British Imperialism: "Go to Hell—I'm Through!"

socialism led to the betrayal of the workers and not to socialism. It considered the propaganda of this fundamental difference between the socialists and Communists its chief task.

In the four months of existence as an open Communist Party, which our "American democracy" permitted it, the work of the Party consisted almost entirely of propaganda to drive home this difference between socialists and Communists in the minds of the workers. The government persecution towards the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920 helped to accentuate this tendency on the part of the Party. The Party was attacked because it taught the workers that they could emancipate themselves from capitalism only through an armed uprising which would overthrow the capitalist state and establish a soviet government. After it was driven underground, the Party considered it all the more its duty to continue this propaganda. This would have been all very well if the Party had understood how to connect the proletarian revolution with the immediate struggles of the workers, but it did not understand how to do this. It had no connections with the masses of workers and their immediate struggles. The Party existed as something separate and apart from the life and struggles of the masses. The way which it showed the workers to their emancipation, was, to be sure, correct, but it had not learned how to cross the void between itself and the working masses and to lead them toward the way to which it pointed as leading to their emancipation. It had no program or policies for their immediate struggle. Its entire work consisted of pointing to the ultimate means of achieving the proletarian revolution. It was purely a propaganda society and as long as it remained such a propaganda society it could not establish its leadership and influence among the masses.

Development Toward a Communist Party

THE struggle for the formation of the Workers Party and adoption of the program for work within the existing unions marked the beginning of the second period in the growth of the Party. Not that the formation of an open party in itself necessarily would transform the Party from a propaganda sect to a Communist Party. An open party can just as easily fall into a sectarian policy—as later developments of our Party show. The struggle for the open party, however, was an effort to create an instrument through which the Party could actually play a part in the every day fights of the workers, establish its prestige and influence among them, and as such must be considered as one of the first steps away from the previous sectarian policy.

The first real development from a propaganda sect into a Communist Party came during the year 1922. The Party members began to function on the trade union field as part of the Trade Union Educational League, and the influence of the Party began to develop in the struggles in the trade unions. The Party played its part in the miners' strikes and the railway shopmen's strike of that year. It learned to take up the immediate struggles of the workers and on the basis of these struggles to win support for its policies and to establish its leadership. It had learned that the workers' demands and struggles of the day are the starting point from which it must move them forward into more revolu-

tionary action against the capitalist class and the capitalist state.

In June, 1922, the Party formulated the statement of the application of the United Front tactic to the situation in the United States. It took up the slogan of the Labor Party which had developed a strong momentum among the workers and soon became the leader in the movement for the formation of a Labor Party. The Party made the attack upon the Bridgeman Convention by the means of widening its influence among the workers by initiating a united front defense. It met the government persecution of the foreign-born workers by the formation of Councils for the Protection of the Foreign-Born, thus extending its influence among the workers.

The fact that by July, 1923, when the convention called by the Farmer-Labor Party for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party was held, our Party could elect 200 delegates to this convention, mostly from the trade unions, and could take the leadership of the 550 delegates, representing over 600,000 workers, who were present at that convention—this fact was an indication of the progress the Party has made in establishing contact with the masses and in becoming a Communist Party.

At the end of 1923, when the Third National Convention was held, the Party had seemingly cast off its sectarian past and was no longer what Comrade Zinoviev described as a propaganda society. It had sunk its roots deeply among the masses, it had won a place as the leader in the movement for a Labor Party. It had gained a strong influence in the trade unions through its fight for amalgamation. It had learned to make itself part of the immediate struggles of the workers, as in the case of Councils for Protection of the Foreign-Born. It was well on the road to becoming a Communist Party in contradistinction to the propaganda society which it had been.

The Third National Convention

WITH this brief preliminary survey of the past history of our Party in its struggle to become a Communist Party, the ground is cleared for consideration of the development between the Third and Fourth National Conventions of the Party.

The Third National Convention adopted the policy submitted by the Party leadership which had guided the Party in its development along the correct Communist line. The theses and resolutions of the Third National Convention laid the basis for further development of our Party as a Communist Party. In the light of this fact we may well ask how it came to be that the Party was compelled to go through a bitter factional struggle, lasting almost a year, to prevent the Party again becoming involved in the morass of sectarianism.

The explanation is to be found in the grouping which developed within the Party itself. The sectarianism of the period of the Party history up to 1922 was a left sectarianism. The new sectarianism which threatened the Party came from the right wing of the Party.

The formation of the Workers Party at the end of 1921 had brought into the organization a membership making up a majority of the Party which had not passed through the

experiences of the previous years. This group had held aloof from the Communist Party at the time of its organization in 1921, remaining in the socialist party or maintaining a separate organizational existence.

All of the language federations in the socialist party had been to a large degree national social organizations. Those language federations which joined the Communist Party in 1919 lost through the government persecutions the major part of the element of its membership which had joined them as social organizations. At least two-thirds of the membership of the federations which joined the Communist Party in 1919 dropped out of the Party after the government raids, leaving within the Party only the conscious Communist elements.

This was not true of the Finnish Federation, the German Federation, part of the Jewish Federation, the Czechoslovakian Federation and the Scandinavian Federation, all of which came into the Party only after the formation of the Workers Party. This group of the membership was still strongly under the influence of the socialist traditions. Their attitude toward the main tasks of the Party was that the Party should devote itself to propaganda and organizational work. The drawing of the Party into the main stream of the struggles of the masses in this country was criticized as "adventurism" and "grand maneuvering."

What has been said above was particularly true of the Finnish Federation, which composed at least one-third of the membership of our Party. Only a small part of this membership actually participates in the work of the Party in the class struggle in this country. The membership is composed of elements no doubt sympathetic to the Communist principles and accepting these principles, but it has not learned how Communists must apply their principles in the actual class struggle. It has not yet broken with the pleasant unruffled existence as part of a socialist organization, free from the duties, burdens and work which are the lot of a Communist who actually carries on a Communist struggle.

At the Third National Convention, the Foster group, which had been part of the leadership of the Party and which had formed a separate group on the issue of our Labor Party policy after the Federated Farmer-Labor Party convention, secured a majority in the national convention of the Party through the support of the right-wing sectarian elements described above.

Thus, while the Third National Convention adopted correct principles and policies, it placed in the leadership of the Party the group which had its support in the right-wing sectarian elements. The result of this combination soon became apparent on the first occasion that the Central Executive Committee was faced with the necessity of formulating a policy to meet a new situation. It fell into sectarian errors. The tendency of the Central Executive Committee to coalesce with its support in the Party was irresistible, and the Party as a consequence was thrown into a new struggle, the struggle against the right-wing sectarian tendency of the Foster group by the Central Executive Com-

mittee minority, which fought to keep the Party on the correct lines of development as a Communist Party.

The Issue of Trotskyism

THE first question on which the influence of the right wing of our Party made itself felt was the attitude of the Foster group in the Central Executive Committee on the question of Trotskyism. Lore, who had been elected to the Central Executive Committee, telegraphed to the *Volkszeitung* that "the Trotskyites have won the Party." Lore was the leader of the extreme right of the Party. When the issue of endorsement of the Old Guard of the Communist Party of Russia came before the Central Executive Committee, the committee majority hesitated and vacillated. It first refused to publish an article endorsing the Old Guard because not sufficient information was at hand on the issues. It later voted down a motion submitted by the minority to endorse the Old Guard and adopted the proposal to print all material, and that the question of Trotskyism should not be made a factional issue in the Party. It was not until after the convention of the Russian Communist Party definitely condemned Trotskyism and after Comrade Foster returned from Moscow that the Central Executive Committee actually went on record endorsing the Old Guard against Trotsky. Even then Ludwig Lore voted against this endorsement.

We have in this question the first indication of the tendency of the Foster majority of the Central Executive Committee to make compromises in the direction of its right wing support in the Party. The vacillation and hesitation to place itself on record on the issues of Trotskyism was due to the fact that it was exactly those groups in the Party which supported it and which were its basis in the Party which were infected by Trotskyism.

The Fight Against Loreism.

LORE has been in consistent opposition to the policies of the Party from the time of its organization. Even at the time of the formation of the left wing, Lore, together with Scott Nearing, led an opposition in the left wing and finally broke with it. Lore opposed the underground Party at a time when it was not possible to preserve the Communist movement organizationally in any other form than through an underground organization. Lore opposed the German Communist Party and the Communist International on the question of Levi and supported Serrati of Italy against the Communist International.

After the formation of the Workers Party, Lore opposed those policies which had as their purpose to take the Party into the movement of the workers and to establish its prestige and leadership through fighting with them in their everyday struggles. Thus Lore opposed the adoption of the first statement of United Front policy of the Party, which included the Labor Party policy. Lore was opposed to the Party sending delegates to the convention of the "Conference for Progressive Political Action" in Cleveland in December, 1922, which was one of the maneuvers through which the Party gained prestige in relation to the Labor Party movement. Within the Central Executive Committee, Lore fought consistently to have the Labor Party built upon individual

membership, thus making it a competing organization with the Workers Party and destroying it as an expression of the United Front. The views and policies advocated by Lore were left wing socialist but not Communist views and policies.

The errors of Lore as an individual had been fought by the Central Executive Committee prior to the Third National Convention. At the Third National Convention, through his opposition to the Labor Party-LaFollette alliance, which was proposed by the convention thesis submitted by the Central Executive Committee, Lore had crystallized around himself the opposition to this policy. There developed within the Party a definite Lore group, not only opposed to the Labor Party-LaFollette alliance, but which was in opposition to the United Front tactic and maneuvering which the Central Executive Committee had applied prior to the convention in order to draw the Party into the mass struggles of the workers.

The first test of the attitude of the new Central Executive Committee majority on the question of Loreism came when Lore wrote an editorial on the Fifth Anniversary of the Communist International, distorting the entire history and policies of the Communist International. The Central Executive Committee minority demanded a statement from the Central Executive Committee repudiating this editorial. This the Central Executive Committee refused to do. This policy was in effect to protect Lore against the exposure and condemnation of his fallacious views.

In the struggle which followed on the question of Loreism, the Central Executive Committee majority manifested the same tendency, even after the first decision of the Communist International. It repeatedly refused to adopt proposals of the minority of the Central Executive Committee to expose Lore before the Party and to correct his erroneous policies. It was not until after the second decision of the Communist International categorically condemning Lore and directing his removal from the Central Executive Committee that the Central Executive Committee majority, composed of the Foster group, took a stand against Loreism.

This refusal to fight Loreism was another expression of the right-wing orientation of the Foster group, which could not take a stand against Lore because it was allied with Lore, particularly in New York City, where it depended upon the support of Lore for its support in the Party.

Liquidation of the Labor Party Policy.

THE decision of the Communist International against the proposed Labor Party-LaFollette alliance, while not based on the reasons for opposition to this policy on the part of the right wing Loreist group in our Party, strengthened this group. The decision of the Communist International was not based on opposition to such a maneuver in principle. In fact, the decision made clear that such maneuvers were permissible for Communist Parties. The decision of the Communist International was made on the basis of the situation of our Party, its degree of strength and ideological development, but not because the maneuver was incorrect in principle. However, the Lore group had opposed this alliance, and the fact of the Communist International deciding against it strengthened the Lore group. Both the majority and the minority of the Central Executive Committee had been

declared in error on the Labor Party-LaFollette alliance and thus had burnt their fingers. This decision had the effect of driving the Foster Central Executive Committee majority closer to the Lore group. The reaction of the Foster majority was to adopt a position in opposition to further maneuver, that is, to take a right-wing sectarian policy, as the safest course. The difference between the majority of the Central Executive Committee and the minority group was then indicated in the fact that the decision on the question of the Labor Party-LaFollette alliance had no such effect upon the minority.

With the defeat of the Party in the St. Paul Convention, compelling the Party to nominate its own candidates in the presidential elections, came the test of the Central Executive Committee majority.

The decision made in October in relation to the dropping of the slogan for a Labor Party in the A. F. of L. convention, the statement on the results of the presidential elections, and finally the thesis of the majority declaring against the continuance of the Labor Party policy, were expressions of the new right-wing sectarianism in our Party in full bloom.

The Foster group had declared that their policy was not opposition in principle to the Labor Party policy, but opposition under the then existing conditions. It is true that the thesis of the Foster group contained the declaration: "We are not opposed to the Labor Party in principle." While this platonic declaration was made, the tone of the whole discussion in the Party was otherwise and the thesis itself declared in a section endeavoring to prove that advocacy of the Labor Party slogan was a right-wing deviation:

"The position taken by the comrades of this tendency is that the only way to crystallize independent political action of workers and poor farmers is through a Farmer-Labor Party, forgetting the existence of the Workers Party as the political class Party of the workers and poor farmers. These comrades also take the position that the only way to build a mass Communist Party in America is through a Farmer-Labor Party, thus enunciating a new principle that the Workers Party can never become a mass Communist Party except through organizing and working within a Farmer-Labor Party."

And further along in the same section we find a declaration that:

"This non-Communist conception of the role of our Party manifests itself particularly in the tendency to resort to all kinds of new political organizations, substitutes for the Workers Party, whenever an opportunity presents itself to appeal to masses of workers on concrete issues of every-day life."

These two quotations indicate clearly where the Foster group was drifting. The latter quotation is in essence a declaration against the United Front tactic. For, what do we seek to do in the United Front maneuver but to unite existing workers' organizations for a common struggle on some particular issue? The declaration that the formation of such United Front organizations is creating substitutes for the Workers Party is of course pure sectarianism,

for if the Workers Party carries on a correct Communist policy in relation to such United Front organizations, they will not only not be substitutes for the Workers Party, but will be the means of building it, just as the Labor Party policy resulted in building up the Workers Party.

That the sectarian error of the Labor Party was not an isolated mistake was indicated by the fact that the Foster group made the same error in relation to work among women when it endeavored to liquidate the United Council of Workingclass Women as a competing organization to the Workers Party, and it made a similar sectarian error in proposing that the Party should make a non-partisan relief organization a department of the Party itself.

The struggle which developed in the Central Executive Committee during the same period over the question of the Party's trade union work was part of the same general tendency of the Central Executive Committee majority. The struggles were over the questions of carrying on a campaign to win the trade unions ideologically for Communism at the same time that we carried on an election campaign, and against the over-emphasis upon the election campaign. This issue arose in another form in relation to proposals to inject major political issues into certain trade union situations. The tendency of trade union work for the sake of trade union work and not for the purpose of building up the influence and prestige of the Communist Party goes with the right-wing sectarianism.

Later in relation to the conferences of the "Conference for Progressive Political Action" which were being held in various states and the national conference held in February, 1925, the Central Executive Committee majority raised the slogan, "Boycott the C. P. P. A."

Thus the circle was completed. We had been a propaganda society, we were again to be a propaganda society. We had fought our way from the status of a propaganda society to that of a developing Communist Party playing its part in the struggles of the masses, entering into these struggles, and bringing leadership to them and direction along a Communist line. We had returned to the policy of "Boycott the C. P. P. A.," that is, boycott a mass movement of workers.

The Central Executive Committee majority elected at the Third National Convention through the support of a right wing sectarian group in our Party had coalesced with that right-wing sectarian group and had adopted the policy of this group as the policy of the Party. The Party was in danger of losing all that it had gained in developing itself as a Communist Party. It was sliding down the road the Socialist Labor Party had gone, to become a self-admiration society living its life apart from the actual struggles of the workers.

The Struggle in the Party.

IT was this issue, whether we should retrace our steps toward sectarianism, or go forward in developing our Party as a Communist Party, that was at the bottom of the factional struggle in our Party during the past year. Happily, with the aid of the Communist International, the Party was returned to the right path. The decision of the Communist International swept away every shred of the sectarianism which had developed in our Party. It made clear why the Labor Party policy must be a major policy of our Party.

It declared against a sectarian attitude in regard to work among women. It directed the Party to the right tactic in relation to trade union work, took decisive measures against Loreism within the Party. The Central Executive Committee minority, which had led the fight to develop the Party from a propaganda society to a Communist Party, succeeded, with the aid of the Communist International, in preventing the Party from again degenerating into the propaganda society which it had been.

The Fourth National Convention.

THE Fourth National Convention marked the close of the period of struggle to prevent our Party again degenerating into a propaganda society. It also marked the beginning of a new period in the history of the Party—the period of the Bolshevization of the Party.

The situation in the convention presented an interesting contradiction. All the resolutions outlining the policy of the Party for the coming period were unanimously adopted in the Party Commission which worked out these resolutions. Still, there was a sharp factional division in the convention and the ten days of debate marked one of the bitterest struggles in the history of our Party.

The explanation of this situation is to be found in the year of factional struggle to keep our Party on the correct Communist line. The policy of the Foster group had been corrected through the struggle of the minority in the Central Executive Committee and the decision of the Communist International. The resolutions presented to the Convention stressed this corrected policy. It again put the Party on the road to development as a Communist Party. The debate on these resolutions dealt with the policies contained in the resolutions as contrasted with the policies which the Foster group had presented previously. It was necessary to point out the errors of a sectarian character which had been made and to stamp these definitely before the Party in order that there might not exist a further possibility that such errors would again find support in our Party.

The relation of forces within the convention also contributed to sharpen the discussion and the factional alignment.

An analysis of the decision of the Communist International makes clear the aims of the Communist International in relation to our Party. This aim was to break the alliance which had existed between the Foster group in the Central Executive Committee and the right wing of the Party. This policy is clearly indicated in the sharp position taken by the Communist International against Lore and Loreism and its insistence on co-operation in the Party leadership between the two leading groups in the Party.

A realization of this aim of the Communist International has been seriously hampered by the tactics of the Foster group in the period between the return of the delegation from Moscow and the National Convention and was made impossible by its alliance with the right wing of the Party in the struggle for control of the National Convention.

The Foster group had suffered a defeat in the decision of the Communist International. Its main line of policy was declared to be incorrect by the decision. While the decision criticized the minority in relation to the Labor Party policy, the main line of the minority in this respect was upheld.

Facing this situation, the Foster group endeavored to divert the attention of the Party from the political issues before the Party. In place of creating the opportunity for a thorough understanding of the decision of the Communist International, which would have raised the theoretical level of our Party, it sought to divert the whole struggle into a fight over petty organizational questions and sought to divert the attention of the Party from the meaning of the decision of the Communist International on Loreism through an effort to connect the minority, which had made a consistent fight against Loreism, with the Loreist group in the Party.

These efforts of the Foster group took the form of sending to all the Party branches the "nine points" circular containing charges and defense in relation to factional actions within the Party during the absence of the delegates in Moscow. It sent to the Party a statement in regard to the Needle Trades situation in which the minority group was attacked as supporters of the Loreist elements, and a similar statement in reference to Comrade Poyntz. To all of these statements the minority group had been denied the opportunity to make a reply.

These activities of the Foster group were, to say the least, acts of bad faith in relation to the decision of the Communist International. They were efforts to divert attention from that decision and prevented the realization of the aim of the Communist International as plainly indicated in the decision, the unification of the Party leadership in a struggle against the right wing in the Party.

The election of delegates in the Party was another factor which laid the basis for a continuation of the struggle in the convention. The Foster group, as has been pointed out, previously, gained this majority in the Third National Convention through the support of the right wing of the Party. The same situation developed in relation to the elections for the Fourth Convention. It was exactly those elements which are the right wing of our Party, the Finnish Federation, the Czecho-Slovakian Federation, the Scandinavian Federation, part of the Jewish Federation, which formed the basis of the Foster group in the National Convention. In place of a unification of the leadership of the Party to fight for a correct Communist line and the Bolshevization of the Party, the Foster group followed the policy of a fight against the minority which had supported the correct policies and used the elements in the right of our Party as the basis of this struggle against the minority.

Formally, the Foster group won a majority of the delegates to the National Convention. In five districts, however, which form the greater section of the Party, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg and Cleveland, the minority had won a clear victory, for it claimed the districts on the basis of contests before the convention. The decision of the contested districts against the minority by the Foster group, the rejection of its proposal that in New York, Philadelphia, and Cleveland, the parity principle should be applied, was, for the minority group, a rejection of the policy of the Communist International and an indication that the Foster group would not bring about amalgamation of the leading groups in the Party but would continue an alliance with the right wing in the Party and as leader of this right wing would con-

tinue a struggle against the minority. It was this situation, the continuation of the alignment which had caused the sectarian errors and the factional struggle of the past year, the beginning of a clear delineation of a struggle between right and left wing in the Party, which was the basis of the severe factional debate and struggle in the Convention.

The intervention of the Communist International changed this situation and eliminated the danger of a consolidated right wing leadership in our Party. This intervention took the form of a cablegram addressed to the chairman of the Parity Commission, Comrade Green, reading as follows:

Communist International decided under no circumstances should be allowed that Majority suppresses Ruthenberg Group because:

FIRSTLY—It has finally become clear that the Ruthenberg Group is more loyal to decisions of the Communist International and stands closer to its views.

SECONDLY—Because it has received in most important districts, the majority or an important minority.

THIRDLY—Because Foster Group employs excessively mechanical and ultra-factional methods.

Demand as minimum:

FIRSTLY—Ruthenberg group must get not less than 40 per cent of Central Executive Committee.

SECONDLY—Demand as ultimatum from majority that Ruthenberg retains post of secretary.

THIRDLY—Categorically insist upon Lovestone's Central Executive Committee membership.

FOURTHLY—Demand as ultimatum from majority refraining removals, replacements, dispersions against factional opponents.

FIFTHLY—Demand retention by Ruthenberg group of co-editorship on central organ.

SIXTHLY—Demand maximum application of parity on all executive organs of Party.

If majority does not accept these demands then declare that, in view of circumstances of elections, unclear who has real majority and that methods of majority raise danger of split and therefore Communist International proposes that now only a temporary Parity Central Executive Committee be elected with neutral chairman to call new convention after passions have died down. Those who refuse to submit will be expelled.

This cablegram resulted in a bitter struggle and division in the ranks of the Foster majority over the policy to be pursued in the face of this second decision of the Communist International. The Foster group finally decided, although the cablegram permitted them to take a majority of the Central Executive Committee, that in the face of a declara-

tion by the Communist International that the Ruthenberg group was more loyal to the Communist International and nearer to its views, it could not take over the leadership of the Party. It proposed that a Central Executive Committee of an equal number of representatives from both groups in the convention be elected and this proposal was adopted.

At the first meeting of the Central Executive Committee, Comrade Green, the chairman of the Parity Commission, made the following declaration:

"Of course we have now a parity C. E. C., but it is not exactly a parity C. E. C. With the decision of the Communist International on the question of the groups in the American party there go parallel instructions to the C. I. representative to support that group which was the former minority. If the C. I. continues to support this policy, that will always be the case, that is, the C. I. representative will be supporting that group and therefore altho we have a nearly parity C. E. C., we have a majority and a minority in the C. E. C."

With the support of the representative of the Communist International, the majority of the leading committee of the Party was given to the Ruthenberg group. Thus again responsibility for the leadership of the Party was placed upon that group which had carried on the struggle against sectarianism and to develop our Party from a propaganda society into a Communist Party, and which during the past twenty months has carried on the struggle against the Party's again degenerating into a sectarian organization. This outcome of the National Convention is a guarantee to the Party that the struggle against sectarian errors has been finally won and that our Party will, with the support of the Communist International, go forward to new achievement in developing itself as a mass Communist Party.

The Convention Resolutions.

THE resolutions adopted by the Fourth National Convention lay the foundation for such a development of the Party. In these resolutions, formulated in the Parity Commission under the chairmanship of the representative of the Communist International, there is not a scintilla of sectarianism.

These convention resolutions must be studied by our whole Party, and the Party must be mobilized to transform the resolutions into actual living things in the work of the Party.

The major resolutions are those dealing with the general tasks of the Party, the Labor Party and the trade union work of the Party. The Labor Party campaign must again become a major activity of the Party. It is not only to be a propaganda campaign, but the Party must again stir into life and movement the working masses in the direction of actual organization of the Labor Party. The mobilization of the workers for a political struggle for their class interests is the first requirement of the situation of the working-class movement in the United States. If our Party can aid in stirring into life and can crystallize as an organization a movement of hundreds of thousands of workers to enter the lists to fight against the capitalist parties, then we have made the first great step forward in the development of the American working-class and at the same time toward our Party becoming a mass Communist Party.

Closely connected with the Labor Party campaign is the

work in the trade unions. Our Party was able to make substantial progress in this field in the past, but it never mobilized its whole strength for the trade union work. The records show that only one-third of the Party membership are members of the trade unions. This situation must be remedied. It will be one of the first tasks of the Party to bring into the trade unions its whole membership and to mobilize it for action there. The trade unions are the greatest organized mass of workers in this country and offer the greatest possibility for Communist propaganda. Our work in the trade unions, under the slogans of the Labor Party, amalgamation, trade union unity, will create a solid foundation of Party influence among the masses.

In relation to the trade union work, the convention resolutions emphasize the part that organization of the unorganized will play in establishing Communist influence among the organized workers. Our Party must take up the task and make at least a beginning in the organization of unorganized workers. These workers will be largely the unskilled workers, most susceptible to Communist influence, and will form in the American Federation of Labor the counter-weight to the aristocracy of labor which today dominates that organization.

The program for the struggle against imperialism, for work among the farmers, work among the Negro workers, and work among women, all outline concretely the tasks of the Party in special fields which have not previously received sufficient attention and which must from now on be taken up aggressively by the Party as part of its work of going to the masses.

Bolshevization the New Period of Development.

THE Fourth Convention has not only given our Party a program for its development as a mass Communist Party, but it has taken the initiative and laid the foundation for the Bolshevization of our Party.

The resolutions outlining programs for work among the masses are, of course, an important part of the program of Bolshevization. A Bolshevik Party is a mass Party—a Party which has its roots deep among the masses and influences their struggles, leading them into ever more aggressive fights against the capitalist class and the capitalist state power. A sectarian party cannot be a Bolshevik Party. The fight against sectarianism is therefore a fight for Bolshevization. In definitely cleaning its house of all sectarianism, the Party has cleared the way for Bolshevization.

The resolution of the National Convention for the liquidation of Loreism, which means a fight against all right-wing opportunist tendencies in our Party, represents another phase of the task of Bolshevization. In expelling Lore from the Party, in its disciplinary action against Comrade Askeli, in its declaration in reference to Comrade Poyntz, the convention gave an expression of its earnestness and determination that the fight against Loreism is not a mere temporary struggle, but is to be carried on until every vestige of such tendencies is liquidated in the Party. In the attitude adopted by the new leading majority in the Jewish section convention in relation to the Loreist elements there is further indication that there will be no compromise on this issue. The Bolshevik Party must carry on a ceaseless struggle against opportunism, and this the Party will do.

The best guarantee that sectarianism will not again

gain a foothold in the Party, and also a guarantee against opportunism of the Lore type, is the raising of the theoretical level of the Party. The work of educating the membership of the Party in Marxism and Leninism therefore becomes a vital part of the work of Bolshevization. The National Convention has adopted a program for this work and the Central Executive Committee has already established an Agitprop department so that this work will be given systematic attention in the future.

The reorganization of our Party on the basis of shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) is for the Party the greatest immediate transformation in the work of Bolshevization. We cannot become a Bolshevik Party as long as our Party is decentralized into eighteen language groups and exists in the form of language and territorial branches. The reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei is the basis of our becoming a mass Party.

The existing Party organization belongs to the past. It was a Party organization existing outside of the working class in place of inside as part of it. The new Party organization will create the organ for carrying out our program for work among the masses. The reorganization is the *sine qua non* without which we cannot make even the first step toward the Bolshevization of the Party. With the reorganization, a new Party will come into existence—a Party in

close contact with the workers in the factories through its shop nuclei, a Party with its fractions in every trade union and benefit society and co-operative—in a word, a Party that is so deeply embedded among the workers and the organizations of the workers that there is no power which can separate it from the working masses and prevent its influence and leadership from growing powerful among these masses.

Thus, through these actions of the Fourth Convention, there has opened the new phase of Party development, the period of Bolshevization. Our Party stands before tremendous tasks and great opportunities. In order that these tasks may be accomplished and to take advantage of the opportunities before it, the Party must be united for the work it has on hand.

The Party has a correct program of activity. It has a leadership which has the stamp of approval of the Communist International as being the group closest to the views of the Communist International in our Party. We must now through actual work, through actual struggle, make our program a reality. The immediate future requires of every member of the Party greater sacrifice, greater service to the Party than ever before in its history. We have achieved the correct program, our Party leadership has shown in the past that it can put our program into action. Now the Party must work.

The Left Wing Railroad Conference

By William Z. Foster

ON September 13 and 14 the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry held its second international conference in Chicago.

What a different picture this gathering presented of railroad trade unionism than the first conference! The first conference was held on December 9 and 10, 1922. The unions were then just in the midst of the greatest economic struggle in the history of American railroad trade unionism. During the war the unions had deeply entrenched themselves, and the Shopmen's strike then going on was one tragic act in the employers' great drive against the railroad workers. The 1922 left-wing railroad conference, made up of 425 delegates, vibrated with the spirit of the great struggle then going on. With thrilling acclaim, it seized upon the program of amalgamation and the complete solidarity of all railroad workers as pointing the broad and evident way to victory.

The 1925 conference, just held, met under altogether different circumstances. It occurred in the midst of the wreckage after the great lost battle. With only a fraction as many delegates (60, all told, from various points throughout the United States and Canada) it confronted a vista of demolished unions, a demoralized rank and file, and a union leadership totally incapable of meeting the deep-going crises now affecting the railroad trade unions.

In his report Secretary Otto Wangerin painted a vivid picture of the rapid growth of the unions during the war period, the development of the national agreement covering all 16 unions, the accompanying large increases in wages,

the establishment of the eight-hour day, the bitter attack by the companies on the unions after the close of the war, the failure of the unions to meet this attack unitedly, the treachery and incompetence of the union leaders, the wholesale wage cuts, the loss of the great national Shopmen's strike, the attendant devastation of the unions, the leaders' complete repudiation of the saving program of amalgamation and militant struggle, and then surrender to the companies by way of the "B. & O. plan" and various other schemes of class collaboration.

Secretary Wangerin also showed that of the 400,000 shop workers that were in the unions prior to the 1922 strike, not more than 100,000 remain at the present time. The Railway Carmen lost 150,000 members, the Machinists 75,000, and other striking unions accordingly. Moreover, other unions that did not strike were disastrously weakened by the general demoralization attendant upon the great defeat. The Railway Clerks lost 100,000 members, and the Maintenance of Way men 150,000. The total union membership of the 16 crafts fell from 1,300,000 in 1922 to about 700,000 at the present time.

Added to the heavy loss in membership is the great weakening in the fighting spirit of the unions. They have become saturated with class collaborationism. Including the railroad unions in his criticism, Secretary Wangerin said, "The present-day characteristics of a great number of the unions that make up the American trade union movement are apathy, indifference, acquiescence in the 'open shop,' or American Plan, absence of a working class outlook, and

no sign of militancy or courage to grapple with the great problems confronting them."

The reading of Secretary Wangerin's report immediately brought forth the fact that a number of reactionaries, mostly officials of the unions, had hied themselves to the conference under the guise of being supporters of amalgamation. The first of these reactionaries to give voice was Corbett, chairman of the Railway Carmen on a Canadian road that had voted for amalgamation. He took flat issue with Wangerin. He declared that after all the unions were all right, the railroad workers were better off than other workers, the membership losses were exaggerated, the leaders of the left wing were criticizing the union officials too much, the value of amalgamation should not be exaggerated, and other stuff of the same kind. This "amalgamationist" was given such a warm reception by the left-wing that shortly he disappeared from the conference.

A second phase of the attack against making the amalgamation movement a vital force among railroad workers manifested itself in a determined effort to limit the program of the international committee simply to the advocacy of amalgamation. This tendency was also decisively defeated, and the conference proceeded to adopt a whole left-wing program, including resolutions for a joint campaign of all railroad unions to organize the unorganized, a general wage demand for all railroad workers, the labor party, amalgamation of the sixteen railroad unions, active support of the anthracite strike by refusal to haul scab coal, recognition of Soviet Russia, nationalization of the railroads and mines, release of class war prisoners, world trade union unity, organization of the workers of auto-bus and electric lines and formation of a general federation of transport workers, state relief of unemployment, an immediate convention of the Railway Employees' Department to take the necessary measures to meet the present crisis of the railroad unions, for autonomy of the Canadian sections of the railroad unions, and against the "B. & O. plan," company unions, labor banking, racial discrimination, expulsion of militants from the unions, corruption in union elections, anti-syndicalism laws.

A sharp and instructive fight took place over the resolution condemning the "B. & O. plan." The debate made it clear that the idea of class collaboration, or "cooperation" as it is politely called, has made great inroads among railroad workers. There were a number of delegates present, genuinely progressive and fighters of long standing, who hesitated to take a stand against the "B. & O. plan," believing that it offers the only possible program for the unions in their present weakened state. The officials present representing system federations that had endorsed amalgamation, supported the "B. & O. plan" almost without exception. Against the arguments of these "cooperationists," the left wing of the conference levelled its heaviest guns, pointing out that the movement for the "B. & O. plan" is defeatist in character and follows a policy of surrender, that it is diametrically opposed to the militant amalgamation movement, and is sucking the very life's blood out of the railroad unions. For a time the conference threatened to split over this issue. The resolution condemning the "B. & O. plan" and similar "industrial peace" schemes, was finally adopted by a vote of 21 to 8, about half of the delegates having already

left for the conventions of the Carmen, Boilermakers, and Maintenance of Way men which were to begin next day in Kansas City and Detroit. The discussion showed the great need for an organized struggle against the "B. & O. plan" in the railroad trades.

The question of world trade union unity provoked another flurry of opposition. The more timid ones feared that the inclusion of it in the program of the international committee would develop a needless opposition to the amalgamation program, because of the connection of the Russian unions with the movement. But the conference went squarely on record to give the movement its heartiest support. The fact that the British unions were taking a leading part in the world unity movement gave it such an air of legitimacy that the fears of even the most timid were somewhat allayed.

Since its foundation in 1922, the international committee has done an important work among railroad workers. Its campaign for amalgamation has been far-reaching and effective. Several times it has circulated the 12,000 (formerly) local unions in the railroad industry. The great masses of the rank and file of the unions, except in the case of the four brotherhoods, have been won over to the idea of one union of all railroad workers, even though the reactionary officialdom has prevented the realization of this goal. This fact did much to check the demoralization after the strike. It gave the defeated workers a glimmer of hope. Amalgamation checked the break-up of the unions. In addition, large numbers of the unorganized masses on the railroads, who absolutely refuse to join the craft unions in their present isolated condition, aver that as soon as the unions make a move for consolidation they will join en masse. The actual amalgamation of the railroad unions would be the signal for the reorganization of large sections of the unorganized.

The international committee has also done other valuable work. It cleaned out the Grable gang from control of the Maintenance of Way union. It has carried on an open struggle against the insidious "B. & O. plan." It was an important factor in defeating Bill Lee's conference of July 29, called for the purpose of ending all strikes on the railroads by betraying the unions wholesale and stripping them of the right to strike. The power of the international committee will also be felt at the conventions of the Carmen, Boilermakers, and Maintenance of Way unions, which are being held as this article goes to press.

But the situation is extremely difficult. The unions on the railroads are badly weakened and their morale is low. The officialdom is hopelessly reactionary. The so-called progressives in the unions are spineless, visionless, and without any real program or organization. They are lost in the swamps of class collaboration, being the great champions of LaFolletteism on the political field, and of the "B. & O. plan" in the unions. Only the left-wing can see clearly the solution of even the simplest problems confronting the railroad workers. But it is weak, poorly organized, and subject to bitter persecution by the reactionary officialdom. The railroad amalgamation conference emphasized again the tremendous tasks confronting the left wing in the railroad industry. Upon its shoulders rests the burden of building and developing the unions and political organizations of the railroad workers from the very ground up.

More Communist Strongholds

By Jay Lovestone

THERE is no more urgent problem before the Workers (Communist) Party today than the re-organization of its Party apparatus on the basis of shop nuclei and the development of these nuclei into politically vigorous units of the Party.

This is not a question involving merely a basic readjustment of our Party's structure, important as this phase of our task may be. It is a question of outstanding political significance and of a most pressing nature for us, since it vitally involves the very development of our Party, the success of every one of our campaigns.

Our Present Organizational Structure.

OUR present organizational structure, based primarily on arbitrary territorial divisions, is a heritage from the Socialist party. The Socialist party was and still is first and foremost an election apparatus. Consequently, it was based simply on the territorial divisions most convenient for the bourgeoisie in their organization of election campaigns. In short, the territorial basis and the decentralized, the federalist character of the Socialist party cannot be separated from its all-important tasks of participating in the parliamentary campaigns and striving to reform the capitalist order.

Our Party is suffering too much from this heritage. The time is at hand to cast overboard whatever structural forms we have inherited from the old Socialist party. The time is at hand to remove completely the vestiges of social-democratic organization noticeable in our Party. The time is at hand to eradicate these serious obstacles to developing our Party into a genuine Bolshevik organization.

Our Party Today.

COMRADE Zinoviev declared before the sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International held last April, that the American Party must recognize that it is "necessary to fuse the national sections of the Party into a real united Party." In the opinion of the Comintern there are few of its sections which have more organizational defects than the Workers (Communist) Party. The seriousness of this criticism becomes obvious when one considers that an effective organizational structure is an absolute prerequisite for the success of a working-class party in executing its decisions, in mobilizing the proletariat for action.

All we have to do is to look at our eighteen language sections. These separate language federations form, in effect, **eighteen parties within one party.** The existence of these language federations tends to isolate the Party center from the membership and the Party itself from the working masses in general. It must be remembered that mere orders from a central executive committee do not serve as the electric power cables for stirring up a Communist Party to action. What we need is such an inter-relationship between the Party center and the general membership as will promote the most direct contact between the two and which will thus serve to lend life to every Party decision and facilitate its execution.

And when we consider our present branch system we find

how sick the Party is organizationally. The Comrades gathered in the branches spend very little of their time at branch meetings for political purposes. The very basis of the branch organization, insofar as the execution of Party plans is concerned, is accidental. This basis has not been chosen by us because of its having been found helpful to our Party.

Let us look at the order of business of a usual branch meeting in our Party. The meetings are usually paralyzed by the palsied hands of Roberts' Rules of Order. Every regular meeting opens with the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting. Then communications are read. It will not be out of place to confess at this time that most of these communications are uninteresting and altogether too long. Very seldom do these communications have a political character. Seldom, if ever, do these communications deal with the political problems of the American working class. These branch communications rarely serve to stimulate the political development of our membership, their effectiveness as Communist workers in the ranks of the proletariat. If the road to the revolution were to be paved with these communications as cobblestones, we would have to picnic and dance our way to the proletarian dictatorship.

What is a Communist Party?

A Communist Party aims to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, strives for the winning of complete political power by the working class and works unceasingly for the realization of Communism. Thus a Communist Party has, for its paramount task, the winning of the majority of the working class through its vigorous participation in the everyday struggles of the working masses and through its consequent leadership of these masses. It is clear, even to the most politically purblind, that only through the closest contact with the masses, in the centers where they are found, can a proletarian party hope to achieve this program, this Communist objective.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International declared categorically that "No Communist Party can be seriously considered as a solid, organized, mass Party unless it has strong Communist nuclei in the shops, factories, mines, on the railways, etc." Our present pure and simple territorial structure is therefore in more ways than one a millstone around our Communist neck. First of all, our present territorial structure is in conflict with the final aim of Communism. Second, the present system of our Party organization is replete with serious obstacles to our immediate tasks, to the success of all the campaigns through which the Party can be developed into a mass Communist Party.

Plainly speaking, what our Party needs is much more than a mere surface reorganization. What our Party needs is a fundamental, a deep-going change in its structure, in its organization anatomy. Only such a re-organization can lay the necessary sound foundation for the political development, for the Bolshevization of our Party.

Reconstructing our Party.

OUR entire Communist press is now printing articles aiming to enlighten our membership about the character of our

re-organization program and to convince the Party of the necessity of rebuilding the Workers (Communist) Party on the basis of shop nuclei. General membership meetings in the various Party centers, meetings of branch functionaries, branch meetings and section conferences, devoted mainly to a consideration of Party reconstruction, are additional features of the intense ideological campaign organized to insure the success of giving a Communist basis to our Party.

Already a majority of our Party is for the reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei. The primary purpose of this ideological campaign is to promote a more conscious acceptance, a real understanding of the political significance of the organization of our Party on the new basis.

After the Party has completed its preliminary ideological and organizational campaign we will proceed with the organization of shop nuclei on a wide scale. Wherever three or more of our Party members work in a mill, mine, factory, shop, etc., they will be organized into a shop nucleus. Immediately upon organization, this shop nucleus is a basic unit of our Party. In cases where less than three Party members work in a shop or factory they will, in many instances, be temporarily attached to another shop nucleus in the same industrial section. In some cases we will form shop nuclei consisting of a number of individual comrades working in separate plants in a specific industrial area. Of course we will bend all of our efforts to form big, powerful shop nuclei in as many factories as possible.

Those Party members who are not employed in shops, mills, mines, etc., will, as a rule, be organized into street nuclei. These street nuclei may also be called international branches—particularly by our Party with its minimum of eighteen national language sections. Such international branches or street nuclei will not be based on the present lines of language spoken by a particular national group. Often, when an individual comrade works in a plant and when there is no shop nucleus in the neighborhood to which he or she may be attached, the comrade in question will be permitted to be a member of a street nucleus.

It must be remembered that the more completely the Party is organized on the basis of shop nuclei, the stronger will it be. In the early stages of our reorganization many street nuclei may be set up. With the development of the Party as a mass Party, with the increase of our Party's influence over the working masses found in the big basic industries, over the industrial proletariat massed in the giant factories, the number and importance of our street nuclei as units of the Party will decrease and the number and strength of the shop nuclei will increase.

The shop and street nuclei are to be coordinated into sub-sections, where conditions require them, and into sections, sub-districts and districts, through executive committees. The guiding center of the Party, the Central Executive Committee, will be in a position to transmit its policies and instructions directly to the comrades at the head of the various Party centers, shop nuclei, in the factories, in the mines and on the railways, etc., where the great industrial proletarian masses are found. The gap between the Party directing center and the Party masses and the chasm between the Communists and the army of

workers congregated in the giant capitalist establishments, will thus be reduced to a minimum.

The Shop Nuclei at Work.

THE center of gravity of the political and the other numerous activities of our Party will swing towards the shop nuclei.

Our shop nuclei units will participate actively in the election campaigns of the Party, for it is in the factories that the greatest number of workers are found who are responsive to the Communist program. It is in the shop that the Communist has the opportunity to make the most effective individual appeal to the non-Communist worker.

In plants where a Party nucleus has sufficient strength it will publish a factory newspaper dealing with the immediate, tangible, and pressing questions of the workers. But these shop nuclei papers will not limit themselves to the immediate factory problems only. The papers of, by, and for the workers will strive to broaden the point of view of the non-Communist workingmen, will, on the very basis of these immediate issues, educate and inspire these workers to class action, to political action.

These shop nuclei will become the veritable steel rods of the organized workers, of the existing trade unions. In cases where the workers have not yet been organized into trade unions, our shop nuclei will serve as powerful agencies for the unionization of the unorganized workers.

And particularly because the shop nuclei will be centers for developing militancy among the great non-Party masses in their struggles for their immediate every-day demands, will these shop nuclei provide the most organically suitable basis for politicalizing our own Party and for developing the political, the class consciousness of the American proletariat.

In the shop nuclei our Party members will also have the best opportunity to show that the Communists are the most loyal champions of the interests of the working class and that the reactionary bureaucrats and the social-democrats are the enemies of the working masses.

More than that, the shop nuclei, forming as they do veritable Communist phalanxes in the ranks of the employed masses, will be in a strategic position to prevent misunderstandings between the employed and the jobless workers and to unite both against the capitalists and their government.

In the shop nuclei our members will have a genuine opportunity to lend blood and life to the idea of workers' control of production and to win over the non-Communist proletariat, working side by side with them, to the idea of working-class ownership of the machinery of production and exchange, to the idea of the socialization of industry.

And when the workers of one industry, or of one plant, are attacked by the municipal, state, or federal strike-breaking agencies of the capitalists, the various government bodies, the shop nucleus system of Party organizations will enable the Communists to rouse the workers in the other industries, in the other factories, to rally to the defense of their attacked brothers. With Communists embedded deep in the ranks of the industrial proletariat, defense of the Communists by the proletarian masses will be much facilitated.

These are only a few of the countless ways in which the

shop nucleus units of our Party will afford a far better basis for building our Party.

The Why and Wherefore of Shop Nuclei.

LENIN has said that "Every factory is our stronghold." The reorganization of our Party on the basis of shop nuclei, on the basis of organized Communist groups in the factories, is an absolute necessity for our Party's realizing this great truth spoken by Lenin.

To enumerate briefly, we may say that the following are the outstanding advantages of the shop nucleus system of organization:

1. The shop nucleus affords our Party the best opportunity of establishing continuous and close contact with the proletarian masses.

2. The shop nucleus lays the most suitable basis for our Party's realizing the needs and gauging the reactions and sentiments of the masses. A full understanding of the moods and demands of the masses is an absolute prerequisite to the Party's achieving success in its campaigns against the exploiters and their government.

3. The Party's being organized on the basis of shop nuclei gives added life to all our campaigns, for we are thus enabled to appeal most directly to the broadest masses whom we must reach in order to take our campaigns out of the columns of the newspapers and into the avenues of reality.

4. The organization of our Party on the basis of shop nuclei will proletarianize our Party. It will put us eye to eye with the actual class conflicts of the American workers. The factory becomes at once the battle ground for our forces and the reservoir for our new adherents. Being based on the units, on groups of Communists found in the shops and mills, our Party will have the opportunity to be a proletarian Party in the truest sense of the word and spirit.

5. The shop nucleus brings our Party into vital touch with the everyday demands of the workers and thus gives an immediate concrete basis to the plan of the Communists, and to the struggle of the workers who are not yet in our Party, for proletarian control of production. This problem of working-class control of production must not, and cannot, be relegated to the realm of the actual moment of the revolution. Workers' control of production assumes increasing importance with the intensification of the efforts of the bourgeoisie to promote their fraudulent schemes of class collaboration.

6. Last, but not least, the organization of our membership into shop nuclei will tend to increase the initiative of our individual members. Increasing sections of our members will be placed in positions where they will have to assume responsibilities and take the leadership in the struggles of the workers employed in the same mines or factories with them. There can be no better guarantee for the development of our Party into the real advance guard, into the undisputed leadership of the American proletariat, than the enhancement of Communist initiative in our rank and file membership.

Experiences With Shop Nuclei.

MANY of our European brother parties have already made considerable headway in reorganizing themselves on this basis of the shop nucleus plan. The mightiest political party in the world, the Russian Communist Party, is organized on the basis of shop nuclei. It is precisely because of

this that it had such a sound organizational foundation for achieving its splendid political victories.

The French Communist Party has in recent months shown marked improvement. It will be no exaggeration to state that the success of the French Communist Party in its campaign to reorganize itself on the basis of shop nuclei has played a very important and decisive part in its latest successful political campaigns. The shop nuclei of the French Communist Party have facilitated tremendously the Party's mobilization of the masses against the imperialist war in Morocco, for trade union unity and against political reaction.

In our own Workers (Communist) Party we have not had such big scale experience with shop nuclei. The number of shop nuclei organized today does not exceed sixty. Not all of these are functioning well. Hitherto the Party's campaign for reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei has not been coordinated and has lacked energy and planfulness. Yet meager as our experience with shop nuclei has been to date it is already clear that the road to the saving of our Party, the road to laying a proper organizational foundation for the Bolshevization of our Party, lies in such a complete and fundamental reorganization.

One of our comrades who is a member of a shop nucleus organized in a big automobile factory has thus summed up his experiences to me: "In all of my fifteen years of labor movement activity, I never saw the comrades take so much interest in having the papers (the Daily Worker) distributed at their respective plants as on this May Day. In the past comrades went from house to house where they were unmolested in their work, but this year, especially at the Ford shops, with all the police interference, the comrades went at it in a revolutionary spirit. . . . They were going to have their shopmates read their paper and they were interested in having their shop organized."

Such spirit and determination as were shown by these comrades characterizes the activities of our comrades in the shop nuclei in the other Party campaigns.

Towards Bolshevization.

THE first step towards the Bolshevization of our Party is the Party reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei. With the reorganization on this basis, our Party will rid itself of its social-democratic elements. Regardless of the theoretical correctness of our program, regardless of the true Communist character of our campaigns and slogans, our Party cannot be a Bolshevik party unless it has a Bolshevik basis of organization.

Bolshevization of the Workers (Communist) Party means the application of the lessons of the proletarian revolution in Russia and the lessons of the experiences of the Russian Communist Party to the specific conditions before our Party. The experiences of the proletarian Russian revolution and of the Russian Communist Party indicate that a Communist Party can achieve success in its struggle for the destruction of bourgeois rule and the establishment of the Soviet power only to the extent that the Party organization is based on the proletarian masses. A Communist Party cannot lead the working masses unless it is in constant contact with them and their needs.

The reorganization of our Party on the basis of shop nuclei is the building of new, impregnable Communist strongholds. The building of our Party on the basis of shop nuclei is the setting up of Communist fortresses in every factory.

The A. F. of L. Convenes Again

By Max Bedacht

THE American Federation of Labor will open its Forty-fifth Annual Convention on October 8, in Atlantic City. Neither the curses of the sweating slaves of the steel mills in neighboring Pennsylvania nor the sighs of hope of the striking anthracite miners will penetrate to the fashionable resort which was appropriately selected for this gathering. The windows of the convention hall which gathers within its walls the precious delegation of the American Federation of Labor must be kept closed so that the storm of the class struggle raging without may not disturb the peace of mind of the delegates.

Momentous questions imperatively demand a solution from the American labor movement.

The open shop drive of the capitalists gains momentum and threatens the existence of every labor union in this country.

This open shop drive is accompanied by a systematic offensive of capital against existing standards of wages and working conditions.

Working hand in hand with capital's anti-labor endeavors are the governments of all the states and the federal government, interfering in labor struggles, mobilizing their legislatures, their courts, their police and their soldiery against the workers.

As against the few million organized workers, there stand 25 million unorganized. This is a tremendous army not yet recruited for the struggle of the organized workers, and often used against them.

And to crown all, the steadily progressing international unity of the bosses against labor with international blacklists, international economic plans of exploitation, as manifested in the Dawes plan, and international strikebreaking as practiced in China.

Will the convention in Atlantic City solve these problems? Will it even consider them?

It is safe to predict that these questions will hardly be the theme of discussion there. Valuable time and energy will be consumed there in discussing the question whether a carpenter should mount metal trim on buildings, and some delegates of an upholsterers' union will denounce the automobile workers' union for trying to organize upholstery workers in auto factories in their union. While all the forces of capitalism unite to destroy the organizations of the workers, the bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. will strut around their convention hall, will self-complacently pat each other's backs, will congratulate Strikebreaker Berry for the excellent service he rendered to scab printer bosses, and will denounce

the reds who want to make the world believe that the interests of the bosses and those of the workers are not identical.

The question may well be asked: How it is possible that a labor organization, built in the last analysis for purposes of struggle, can so utterly neglect, forget, or even deny the existence of the all-overshadowing problems of the class struggle? But a closer inspection reveals the cause of the mystery.

The American Federation of Labor is now forty-four years old. It was founded on the eve of the phenomenal rise of modern industry in America. Although the beginnings of the trade union movement in the United States go back to colonial times, yet the building of trade unions as a mass movement is comparatively new. There did not exist a crystallized working class in America. Vast unconquered territories with seemingly inexhaustible natural resources and the consequent quick expansion of the economic life of the country made it possible for a limited number of the most energetic and most intelligent workers to escape the dreary existence of a wage slave. As pioneers in newly settled territory or as small business men in the newly established and fast growing towns and cities, the workers of yesterday established themselves more or less comfortably on a higher branch of the social tree as petty bourgeoisie. Incidentally they also established an illusion for the working class as a whole. This illusion was that their existence as wage slaves was merely temporary and that sooner or later every worker will emerge from the depth of the social pit to the higher spheres of the bourgeoisie.

The actual escape of the few most intelligent and energetic workers from their class not only robbed the working class of the elements from which its leaders in the class struggle must be recruited, but the wrong illusions about non-existing "equal chances" of every worker, also lessened the effectiveness of any appeals to the masses for organization.

The American Federation of Labor was founded in 1881. Just at that moment there set in the rapid development of industry, the complete industrialization of production. The proportion of constant capital invested as against the variable capital grew rapidly in proportion. Not only did the total amount of capital invested grow 250 per cent between 1880 and 1890, but it increased 50 per cent for every worker employed. The introduction of machinery used in the process of production made possible the comparative growth of the proportion of unskilled workers as against the skilled. This decisively influenced the composition of the proletariat and tended toward a greater crystallization of the workers as a class.

But this development did not change the conception of the newly organized Federation. The industrial revolution that took place in the first decade of the existence of the organization was accompanied by deep-going struggles in

the textile, mining and other industries. Most of these struggles were lost, like the famous strikes of the Fall River spinners and the Hocking Valley miners in 1884. All these struggles proved conclusively that the old illusions of the American workers have no longer even the slightest foundation in reality, and that escape from the misery of a worker's existence was possible only through a united struggle of all the workers, skilled and unskilled, in all-comprising industrial unions. But the American Federation of Labor did not respond to this experience.

The American Federation of Labor was built on the basis of the skilled workers. The ideology and illusions of the skilled workers, influenced by the general illusions of the workers in the United States, mentioned before, determined the ideology of this organization. These skilled workers were dominated by a caste ideology rather than a class ideology. They represented the aristocracy of labor. In their standard of life they approached that of the lower stratum of the petty bourgeoisie.

The American Federation of Labor is primarily an organization of this aristocracy. Although essentially an organization of and for the proletarian struggle, ideologically it is not a class organization but a caste organization. It is the organization of a privileged group of the workers attempting to retain its privileges against encroachments by the bosses as well as against the other sections and groups of the working class.

It is this character of the American Federation of Labor that makes it a sterile and reactionary organization and that leads it into the bottomless swamp of class collaboration. In its endeavor to protect the prerogatives of the caste or skilled workers the officials find that the bosses are a formidable foe. Preferring to go the way of least resistance, they finally sell the interests of the working class to the bosses at the price of certain privileges. In return for such privileges they sell their proletarian souls and constitute themselves permanent strikebreaker brigades against the mass of unskilled workers.

But in spite of its really anti-proletarian ideology, the American Federation of Labor cannot escape the consequences of its proletarian composition. Aside from its actively pro-capitalist bureaucracy and of a large section of its membership recruited from the aristocracy of labor, there is a considerable portion of unskilled and semi-skilled workers who have no other road open for improvement of their economic position than that of struggle. While the tendency of the bureaucracy is to run away from all struggle, it is the endeavor of the more proletarian section of the organization to strengthen it for the purposes of struggle. Thus we find two general tendencies manifesting themselves in the A. F. of L. One in the direction of **class collaboration**, the other one in the direction of **class struggle**. The leaders of the first tendency are the consciously pro-capital and anti-labor bureaucrats of the organization, while the leaders of the second tendency must be the Communists, consciously anti-capitalist, pro-revolution.

The rapid upbuilding of the industrial machinery of the United States was considerably assisted by a steady stream

of immigrant workers. These newcomers were absorbed by the industrial machinery almost as fast as they arrived. They strengthened tremendously the group of unskilled workers as against the skilled. The division of labor and the gradual loss of comparative importance of skilled workers created among them ideas of outright enmity and opposition to the unskilled workers. As a result, we find that the organized skilled workers direct some of their struggles also against the mass of unskilled. Out of this grows the opposition of organized labor in the United States to immigration.

It is the endeavor of the consciously pro-capitalist and anti-labor leadership of the American Federation of Labor to free this organization gradually from the encumbrance of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers and to consolidate the forces of the skilled workers as an auxiliary of the labor-exploiting machinery of capitalism. Plans of systematic class collaboration, such as the "B. & O. Plan," are the result of this endeavor. Every idea of class struggle, in fact, every struggle of a labor union, interferes with these plans because all struggles have the tendency of intensifying the differences and the antagonisms, because they all result in better and higher education of the workers as to the class character of society. The consciously pro-capitalist leaders of the A. F. of L. clearly recognize that, and in order to protect their membership from such education, and incidentally protect themselves in their position and the capitalism they serve from an enlightened membership, they must try to prevent by all possible means all struggles and fights of their organization against the bosses.

The position of the left wing of the American Federation of Labor in this situation is clear. It must attempt to combat the caste ideology of this organization. It must try to develop in its place the principle of class solidarity. This task can be accomplished only by constant effort for mobilization of the A. F. of L. for the general struggles of the workers against all capitalist offensives, against all attacks on the standards of wages and working conditions, and by unceasing attempt to mobilize the A. F. of L. against government interference in labor struggles. This latter endeavor must take the form of propaganda, agitation, and campaigns for independent political action of the workers in a Labor Party. It is the task of the left wing to combat the caste ideology of the skilled workers and to develop in its place a distinct class ideology of labor. Its mission is to help to create the American working class ideology. Its physical existence has been brought about by capitalism itself.

The physical existence of the working class does not guarantee its ideological consolidation and its mobilization in the struggle for its interests as against capitalism. The prerequisite of such a struggle is some degree of class consciousness, some degree of an understanding that its interests, the interests of the working class, are distinct and different from the interests of the capitalist and that these interests can be protected only in a constant and finally decisive struggle against capitalism for the establishment of a classless society. At the present moment it is necessary for the left wing of the A. F. of L. to aid in the creation of class consciousness. Only through such consciousness will the differences between the aristocracy of labor and the

large mass of unskilled workers disappear. Only with the growth of class consciousness will the working class organize into one solid phalanx of fighters for their own interests. This immediate task of the left wing must determine its policy in the A. F. of L.

At present the left wing in the A. F. of L. is far from being crystallized, either organizationally or ideologically, though there exists a solid and substantial group which, if extended and strengthened, will be able to challenge the pro-capitalist leadership of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

It is clear therefore that the Communists must first of all try to organize and crystallize a clearly-defined left wing. How far away we are from such a crystallization may be seen in the report by Comrade Foster about the conference of the progressive railroaders published in another part of this magazine. Comrade Foster says in this report: "There were a number of delegates present, genuinely progressive, fighters of long standing, who hesitated to take a stand against the 'B. & O. Plan,' thinking that it offered the only possible program for the unions in their present weakened state." It is obvious that no genuine progressive can consider any plan of class collaboration such as the "B. & O. Plan" as the best possible program for the unions in their present weakened state. The class collaboration plans are not plans to help the unions over the crisis but are plans to hitch up the existing unions of skilled workers to the chariot of exploitation of the working class by big industries. The "B. & O. Plan" is not a measure to aid the unions in their weakened state but is a measure to keep the unions numerically weak, confined to the few skilled workers who, by this plan, sell their own souls and the soul of their organization to the bosses in return for some little prerogative granted them against the mass of unskilled workers. The "B. & O." and like plans do not tide the unions over the period of weakness, but on the contrary, make a virtue of that weakness and try to perpetuate it. No genuine progressive can look upon such a plan as acceptable. **Instead of collaboration with the bosses against the mass of workers the progressive must look for collaboration with the mass of the unskilled against the bosses.** Instead of "helping" the unions in their weak state with "B. & O. plans," instead of plans for class collaboration, the slogan of the progressive must be: "Organize the Unorganized." This slogan, however, must not be raised merely in an abstract form, but the means must be proposed and developed, really to bring the large mass of unorganized workers, skilled and unskilled, into the organization.

The pro-class-struggle tendency in the A. F. of L. is sufficiently strong to give a sound basis for a left wing. The class collaboration policy of the bureaucracy is constantly more and more coming into conflict with the interests of even the masses of the workers organized in the A. F. of L. Their experience points to the need for amalgamation, it points to the need for collaboration with the unorganized masses and the consequent need of organization of the unorganized. The need of a fighting policy is daily impressed upon them and any tendency within the organization towards

strengthening it for the purpose of fighting will find a ready echo with these organized workers.

The essentially anti-proletarian tendency of the leadership of the American Federation of Labor in its attitude toward immigration is being exploited by American capital in the existing and in planned immigration laws. These laws are being heralded by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats as achievements of the non-partisan politics of the Federation. Secretary of Labor Davis, a Steel Trust lawyer, is disgracing conventions of labor organizations with the propaganda for these laws.

But these laws are eminently anti-labor. They turn the Department of Labor in Washington into a machine for systematic importation of strikebreakers. These laws make every American consulate in Europe an agency for the selection of docile slaves for American capital.

The left wing in the A. F. of L. convention must uncover this fraud. It must show up the real nature of this bastard, the immigration law, which was begotten in this unholy unity between a pro-capitalist leadership of the A. F. of L. and the anti-labor government of the United States.

This task of the left-wing is the more important as the need of the class consciousness of the American workers demands imperatively that the barriers between native and foreign-born workers should fall. It is such barriers as these that make possible for the capitalists the diabolical maneuvers of playing one section of the proletariat against the other, to the detriment of the working class as a whole, and to the benefit of increased exploitation and consequent large profits.

A similar maneuvering is facilitated in the attitude of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy toward the Negro workers. Playing the white worker against the Negro, and the Negro worker against the white, capital nurses in each of these groups a reserve army against any possible revolt of the other. Lynching parties and pogroms, clad in the cloak of race riots, supply the inspiration for the continuation of this division.

The A. F. of L., again against the best interests of labor, is supporting this cruel game. The great leveler, the economic machinery of capitalism, has made all its slaves, native and foreign, white or colored, the exploited members of one class. And the only salvation of this class is its unity; unity in organization, in action and in aim.

The leadership of the A. F. of L. has up to this day continued its crime against unity. This question, too, must be raised by the left wing. Proletarian problems must be given a proletarian consideration.

In spite of the systematic propaganda carried on in the United States by capitalism and by its lickspittles in the position of leaders of the A. F. of L., against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, against the first workers' and peasants' government, there is a vast sympathy prevailing among the masses of workers. This sympathy is a manifestation of the healthy class instincts that prevail among them in spite of all illusions that may dominate them. Building

upon this healthy instinct and upon the sympathies of the American workers from Russia, the left wing within the A. F. of L. must propagate the recognition of the first workers' and peasants' republic by the United States government. It is imperative that the left wing bring out before the eyes of the American workers the basic difference in the government of the United States and that of Soviet Russia. It must show how the dominant factors in the United States government are the interests of the capitalists, how in all conflicts between capital and labor we find the government on the side of capital against labor, how in all legislation labor is the object of efforts to limit its rights, to make impossible all chances of struggle for a betterment of its position. It must be shown how all the instruments of government, police, courts, soldiery, etc., become instruments for the capitalists against the workers in the United States.

On the other hand, the workers must be shown how Russia's dominating principle of government is that of aiding and carrying on the work of the workers themselves.

As opposed to the steady growing offensive of capital against the labor unions, for the open shop, and for the deterioration of the standards of wages and working conditions, it is necessary that the left wing emphasize the importance and the necessity of consolidation of the forces of organized labor. Amalgamation is one of the methods of consolidation. The propaganda for amalgamation will find a ready response in view of the weakness that the different unions experience in their single and isolated struggles for better conditions.

The constant interference of the forces of government in all labor struggles on the side of capital supplies an excellent basis for the left wing for the propagation of independent political action. It must show that the use of the political power of the capitalists in all labor struggles proves beyond doubt that the state power is nothing other than the political manifestation of the general power of capitalism and that the workers can hope to combat capitalism or the capitalists only if they extend their battlefield from the economic to the political.

As opposed to the international unity of the capitalists against the workers in all countries, our left wing must propagate the idea of the international unity of the workers against capitalism. The plans and activities of the international committee for trade union unity formed by the British and Russian unions will supply an excellent basis.

The left wing must be absolutely clear as to the immediate goals of its endeavors. These goals are, first, a consolidation of its own forces, the finding of a common minimum program on the basis of which all progressive forces can unite. Two, systematic work for the awakening of class consciousness among organized workers in the A. F. of L. Three, this task can be accomplished only through a program of action. The education of the masses of the workers can only be the result of experience. This experience must be gathered in work and struggle. Out of work and struggle rises the new union, the new economic organization of the workers, built for the express and exclusive purpose of carry-

ing on the fight of the workers against capital and against capitalism.

It is clear that the left wing will accomplish very little of its work in the conventions of the A. F. of L. Not only will it be very weak there, but the best that the left wing can get out of a convention of the A. F. of L. is to use it as a platform from which it conveys to the mass of organized workers all the experiences derived out of the activities of the organization during the past period of existence.

While the left wing raises these issues before the convention of the A. F. of L., it realizes that they are not mere convention issues. They are first of all fighting issues in the rank and file. These issues must be carried into all subdivisions of the A. F. of L. and on the basis of these issues the left wing must battle with the agents of capitalism for the "souls" of the rank and file.

The winning of organized labor for the class struggle against capital, the capitalist class, and its instrument, the capitalist state, is the great aim of our endeavors. And it is clear that we will not accomplish this aim merely and exclusively in debate with the Labor bureaucrats in convention assembled, but that we must go down to the ranks and must prove in service, side by side with the workers, where their salvation lies.

As conditions are, it is quite clear that the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor will supply subjects of education for the organized workers, not so much in what it does, but in what it will not do. The fact that the real problems of the workers, the problems that daily confront the masses of the organized and unorganized will play little part in the convention—this fact will be of tremendous educational value. The present composition of the working class and the needs of the workers cannot find in the A. F. of L., in its composition, and in its form of organization, that which the need of the hour requires. These needs in themselves are valuable allies of the left wing. All their slogans and all their proposals are rooted in the immediate needs of the workers and only inasmuch as they are so rooted will they find the support of the masses of workers and only inasmuch will the endeavors of this left wing be crowned with success.

Types

THE politician has a silk smile and a glad hand,

The prelate has a smooth face and a fat paw,

The boss has a fat paunch and an itching palm,

Only the worker has a leathery face and a calloused mit.

Henry George Weiss.

The Social-Democratic Eye

By Robert Minor

THE present moment of history—after the close of the world war and the emergence of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics covering one-sixth of the earth's habitable surface—is either one of two things. Either it is a period of recovery and consolidation (in a sense of enduring stabilization) of the capitalist organization of the world, or it is a period of fluctuating decline of capitalism and the consolidation, struggle and victory of the forces of the proletarian revolution. The social-democrats pledge their souls that it is a period of consolidation of capitalist "democracy"—which means the political and economic stabilization of capitalist society.

To the social-democratic eye the evidence has seemed absolutely convincing that capitalist society is recovering, and that therefore the proletariat must settle itself down to a long period of "democratic" development, wherein capitalism becomes more and more "democratic" until it melts into socialism. Those also who exchanged their socialist membership cards for Communist Party membership cards, but who retained their social-democratic eyes, have with mixed sorrow and relief exchanged back again to the yellow card. The social-democratic eye has many peculiarities, but only of one of them will I speak: it is a **European-American** eye. It can see (as the field of the revolution) only Europe and the United States. Focused narrowly on the various industrially developed countries of Europe and America, singly or in groups of industrially developed countries, the social-democratic eye sees "progress." The social-democratic eye cannot see the world as a whole. Outside of the focus is a boundless, misty void that includes the vast area of Asia and of Africa and other strange parts, where Kautsky has never traveled and to which Morris Hillquit has never sailed, and where nobody lives except a thousand million or more of strange fellows who have never voted the socialist ticket nor enjoyed the democracy which melts into socialism.

For the social-democratic eye, England is England, France is France, Spain is Spain, and the United States is bounded on the south by the Rio Grande, on the west by the Pacific Ocean. It is impossible to see that the major portion of "England" lies in Africa and in Asia, India and China. It is impossible to see that the greater part of "France" is in Africa and in Indo-China, that "Spain" is partly in Africa (where also two-thirds of "Germany" once was), and that the "United States," in imperial economy and political reality, extends through Mexico and on through South America, and across the Pacific to the cotton mills of Shanghai, and also into the center of the European continent.

It is therefore impossible for the social-democratic eye to see that the peasants of Spain and France are being bombed from airplanes, that many millions of yellow, brown and black peasants of England are in revolutionary ferment, and that yellow industrial workers of England are being shot to death in Shanghai. Nor that the United States marines and navy are in action now against yellow American industrial workers in China, and that American warships are clear-

ed for action against United States workers and peasants in Latin America, and that "American" industrial workers are starving in Germany.

Any social-democratic eye could see that England is bounded on the south and east by the English channel, and that, except for a few hundred thousand unemployed and a few loud-mouthed Communist visionaries at work in the Labor Party, all was solid in England; and that the United States is bounded by the Atlantic and the Rio Grande and the Pacific, and carpenters are getting twelve dollars a day. Therefore, of course, capitalism is being consolidated, and the world will go on as it did before.

When China breaks loose in a turmoil of strikes and armed conflict, this is of course not revolution—for revolution is a matter of Europe and America—to the social-democratic eye.

A typical picture through the eyes of some social-democrats who until recently thought they were Communists, sometimes is more vividly illustrative than the same picture through the eye of Kautsky himself. Ludwig Lore, who until the last Communist convention had been busy trying to correct the myopic vision of the Communist International, has given a splendid example of the social-democratic view of the present events of China:

"Here we have to deal with a struggle not yet against capitalism nor yet a battle for a Communist society, but with a national movement which hopes to reconquer China for the Chinese by driving out the foreign, big capitalist imperialism.

"Naturally, this is a Utopia—especially so since China is unarmed and in every respect is militarily unprepared and therefore does not have the possibility to exert itself against the militaristically well armed imperialism of Europe, the United States and Japan.

"But even if the possibility to drive out the foreign imperialism did exist, what would be the gain? The place of the American, British or Japanese capitalists would be taken by Chinese exploiters and big industrialists whose suppression of their own countrymen would be no less brutal, whose robbery of their wage slaves at the tenderest years of childhood of their health and happiness would be no less merciless than that of their Japanese, American, British, French or German class colleagues heretofore.

"For the Chinese proletariat, also, there is no other road to freedom than that of the proletarian revolution. But, of course, China is not that far yet by a long ways."

Dawes—Successor of Marx!

Under the sociological guidance of a great figure who has become objectively one of the leaders of the Second International even while presiding over the United States

senate, several excellent "typewriter-Communists" such as M. Phillips Price, T. J. Walton Newbold and our own Max Eastman have given us pictures of the rehabilitation of Europe and the stabilization of capitalism by the Dawes plan. Europe is on rations—"Capitalism is stabilized" (in the complete and enduring sense)—and therefore (some of them say and others don't yet dare say) it is necessary for the revolutionary labor movement to readjust itself for a long period of the tactics of the social-democratic parties.

It is "the British way" against "the Russian way."

By the "British way" was meant the manner in which the labor movement collaborated with the capitalist class in "democracy" at home and in enslaving the colonies abroad. We remember that but a few months ago, while the sleek Ramsay MacDonald was "labor" premier of Great Britain, the question of Reformism against Revolution was put in this manner: "The British way, or the Russian way?" It was put this way by a thousand Morris Hillquits, here and abroad. They built their very life's careers upon the "splendid" contrast of the two great labor movements of England and Russia, respectively.

It was not an accident that the British trade union movement (as typical of those generally of imperialist countries) was, during the past generation, dominated by the ideology of imperialism. By the fruits of imperialist exploitation the British ruling class was able to throw a bribing crust of bread to the more skilled sections of the British working class, and to win these over to support the imperial system which provided the bribe while the less fortunate masses remained in misery. India, Africa and a large part of China, became sources of super-profit which the British capitalists to some extent shared with the higher stratum of the British working class in the form of comparatively high wages. This upper stratum of the British working class came to feel that the imperialist system was a fine thing; and this upper stratum held the leadership of the trade union movement. The official leaders of the trade unions based their ascendancy upon the narrow immediate interests of the highly paid workers, and upon this basis formed the possibility of that anomaly—the labor leader who is a minister of the king.

Now the trade union bureaucracy of England is thrown into consternation when the trade union movement begins "suddenly" to slip out from under them. Some strange accident, they think. But it is no accident. The tap root of the poisonous tree of imperialism is being cut.

The tap root is in India and China and Africa. Those who do not know that these are "parts of England" cannot understand what has happened. But the imperialists no longer have the fruit with which to keep the upper stratum of the labor movement debauched. The trade unionists are beginning to feel that the toilers of India, China and Africa are fellow-workers like themselves, in the same struggle

against the same enemy. And it is not strange that at the same time they begin to feel that the Russian trade unionists are also their brothers in a common cause.

We read today in a capitalist newspaper that the number of workers registered for unemployment relief in Great Britain is 1,418,000, which shows an increase of a quarter of a million in one year. The British government has long been forced to pay unemployment doles. With the increase of unemployment the government is now faced with a dangerous situation. It has tried to take out of the hands of local elected guardians and to put into the hands of the ministry of health the handling of the unemployment funds. The result is a quick response of the masses of workers to the agitation of the Communist Party. Even the English petty bourgeoisie tends for the time being to be drawn away from the usual loyalty to the big bourgeoisie; the credit monopoly of the five big banks which is starving out the small mercantile class in favor of the big corporations, gives rise to a tremendous sweep of sentiment in favor of the nationalization of the banks and of credit. And even this "domestic" row cannot be kept free from the eternal question of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; the five great banks deny the necessary credits for the trade with Russia—therefore the orders which the Soviet Union wishes to place with British factories cannot be accepted, the factories close for lack of orders, and the unemployed army swells and the bankrupted petty bourgeoisie stews in its wrath, and trade unions are discussing the question of the arming of the British working class, while the British Fascisti are actually arming. There is not a revolution in England, but the word "revolution" is becoming a household word.

In fact, since the smug Ramsay MacDonald had his little turn at helping the British capitalists rule the empire, events have moved with incredible speed. It is as though history were in the hands of a comical god who steers its course for the deliberate purpose of furnishing themes for the Communist Shakespeares of the future:

Ramsay MacDonald, as labor chief, is delayed in his arrival at the Trade Union Congress for the reason that he attends the King's garden party! And by the time he arrives at the congress, the congress votes by an almost unanimous vote to sanction the breaking up of the empire!

And even since the Trade Union congress, events have been moving with such rapidity as almost to be impossible to grasp. The great "outlaw" shipping strike which reaches the farthest ports of the world, has frozen the blood in the capitalist empire's veins. And at this of all moments the ruling class of Britain faces the prospect of a war with Turkey for the conquest of the oil fields of Mosul. Can Great Britain take these oil fields for its capitalists? Great Britain must take these oil fields, and yet, between the working class at home and the Turks abroad, Great Britain probably cannot take them,—and in these two contradictions we find a situation developing out of which ultimately will come the doom of British capitalist imperialism.

World Trade Union Unity.

None of these things is without some relation to the matter of the British trade unions' acceptance of the offer



After British and French soldiers had fired upon the rebellious workers and students of Canton, China, June 23. The Chinese were conducting a demonstration in sympathy with the strike of the workers in Shanghai, who had revolted against the brutal conditions imposed on them by their English, French and American bosses.

This picture was taken at a street corner, where six of the bodies of those that were killed lay where they fell. Hats and shoes of the sympathizers are shown strewn about the ground.

of the Russian trade unions for world trade union unity. The vast consequences of the joining of the British labor movement by almost unanimous action into an alliance with the revolutionary unions of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in favor of a world-alliance of all trade unions of the world for common struggle against capitalism, while simultaneously accepting the revolutionary program for the complete liberation of the colonies, can hardly be overestimated by even the most "visionary" of the Communists.

A thousand "labor" careers are ruined overnight. A thousand political prostitutes, preachers of the "British way," suddenly find the "stabilized" world shifting under their feet in the direction of the "Russian way."

They were looking at the map of England which did not show the "England" which extends through Bombay and Tientsin, Shanghai, Hongkong and Africa. Therefore their plans are wrecked by an "accident."

But there are no accidents in history. So little is this development of the British labor movement an "accident," that Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin was able to trace its main lines in advance.

Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The rapid advance of Union of Socialist Soviet Republics at this time—in sharp contrast—is a factor which forces its way to the attention of the working class of the world.

The visits of the British, German and Swedish trade-union delegations to Russia have brought a gasp of astonishment to the staid social-democratic workers of those countries, and a shudder of fright from the capitalist world. History is not standing still when a leader of the social-democratic party of Germany—the party of Scheidemann and

Noske and Ebert—is obliged upon his visit to Russia to write an admission of "the triumph of the power of the working class" in Russia, and to remark, "I can see how a new world is coming into being here, and how great the achievements of the Russian workers are." (Words of Theodore Oberhagen, of the German trade union delegation to Russia.)

African Lightning.

But now turn to Africa—to the Riffian war. This has much to do with the interpretation of the historical period.

History in recording the period between the two world wars—this period of the world revolution—will write down the name of Abd el Krim in blazing letters. It will record the "little" revolt of the Riffian people as a flash of lightning in the sky which foretold the second and bigger storm of world war which cannot be survived by what capitalists call "civilization" and which we call "capitalism." Eleven years after the first world war began, the French and Spanish fleets are belching cordite shells at the African coast as rapidly as the 12-inch guns can be fired. Two hundred airplanes in a single unit are dropping one-ton bombs on towns and villages.

It is Peace.

According to all military calculations, Krim's army will be defeated. It seems incredible that 150,000 brown men with almost nothing but rifles and such ammunition as they can capture, could drive out of their small patch of territory a force of professional soldiers double their number, equipped with every known device of warfare, supported by hundreds of modern aircraft and by two hundred warships. It would seem to be only a freak of history—but neither is this an accident. On the contrary—Colonel Sweeney may soon have perfectly legal employment under the American flag,

dropping bombs on the same Riffian villages, and then again on Liberian villages, and certainly on Mexican villages.

The murder-expedition of American ex-army officers to the Riff is not a disconnected incident. These leavings of war, in the persons of professional soldiers of fortune (but not exactly the "aimless" soldiers of fortune that we knew before the world war) are not unimportant. Nor are the circumstances of their fighting in Africa accidental. Nor, again, is it accidental that they were recruited in Paris by the French military authorities, that the American diplomatic service at first doubtless smiled upon their going, nor that the state department later issued a statement that they were violating a law of the United States, nor that the French authorities formally washed their hands of the Sweeney gang by letting their tool, the Sultan of Morocco, take responsibility for them. The American state department found itself in a position where it could not be unconcerned with the slightest incident of American "unofficial" actions in Morocco.

A writer in the Daily Worker, B. Borisoff, calls attention to two rather startling reminders that the imperialistic "borders" of the United States of America are being suddenly pushed into the continent of Africa. A huge Anglo-American syndicate has, according to a report from Berlin, bought up the "gigantic interests of the Mannesmann brothers in the Spanish zone of Morocco and the Riff territory." American capitalism strikes its talons into the heart of the war zone to snatch the zinc and sulphur mines and other properties which German capitalism is too weak to hold with military strength. Spain is also too weak. The point is that America is to hold these properties with military strength. American capitalism is, in fact, now virtually marching its armies into Africa. Just as the question of oil is a storm-center of imperialist struggle, rubber also begins to be a prize of the looming second world war. Utilizing as a foothold the small Negro republic of Liberia, which was settled more than a century ago with liberated American slaves and which thereby gives a sentimental basis for the intrigue, American capital has already established a \$100,000,000 corporation on a million acres of rubber lands in Africa.

Echoes from Africa.

And all of this has an almost fantastically interesting echo in distant parts—for instance in Chicago.

A dense crowd of Negro steel-mill and packing-house workers is surging and pushing around a street corner in the South Side of Chicago. Their ears and eyes are trained upon a Negro speaker mounted on a soapbox. The speaker raises his voice so that it can be heard a block away:

"Who wants to be sent to Africa to fight Abd el Krim?"

"NOBODY!" roars the crowd. "Three cheers for Abd el Krim!"

The crowd roars again. Frequently the speaker's sentences are interrupted by loud shouts of "Amen!" from the audience—the old method of approval learned in two cen-

turies of a social life restricted to the tawdry churches of the South.

"Hurrah for Abd el Krim! Amen, amen!"

Soon a huge map is hoisted on a pole over the soapbox, and by the street light the speaker points out the historical encroachments of British, French, Spanish and Italian imperialism upon the African continent. The crowd increases in size. Across the street a Negro preacher despairingly closes his prayer book and walks away. His audience has deserted him in favor of the Negro Communist on the opposite corner.

Now the audience is booing. The speaker has mentioned the name of Harvey Firestone. "What does Harvey Firestone want in Africa?" the speaker asks.

"He wants rubber!" shouts the crowd. "He wants the Negroes to work for him!"

"He wants to steal Africa from us!" shouts the inevitable follower of Marcus Garvey. The utopian-pacifist conceptions preached by Mr. Garvey are undergoing a severe trial. They depend upon a sentimental picture of the great powers benevolently strewing roses in the path of happy Negroes returning "home," and no battleships in sight, and great diamond and rubber fields and gold mines turned over to Negroes through the goodness of the hearts of Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Poincare and Mr. Coolidge, and with the kindly help of the Ku Klux Klan which wishes to help the Negro field hand of the South by giving him "a home of his own in Africa."

But the dream is punctured by a thousand bombs dropped from airplanes on the villages of the Riff. Garvey's pacifism has a hard time surviving the news from Africa. It would be easy to raise a black army of reinforcements for Abd el Krim in the South Side of Chicago—if one could imagine being undisturbed in that delightful occupation.

Now the Negro Communist orator is quoting to his audience from Stalin's "Theory and Practice of Leninism":

"Leninism. . . destroyed the barrier between whites and blacks, between Europeans and barbarians; it has assimilated the civilized slaves with the uncivilized slaves of imperialism and has bound up the national question with the colonial question. At the same time, the national question has become an international question, that of the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the colonies and the countries subjected by imperialism."

Some of the effects of the pairing of the mighty couple—proletarian revolution with colonial revolt—are astonishingly sharp and direct. The present subject of an international nervous tension, Shapurji Saklatvala, is a native of India, elected by English workers to the British parliament on the Communist ticket! Adb-el-Krim sends an impassioned appeal to France, denying and scorning the thought of Bolshevism—but his appeal finds the public light only through the Communist daily newspaper in Paris, l' Humanite! Shanghai correspondents cable excitedly to American capitalist papers that the flaming articles of the Daily Worker, published by the Workers (Communist) Party at Chicago, are being blazoned in Chinese translations throughout China! But none of these are accidents.

Except to the Social-Democratic eye!

Provocateurs in the Labor Movement

By B. K. Gebert

THE bloodiest page in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement of the past century is the story of the activities of the agent provocateur, Azeff. He was the actual leader of a terroristic militant group of the organization and the fate of its members rested in his hands. He prepared plans and issued orders for terroristic acts and then betrayed and ordered the arrest of the revolutionary conspirators. He sent to Siberia, to prison or to death the best sons of the working class who trusted him.

In Savinkov's diary there are many interesting descriptions of Azeff's activities. One fact of interest is that though many revolutionists blindly trusted Azeff, workers who came in contact with him were often distrustful. Here is one instance of this: On the steamer "Rurik," a proposed attempt against Czar Nicholas was being discussed. Among those invited to take part in the discussion was a ship's mechanic, Avdyef. After seeing Azeff, Avdyef became depressed, stopped talking, and took no part in the discussion. Savinkov noticed this and calling Avdyef to another room, asked for reasons.

"Who is that fatty?" asked Avdyef, meaning Azeff.

"That's our comrade."

"What an awful mug!"

"If you trust me, trust him. He is our comrade," answered Savinkov. Avdyef shook Savinkov's hand and said:

"Don't be angry; I didn't want to offend you. But I don't trust him."

Avdyef was right. . . the conspiracy on the "Rurik" was an act of provocation in which dozens of the best sailors would have perished had it been carried through.

Azeff finally was proved to be a stool-pigeon, and left the country. He may be alive yet, although there were notices of his death in the press.

Provocation and Revolutionary Attempts.

The recent trial of the so-called "German Cheka" gave a clear-cut picture of what Bebel described so well in his splendid speech on "Attempts." With documents in hand he proved that "back of most terroristic attempts is the hand of the police," and when the wind blows away the smoke and the odor of the bomb an experienced nose will immediately smell the policeman's uniform. Even the murder of the Austrian empress, perpetrated by an anarchist, was not without the help of the Italian police, as was shown later.

"Police agents," said Bebel, "are exclusively for ferreting out attempts ORGANIZED BY THEMSELVES. If the secret police did not again and again discover unusual attempts, the secret police would be considered unnecessary and of course this would be very undesirable for them."

Lately the labor press of the whole world has been full of news concerning provocation in the labor movement of Poland. We shall turn our attention to this.

Provocateurs in the Labor Movement of Poland.

There is no factory, no workers' organization in Poland which is free of government agent provocateurs. Provocateurs betray not only Communists but all active workers fighting against exploitation. They form terroristic conspiracies in

order later to imprison or shoot those whom they succeed in drawing in.

The system of provocation used in Poland is the old Czarist system in an improved form. It has become an instrument of the Polish bourgeois domination over large masses of workers and peasants. The best known provocateurs in Poland are Vykush (Wykusz) who organized and betrayed an alleged revolutionary committee in Lublin; Tsek-novski (Cechnowski) in Warsaw; Yankovski and Pashak (Jankowski and Pasiak) in Lodz; Chubala and Kaminski (Czubala and Kaminski) in the Dombrova coal basin, who are notorious for fabricating testimony against Communist and revolutionary workers and peasants.

A large number of mass peasant trials at Bialystok, Pinsk, Slonin, Rovno, and other towns in the parts of the Ukraine and White Russia that are occupied by Poland, proved conclusively that the system of forgery and provocation practiced by the ministry of foreign affairs has reached monstrous dimensions. Provocation, false witnesses and forged testimony always go hand in hand. This was made quite evident in the trial of Comrade Stanislas Lanzutski in Premysl (Przemysl).

Provocateur's Bomb in Quarters of the Independent Peasants' Party.

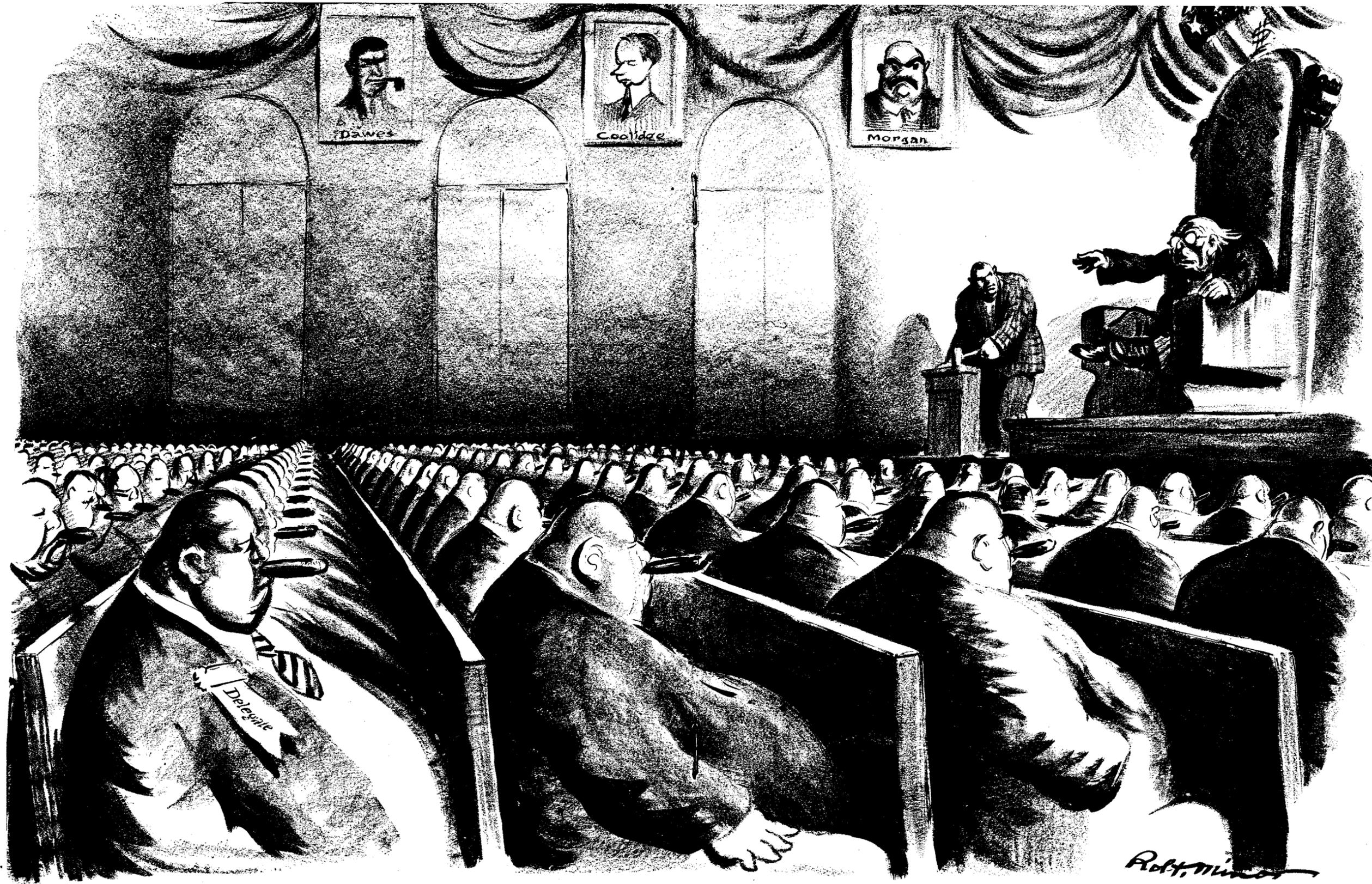
Police Agent Cheslav Troyanovski (Czeslaw Trojanowski) was the editor of the party organ of the Independent Peasants' Party. Being unable to serve the government in any other way, on May 1, 1925, two weeks after the explosion in Sofia, Bulgaria, he was preparing a bomb in the party building to enable the police to find it, to prove contemplation of a terroristic act, and to declare the party illegal. The plan miscarried, however. The bomb exploded in the course of making it. Troyanovski was wounded and his stool-pigeon activities became public.

Provocateurs in the Communist Party.

The Polish Communist Party has been driven underground. For seven years the bourgeois' and social traitors' government has endeavored to crush it but failed, in spite of help given by the Polish socialist party. No terror, no socialist treason, no prisons, no repression were able to break the party of the revolutionary proletariat of Poland. The latest method has been provocation. The bourgeoisie with the help of socialist party leaders formed a legion of provocateurs, but it has proved a bitter disappointment. The class-consciousness of the working class has awakened: the younger workers in Poland have a banner of active defense against the provocateurs and the inscription on it is: "Death to Provocateurs!"

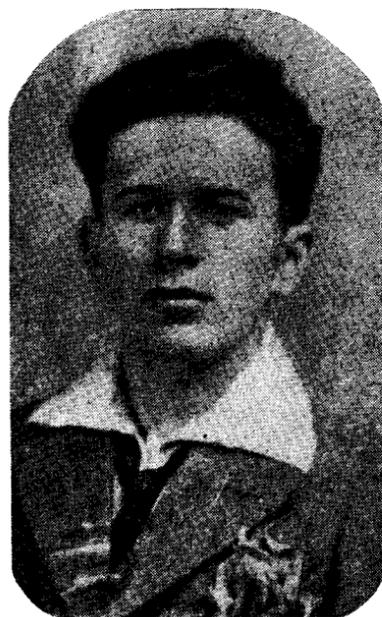
The Communists are against individual terror and for armed insurrection of the working masses to overthrow the dictatorship of capital; but the young Polish comrades have been driven to the determination that when it is a question of self-defense they will not spare the provocateur.

First to lose his life for killing a provocateur was Comrade Engel of Lodz. Then Haychik (Hajczyk) and Pilar-chik (Pilarczyk) were poisoned with gas for killing provocateur Kaminski. (This gas was made in the Kosciusko



The Dead Hand

Bill Green holds the gavel. Sam Gompers is dead, but his ghost is still in the president's chair at this 1925 convention of the American Federation of Labor.



Comrade Naftali Botwin, twenty-year-old member of the Young Communist League of Poland, who was executed on August 8 by the Polish government for the killing of the provocateur Cechnowski.

Chemical Institute built with dollars collected from Polish workers in America by the Polish Socialist Alliance.)

Comrades Hibner, Kniewski and Ruthkovski were executed lately in Warsaw for defending themselves when they were held up by the police. The last to die was Comrade Botvin, shot in Lemberg for killing provocateur Tseknovski.

Tseknovski's Role.

Tseknovski was a member of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania and later a member of the Communist Party. He was a member of the Warsaw party

committee. He was always active and knew everything. He gave into the hands of the police dozens of the best comrades, twice he betrayed several members of the Central Executive Committee. He was unmasked during the trial of the revolutionary officers Baginski and Viecherevitch who were sentenced to death on his testimony, and later were shot near the Soviet border while on their way to U. S. S. R. as exchange prisoners. Their murderer, Murashko, has not yet been punished, and the bourgeoisie plainly says that he is not in danger of the death penalty.

The shooting of Communists by the Polish white terror government is greeted joyfully by the Polish socialist party, section of the Second International, and there is nothing strange in this. Socialists not only spy on the Communists but also murder them. Leading members of the Polish socialist party murdered Comrade Bialy in Warsaw.

The Background of Terror and Provocation.

"Wer den Dichter will verstehen muss in Dichter's Lande gehen," said Goethe. A look at the map of Poland will make one understand the reason of that bestial terror and provocation in Poland.

Poland borders on the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The Polish-Soviet borderland is inhabited by seven million Ukrainians and more than two million White Russians who are even more persecuted and terrorized by the Polish regime than the workers and peasants in autocratic Poland.

The Ukrainian and White Russian peasants lean toward the Soviet Republics as they see in Soviet Russia the liberation and prosperity of the toiling masses, whereas in Poland they are hungry and persecuted by the Polish regime which taxes them to the utmost in order to keep a large state apparatus of oppression.

Half of Poland's budget goes for military expenses. It is sufficient to point out that the government apparatus of

Poland having a population of 27,000,000 consists of 1,132,798 officials. This means that for every 23 inhabitants there is one government official.

There is in Poland an everlasting land-famine as most of the land belongs to the rich landowners.

A conservative writer, S. Gonsiorovski, estimates that there is at least a population of 8,000,000 peasants in Poland who are literally starving. Is there any wonder that peasants throughout Poland, conducting open warfare against the rich landowners, are becoming militant, and are natural allies of the workers in their struggle and in the class war for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the capitalists and landowners?

This state of affairs will become still more acute since the "Sejm" (Parliament) has recently passed a bill parceling out land on the eastern border to the retired army officers and Polish cossacks. This is intended as a measure of "protection" against Soviet Russia.

The homesteads which are parceled and bestowed upon Polish military settlers are in most cases land taken, not from rich landowners, but from peasants of non-Polish nationality.

Lodz is the center of the textile industry, the Polish Manchester. Conditions there are very serious today.

The Warsaw bourgeois newspaper, "Nacz Przegląd" (Our Review) writes: "Poor city; an endless row of smokeless chimneys stands in proud despair. Only a few of the bigger factories are operating; and most of them operate only two, three days a week. The city is eager to live, live as in the past, but it has no means for it."

What applies to the textile industry applies also to other branches of industry. More than 250,000 workers are unemployed and those who are employed are working only part time.

The bosses are taking advantage of conditions of unemployment and are cutting down the already existing starvation wages; this is causing strike after strike.

At the time of this writing Poland goes through a general strike in the metal industry. On top of everything the Polish government has started a tariff war with Germany. This has helped to decrease export of coal and raw materials to Germany.

The Polish bourgeoisie is unable to uplift the miserable economic situation. All this brings more aggressive class war.

The capitalist government, as its last resource, in order to remain in power and to keep workers and peasants in sub-



Stanislaw Lonsutzki, Communist deputy to the Polish parliament, whom the Polish government sentenced to six years at hard labor for a speech addressed to a workers' mass meeting, in which he laid bare the treachery of the Polish Socialists to the working class.

mission, uses a regime of terror with bullets, bayonets, scaffolds and prisons. Over eight thousand class war prisoners are in the bastiles of capitalist Poland.

In the Service of Imperialism.

In such situations the military clique has become all powerful. It is the governing body of Poland. In war against the working class of Poland, against the minority nationalities in Poland and against the Soviet Republics, the military clique and the followers of General Pilsudski, are counting on the support of foreign capitalist governments. Only a few months ago the bankers of Wall Street gave the Polish government a loan of \$35,000,000 and now again it is getting a \$10,000,000 loan. The international capitalists are loaning money to the Polish bourgeoisie because they are in need of Polish cannon fodder in case of a new crusade against the Soviet Republics. Only with the help of the international capitalists is the Polish bourgeoisie able to remain in power.

The Polish bourgeoisie cannot afford to have as its neighbor the Soviet Republics. The very fact that the workers and peasants in Russia are governing themselves is an inspiration and living example for the peasants and workers of Poland. At the same time the economic situation in Poland is going from bad to worse. "Echo Warczawskoe," the Warsaw Echo, the mouthpiece of rich peasants writes:

"The situation has become strenuous, it has reached its critical stage. People are waiting, they are counting days,

even hours. The only possibility of existence for large masses of agricultural population is the distribution of government land among this agricultural population. Warning signals are coming from east and west and nobody can tell whether a year from now won't be too late." The rising masses of workers and peasants who are under the leadership of the Communist Party conducting a class war, are being drowned in blood by the Polish government.

Russian Czarism tried for years with bullet and knout to break the strength of the labor movement, using the most shameless methods of provocation. Today on the ruins of Czarism proudly flies the banner of the U. S. S. R. And the miserable provocation methods and white terror of the Polish bourgeoisie must also fail. The Communist Party of Poland is uniting under its banners not only the revolutionary workers and peasants, but also the national minorities bringing them all in one battlefront against the dictatorship of the capitalists and rich landowners.

The International Labor Defense, 21 South Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill., is receiving contributions for the help of the victims of the White Terror described above. It has our unreserved endorsement.

—Editor.

The Big Swing to the Left

By William Paul

"THE government had never pretended that they had a remedy for unemployment. It was perfectly impossible to pretend to the people of this country that there was any quick and easy cure or any great palliative which could reduce unemployment by a very large extent. He had the figures for all the different schemes that had been started, and they showed a gradual increase. All these schemes were only palliatives, and it was humanly impossible with them to do more than touch the fringe of the unemployment question. Therefore, when anyone asked what new schemes could be set up, he replied that there were none."

These words were delivered in the House of Commons on May 14 by the Minister of Labor (Sir Steel Maitland) of the present Baldwin Government.

For the first time in the history of modern Britain, a capitalist statesman, in answer to the demands of the workers, admitted the collapse of the present social system.

This sheer inability of any capitalist Government, either Liberal or Tory, to help the masses, explains why the labor movement in recent years, has grown so rapidly in Britain.

But there is also a big development going on within the labor movement. Last year the Labor Party held office and its Minister of Labor, Mr. Tom Shaw (the joint secretary of

the Second International) also declared his impotency to assist the unemployed.

Thus, while the workers in Britain are leaving the political parties of capitalism, they are also beginning to realize that the right wing of the Labor Party, led by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, can do little or nothing for them.

We have thus a two-fold explanation of why the workers, who are deserting capitalist politics, are moving rapidly to the left inside the labor movement. The capitalist parties have had their chance, and could do nothing; the right-wing Labor leaders had their chance, during the Labor Government last year, and they too, were impotent. Hence the British masses are compelled to move ever closer to the left wing—in the direction of the Communists.

The conduct of the Labor Government was a rude awakening to many workers regarding the actual danger of MacDonaldism.

There is no doubt now, in the minds of alert members of the Labor Party, that the general timidity of the Labor Government, on working-class policy, created grave dissatisfaction among the masses. MacDonald's surrender to General Dawes on high finance by enforcing the "expert's" slave upon Germany; the aeroplane expeditions against the tribesmen of Irak; the iron heel in India; the building of new cruisers; the threat to use the Emergency Powers Act against strikers—all these formed a fitting prelude to the treachery

of MacDonald which reached its climax in the way he handled the Zinoviev forged letter.

The only people who denounced these anti-Labor policies, as they took place, were the Communists. But no sooner had MacDonald's crowning blunder over the Zinoviev letter led to the defeat of his Government, than he was assailed by even members of his own party—the I. L. P.

It was James Maxton, M. P., a left-wing member of the I. L. P., who urged that MacDonald be removed as leader of the Labor Party in Parliament. And, at the I. L. P. Annual Conference, held during April, the feeling against the premier was such that nobody openly defended his policy—he had to listen to belated apologies on his behalf.

This does not mean that the I. L. P. is a left-wing group. Like the S. P. of America, it faces both ways. It contains some elements who, although confused, are at least good and courageous fighters, such as the Clyde Group, but it also has Liberals like Snowden and MacDonald, who most bitterly oppose every move to the left. Thus, as in the American S. P., every time action is demanded, the party stultifies itself.

While MacDonald and his right-wing friends like Clynes, Henderson and Thomas are rapidly losing their grip over the rank and file of the Labor Party, it must not be imagined that they have no political influence. They are in a very strong position because of their official control of the machinery of the Labor Party. And they are rallying new allies to their aid from the liberalized and conservative middle-class, who are backing them in their struggle against the left wing and the Communists.

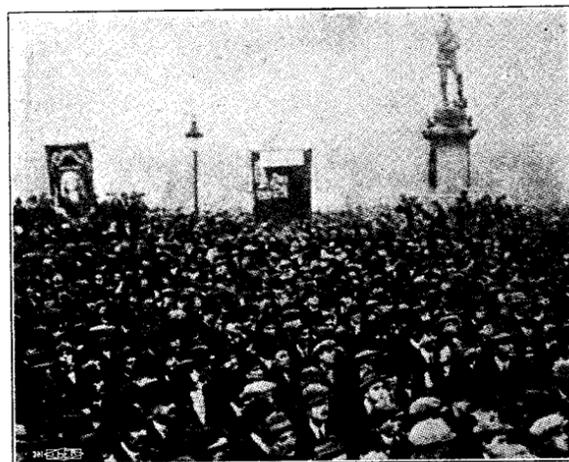
At present the left wing has no definite line of policy. The one coherent element is that supplied by the Communists. There are, however, forces at work that will compel the left wing to formulate a plan of united action.

Two of these forces, out of many, are:

1. The appearance of two left-wing weekly journals—"Lansbury's Weekly" and "The Sunday Worker." These have only been in existence for about three months and have larger circulations than any of the old labor weeklies. Well-known Communists write in both organs. Already, the more militant of the two, "The Sunday Worker," has managed to bring together the left-wing leaders of the Parliamentary Labor Party and the trade unions.

2. The best known leaders of the trade unions are now in the left wing. This was evidenced by the success of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union agreement. At the same time a move is on foot to form a four-fold alliance of the Miners, Railwaymen, Transport Workers and Engineers (Machinists). This will force forward the urgent need for a common policy and will, therefore, consolidate the whole left wing.

In all these activities the Communists are very active. Slowly and surely the Communist Party of Great Britain is learning how, by sheer merit and hard work, to win its real place in the labor movement. The leaders have left the old rut of sectarianism which so long beset British radicalism



A Communist Mass Meeting in Hyde Park, London.

and are beginning to acquire the essential mobility of Leninism.

The proof of this may be seen in the mass-press attacks against the "reds" which are now the normal feature of British journalism. This change of tone in the press is significant. They used to sneer at the Communists; now they show they are afraid of them.

Last October, under the shadow of a pending political crisis, resolutions were stampeded through the Labor Party Conference to drive the Communists outside. This policy has failed. Even the executive committee has not dared to give a clear ruling on the matter.

The increasing difficulties of British capitalism both at home and in the empire domains, are forcing forward big attacks on the workers. The parliamentary Labor leaders are afraid of this coming struggle and are anxious to retreat by entering into an industrial truce with the employers. The Tory premier, Mr. Baldwin, is playing up to this policy with all the hypocritical cunning, characteristic of the clever statesman of British capitalism. While the parliamentary labor leaders are moving rapidly to the right, the very nature of the capitalist offensive against the organized workers is forcing the trade union leaders to the left. This is the position at the moment of writing and it shows the rapid approach of a revolutionary situation in this country.

Viewing all the facts we can see that the left wing in Britain must gather all the best elements in the labor movement to its standard. We can also see that in a very short period, the left wing will be forced to show its fighting quality.

In the past the British movement has, on many occasions, thrown up left-wing groups. These never came to anything because the revolutionary elements were too sectarian to give a real lead. Now, however, the situation is changed. The present left wing will not only be forced to consolidate itself and formulate a concrete policy of common action, but the real revolutionary element in the movement, the Communist Party, will act both as a centralizing and accelerating force.

London, 1925.

Fifty Years on the Messaba Range

By C. A. Hathaway

THE presence of iron ore was first discovered in what is now known as the Lake Superior ore district (comprising the Vermillion, Messaba and Cuyuna ranges in Minnesota, the Marquette and Menominee districts in Michigan and the Gogebic range in Michigan and Wisconsin) near the present site of Negaunee, Michigan, in 1844, by a government surveying party. From that time on groups of prospectors explored the wilderness in search of ore in marketable quantities. Their efforts resulted in the discovery of rich deposits in several parts of the territory, including the high grade ore in the vicinity of Lake Vermillion, Minnesota, on July 20, 1875. These hardy pioneers in most cases were unable to exploit their discoveries because of the undeveloped state of the territory. There were no railroads or even wagon roads over which mining equipment could be brought in or iron ore shipped out. The blast furnaces were then as now located in the east and lake transportation was but slightly developed at that time.

By 1885, however, eastern capitalists had become convinced of the profitability of investing their money in this territory. Railroads were built from the mines to lake ports, loading docks were built from which to load the ore into lake steamers and intensive mining operations were started, with the mines financed and controlled by eastern bankers and steel-mill owners. By 1886, the whole Vermillion property, including mines, land grants, the Duluth and Iron Range Railroad and the docks at Two Harbors, had passed into the hands of the Minnesota Mining Company which became the property of the United States Steel Corporation upon its organization. Thus until recently the early pioneers were completely forgotten.

During the week of July 20, this year, an "Exposition of Progress and Iron Ore Jubilee" was held in Duluth, Minnesota, organized and promoted by the mining company officials, the bankers, and the petty bourgeoisie of the iron territory. From the petty storekeepers to the mine owners, they are all dependent on iron, and on the willingness of the mine-slaves to work, for their wealth and power. They have suddenly become very appreciative of the rugged prospectors who discovered this wealth and just to prove their appreciation they are conducting a manhunt (to use their term) throughout the country for any of those pioneers who may still be alive, and just think—any who are found are going to be made guests of honor at an elaborate banquet which is to be given as a feature of the exposition. Surely from now on we will have to admit the benevolence of capitalism.

Importance of Discovery.

American capitalism is justified in celebrating an "Iron Jubilee" for by the discovery of the rich ore beds in the Lake Superior district, the United States became the world's largest producer of the most important of all metals—iron. The average yearly production from this district is in excess of sixty million tons of ore, the average analysis of which show 52 per cent natural iron. The total iron produced in this district since mining operations started in the eighties has been in excess of one billion tons (tons as used

here are of 2,240 pounds). Of this huge total, the Messaba range alone has produced over six hundred million tons although mining was not started here until 1893. The yearly production of the Messaba range at the present time runs from 35 to 45 million tons, depending on the market demand.

There are on the Messaba range 125 active producing mines and a total known ore reserve, according to the geological survey made by the Minnesota Bureau of Mines, of 1,400,000,000 tons. In addition to the production figures given above, it is estimated that nine million cubic yards of "lean" ore have been put in stockpile by the Oliver Iron Mining Company alone, simply because there was more profit in handling only the "rich" ore at the present time. The total stripping and lean ore excavated to date on the Mesabi range would cover approximately 400 city blocks with a blanket 300 feet thick, almost twice the total of the excavation for the Panama Canal.

The ownership or the operation (a few are still owned by the state and leased on a royalty basis) of most of these mines have passed into the hands of the United States Steel Corporation or its subsidiaries. The development of more intensive mining operations is each year causing independent producers to either close down their mines or consent to be swallowed by one of the big companies. Not only is the ownership of the mines passing to the hands of the big producers, but the railroads which haul the ore to the ports, the loading docks, and the lake boats are likewise under their ownership or control. Of a total of approximately 400 boats engaged in the ore carrying trade in 1919, the Pittsburgh Steamship Company, a Steel Corporation subsidiary, owned and operated 106 boats.

According to a statement prepared by the American Society of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers in August, 1920, Lake Superior ores supply all the furnaces in western New York, western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

Machinery Displacing Men.

Not only should capitalists be jubilant over the quantity and quality of the ore in this district but above all they should appreciate its accessibility. The major portion of all the ore on the Messaba range lends itself to "open pit" mining which requires but a comparatively small number of men; with the exception of steam shovel operators, they are classified and paid as common laborers. The average wages paid to the men in the open-pit mines is \$4 per day of ten hours. In addition to the ten hours spent in the pit many of these men have to spend another two hours getting back and forth from home to work.

In the underground mines the men work nine hours a day at depths ranging from 250 feet on the Messaba to 2,000 feet on some of the other ranges. Including the time necessary to get down to the working face the miners figure that they put in just as much time as do the men in the open-pit mines. The underground men work on a contract basis entirely. They are paid by the ton and out of their earnings

they must buy their own powder, fuses, shovels, picks, lamps, etc. The average earnings of the men are about \$5.50 per day after these deductions are made. If by any chance they become too ambitious and produce enough iron to give them a higher wage the superintendent assumes that the price is too high and cuts the price per ton. Their earnings are also determined by the "richness" of the face. The price in each case is set by the company and because of lack of organization the men can either accept the price offered or quit.

Unemployment is rapidly developing into a serious problem for the range miners. This is due first to the rapid introduction of improved mining machinery and second, to the growing tendency on the part of the companies to close down the less profitable mines whenever market conditions permit, without regard for the welfare of the workers.

When mining operations were first started on the range the crudest methods were used. Operations were carried on with picks, shovels, hand drills and wheel barrows, the ore being hoisted in buckets by means of a horse winch and hauled to the stock pile in a horse-drawn wagon.

Today the huge open-pit mines are being operated by the most improved machinery. Giant 300-ton steam shovels capable of cutting a hole 120 feet wide and 40 feet deep and of loading the ore in the dump cars on top of the 40-foot bank have displaced the hand shovelers. One hundred-ton locomotives, pulling nine and ten steel cars, each with a capacity of 30 cubic yards of ore, have displaced the old horse-drawn wagons. The modern steam-shovel bucket has a capacity of 16 tons of ore almost every minute as compared with one ton every half-hour for the old bucket method. Mechanical devices have even been introduced to shift tracks and tamp down ties for the dinky railroads that must be built in the open-pit mines.

In the underground mines similar revolutionary changes have taken place, but of course, not of the spectacular nature of the changes made in the open-pits.

Iron Miners Must Organize.

As has frequently been the case in other industries, the iron miners first resented the introduction of improved machinery. When the first shovel was put to work loading stockpile ore in the Soudan Mine, it had to be guarded by company police to prevent its destruction by the scores of men who were displaced from their job of loading this ore by hand. Instead of organizing their forces for the struggle to control the machine, these men could only see benefit to themselves by bringing about the destruction of these more modern devices.

The introduction of this machinery has up until now, however, benefited only the companies. Large numbers of men have been displaced and turned into a standing unemployed army which is being used to keep down the wages, living standards, and working conditions of those who are fortunate enough to have a job.

During the war period iron ore was in great demand with the result that every mine was operating to its fullest capacity. The production records were greater during that period than they ever were before or after the world slaughter. This also tended to draw more workers into the Messaba district, many of whom established homes there and are now compelled to satisfy themselves with intermittent employment. Many of the large industrial establishments such as

the International Harvester Company own their own mines and in such cases the mine is only operated long enough each year to supply the needs of the owning company. This increases the intermittency of employment and reduces the yearly average wage far below that necessary to insure a decent standard of living.

The mines are operated almost entirely by foreign-born workers, Slavic, Finnish and Italian workers predominating. The steel companies use every method within their power to prevent these workers from getting together, religious and racial differences are kept alive, language clubs are started, led by company agents and finally an intensive "Americanization" campaign is conducted to teach these workers the "benefits" offered by American capitalism.

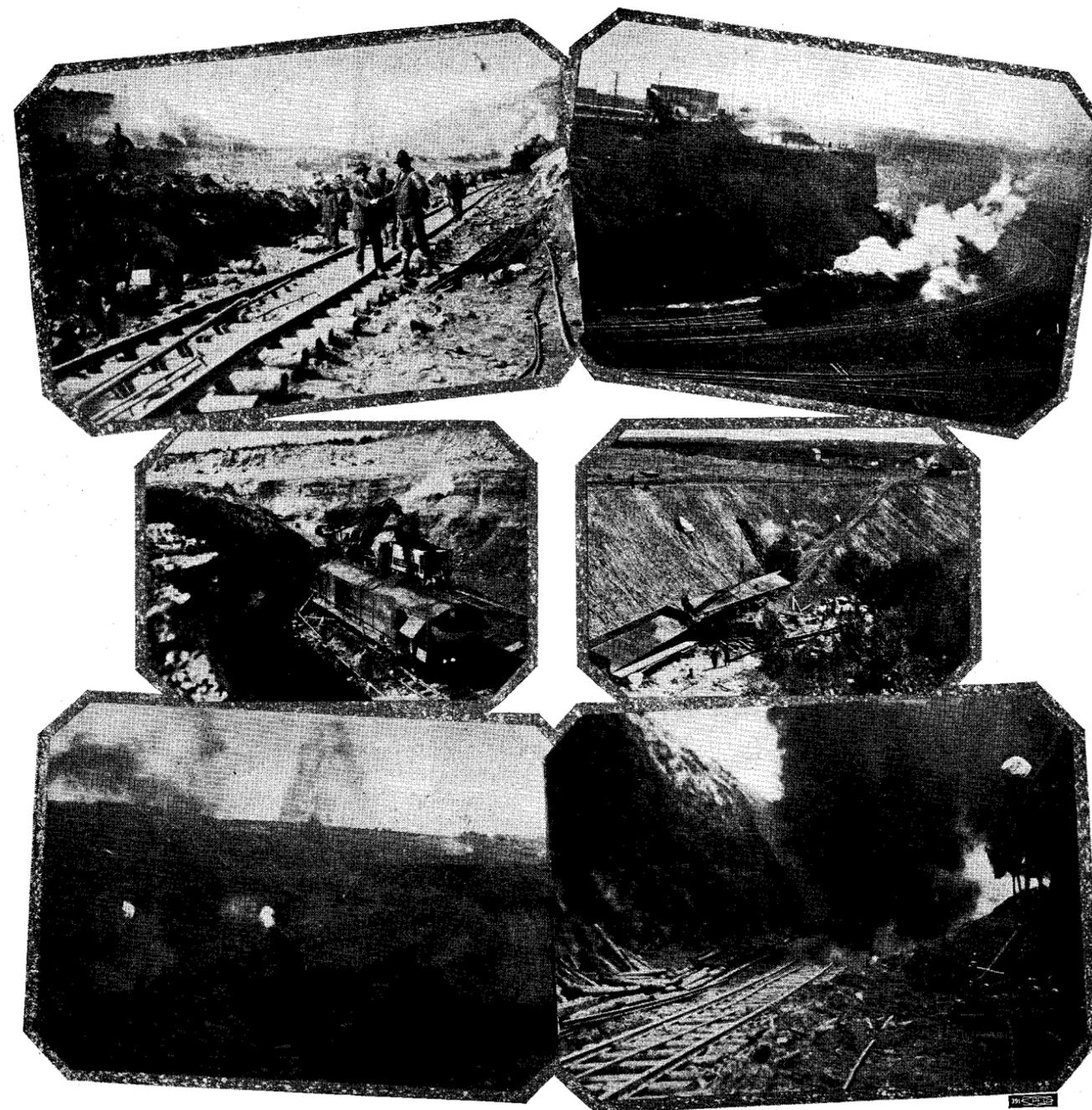
The companies are not willing to trust their interests to propaganda campaigns alone. They have a lurking fear that the iron miners may break out again as they did in the famous Messaba strike of the spring of 1916. The companies now maintain an extensive crew of private detectives, gunmen and police that watches every move made by the workers. If a mass meeting is held in one of the mining towns, the "dicks" are stationed at the hall to give those entering the "once over" and if they are recognized as mine slaves they are given their time the next morning. These men hang around the pool halls and all the other places where the men congregate and "stool" for the mine companies. The Steel Trust police are probably unsurpassed by any industrial police force in America.*

All of the abuses to which the miners are compelled to submit can be overcome only by working-class organization and the miners on the iron range are beginning to realize that fact. Although no definite revolts have taken place and no organizations have come into existence, conversation with the mine workers will convince the most skeptical that the time is not far distant before the Messaba will again be heard from.

The thing that is most needed on the range is, first, an organization with a fighting program and a leadership that will inspire the confidence of these workers. The leaders of the State Federation of Labor, Hall and Lawson, aided by A. F. of L. organizers have failed to get a hearing for their "milk and water" brand of unionism. The three or four branches of the I. W. W. that exist on the range as a leftover from the big strike days, have not participated in the struggle of the miners. At no time have they issued a program that would appeal to the workers in the mines nor have they done anything to try to bring them into their organization. Up until a few months ago, while their union was steadily declining in both membership and influence, their leaders seemed to be under the impression that they were ordained by "God" to save the miners from Communism and from the influence of Moscow.

On May 1st this was overcome to some extent when the Communists went directly to the rank and file with a plea for a united-front demonstration. The rank and file responded and a mass meeting was held in Hibbing, Minn., on May 1st, a work day, attended by over five hundred workers

* Some of the activities of this notorious Steel Trust police force were detailed by Comrade Swabek in his article on "The Makers and Masters of Steel," which we printed in August.



ON THE MESSABA IRON RANGE.

who stayed away from the mines to celebrate labor's international holiday. It is to be hoped that the above is the foreshadowing of a future unity between the two organizations that will lead to the unionization of the thousands of iron miners in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan into a militant, fighting unit that will play its part in the struggle against the Steel Trust and finally in the struggle to build a Communist society.

Today the capitalists on the iron range have all the cause in the world to celebrate an "Iron Ore Jubilee," but

with the creation of a militant organization under revolutionary Communist leadership the next jubilee held on the iron range will be one for the workers to celebrate their victory over capitalism. And now, as the bosses celebrate, is the time for workers to take the first step in preparation for their jubilee by organizing their own forces for the immediate struggle for a decent standard of living for the iron miners.

The Thirtieth Anniversary of the Death of Frederick Engels

By Herman Duncker

THIRTY years have passed since the death of Engels on August 5, 1895. Thirty years of the most stupendous developments and upheavals. Out of the capitalism of free competition there developed monopoly capitalism; out of the economically rapidly rising power of the first order Germany became a slave plantation of the entente powers: out of the revolutionary social-democracy of Germany developed a counter-revolutionary party of the petty-bourgeoisie—but out of the country which appeared to every sincere revolutionist to be the most formidable stronghold of all reaction, czarist Russia, there developed the first proletarian state of the world: the home of all homeless proletarian revolutionists of the bourgeois world, the motherland for all further Communist research, economy and politics.

The two most important points of this entire tremendous change—the dying of old capitalism as imperialism, and the disintegration of the old social-democratic labor parties in reformist opportunism, were foreseen by Engels, who outlived Marx by twelve years.

In the last edition of his pamphlet, "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science" (1891) which he himself edited, Engels strongly emphasized the development towards monopoly capitalism. Here he takes up again what he had already formulated in a most pregnant form in his first economic work "Outline for a Critique of National Economy: "Competition turns into monopoly." The concentrated capitalist socialization of the means of production presents itself to him now in form of the trust: "The whole branch of industry turns into one great stock company; national competition makes room for the national monopoly of this one company." (Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science.)

And in the scheme of social evolution which he developed at the end of his little book, Engels clearly characterized the essential signs of the present epoch of imperialism as the last epoch of the capitalist revolution before the proletarian revolution. Certainly not with the completeness with which Lenin did this later—at that time the dragon of imperialism had just emerged from its egg shell—but Lenin had only to pick up the threads of Marxian research which death had taken out of the hands of Engels.

Both Marx and Engels, in their forty years of work together, and Engels still later, kept clearly before them the opportunist dangers in the development of the workers' parties. In England, they could study at its very source the connection of monopoly profit and colonial exploitation with the "Verbuergerlichung" (the bourgeoisisation) of certain strata of the proletariat. (Compare Lenin, "Imperialism," 1916.) In the division of the labors of their Commun-

ist work, the task of watching over and keeping pure Marxist-revolutionary politics fell primarily to Engels. In countless letters and articles Engels, from his vantage-point in England, discussed and signalized the weakening of the Marxist line through the symptoms of petty-bourgeois and philistine politics. With his vital optimism, he again and again threw himself against the current of right tendencies in the Social-democratic party of Germany. In this, however, he trusted the sound revolutionary sense of the German workers and the forceful determination of its leaders, such as Bebel and others. But the fact that Engels could follow affairs in Germany only from a distance, resulted in his now and then subordinating himself to the "real politician" of the continent, in cases where energetic opposition would have been better in place. His over-optimism was punished most severely, when in 1895 the scared rabbits at the head of the Social-democratic party, by means of infamous expurgations, falsified Engel's preface to the "Class Struggles in France" into an unconditional propagation of legality. Engels spent his rage about this in private letters.

But the death of Engels, following shortly afterwards, came to the aid of the German publishers, and since that time extracts from the treacherously "corrected" preface of Engels decorate every piece of revisionist writing; it became the main theoretical prop of the politics of the reformist Social-Democratic Party of Germany from 1895 until today. As Engels was here clearly a victim of the modification tendencies in the Socialist Party of Germany, it seems monstrous that so capable a socialist historian as Max Beer could write:

"After the death of Marx, Engels strongly influenced the tactics of the socialist movement, and on the whole exercised a modifying influence."

And in his recent "History of Socialism," (1924, p. 460) Beer unfortunately besmirched his otherwise valuable work through his characterization of Engels. The old Engels is summarily stamped as a reformist and a believer in parliamentarism. "He also weakened the materialist conception of history." Revisionist "Marxian" philosophers on the other hand, damn Engels with holding too stubbornly to materialism.

As against the almost hateful way in which Beer dismisses Engels, "the adjutant of Marx"—"after all only a talent like that of Hess, Green, Luning, Proudhon, Blanc, etc." we may call attention to the testimony of Mehring, who has studied and reviewed as no other man has the intellectual labors of Marx and Engels. In the wonderful chapter, "An Unparalleled Union" (see Mehring's Biography of Marx, page 236, German edition), he says.

"Engels was never merely the interpreter and helper of

Marx, but rather an independent co-worker, a dissimilar but an equally great spirit."

No, the reformists cannot bargain Engels away from us, they cannot separate and split Marx from Engels.

But today we see more clearly than ever how Marx and Engels wrote and worked beyond their time, for a later generation. It was the great tragedy of the two founders of scientific Communism that they found all too petty a generation. And so, from 1848, they met with the bitterest disappointments: after the defeat of the 1848 revolution, there was the dispute with the ultra leftists, the faction of Willich-Schaper in the Communist League. There was the reformism in the Lassalle movement, and also much naive petty-bourgeois ideology even among the "honest" under the leadership of Bebel and Liebknecht. Then came the development of the First International, and here also the fight against opportunism cloaked in ultra leftism. Engels grimly lashed the advancing petty-bourgeois reformism in Germany in the work "The Housing Question" (1872). Both Marx and Engels directed a smashing criticism against the Gotha program. There followed the settling of accounts by Engels with the intellectual-socialism of the private lecturer at the University of Berlin, Eugene Duehring (1875). Here Engels defended Marxian socialism all along the line. Later on, there was made hardly any worth-while attempt to combat Marxism which had not already met its punishment in the "Anti-Duehring." The years of the exception laws allowed opportunist tendencies again to grow up alongside of the ultra leftist "Mostiaden." Against both of these dangers Engels tried energetically to protect the German labor movement.

"From compromise we can expect nothing—that is, from concessions to our enemies. Only through defiant opposition have we forced our enemies to respect us and have we become a power. Only power is respected, and only as long as we are a power will the philistine respect us. Whoever makes concessions to him, he despises; such a man is no longer a power."*

These are oft-repeated thoughts with Engels. Aside from that we find polemical arguments with Brentano and other professor-like distorters of Marx. The many new editions of Marx' works, the completion of the second and third volumes of "Capital," etc., put an immense burden of work upon Engels' shoulders. In the year 1884 appeared "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," by Engels, a popularization of the bigger work by Morgan. It must be stated, however, that the sociological researches of later years brought forth some new material, through which the scheme of family-development of Morgan and Engels was corrected in some details.

But "Our teaching is not a dogma, but rather a method of work!" It is according to this Marxian slogan that the life work of Engels must be viewed and evaluated. What lessons have the Bolsheviks, particularly Lenin, gained from Engels? For the most important points of Leninism, one can uncover the theoretical embryo by Engels. Thus with

*At the same time Engels already in 1873 characterized as a senseless phrase the ultra left league oath "No compromise." Lenin recalls that to our memory in an article, "About Compromises," 1917.

Lenin's presentation of the agrarian question, of the national question, of the role of the colonial peoples and the recognition of the "Verbuergerlichung" of the workers' parties by means of the sharing of workers in the super-profits of imperialism, on the question of religion, etc. It was a purely Bolshevik lesson which Engels already in 1884 clothed in the following words, often quoted by Lenin:

"In any case, our only enemy on the day of the crisis and during the days following is the brotherhood of reaction grouped about 'pure democracy.'"

Ten years ago, in the paroxysm of the world war, the social-patriots peddled old quotations from Engels, in which he defended a war against Russian czarism. But they unfortunately failed to add, that Engels was thinking only of a war on a revolutionary basis! Engels, naturally, was no pacifist, just as he was never a Social-Democrat in the real sense of the word. The year before his death, the old Communist said once more, how "unfitting" the word "Social-Democracy" was for a Party "whose economic program was not merely socialistic, but rather directly communistic, and whose political goal is the overthrow of the entire state, democracy included." (1894.)

During these days of the strengthened anti-war propaganda of the Communist International, we may well conclude with a prophetic phrase of Engels, uttered in the year 1891:

"Only a victorious revolution in Russia, which will place the destiny of the country in the hands of the people, is able to prevent the threatening world war . . . Only a victorious revolution can protect humanity from a world war."

Engels has in no way become "historical" for us. His thoughts still lighten the road, his slogans live on in Leninist form.

We do not know how the Second International, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of Engels' death, reconciles itself with his revolutionary passion and aims. Do these gentlemen really fail to see the monstrous gulf which has opened between Noske, Scheidemann and Kautsky, on the one hand, and Marx and Engels on the other? But truly, the real drama is yet to play: Karl Kautsky will call up the spirits of Marx and Engels as witnesses in his behalf for his call to a "righteous war" against Russia. Nothing protects our Marx and our Engels from such a desecration.

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

Combining
The Labor Herald, Liberator and Soviet Russia Pictorial
MAX BEDACHT, Editor.

Official Organ
The Workers Party
and
The Trade Union Educational
League

Published by
The Daily Worker Society
1113 W. Washington Blvd.
Chicago, Ill.

25 Cents a Copy
\$2.00 a Year—\$1.25 Six Months

Business Manager,
Moritz J. Loeb

The Red Horizon in England

The British Trade Union Congress at Scarborough

By Harry Pollitt

THERE can be no further doubt but what the Scarborough congress of the British Trade Union Congress has been the most important and momentous in the history of the British Trade Union Movement. For months prior to the congress there had been a carefully prepared press campaign which indicated how important to the capitalist class this congress was likely to be. The essence of the capitalist comments prior to the congress was that no doubt the "sane and moderate leaders" would again regain their control of congress and would prevent any further deviations to the left such as have characterized the movement during the last twelve months.

Not only have their hopes been dashed to the ground, but the whole proceedings at Scarborough have proved that there is now definitely in existence a growing revolutionary opinion which no intrigues or appeals to constitutional procedure could stifle.

The decisions reached at Scarborough must be judged in the light of the existing situation:—a steady rise in unemployment and an acknowledgement on all sides that this is a period of truce, only the prelude to terrific conflicts ahead, with the government making every preparation for the fight next May, when the findings of the coal commission will only be the screen used for an all-round attack upon the wages and conditions of the whole movement.

In view of this situation, it is all the more regrettable that the congress did not take a decision in favor of the affiliation of the Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement with the Local Trades Councils, and the giving of complete powers to the General Council. The discussions on these questions proved how strong the desire for craft and sectional autonomy still is; despite past experiences, no general agreement on the need for a single centralized leadership capable of mobilizing all the forces of the movement in a common struggle against the exploiters. Yet, underlying the discussion, it was quite clear that the sense of the congress as a whole was favorable to the new council exploring every avenue in order that preparations for the coming fight could be made; and if the left wing in the General Council had boldly come out and asked congress for complete power giving the urgent reasons for this step being taken, it would have been a complete counter-offensive to the right-wing who sought to get a retreat on this question by taking refuge in constitutional procedure and sectional autonomy. The left could have smashed at one blow this superficial view of the situation.

For the next day congress, by an overwhelming majority, went on record in favor of a resolution dealing with

Trade Union aims, the three fundamental points of which were:

1. The necessity of the trade unions definitely organizing in conjunction with the party of the workers for the overthrow of capitalism.
2. A declaration against co-partnership schemes and class-collaboration.
3. The setting up of factory committees as the best means of securing the unity of the workers in every struggle.

This fact alone demonstrates that the majority of the delegates fully realized the new tasks that they are confronted with.

The speeches of Comrades Brown, Tomski and Bramley indicated the importance of Britain to the international working class movement and showed that outside Russia the British movement is the real international leader. This is a position of great responsibility, but it was clearly recognized when the congress unanimously and with a mighty roar of approval endorsed all that the General Council had done during the last twelve months, both in regard to Soviet Russia and secondly in the fight for international trade union unity. The final decision of congress that the new General Council must go ahead in its task of building up an "all-in" inclusive international, is a tremendous step forward.

It can only mean that the new Council will approach the whole question from the point of view of the unification under a single international leadership of all the forces both inside Amsterdam, the Red International of Labor Unions and the trade union centers outside both Internationals. This is definitely a challenge not merely to the reactionaries of Amsterdam, but to the entire Second International whose whole practice and policy has been to isolate the revolutionary workers of all countries, and particularly of Soviet Russia, from the international trade union movement, in order that the Amsterdam international could be used by them as a weapon against the unity of the workers in the struggle against the capitalists.

This new orientation inevitably means an attack upon the whole political ground of the Second International with its reparations policy, its League of Nations identity and its policy of class collaboration, so well shown up by the Social-Democratic parties in their relations with the capitalists in every continental country.

Momentous Decisions.

THE decisions of the congress on the Dawes Plan and imperialism confront the labor party leaders with very pressing and grave problems. When the congress decided to repudiate both the Dawes Plan and the whole basis of imperialism and what it means to the subject nations, it did not do it because it desires to have separation from the Labor Party, or in order to pursue new policies as distinct from the Labor Party, but because of the disgust of the workers with the whole politics of MacDonaldism, and the

desire and determination to give an entirely new outlook to the whole of the foreign policy of the Labor Party.

The attempt to use these decisions as indicating a split between the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party is only a misrepresentation of the position. The strength and basis of the Labor Party are the trade unions. There is now a growing recognition in the unions that it is not enough to grumble and grouse at the policy pursued by Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Thomas and then leave them to carry on as usual. The experience of the labor government has made the unions realize that they must fight on these issues and then force the leaders to carry out the policy that has been decided upon by the whole movement, and where this is not done it simply means that such leaders must be swept aside.

The decisions registered at Scarborough in relation to China and the sending of delegations to India, Egypt, etc., means the recognition of our responsibilities to all colonial workers. The post-war period has demonstrated the complete break-down of the monopoly of British capitalism, and with the intensification of imperialist policy more and more are the workers of this country finding that the slave conditions of the colonial workers are the chief weapons responsible for the worsening of conditions here at home. For this reason, congress has decided that an inquiry shall be made into the conditions of our colonial comrades. This in itself is a tremendous step forward, when one considers the past insularity and dissolution of the British Movement.

These decisions mean that the new General Council has now positive tasks to carry out in regard to colonial work. They must insist upon the complete freedom of the working class for economic and political organization in every subject country. Delegations of inquiry and also organizers must be sent out to the various countries to help in the task of building up an effective working class movement. Especially should the General Council call upon its affiliated organizations who from time to time have members going out to such countries as India, Egypt, China and the Crown Colonies, to insist that such members do not go out to these countries carrying with them the same point of view as the representatives of the bourgeoisie, but that their special position in the various factories and undertakings where they go to work should be used by such members for the purposes of assisting and aiding their colonial comrades to build up fighting organizations.

The Weak Side.

THE above indicate the positive results of the Scarborough Congress, but of course it had its weak side, and in this connection three chief weaknesses were as follows:

1. The failure of congress to give an organized lead in regard to fighting the government on unemployment.
2. Its failure to deal with the seamen's strike. This failure is recognized on all hands as constituting a break in the united front of the unions against any further wage reductions. The absence of support to the strikers from the T. U. C. simply means an encouragement to the capitalist in other industries.
3. The reluctance of the left wing of the General Council to come out openly and fight the right wing on

every possible occasion. There could be no doubt that the right wing leaders, as represented by Messrs. Thomas, Clynes and Cramp, had very effectively marshalled their forces and were organized to take up the battle whenever an opportunity presented itself. They could have been completely crushed from the first day of congress to the last if the left wing on the Council had seized its opportunity, for one had only to sit in congress and to sense the feeling amongst the delegates to realize that there was a new feeling permeating the whole congress which only wanted to be well organized.

Two incidents during the chairman's speech support the above statement. One was where he said "Let the employers who think the organized working class can be driven still further back, take warning from this. This movement of ours has learned many lessons during these years of reaction engineered by the employers, and one of the lessons is that a militant and progressive policy consistently and steadily pursued is the only policy that will unite, consolidate and inspire our rank and file." And again when he said "Many of our good comrades who in the days gone by taught us to believe there was no remedy other than the abolition of capitalism seem afraid now that the system is collapsing and appeal for a united effort to patch up the system with the aid of the present possessing class." The roar of approval that greeted these sentiments indicated the rising temper of the workers.

British Labor Being Revolutionized.

TO sum up, it is clear that experience and the whole economic situation are slowly revolutionizing the masses of this country and that despite every form of intrigue and appeal to constitutional fetishism the right wing leaders are unable to stifle this revolutionary growth. There is now the greatest opportunity in our history for those leaders claiming to be left wingers to come out boldly and take a prominent place in the revolutionary movement—they must do this, or they too will be forced to take up a position no different from that of the right wing. For the Scarborough Congress has demonstrated as clear as daylight that the revolutionary workers now organized under the leadership of the National Minority Movement are a force that can no longer be stemmed by intrigue or slander; they constitute the only organized opposition working within the existing union movement and their first successes at Scarborough are merely the prelude to greater victories later on.

FROM hill-swooping farmland

A girl homeward musingly hums

To the tune and the time of the wind

A chorus of soldiers in Red.

Rumbling from afar

Proletarian drums

Beat out the past, the long-dead,

O. Re.n.

The War Against the Riffs and the Socialist Party of France

By Andre Marty---Paris

THE Painleve government decided under the hypocritical formula: "Respect for treaties and the sovereignty of the Sultan!" (an insignificant puppet of the French government) to carry on war against the Riffs. It could not have been otherwise. When among the most important members of a ministry there are men such as Briand, an upstart adventurer, Caillaux, a typical banker, Schrameck, a born policeman and Steeg, a slave-holder, the hand of capital does not need to pull very hard on the wires with which it controls its marionettes, in order to guide them as it desires; a breath is sufficient.

Every bourgeois government of this country feels itself compelled to destroy the Riffs by military means and by the blockade, for the following chief reasons:

1. The greed of the banks desires at last to "bestow peace"—as they call it—on Morocco, so that they can exploit it to their heart's content.

2. The free Republic of the Riffs would spur on all the oppressed Arabian peoples of North Africa, Morocco and Tunis to a revolutionary fight for freedom. This however would be a fearful blow to imperialism, especially to the French.

This is why the bourgeois government felt compelled at a moment's notice to carry on war to the end. The leaders of the Socialist Party (including Blum, Renaudel, Bedouce) who really belong to the left wing of the bourgeoisie, have joined in.

The attitude of the socialists was dictated by their anxiety to remain a government party. Why? Because since May 11, 1924, the Socialist Party (S. F. I. O.) has, with almost incredible rapidity, drawn close to the bourgeoisie.

When it became a government party, it attracted a large number of electors of the cartel who took their cards of membership not out of enthusiasm for the Socialist Party, but to ensure for themselves the protection of the mighty ones of the day. In numerous communities it has absorbed those "radical" elements, which form a number of election committees, but no party. Many young lawyers and young doctors "with a brilliant future" have joined the party and, in the majority of the socialist provincial section, a "brilliant" general staff discusses policy from the point of view of merchants, which has nothing at all in common with the "empty and interminably long discussions of old Guesde who only began to realize the seriousness of the times in the fire of war." (These are the words of a young and "brilliant" advocate of the Socialist Party). As early as ten months ago—on the occasion of voting with regard to the secret funds—

this development became clear in the eyes of those who are less informed. Today it alarms even the old socialists to such a degree that one of them (on June 12, in a Leaflet of the S. F. I. O.) writes as follows:

"It (the S. F. I. O.) is assuming more and more the aspect of a bourgeois democratic party of the Left."

A dreadful saying, for it takes up again Zinoviev's thesis, about which there was such a hue and cry years ago and according to which Social Democracy is classified as belonging to the left of the bourgeoisie and not to the right of the proletariat. (A propos that party comrade of Renaudel may have been accused by Renaudel of having sold himself to Moscow.)

The socialist leaders are in a dilemma from which they see no issue.

The one possibility is for them to continue to support the government; in this case they risk losing their last Labor elements which will go over to the Communists. Renaudel does not seem to mind very much, as he showed at the session of the Chamber on May 27, when he said to our Comrade Doriot: "Let them go to you."

And Poucet, in order to emphasize his contempt for the working class added (session of the Chamber on the 27th of May):

"We shall not lose much by it."

It does not matter to them if a few workers leave the party; the support of those in power today will bring them a number of new place-hunters which will exceed the number of those departing.

The other possibility is for them to join the opposition; then however, they will become an election party and a void will be formed, as they will have no chance of rising, the party will be discouraged, and the really revolutionary workers will, more than ever, go over to the Communists.

This is the reason for the vacillating, oscillating attitude of the Socialist Party since the end of May. Their fraction in Parliament which is guiding them, and that dictatorially (see the last National Council) has allowed its internal dissensions and its confusion in all votings since that of May 29 with regard to the Morocco question to become evident, on the one hand by violent disputes in the full hall of assembly as to the division on May 29 for the government (six refraining from voting), or especially at the session of June 16, when there were two socialist votes for the Communists, 84 abstained from voting and 17 gave nationalist votes (!) Finally at the last division on July 9 with re-



Renaudel, the French "socialist," who is supporting the French bankers in their war on the natives of "French" Morocco. Saying that he "recognizes the right of France to 'protect' her colonies." Renaudel, together with other of his party "comrades," opposes the withdrawal of the French troops and bombing planes from the territory of the Riffians.

gard to credits for the Morocco war, the socialists refrained from voting, but emphatically declared—through Blum—that this indicated no lack of confidence in the government, and that they were opposed to the evacuation of Morocco.

Be it remarked that abstaining from voting is the normal refuge of those who are too cowardly to take sides. These persons who reproach the Communists with "thinking," funk a discussion in which it is a case of pronouncing a clear and consistent opinion on so simple a question as that of Morocco.

In recent times there has been talk of the formation of a "Left" in the Socialist Party which is grouped around Bracke's periodical, "Spark." This opinion has been confirmed by the fact that our press has published resolutions against Morocco which were signed by the socialist sections. The name "Left" seems to me incorrect. The name, however, which was recently taken by a fraction of the socialist section of Beziers, is much more exact: "resisters." The group of "Spark" is really trying to "resist" Renaudel, but—in favor of Bracke. It feels that the party will be compelled to join the parliamentary opposition, as Painleve and Briand have contemptuously declared that they can do without the socialists. The financial projects of M. Caillaux which have been opposed to those of M. Vincent Auriol (socialist) are evidence of the poor opinion which the government has of the socialists.

In any case the support of the socialists is of no use to the government, indeed in a certain sense it interferes with the termination of the war; they are therefore turned out of the majority.

The "resisters" are therefore trying to overthrow Renaudel and to replace him by Bracke and Blum as they fear

that the present tactics of the party will only bring them the real hostility of the working class and still more of the reformist trade unions of the industrial districts and will drive the workers to the revolutionary trade unions, to the C. G. T. U., or to the Communist Party, thus leaving the Socialist Party as a handful of intellectuals and functionaries.

If this new formation were a socialist Left, if it were Marxist, as it claims to be, it would not be content to demand peace in general terms, but it would have to demand the military evacuation of Morocco and to recognize the right of independence of the colonies. It would not even have to make these demands according to Lenin, but simply according to Paul Lafargue who, in 1883 wrote from the prison of Ste. Pelagie:

"The manufacturers travel through the world to find markets for their accumulated goods, they compel their governments to annex the Congo, to take possession of Tonkin, to make a breach in the Chinese Wall by cannonade, in order to sell their cotton products there. In the last century there was a mortal duel between France and England as to which of the two should have the exclusive right of a market for its goods in America and India. Thousands of young, strong men stained the sea red with their blood during the colonial wars of the 15th, 17th and 18th centuries.

"There is a surplus of capital as of goods. The financiers do not know where to invest it; they go therefore to the 'fortunate' nations and build railways for them, construct factories and bring them the curse of work. And this export of French capital ends one fine day in diplomatic complications; in Egypt, France, England and Germany were on the point of flying at one another in order to know which employer should be paid first; or by the war in Mexico whither French soldiers were sent in order to get the debts paid through armed intervention. . ."

If there were a Marxist Left in the party of the S. F. I. O., they would on the strength of these words of Lafargue insist upon the application of the proposal of the Federation of the S. F. I. O. of the Seine, dated May 10th, 1911, i. e., the evacuation of the country of Fez.

But these brave socialist resisters do not even dare to demand that the right of self-determination of peoples should be observed, for they are against the evacuation of "French" (!) Morocco. In order to justify this scandalous claim, they speak of the "rights earned by the French in their colonies." (Auguste Reynaud, du Var). Everyone knows that in the colonies the soil was taken from the natives by brute force. Only recently, last November, the "Petit Oranais" revealed the scandal of the expropriation of the Zerruki tribe who, when it made claims before the administration of Mascara (Algiers), was simply driven back by the Spahis with fire-arms. Comrade Jacques Doriot, in his brochure on the Morocco war has described how Captain Huot plundered the Bendjates in Morocco and then drove them off their own soil. In that the "Left" does not demand the evacuation of Morocco, it condones the brutal exploitation of the colonial peoples. It tries to be pacifist and to draw the whole party into pacifism, but it recognizes the right to "protect" the colonies; it is therefore fundamentally imperialist and slave-trading.

The Counter-Revolutionary Role of Zionism

By Karolsky--Warsaw

IN spite of its reactionary and utopian character, Zionism, up to the time of the world war, did not constitute any particular danger to the working class. It was only during and particularly after the war that Zionism came forward openly upon the world stage as the trusty weapon of reaction. Nevertheless, already before the war revolutionary Marxism opposed Zionism and exposed it as a specifically Jewish variety of the darkest reaction.

The world war opened up wider perspectives for the "creative positive" work of Zionism. The international band of robbers, in the process of "liberation" and the fight for the freedom of small nations, did not forget the children of Israel. Albion entered the lists as the knight errant of the "honest defenders" of the suppressed and persecuted. Even during the world war England, through the mouth of Lord Balfour, promised to set up a national home for the Jews in Palestine. But the real aims of England in pursuing this Jewish policy were disclosed a few years ago by Winston Churchill at an interview:

"Among the Jews of the present day there are three tendencies: Zionism, Conservatism and Bolshevism. England desires to make use of the first of these tendencies in order to be the better able to deal with the other two."

Relentlessly and regardless of all obstacles, England is realizing this plan formulated by Churchill. Under the cloak of the "Home for the Jews" in Palestine and with the help of the Zionists, England in the last seven years has created a powerful strategic and politico-economic basis for her hegemony and for the enslavement of the awakening Near East. Right in the midst of the enslaved Arabian tribes, England has placed her watch dog who keeps careful watch over its mistress' property. And thus in the Near East Zionism represents a synonym of English imperialism, of the enslavement and suppression of the national liberation movement of the Arabs. There the struggle is already raging along the whole line.

BUT it is not only in the Near East that Zionism is acting as the outpost of world reaction.

During the present year Zionism, at the command of London, has also been carrying on its "benevolent" activity in Central Europe. Zionism is being converted into one of the many tools with the help of which England is consolidating her hegemony upon the Continent. English policy in Europe is pursuing two main aims:

1. To undermine French hegemony upon the Continent (by depriving France of her vassals by means of financial pressure).

2. To set up a united political-economic front against the Union of Soviet Republics. (By drawing Germany and the Little Entente into the orbit of English policy).

Such an important plan cannot be realized all at once. But the whole powerful diplomatic apparatus of England is working in this direction. In the first six months of 1925 the influence of England greatly increased in the Balkan countries and in the Baltic States. It is now the turn of Poland. The difficulties confronted here are the antagonisms between Poland and Germany (the question of the corridor, of the frontiers, etc.). And here, again, London is taking the initiative in bringing about a "reconciliation" (the abolition of the corridor and the creation of a passage to the sea at the cost of Lithuania, which, as a recompense, could receive Vilna).

In order to consolidate and extend her position in Poland, England is again seeking to make use of the Zionists. She is pressing for a Polish-Jewish reconciliation. Today we are

faced with the fact of the complete agreement of the Jewish plutocracy and bourgeoisie—in the shape of their political advance guard, of Zionism, with Poland, the classic land of anti-Jewish pogroms.

Zionism is for the second time showing to the world its true features: as the obedient tool of English imperialism in the forging of the counter-revolutionary chain for the broad masses of the people.

The Polish-Jewish compromise had the following concrete results:

1. The breaking through of the common front of all the national minorities (Ukrainians, white Russians, Latvians and Germans) in the fight against Polish imperialism, and unconditional defense of the existing state of affairs.

2. Political strengthening of the English position in Poland.

3. As a result, the prevention of the intended approach to Russia on the part of Poland.

4. Formation of a bloc with the Polish reaction, strengthening (both inside and outside of parliament) of the reactionary policy of the Polish nobles.

5. Strengthening of the international political and financial position of Poland by active participation in obtaining loans for the Polish government.

The delegates to the International Zionist Congress in Vienna arranged a triumphal reception for the representative of the Polish government. This at a time when the persecution of the poor Jews in Poland is in full swing, at a time when the Jewish workers are being thrown out of the State factories in masses, at a time when the legal inequality of the Jews has not been lessened in a single department of social life. In return for a few crumbs from the lordly table (concessions to traders and employers), the Zionists have, under pressure from London, absolutely changed their attitude towards the Polish reaction.

The Zionist press in America welcomed Count Skrzynski in the most charming manner and facilitated his efforts to obtain a loan. One of these journals wrote:

"... Count Skrzynski has buried the hatchet between the Jews and the Polish government and is striving for a friendly co-operation between the Jews and the Poles."

Following the example of Massaryk, who recently in his book, "The World Revolution" set forth in detail how greatly his coquetting with the Jewish plutocracy has helped him to obtain his political successes, Count Skrzynski wrote an affectionate letter to the Zionist leader N. Sokolov, in which he, "in the name of the Polish government, assured him of the highest sympathy for Zionism." The Polish government is jubilant because it has for many years "supported" Zionism, and it would eagerly welcome the Zionist "solution" of the Jewish question, namely, the driving of the masses of the poor Jews to Palestine.

That is not all. The Zionists, in triumphing over the Jewish-Polish reconciliation, which has been brought about by their slavish attitude towards England and Poland, are kindling the flames of anti-semitism among the Ukrainian and White Russian peoples. Thanks to the treachery of the Zionists, the nationalists among these peoples are now conducting a campaign not only against the Zionists but against the Jews in general.

The poor Jews have to bear the consequences of the shameful acts of the Zionists. The Zionists, in issuing despicable declarations to the effect that they will defend the present frontiers of Poland, are acting just like cynical business people. Their leader, Dr. Ton, declared:

"We Jews (that is the business people. K.) are interested in the country having extensive frontiers, in order to widen the field of activity for commerce and economic development."

True disciples of Chamberlain! Zionism is slavishly carrying out the work of world reaction. But it is not identical with the Jewish working class and with the Jewish poor. In spite of such figures as Dr. Ton, Sokolov, etc., there are rising from the masses of the Jewish people heroic champions as Friedmann in Bulgaria, Botwin in Poland and thousands of others who are fighting under the red flag of the Comintern.

History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

(Continued from the September Issue.)

The Bolsheviks and the Russo-Japanese War.

LET us now turn our attention to the social democratic camp. The Bolsheviks unhesitatingly expressed themselves in favor of the decisive defeat of czarist Russia. When Iskra, which had already turned Menshevik (after Comrade Lenin's resignation, and Plekhanov's invitation to four Mensheviks to collaborate with him on the paper), came out with the slogan of "Peace at any price," the Bolsheviks took exception to this slogan as incorrect. We are not for peace at any price, they said, we are not pacifists. There are wars which, in their final results, work out to the advantage of the people. Thus, already at that time in the "Weltanschauung" of Bolshevism its future ideology was visible in embryo: the transformation of imperialist wars into civil war.

The Menshevik Position.

The Mensheviks, albeit not without some hesitation, had also adopted the defeatist position. At the international socialist congress held in Amsterdam, in 1904, where our Party was represented by a dual delegation—an official one, headed by the Mensheviks, (since they were in control of the central organ of the party), and our Bolshevik delegation, small in numbers, not officially recognized and seated with an advisory voice alone,—at this congress Plekhanov met Katakayama, our comrade of today, who is known to many of you, and who was attending the congress as representative of the Japanese movement. A fraternization scene between the two was staged, and they embraced amid the enthusiastic shouts of the entire congress, which met Plekhanov's defeatist speech with thunderous applause. The scene is described by the latter as follows:

"I said that in the event of the conquest of Japan by the czarist government it would again be the Russian people who were conquered. . . . Making use of the intoxication of victory, the triumphant czarist government would then be enabled to tighten the fetters with which it held the country enchained. I recalled to the congress the historical truth, unfortunately incontrovertible, that the foreign policy of the czarist government had long been a policy of pillage and plunder; that this government invariably attempted to subjugate those neighboring peoples which were not strong enough to offer a formidable resistance, and that it had surrounded the Russian people with a chain of conquered nations which were returning as hatred all that had been inflicted upon them in the form of oppression. And I added that from a policy of this nature the Russian people were

not the least, and perhaps even the greatest sufferers of all, since no country can be free that serves as an instrument for the oppression of its neighbors. . . . As I spoke, I was conscious that I was expressing the thoughts and the feelings of the overwhelming mass of the Russian people. Never yet had the voice of Russian social democracy been in so great a measure the voice of the Russian people."

The whole of the Second International, as represented at the Amsterdam Congress, subscribed to the statement of the Menshevik leader that he would reckon the victory of the czarist government a defeat for the Russian people. Thus under pressure of the whole revolutionary situation, and the fact that even the bourgeoisie was in a defeatist frame of mind, the Mensheviks, too, adopted the defeatist position.

The Treachery of the Mensheviks.

All the foregoing details must be held in mind in order to arrive at a clear understanding of the treachery of the Mensheviks at the time of the war of 1914-1917, when they tried to make it appear as though the defeatist position that we adopted were an unspeakable betrayal of the Russian people. And later, in the July days of 1917, they even went so far as to swear that our defeatism was well paid for. In any case, this chapter in Russian history is of the first significance, bringing to light, as it does, the interesting fact that the Russian bourgeoisie, in the days when they had not yet come to power and the landowners were still on top, were themselves of extremely defeatist tendencies. But today, Martov, reviewing the past in his "History of Russian Social Democracy," endeavors to disown the defeatist position of the Mensheviks during the war. He writes:

"As soon as, following the failures of the Russian army, a typically defeatist attitude developed among liberal society and in revolutionary circles, and the hope grew stronger that continued military disaster would deal a mortal blow to czarism almost without any new effort upon the part of the Russian people; as soon as there commenced to be manifested a certain "Japanophilism" and idealization of the role that Japanese imperialism was playing in the war,—Iskra (that is, the Mensheviks, under whose control the paper then was) came out against defeatism, and in defense of the position that it was to the interest of the people and of the revolution that the war should not end by imposing heavy sacrifices upon Russia, and that freedom would not be brought to the Russian people on the bayonets of the Japanese."

Japanophilism and the Bolsheviks.

Martov is obviously beclouding the issue, and now, turning to the past, is attempting to exculpate his revolution-

ary sins in the eyes of the bourgeoisie. He intentionally confuses two questions, when he speaks of "Japanophilism" and of the fact that Iskra fought against it. The pro-Japanese position had absolutely nothing in common with defeatism. During the war, when the Japanese were battling with the troops of the Russian czar, certain circles of liberal society (the students in particular) went so far, it was rumored, as to send a telegram to the mikado of Japan. This rumor is not fully authenticated, but it was circulated by the czarist press and given wide publicity. In any case, we revolutionaries came out against any existing symptoms of "Japanophilism." We said: The Japanese monarch is not in the slightest degree better than our Russian one, and we have no expectation that he will bring us freedom on the bayonets of his soldiers. And, from this point of view, we condemned every excess on the part of the liberal bourgeoisie, and the superficial student revolutionaries, who, if they did not actually send, doubtless intended to send, the telegram to the emperor of Japan. In this sense Martov was correct: yes, we were against "Japanophilism," but we did stand for the defeat of the czarist armies, and Martov is deliberately mixing up the cards when he writes as follows:

"The leader of the Finnish 'Activists,' who later headed the Finnish government, in 1905—Konni Zilliakus—openly proposed to Plekhanov as well as to the foreign representatives of the Bund, that they enter into negotiations with the agents of the Japanese government in regard to aid for the Russian revolution in the form of money and arms."

Martov adds that this proposal was rejected. This is true. When the Russian revolutionaries, and even a section of the Russian bourgeoisie, came out definitely as defeatists, the Japanese and some of their agents tried to hook us with the following bait: Since you are in favor of the defeat of the czar, we will be glad to support you with money and arms. It goes without saying that a proposal of this nature met with indignant refusal on the part of our organization, and of all honest revolutionaries, as well as on the part of Plekhanov and the Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks said: We are against the Russian czar, but that does not mean that we are for the Japanese emperor. But this did not in the least hinder all of us—and at that date the Mensheviks, as well—from being defeatists.

The Growth of the Liberal Movement.

As events called forth by the Russo-Japanese war developed, the liberal movement also grew and broadened out. There arose not only great strike movements among the workers, not only a student movement, but also the beginning of concerted action among the Zemstvo-liberals, who recognized that the autocracy had gotten into something from which there was no extricating itself. The liberal bourgeoisie felt that the war would inevitably bring a constitution, just as the Crimean war had brought in its wake the liberation of the peasants in 1861. And the more the Japanese defeated the armies of the czar, the more clearly the autocracy revealed itself as a Colossus with feet of clay, the more bold and even arrogant did the Russian bourgeoisie become, thanks to the correlation of social forces at the moment. And furthermore, having once summoned up courage, it began to organize with remarkable rapidity, this organization naturally assuming its own proper forms. In

the case of the working class, when it begins to emerge from the womb, the movement ordinarily takes the form of strikes, of mass demonstrations—and then, of armed insurrection. But the liberal bourgeoisie have other methods of combat: meetings, banquets and petitions. The leading Zemstvo members, among whom were a number of noble birth, carried on a systematic campaign in the gubernya (state) Zemstvo assemblies, bringing in resolutions which they called "addresses," and which after covering them with their signatures, they presented to the czar. In these addresses they told him that he must give heed to the consensus of public opinion, to "the voice of the country," i.e. to their voice, and grant the people a constitution, summoning them, the Zemstvo liberals, to power. This Zemstvo movement soon attained its culminating point, which took the form of sending a deputation to the czar. And this was all that the liberals could effect.

The Mutual Relations of Working Class and Bourgeoisie in 1904.

In connection with the awakening of the bourgeoisie to political life, of which there had been no signs in Russia up to that time, there once more arose, and with particular acuteness, the question of the relation of the working class to the bourgeoisie, that same fundamental question which we meet with at every stage of the Party, and to which, in the last analysis, all our differences of opinion with the Mensheviks are attributable. This question arose already as we have seen, in connection with legal Marxism, in the struggle with the populists, with Struve, and with the economists, as well as at the Second Congress of the Party, when on the one hand, the Lenin-Plekhanov resolution was presented, and, on the other, that of Martov and his followers. And now, in 1904, the question arose for the first time not merely as a theoretical problem, but as a political question, and as a supremely urgent immediate issue: The liberal bourgeoisie had gotten into motion, and the working class was faced with the decision as to what attitude to adopt, in the circumstances, to the bourgeoisie. And here, again, as on former occasions, was revealed an immense gulf between ourselves and the Mensheviks.

The Mensheviks drew up a plan for the so-called "Zemstvo campaign," which came to this: In view of the fact that everywhere there were going on meetings of the liberal Zemstvo representatives to discuss the Russian situation and send petitions to the czar, it was the duty of the working class, according to the Mensheviks, to send their own representatives to these gatherings with instructions to assure the nobility and the liberal bourgeoisie of the workers' support and co-operation if they would energetically prosecute their petition campaign. The Mensheviks laid special stress upon the fact that the workers must not frighten the liberal bourgeoisie by extravagant proletarian demands. The Menshevik Iskra wrote plainly and openly as follows:

"Surveying the arena of the struggle in Russia, what do we see? Only two forces: The czarist autocracy, and the liberal bourgeoisie, which has organized, and now possesses a great degree of cohesion. As against this, the worker mass is disorganized, and can accomplish nothing. As an independent force we do not exist, and our task, therefore, lies in lending support to the second force—the liberal bourgeoisie

(Continued on page 574)

Reviews

"Fairy Tales for Workers' Children." By Herminia Zur Muhlen, translated from the German by Ida Dailles; cover drawings and color plates by Lydia Gibson; published by the Daily Worker Publishing Co., Chicago.

THIS book is the first fine achievement in publication I have seen come out of the Workers' Party headquarters since the intelligent and necessary policy of centralization of all Party press work went into effect.

It is handsomely printed and bound; no good printer would be ashamed to own it as his handiwork. The translation is a just one, and has been rendered in clean, precise, colorful English; a simple prose intended for children, but with the virtues of the best prose in this field, which has never been sentimental or puerile, but has been of the quality of Dean Swift and Daniel De Foe.

The German drawings have been retained, and they are strong and imaginative, with a marked flavor of German expressionism that makes them rich and dynamic. Lydia Gibson's contributions to the book are some of the best examples I have seen of this comrade's work; I like her bold, vivid decorations, so like poster art, or folk-art; massive and simple, direct as a child's mind, and therefore appealing to children.

An adequate job all around. A genuinely interesting book, worth buying for its own sake, and not because buying it may be felt to be one's Communist duty. Too much bad writing, ignorant translating, wretched drawing, and sloppy printing and proof-reading and book-binding has been palmed off on the revolutionary movement in America in the past, until many workers have come to believe that sloppiness, dullness and amateurishness are permanent attributes of the red press. This is not true. A workers' movement will of necessity be crude and immature in many of its manifestations, for it is working in the virgin soil of a new and experimental world. It has not the intellectual or technical means to compete with the finest art of the bourgeois world. It must make mistakes; it must have time to learn, but there should be no forgiveness when it seems lazy or indifferent in its productions. The Communist world has the right to demand the very best work of all connected with it; and it should set itself the highest standards of which it is capable. Anything less is an insult to Communism. I was therefore delighted when I examined this children's book, for it seemed to me to indicate an advance in the publication standards of the Party, which means an advance in its propaganda value in America. Someone has evidently begun to do intelligent thinking at Party headquarters in the matter of publication—that most important matter for Communism. This book is a first result.

Herminia Zur Muhlen, the author, is an active German comrade who has translated all of Upton Sinclair and other American writers into German. She has done a great deal of writing for the Party press in Germany, and has been closely bound up in the Party life and problems. This means that she has had the right background for an author of stories for workers' children. She knows, as she knows the fingers of her hand, the life of the worker and his child.

She is not a bourgeois author condescending in a moment of Christian charity to bring a little bourgeois "sweetness and light" to the proletariat. She knows that "sweetness and light" will not help the child of a worker to understand the harsh, bloody life into which he has been born, nor help him grow into the mass spirit that can alone save him from despair in his situation. The book is not a collection of the usual feeble-minded bedtime stories with which children are lulled to sleep, and their minds lulled to sleep, too, but it partakes of the nature of the best of the new workers' art: it stirs the child's mind to questioning, and it answers some of his questions. "Why, why, why?" little Paul, the orphan, is always asking in the last story in the book. "Why have I no parents? Why did they die? Why did the Lord will it?" (someone tried to pass off that pious and fraudulent answer to him). "Why do you hit me?"

He asks the hen: "Who eats all your eggs?" The hen answers: "The rich people in the city." "But why can't I have an egg, too? I am also hungry!" The hen cannot answer him. The farmer has twelve cows. "Does he drink all the milk?" the boy asks one of the cows. "No, it is sold in the city, to make delicious whipped cream for the children of the rich." "Why can't the poor children have some, too?" asks Paul.

"Does everything in this world belong to the rich people?" the boy asks of the wheat, which is to be made into white bread for the rich. "Yes, everything, everything," the ears of wheat buzz and murmur with the wind. "But why, why?" persists the boy.

He finds a wise old Owl, a deeply-read, intellectual, liberal Owl who grows angry at his endless whys as to poverty.

"Didn't I tell you, you stupid little imp, that I have been thinking about this question for years and years? Come back in eighty years from now, perhaps I will answer you then . . ."

"But why . . .?"

The Owl grows very indignant and sends him to the Cuckoo. But he meets a Dryad on the way, and she teaches him to hear thousands of voices of workers' children all over the world, all of them crying, sobbing, murmuring, threatening, "Why? why? why?"

And the Dryad tells little Paul to go among the poor people, and teach them to ask "Why? Why? Why?"

"Ask them these questions so long and so often that they will fall on the structure of injustice like a hammer and smash it."

Another story is about a Rosebush that belonged to a fat, silk-clad lady of the upper class; and the Wind, who is a restless agitator, teaches the Rosebush to go on strike, and to bloom only for the proletariat.

Then there is the little Sparrow who flew and flew across the seas until he died of storm and cold in his search for a sunnier land in winter for his fellow-sparrows. And the story of the Little Grey Dog who saved the life of the Negro slave boy who had been kind to him. Charming stories, full of fantasy and humor, yet with the grim undertone of proletarian life running through them. Sentimentalists will believe that children should not be taught these bitter lessons that their fathers have learned in life; "do not wake

the little flowers out of their beautiful childhood dreams, their golden child paradise."

Yes, all children live in dream world, but the rough, cruel wind of reality is always blowing through that world for workers' children. These do not dwell in a paradise; very often they are hungry, very often they go to work at the age of nine or ten; they see crime and misery about them, and it is well that they be taught the meaning of these things. It is a great mistake to treat children as imbeciles; they are in reality more interested in truth than their staled elders. Stories for workers' children must have all the imagination of great art; but they must also present the truth; they must not be mushy or false to life.

We want to breed proletarian heroes and thinkers in our children; not petty white collar clerks, or smart business men, or tame doctors, lawyers and teachers; which is the ambition of so many proletarian parents in a bourgeois country.

And these stories will help in the breeding of new children for a new world. My only criticism of them is, firstly; that they were written for German children, and many of the details are not typical of America; for everyone eats white bread here, not the rich alone; as a symbol of wealth white bread means nothing in America.

My other criticism is that the stories have a slight atmosphere of slave wistfulness, depression and yearning about them. The proletariat must grow away from the mood of Christian slave-revolt; it is already doing so in Russia, it must do it elsewhere. We must teach proletarian children that they are to be the collective masters of their world, and that the vast machinery of modern life is to be their plaything, their creative material. We must fill them with energy and courage, and the boundless, creative determination that comes with the feeling that one is a master, not a slave.

But perhaps that mood will come in Germany and America as it came to Russia, only after the revolution. Meanwhile, these stories ought to be in every worker's home where there are children, for they will kindle a spark that may grow into a flame in the future. The Communist movement is in the world to stay; it is not a fly-by-night venture, but the bridge to the future; and the children are that future.

I hope some American writer will turn his mind to children's stories, too, and that the Party press will print them as handsomely as it has printed these. And I hope the newly-awakened intelligence at the publication centre will go out and find some of the young poets, novelists, painters, playwrights and others who are feeling their way to Communism in America, and will print their work, too. The Communist Party is not a political Party merely competing for votes with other parties; it is much more than that, it is the mass-creator of a new world.

Comrade Zur Mühlen's stories are part of the art of that world. They will help kill the reactionary myths that are now pumped into children's minds—the Cinderella, Prince Charming, and King and Queen stories that have come to us from the old feudal world, and that still influence the children of workers.

Michael Gold.

"The Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880-1923." By Dr. Leo Wolman. National Bureau of Economic Research, New York City.

"THE Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880-1923" by Dr. Wolman is a statistical study in a field as yet little touched by research. The data on hand on the various phases of union development is meagre. The Federation of Labor whose duty it should be to engage in comprehensive research in the struggles of the workers from the earliest times has, to its shame, practically ignored the whole subject. Labor-banking schemes and "B. & O. plans" are more profitable. Hence we must have recourse for such data to bourgeois statisticians who make it their business to place at the disposal of the Bureau of Economic Research facts on the labor movement which may be utilized by the employers against the organized workers. The Bureau of Economic Research is an avowed capitalist organization, openly supported by them. The fact that a few labor misleaders are on the board of directors only emphasizes its basic policy of class collaboration—on the basis of capitalism.

There is an important chapter on the changes in union membership from 1880 to 1923. The figures given prove what is widely believed; that membership in unions is not stationary but varies in accordance with the capitalist cycle of depression, boom, over-production, crisis, etc. For some unions the changes in membership are enormous. The Machinists, Boilermakers and Railway Carmen's Unions grew from a few thousand members in 1900 to 200,000 in 1917, and exceeded 850,000 members in 1920. Since then a continuous drop set in, reducing the membership in 1923 to 275,000—a change, in three years, of 575,000 organized workers.

There is also a chapter on the extent of labor organization from 1910 to 1920 which illustrates the proportions of organized workers in both decades. A survey of the number of persons engaged in gainful occupations is made, and Dr. Wolman comes to the conclusion that the total number of wage earners, both hand and brain, as distinguished from the bourgeois group is over 26,000,000. Other investigators place the figure at 29,000,000. It will be seen that hardly one-sixth of the organizable workers in the United States are unionized. Labor banking is more profitable than organization.

Statistics on the number of organized female workers are also given, besides detailed tables in the Appendix on the numerical development of the unions. As is quite usual with bourgeois statisticians, Dr. Wolman lacks the courage to come to any conclusions. The book, although written for bourgeois purposes, can be utilized with advantage by the Communist student of labor problems.

M. Wilgus.

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YOUR SUB EXPIRES

A POET'S NEW MESSAGE

Poems for the New Age, by Simon Felshin. Published by Thomas Seltzer, New York, price one dollar.

WE rarely find in this country books of poetry in which the fighting dawn of a new age breaks. The poems of Simon Felshin signalize the dawning of the new age. In the poems of Felshin there is expressed the brutal force of the working class. In the whole book there are a few dissonances, it is true, but that is not because of the changing moods of the poet, but rather because of the wide range covered. We can excuse in Felshin the fact that he began by striking the individual strings of such sentimental poems as My Father and My Mother, for he has finally towered up to the poems Moscow and New York, in which the melody of life is uplifted into a symphony.

Felshin does not bother with the affectation of rhymes, but he does not in his manner go to the extreme of an Ezra Pound. What he wants to say he has expressed in very simple language. The feelings of the poet in those poems in which he speaks of the revolution are strictly disciplined. The emotion of the poet is bound by a framework within which is the vision, the picture. He does not agitate by means of proletarian marching songs, but hammers out his Communist feelings in pictures. The young fighting spirit rings from his words.

Moscow, New York, Venice, Versailles, Paris, Niagara are lit up before us; the visages of Lenin, Liebknecht, Radek, Sen Katayama, John Reed and Raymond Lefebvre appear and disappear, each of them an experience, a vision, a realization . . . Men and cities—but they are all only symbols of an age which is going down—his hope and promise is in Moscow—The Red City.

To retain a feeling of uniformity in the book the earlier individualist poems might have been left out, or at least the dates given for the writing of these earlier poems. But the book in the form in which it is, is a very encouraging sign for the future. There is no doubt that Felshin will sing with the voice of the new age the song of the revolting proletariat going into battle.

John Lassen.

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History of the Russian Communist Party (Continued from page 570)

—to encourage them, and under no circumstances to frighten them by putting forward our own independent proletarian demands.”

From this presentation of the question the Menshevik scheme of things stands out with special sharpness: the working class, as an independent force, must be stricken out of calculation, only two forces being retained in view—the czar and the liberal bourgeoisie. Which of these is better? The liberal bourgeoisie, of course. And, this being the case, well—come on—let us give them our support. In this presentation of the question, the opportunism of the Mensheviks is given definite expression, and their course stands clearly revealed; for a bloc, for a union with the bourgeoisie, and no independent role for the working class.

The Position of Comrade Lenin.

Bolshevism, in the person of Comrade Lenin, came out resolutely against this plan of the Mensheviks, the first practical difference of opinion following the Second Congress. In this connection Comrade Lenin wrote a series of articles and brochures, which may be considered as the first important political documents of Bolshevism, and which should be studied by everyone who wishes to understand the history of our party.

Comrade Lenin, replying to the Mensheviks, said: You demand from us that we do not frighten the liberals, and the liberally-inclined gentlemen, but in reality you are scaring yourselves with the phantom of a scared liberal. You declare that two forces alone must be kept in consideration—the czarist autocracy and the liberal gentlemen—but you have forgotten something, you have not been very observant, for beside these forces, there is another one as well—tremendous, decisive, sovereign; the working class, which has organized, and which, notwithstanding that its party is an underground one, that every step it makes is met with the knout, is nevertheless the chief motive force of the revolution. You have forgotten that the proletariat has its own independent aims, and not only the choice of either the czar or Rodichev, either the czarist monarchy or a liberal constitution; you have forgotten that it has its own road to follow, leading towards union with the peasantry, to a real popular revolution, which will tear out the monarchy by its roots, will burn out the last vestige of feudalism, and will constitute the first step toward an authentic proletarian revolution.

And, taking as a basis these words of Comrade Lenin, we Bolsheviks advanced an alternative plan: When the bourgeoisie begins to yelp about the feet of the monarchy, and to make pretense of fighting it, at this moment we must come forward as an independent force, go out into the streets, break into the police stations, etc. The latter project was especially displeasing to the Mensheviks, and they began to ridicule us. What do you think we are? Thugs? Is this really revolutionary work, to break into police stations? In their estimation, it was infinitely more important to go to the gubernya (state) meetings of liberal gentlemen, and

give them support, “without frightening them.” In a word, the question may be stated as follows: Would the working class play an independent role in the revolution, or would it remain merely an appendage of the liberal bourgeoisie? Would it merely supplement the bourgeoisie as its left wing, or, on the contrary, would it be an independent and the leading force of the revolution, by the intervention of which would be effected a definite realignment in the correlation of class forces?

The Break with the Mensheviks.

It was during the period of the Zemstvo campaign, when the position of the Mensheviks and their tactic of support of and union with the bourgeoisie became fully revealed, that Parvus and Comrade Trotzky, who had up till then given them support, broke with them. And now Bolshevism began to grow in strength, since there began to come over to it all those revolutionaries and workers who had till then believed that all our differences had arisen only over nothings and unimportant details, but who now became convinced that not secondary questions were involved, but the historic role of the working class in the revolution, in other words—the essential character of the Russian revolution—would it be an ordinary bourgeois revolution, as had been those of 1848 and earlier, or would it be a revolution of a new type, with the working class as principal motive force and leader? At this juncture, I repeat, there commenced in Bolshevism the process of consolidation, and, as a sponge absorbs water it began to draw in all the most revolutionary elements of the then social democracy who had finally become convinced of the correctness of its position.

Here, in passing, something must be said relative to the inner-party and organizational questions which lined up the Mensheviks and ourselves on opposing sides.

(Continued in the November Issue.)

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Jim Waters.

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They arrested 26 of his co-workers.
They are trying to railroad 15 of them to the penitentiary.

The mine bosses, the Ku Klux Klan, Farrington's machine and the State Power are all lined up in this dastardly conspiracy against the Zeigler miners.

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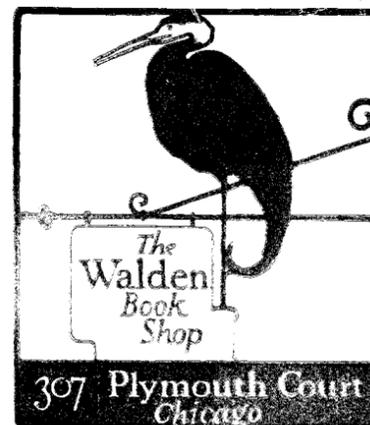
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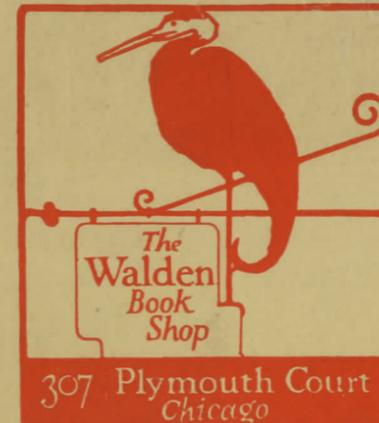
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