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The WORKERS MONTHLY



JANUARY, 1926

25 CENTS



Emergency!

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Workers on Trial!

ZEIGLER

On August 10th, the Zeigler miners working in the Bell and Zoller Mine No. 1 refused to go to work because the company would not permit the assistant to the check-weighman whom their union had put on, to continue with his duties, and because, at the demand of the company, the agents of Frank Farrington removed Henry Corbishley, president of Local 992, from office. This local, because of its progressive policies, has always been a thorn in the side of the coal operators.

On August 11th, a special meeting of Local 992 was called. A wagon load of members of the Ku Klux Klan were brought into the meeting. A fight occurred. During the fight, Mike Sarovich, a supporter of Henry Corbishley, was shot and killed. For this 26 members belonging to the progressive group of the union were charged with "conspiracy to murder."

Alex Hargis was held on the murder charge, but he was later released, and the charge is now pinned on to Frank Corbishley, a brother of Henry Corbishley. He is in grave danger of being railroaded to the gallows.

Prosecution against eleven of the 26 was dropped. Fifteen of them face long terms of imprisonment; also Ed. Wise, on a separate indictment framed up on him October 5th. He was elected the new president of Local 992 on October 3rd.

The case came to trial on November 30th and was postponed to February 2nd. Two local attorneys are in charge and the International Labor Defense, together with the Franklin County Defense Committee, is financing the expense.

We have already spent more than \$1,500. Much more is necessary for February 2nd.

PITTSBURGH

On April 27, 1923, a squad of federal agents, state policemen and county detectives descended upon the headquarters of the Workers Party in Pittsburgh, ransacking the office, confiscating checks and creating general disturbance. As a result of this raid and another that took place the following night, 10 workers were arrested.

All were indicted on charges of violation of the state sedition law. The case came to trial on November 30, 1925.

Fred. Merrick (one of the ten) pleaded "no defense" and resigned from the Workers Party. He received a 10-year parole.

Edward J. Horacek was the first of the remaining nine in the case to be tried. He was found guilty on two counts—"distribution of literature and membership in an organization tending to teach sedition." He is out on renewed bail, and the case is being further appealed. Much, of course, depends on the final outcome of Horacek's trial.

International Labor Defense sent a Chicago lawyer down to make the fight for the right of workers to freely meet and discuss problems and their right to organize in their own interest. Together with the local lawyer, he will continue the fight when the case comes up again.

Funds are urgently needed.

Rally to the Defense of Zeigler and Pittsburgh!

Help defend free speech and assemblage and the rights of workers to organize in their own interest at Pittsburgh, and the rights of workers to maintain their progressive blocs at Zeigler.

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LENIN



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FIRST announcements of an American edition of the complete works of the great revolutionary leader, V. I. Ulianov (Lenin) were made a year ago. At that time the great task was begun. Up to the present, voluminous research work, careful translation and thorough study and planning prevented the appearance of the work of the great revolutionary teacher and leader. The first volume of this work is now on the press and will be ready about February 15. It will be the first of probably six volumes all in a uniform, attractively bound edition, containing all the speeches and writings of the great figure of modern times, whose remarkable vision and

leadership have not only led to the development of the theories of Karl Marx under the present new conditions of capitalism, but also who led one-sixth of the globe in the first steps to a new social order—a workers' Soviet Republic.

The first volume soon to be issued, contains some of Lenin's most important contributions to Communist theory: all the spoken and written words of Lenin on Organization. Here is the essence of the great theory of Lenin: application of Marxism to the present period of capitalist imperialism expressed in terms of ACTION.

In this volume is material issued for the first time in America and of interest to every worker who gives serious thought to his problems. "Lenin on Organization"—volume one of the LENIN LIBRARY—is a work that will stand as one of the truly great contributions in all the literature of revolutionary Labor history.

Price \$1.50

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JANUARY, 1926

No. 3

Why a Labor Party?

By John Pepper

DISCUSSING the question of whether the Workers (Communist) Party should propagate a Labor Party, Comrade Bittelmann wrote in *The DAILY WORKER* on November 15, 1924:

"If it were true that the Communists and their Party were so much impossible that the masses will not turn to them for leadership even in the hour of bitter need and in the absence of any other leadership, then. . . Well, then the only thing that the American labor movement could do would be to form immediately one general universal grave-diggers' association, and begin digging one fraternal grave for the entire working class."

A Communist deals dialectically with all questions confronting him. We can not and must not make an exception in considering the question of the formation of a Labor Party. The guiding light in our consideration is Marxism.

What connection has it with Marxism, or even with ordinary common sense, when one says that if the proletariat does not at once accept the leadership of the Communists, it can commit suicide? The acceptance of Communist leadership by the proletarian masses is a matter that depends entirely upon the degree of class consciousness of the workers.

Why must the Workers Communist Party propagate and work for a Labor Party?

1—Because the slogan "For a Labor Party" corresponds with the stage of development of the class consciousness of the entire left wing of the labor movement, in other words of hundreds of thousands of workers in the United States.

It seems certain that these masses, not within four weeks, not within four months, but within the near future can be organized into a labor party.

2—The fight for the Labor Party, the slogan, which says that the workers should emancipate themselves politically from the capitalists, this fight itself is the most useful fight for Communists. A worker who today still votes for the capitalists, will not support the Communist Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, tomorrow. Only a person who has really forgotten everything of the American labor movement can advocate this program. I can say to the workers: Cast these dogs, the capitalists, aside. The worker hates the capitalists; he fights them to get higher wages; but he unfortunately does not yet hate them **AS A CLASS**, on a national scale. In America today we can teach the workers to hate the capitalists as a class only by the slogan of the Labor Party.

3—The Labor Party slogan is the only one which can successfully appeal to the entire working class, irrespective

of where the various sections of the working class stand at present politically. We can go to the workers in the republican or in the democratic party and say to them: "You are workers; you fight on the economic field against the capitalists. You should also separate yourselves from the capitalists politically. You cannot win your strikes, for the government uses the power of the courts and troops against you. The republicans and the democrats will never support you, for they are the parties of capital. Political action independent of the capitalists is necessary; the working class must have its own party—the Labor Party." At the same time, however, I can go to the workers in the LaFollette "party." I can tell them: "You are in a petty-bourgeois party, which never fights energetically against the trusts. The LaFollette 'party' is no friend of the workers." I can also oppose the so-called "non-partisan" policy of the A. F. of L. with the slogan of the Class Labor Party. Only with this slogan, with the idea of a class party, can I scotch for the workers the principle of punishing the enemies of the workers and rewarding their friends today in the democratic and tomorrow in the republican party.

It is a life and death question for our Communist Party—and not only in America—that we fight in the daily struggle for the immediate demands of the workers. We must exploit these partial struggles in order to develop the class consciousness of the workers. We must unite these partial struggles under political slogans; we must attempt to develop the local struggles upon a national scale and to transform them into political struggles. In the present period in the United States, where the working class has as yet no mass party at all—neither reformist nor revolutionary—the slogan of an independent class party of the workers (the Labor Party slogan) is the chief inclusive slogan for all partial demands, for all partial struggles.

Now for the most important, the most essential point. What is the explanation for the fact that in America the development towards a mass party of the working class takes the form of a Labor Party? How does it come in many countries we have Labor Parties and in others Social-Democratic Parties? What is the fundamental difference? In many countries there are parties built up on individual membership: That is the Social-Democratic type as we see it in Germany, France, Italy, Russia, etc. Then the other type, Labor Party parties which are based on the trade unions, on the principle of collective membership, as in the Anglo-Saxon countries, in Belgium, etc.

The history of these countries and especially the history of the working class will explain to us how the Labor Party type developed historically in certain countries and



"THESE UNGRATEFUL CHINESE!!"

"These ungrateful heathen! Here we have brought them the benefits of civilization, cheap opium, good watches, the sixteen hour day, and our holy faith and look how they treat us! What ungrateful wretches!"

the Social-Democratic type in others. In the countries with a Labor party, at first the trade unions (England) and later the political parties arose. Vice versa, where we have mass Social-Democratic parties, we see that at first the political party and later the trade unions were formed, as in Russia, Austria, Germany, etc. That is, however, not yet the basic reason. When we analyze further, we find that in countries where an imperialist development or at least an industrial monopolist development split the working class at an early date, the trade unions were formed first, while the political parties arise very much later. The divided working class is not able to form a political party because, firstly, the aristocratic section of the working class is not interested in the political party. This aristocratic section of the working class was able to defend its interests in the trade unions; its political interests were ideologically, and in part in reality not different from those of the bourgeoisie. The other section, the real proletariat, was, on the contrary without the leadership of the aristocracy of labor, which contains the educated elements of the working class suitable for leadership. Deprived of these elements, the real proletariat was able neither to organize trade unions, nor to form political parties. That is the real basic reason for the fact that at first the trade unions appeared. The trade unions acted at first only as organizations of the aristocracy of labor, and only later accepted unskilled workers. The classic example of this is Great Britain. There we see, after the first revolutionary period of Chartism, after the beginning of imperialist development, the split of the working class as pointed out by Marx, Engels and Lenin. We see the split caused by the aristocracy of labor—we see the aristocratic trade union. The mass of unskilled workers were not organized at all. It was only vindictive attacks of the capitalist governments upon the privileges of the aristocracy of labor, court decisions against the existence of the trade unions of the labor aristocracy, which brought about a revolution.

What did this revolution consist of? Of two factors: Firstly, New Unionism; secondly, Labor Party. In the 'nineties masses of unskilled workers were forced into the trade union movement for the first time. That was the period of the so-called New Unionism. The memoirs of Tom Mann give an illuminating picture of this revolution. But something more than that happened. The trade unions were compelled to take part in politics. The government, the central executive committee of the bourgeoisie, had attacked the aristocracy of labor, not only as individual trade or craft organizations, but as a unit, as the organization of a class. That made the trade unions class conscious for the first time—i. e., gave them a political trend. The birth of the Labor Party in Great Britain is a product of this development.

Furthermore, we find that a very remarkable factor plays a great role in the birth of the British (and of every) Labor Party—a small political party, built upon individual membership, the Independent Labor Party.

The Independent Labor Party played the part of midwife in the birth of the Labor Party in Great Britain. It was small, had no more than 20,000 members approximately, in the second year of the existence of the Labor Party in fact no more than 16,000. None the less it was the conscious factor of the situation driving the movement forward, it was able to occupy all the strategic positions, and it was able to

break the opposition of all the old, respected leaders of the old trade union movement to the formation of a Labor Party. It was able to do all this just because it was built up upon individual membership, because it was a conscious, disciplined party, small but maneuverable, ideologically only the representative of a pink socialism, but nevertheless far in advance of the stage of development of the class consciousness of the British working class at that time. It was able to play that part, because at that time, precisely in consequence of the circumstance that it represented the idea of a political party of the proletariat independent of the bourgeoisie, it was the representative of all the interests of the working class.

We see the same in Belgium. The Belgian Labor Party has no less than 700,000 members; it is built up on the basis of the trade unions and of the cooperatives. This great mass of labor organizations is completely dominated by the small Vandervelde group, which has no more than 14,000 members, but is built up on individual membership, is consciously social-democratic, with discipline and political aims. This small group with its 14,000 members dominates the powerful mass organizations of the Belgian workers.

Putting the problem historically, we see that the following factors combine to give birth to a labor party, that the following factors determine that in a given country the development of the mass party of the working-class takes the form of the Labor Party:

- 1—Imperialist development.
- 2—The split of the working class into the aristocracy of labor and the real proletariat.
- 3—The fact that historically at first the trade union and then later the political party arose.
- 4—The attacks of the capitalist government (troops, laws, courts) upon the trade unions.
- 5—The presence of a politically organized minority, which can take over the ideological and organizational leadership of the new Labor Party and which serves as the driving force of the Labor Party development.

This development, which we had in England in the 'nineties, only began in America in 1918. The war, the development of a giant, bureaucratic centralized state power, the interference of the government in the daily life of the workers and poor farmers, the use of government troops and of injunctions against strikers, the giant labor struggles in 1922 in which no less than one million workers were on strike at the same time, the profound industrial crisis in 1921, together with a catastrophic crisis of American agriculture, the trenchant fractional groupings within the old capitalist parties, which as an expression of the intensified struggle, threatened them with a split—all these factors drove the masses of the working class towards the formation of a Labor Party.

All these factors, which in England called forth the Labor Party as the type of class party of the proletariat, are present in the United States. America is an imperialist country, and in no other country is there such a deep split

in the proletariat as in the United States. The separation of the aristocracy of labor from the real proletariat is even further emphasized by the circumstance that the aristocracy of labor is in the main American, while the proletariat is overwhelmingly foreign-born. The political helplessness of the proletariat is multiplied manifold by the fact that it consists of fifty-six nationalities. In no country are there such great differences between the standard of living and custom of the aristocracy of labor and the proletariat proper. The war, however, changed all this completely. The tremendous development of the war industries, coupled with the prohibition of immigration, has raised the wages and standard of living of the unskilled workers to a remarkable extent. Government control during the war and the great systematic offensive of the employers after the war have taken away many privileges of the labor aristocracy. The wages of the aristocracy of labor did not rise to a degree comparable with that of the proletarian unskilled labor elements. A process of equalization, of levelling, has taken place in the American working class. We see from 1919 to 1922, a period of New Unionism in America. Large masses of unskilled workers were organized, especially in the metal and textile industries. The increasing court decisions against the trade unions of the labor aristocracy, making them liable collectively for all the acts of each of their individual members, and making each individual member liable for their collective acts, have given birth for the first time in the trade unions to the idea of political activity. That is how there began the great historical process of the emancipation of the American working class, its emancipation from the bourgeoisie. A remarkable picture! The most powerful industrial country in the world is the last to fall into line. The political emancipation of the proletariat, which began in Germany in the 'sixties, in Russia in the 'eighties, and in England in the 'nineties, only commenced in America as a result of the world war, in 1918, in the post-war period. It must be understood, however, that these beginnings were no longer made in the peaceful period of the 'sixties nor within a semi-petty bourgeois proletariat.

The entire tempo of development is determined and naturally strongly accelerated by the circumstances that America is a country of the most highly concentrated industry, that we are living in the period of imperialism, that Europe has gone through a number of revolutions, that Soviet Russia exists, and that the Communist International is at work. The example of the growth of the British Labor Party and more especially, the existence of the MacDonald government, have had a profound effect upon the masses of the American trade unions.

We must understand these circumstances. The entire problem of the Labor Party cannot be understood if one does not consider the basic factors. The basis for the development of a mass party of the proletariat in America was established by the war and post-war period, by the growth of two new factors: 1—the development of a strongly centralized government such as America never had before, which through its attacks upon the trade unions all along the line did much to develop the class consciousness of the proletariat and the political orientation of the trade unions; 2—the leveling process within the proletariat, which was

brought about by the endangering of the privileges of the labor aristocracy, by the cessation of immigration and the Americanization of unskilled laborers by genuine proletarianized American farmers who entered the factories in great numbers, for the first time in the history of America, has created a working class homogeneous enough to render possible a mass party of the working class.

These are the reasons for the fact that in the United States the development towards a mass party is not proceeding along German or French lines, i. e., individual membership, but along British lines, that is, the collective method, trade union membership. Historical development shows that up till now all the endeavors to found a political mass organization of the working class in America has moved in the direction of the Labor Party type.

Nor are the factors lacking in America which in the founding of the Labor Party play the role of the British Independent Labor Party, that is, the role of the conscious mid-wife. We even have many groups which are intent upon taking over the leadership of the Labor Party: (1) The Socialist Party, (2) the political groups within the A. F. of L., (3) LaFollette's petty-bourgeois group, and (4) the Workers Communist Party. Of course it is no accident that in America we have a number of competing political groups and parties, based upon individual membership, which would like to seize the leadership of the Labor Party movement. Today conditions in America are already much more varied than in the England of the 'nineties. The existence of various competing groups is the explanation of the circumstance that in America several parallel labor parties were founded at the same time. It happened thus: each political group endeavored to gain influence over as large a section of the trade unions as possible. In order to understand this process of development, however, we must understand the fundamental conditions for the development of a Labor Party.

It is the role of the Workers Party to take the initiative in the founding of the Labor Party, and it is the duty of the Workers Party to endeavor to become, not the tail, but the head of the Labor Party. In England, the Communist Party was founded at a time when the Labor Party was already a powerful mass organization, i. e., where the problem facing the young Communist Party was whether to stay outside or to affiliate. In America, however, there exists the possibility for the Workers Party to participate actively in the founding of the Labor Party, for the taking over of the leadership in the fight for a Labor Party, for occupying the strategic positions, and uniting with the great masses in the trade unions while preserving its own organizational and ideological independence and integrity. It is fundamentally wrong to say, that we Communists should wait until the masses themselves form the Labor Party and should then affiliate. This is false, firstly, because what sort of Communists should we be if we were simply to wait and see whether the class consciousness of the workers is making progress or not, if we were not to employ every possible means to accelerate the process of the crystallization of the class consciousness of the proletariat? And secondly, it is false because if we Communists only wait and see whether a Labor Party develops, we thus relinquish the leadership of the Labor Party

movement to our competitors and opponents, the Socialists, the Fitzpatrickites or the LaFollette group.

It is said that the Workers Party cannot take over the leading role in a Labor Party, because a Labor Party is too opportunist to be initiated and led by a Communist Party. That is wrong, of course. Dozens of quotations from Marx and Engels upon the British and American Labor movements could be made in which they attack the point of view of sectarian British socialism as well as the sectarian standpoint of the German Communists in America, and continually emphasize the necessity of linking up with the existing labor movement, be it ever so opportunist. If this objection held water, we could not enter the trade unions nor attempt to seize the strategic positions there. It should not be forgotten that the Labor Party is nothing but a bloc of trade unions, a loose-knit system of delegates, a network of representatives of the local trade unions for political purposes. What was Lenin's standpoint on this question? I do not mean now his last point of view, when he advised the British Communists to enter the Labor Party. It may be said that Lenin gave this advice when the Labor Party was already a powerful mass organization. But fortunately we have a clear and characteristic stand taken by Lenin on the Labor Party question at a time when the Labor Party in England was in its very infancy, in 1908. It was at a meeting of the Executive of the Second International. Lenin was a member of the Executive. On the agenda was the question of whether the Labor Party should be admitted to the Second International or not. A singular discussion arose. The opportunist Independent Labor Party said: The Labor Party must be admitted, for it is the mass party of the proletariat. Hyndman's Social-Democratic Federation said sectarianly: we are against admission; these are nothing but opportunists who do not know what Marxism is. Kautsky proposed to admit the Labor Party because the Labor Party is the socialist-revolutionary party of the British proletariat. What did Lenin say? He was in favor of admission, but did not agree with Karl Kautsky's motivation. He said that we must admit the Labor Party because the Labor Party is the first step of the real organized masses of British workers in the direction of revolutionary socialism. Thus, Lenin was against the sectarian attitude of Hyndman as well as Kautsky's opportunist reasoning. He said we must admit the Labor Party to the International—at that time Lenin's International—but we must tell the truth: it is only the first step in the direction of revolutionary socialism; this is no yet the party of revolutionary socialism. In other words, Lenin said: "The first step." And he said that about a party which really had not yet completely separated itself organizationally, and, of course, "even less ideologically," from the bourgeoisie. As Lenin pointed out in his articles at the time, the Labor Party in England had at that time not yet carried on a single independent election campaign, it had only declared itself in parliament as a separate group. Nevertheless, Lenin's sharp eyes already saw the first step towards the independent mass party of the British proletariat.

And time has shown that Lenin was right. The pink Independent Labor Party, this opportunist group, has become the leader of the Labor Party, because it allied itself

with the Labor Party, because it occupied all the strategic positions in time, and because it took over the initiative and the leadership of the Labor Party movement. Hyndman's Social-Democratic Federation, however, turned from the Labor Party in opposition to the living Marxist, Lenin, in the name of a dead, non-existent Marxism, and thus condemned itself to vegetation as a sect. Nor did this narrow-minded, sectarian turning aside from the living mass movement save it from becoming opportunist. It is no accident, but a warning example that Hyndman died in disgrace as a social patriot. We must not forget this warning example. There exists the danger that in America Hillquit's Socialist Party or another opportunist group may seize the leadership in the Labor Party movement, and there exists the other danger that our Party, the Workers Communist Party, stand aside skulking sectarianly and thus dry up just like the British Social-Democratic Federation.

The Workers Communist Party must fight for the soul of the masses, for the acceleration of the development of the class consciousness of the working class; we must not merely cheer now and then for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our fight for a Labor Party may cost us dearly, for the reactionary trade union bureaucrats are against the Labor Party, and the Hillquit socialists want to steal it. The fight for the Labor Party, however, is principally in and for the trade unions. The fight for the Labor Party does not take us away from the work in the trade unions; the Labor Party is nothing but a bloc of trade unions. It is only in the trade unions that we can fight for the Labor Party. Only the trade unions can be the base of the Labor Party. The battlefield in the fight for the Labor Party is the trade union and only the trade union.

The Labor Party cannot become a party competing with our Workers (Communist) Party. The Workers Party is built up on individual membership; the Labor Party, however, upon collective trade union membership. We can go to a worker and say: Join the Communist Party and get your trade union to affiliate to the Labor Party. We can go with both demands to the same workers at the same time. Through this policy we can link up the Party with the masses and at the same time build up and enlarge the party. Through this policy we will not liquidate the party but increase its membership.

The Workers (Communist) Party must endeavor as a foundation of the Labor Party and thus make its historical consciously leading element to take the initiative for the claim for the leadership and hegemony of the American laboring masses.

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Do Workers Pay Taxes?

By Max Bedacht

A SERIOUS political party cannot take a neutral attitude on any political problem of importance. Its basis of existence is the class whose interests it represents. The political party does not merely take up the clearly-formulated demands of its class or economic group; it also analyzes tendencies, it anticipates developments, it formulates demands and it mobilizes the group or class it represents for a political struggle to achieve the aims thus formulated. The effectiveness of a political party, therefore, lies not merely in its readiness to represent an economic group or class, but in its ability to supply leadership to that group or class. This is the more necessary because economic groups or classes, though economically homogeneous, are ideologically not homogeneous units. It is always only a small section, the advance guard of the group or class, which is really class- or group-conscious; and upon this advance guard falls the duty of analyzing and acting in the interests of the whole group or class. The more clearly and the more effectively the party takes up the representation of these class interests the more successful will it be in convincing the whole class of its mission—the greater will be the section of its class that the party will succeed in mobilizing in support of its policies and organization.

As a matter of illustration it might be pointed out that the American government, the most class-conscious of all capitalist state apparatuses, is by no means that by reason of the conscious participation by the capitalist class as a whole. The direction of government lies in the hands of only a little group of capitalists headed by either finance capitalists like Morgan or industrial capitalists like Gary. Even a superficial analysis of the functioning of the American government must disclose that capital does not rule for Morgan but rather Morgan rules for capital.

The class consciousness of Morgan gives direction and aim to the political movement of the capitalist class. His group leads the capitalist class by virtue of its class consciousness. To supply such leadership to the class or group it represents is the fundamental function of any political party.

Workers' Illusion Is Party Problem.

This function of a political party must be clearly borne in mind when our Workers Communist Party approaches the problems of the day. Abstract formulae do not solve a political problem even though the problem in question is only an imagined one. The very fact that great masses of exploited workers are under the illusion that the problem is real, makes the illusion itself a serious problem which imperatively demands solution.

The fact that millions of workers in the United States are still dominated by the illusion that the interests of capital and labor are identical, creates a serious problem for the political party of the proletariat, the Communists. And no formula of class antagonisms can solve this problem.

Another case in point is the problem of taxation. The masses of the exploited are again and again faced with this problem. The Communist Party must face it and take issue with it.

In the way of a thorough consideration of this problem there stands, unfortunately, a serious theoretical and political misunderstanding. "The workers do not pay taxes": this is the formula with which too many revolutionists dismiss the question of taxation. "The worker is exploited at the point of production only. Therefore, taxation is not a problem of the exploited." Thus speak these men, and call Karl Marx as a witness.

The masses, however, cannot believe this formula; they believe their own experience. And that experience tells them that if they pay an extra five cents' war tax on a movie ticket, these five cents come out of their own pockets. And if a poll tax is collected from the workers, the money comes out of the workers' pockets. And if they pay tax on an income of a thousand or fifteen hundred dollars, then they, the workers, pay the tax from wages already earned and not the bosses out of their unearned profits.

"But," exclaims our "Marxian," "that is all an illusion." And the real Marxian answers: "Perhaps it is an illusion. But in this case the illusion becomes a problem and we must meet and solve it. And the solution will not and cannot be your abstract formula."

Taxation Hullabaloo Helps Hide Real Issues.

In the United States the question of taxation is at present an important political issue. The capitalist papers, in anticipation of the opening of congress, are making the revision of the income tax schedule the all-overshadowing issue. They do this, first, because they must give substance to a non-existent "vox populi" that will justify congress in freeing the poor rich man of his tax burdens, and, second, because by inflating the tax-revision issue, they hope to hide from the masses the numerous important problems which capitalism and its government create for the workers. Thus the revision of the income tax schedules becomes, correctly or incorrectly, an important issue of the day.

As a political party, as the spokesman of the interests of the working class, the Workers Communist Party must take a stand on this question. The masses are agitated about this issue. They look for a solution. What has our party to offer? Shall it be a positive program—or an abstract formula?

Yes, the Workers Do Pay Taxes!

Let us consider the theoretical side of the problem: Do the workers pay taxes? This question must be answered very decisively in the affirmative. **The workers do pay taxes.** Whether the worker pays indirect taxes when he buys his clothing or his cigar, or whether he pays a direct poll tax, or income tax, he pays these taxes out of his pocket, from money already in his possession and derived from his wages. To argue that the workers receive just enough wages to reproduce their labor-power and their kind, and that therefore

the capitalist must pay them more wages if he expects them to pay taxes, is mere sophistry. It is true that Marx used a similar argument in connection with the question of "protective tariff or free trade." But then the question was not: Do the workers pay taxes, but: Does protective tariff or free trade influence the wages of the workers? This is a question raised again and again in America by the republicans and democrats. Marx answered this query by saying: "All this talk about protective tariff or free trade boosting the workers' wages is idle pretense intended to mislead the masses. The wise bourgeois need not be told that the worker does not get any more wages than he needs to keep alive, no matter whether there prevails a system of protective tariff, or a system of free trade, or a mixture of both. The worker receives, on the one side as on the other, merely net what he needs to keep going as a working machine." But even though Marx comes to the conclusion that the workers do not benefit from either free trade or protective tariff, he still concludes that the workers are interested in the issue because: "The working class is interested in all things which aid the bourgeoisie to achieve unfettered political power." Marx expresses here the important principle that it is necessary for the workers to concern themselves with everything that tends to ripen the objective revolutionary conditions of society. And since either free trade or protective tariff may influence considerably the development of these objective conditions it becomes an issue for the party of the proletariat.

The question of tariff, however, has another side. It does not have a positive influence on wages. But it has a negative influence. The tariff is a source of income for the state. Where does the money come from that flows into the coffers of the government in the form of incomes from customs?

Workers' Taxes Help Fight on Workers.

The government is the most important agency of the ruling class. This agency enjoys a privilege before most other agencies of capitalism. While the upkeep of other agencies of the capitalists is the sole concern of the capitalists themselves, the upkeep of the government is made the concern of all of the classes. While the protection of American oil interests in Mexico is solely the concern of American oil capital, yet the expenses of the military expedition which takes care of these interests are paid, not by these oil capitalists, but by the "people" of America. When the insatiable greed of the coal or steel capitalists provokes a conflict between them and the workers employed in these industries, it is not these capitalists, but the people as a whole, who are made to pay the expenses of police, militia, judges and jailers, who fight the battle for the capitalists. In fact, while the workers carry the burden of their own fight, as members of their union and as participants in the strike, the workers at the same time, in their capacity of tax-paying citizens, are forced to carry the financial burden of the capitalists' side of the fight because the capitalists fight through the state power, and this state power, the government, is upheld by the taxes collected also from the workers.

One of the sources of income for this agency of capitalism, the government, is revenue derived from customs. These customs are collected, in the last analysis, from the consumer. And they are twice collected from the ultimate victims. They are collected once in the form of a higher price

of imported necessities of life. The proceeds of this collection, coming from the pockets of the masses, flow into the coffers of the state and thus help to defray expenses of the agency of capital, the government. In this manner capital is spared the necessity of paying the expenses of this agency. But this tariff is collected a second time in the form of higher prices of domestic goods. The proceeds of this second collection flow into the pockets of the native capitalists as a sort of invisible subsidy.

But all this does not yet show where this revenue comes from. Who is the consumer—and what are the sources of the funds from which this consumer pays this revenue?

We can easily answer the first question. The consumer is the great mass. Answering the second question, we would say that the great mass derives its income from its own labor-power—the worker by selling it, the working farmer by applying it to his means of production.

Here, however, we meet with the "Marxist" who claims that even if the worker actually pays these revenues out of his pocket he must have received it originally over and above his necessary wages. In other words: If the worker received lower wages he would not have to pay these revenues. Whether or not the worker pays taxes, he has enough left to exist on, just that and no more in any event.

Workers Can Raise Wages by Fighting.

It is hardly conceivable how such a theory could develop at all. The fact that there is such a variety of wages, from the wages received by the highly skilled and well organized workers, down to those paid to unskilled and unorganized workers, should be sufficient evidence to disprove this theory of just enough wages to live. Why do the workers organize? If the positive portion of paid labor is a rigid and unchangeable quantity, only determined by the absolute needs of the worker, then labor unions are useless playthings.

And what about the difference of average wages and standards of living of the workers of different countries? The difference between the standard of living of the worker of China and the standard of the worker in America is tremendous. What the worker in China may consider an inaccessible luxury is a daily necessity to the worker in America. But the capitalist does not think so. His endeavor is to make the two standards meet, not by raising the standard of the worker in oriental countries, but by reducing the level of the American standard. While he cannot make a direct attack on the wages of the American worker on the basis that this worker receives more than he needs for a living, yet he can burden this worker with expenses which ought to be borne by him, the capitalist. By this method the capitalist succeeds in reducing indirectly the chances of the worker to buy all of the things that he would ordinarily consider necessary. The needs of the worker are thus reduced.

Worker Stays Worker Under Capitalism.

This whole theory, that workers pay no taxes, is based on a thorough misunderstanding of Marxism. Marxism contends that the social status of a worker is a fixed one. While in the days of old the journeyman of the guild-master eventually became a guild-master himself, the wage-worker of today is the wage-worker of tomorrow, and is the parent of the wage-worker of the next generation. His station in so-

ciety is, on the whole, unchangeable, some very few exceptions notwithstanding. Since a worker's income will never enable him to buy the very expensive and intricate means of production of modern industry, he can get work, his only source of income, only by selling his labor-power to the owner of these means of production, the capitalist. He remains a wage-worker all his life. He is one of a fixed social group, a class, which cannot change its economic position by individual effort, but which must act as a class. There is only one way for this class to change its social status—and that way is to get control over the means of production. Since, on the whole, the working class receives as wages only enough to reproduce its labor power and its kind, therefore,

it can never hope to acquire control over the machinery of production by any other means than those of the revolutionary class struggle.

"The value of the labor power is formed by two elements"—says Marx. "The one merely physical, the other historical or social. Its ultimate limit is determined by the physical element, that is to say: to maintain and reproduce itself, to perpetuate its physical existence, the working class must receive the necessities absolutely indispensable for living and multiplying. The value of those indispensable necessities form, therefore, the ultimate limit of the value of labor power." Here we see that Marx fixes as the lowest possible level of wages the indispensable minimum



"EACH HIS OWN BURDEN!"

of existence. But nowhere does he maintain that the wages paid are necessarily kept at this indispensable minimum. On the contrary, he points out that while it is the endeavor of the capitalist class to press the wages down to this minimum it is on the other hand, the endeavor of the workers to raise them. "The matter resolves itself into a question of the respective powers of the combatants," declares Marx.

Aside from the physical elements determining the value of labor-power, there is also the social and historical element. To quote Marx: "Besides this mere physical element the value of labor is in every country determined by a traditional standard of life. It is not mere physical life but it is the satisfaction of certain wants springing from the social conditions in which people are placed and reared. The English standard of life may be reduced to the Irish; the standard of life of a German peasant to that of a Livonian peasant . . . The historical or social element entering into the values of labor may be expanded or contracted or altogether extinguished so that nothing remains but the physical limit."

It is clear that Marx never intended to establish a narrow limit of irreducible minimum as a basis of the value of labor-power. This fact in itself disproves all assertions that Marx maintained that the worker only receives this minimum and therefore cannot pay taxes.

On the whole, the average return the worker gets for his labor power, in the form of wages, is determined by his needs. These needs, however, are not uniform. They differ from country to country. And even within one country wages range from even below the level of absolute needs to somewhat above this level.

The capitalist class endeavors to force wages down to the lowest level of needs. The fighting organizations of the workers endeavor to raise wages. From these successes of the capitalists and the successes of the workers there results a scale of wages ranging from the sixteen dollars and more per day paid to the skilled plasterer, to the pitiful few cents per day paid to the sweatshop worker.

There are various forces that prevent the capitalist from forcing wages down to the lowest possible level. But the desire of the capitalists to do this never changes. His efforts are directed toward a constant reduction of the portion of paid labor in favor of the portion of unpaid labor which turns into profit in his pocket. He does not always achieve his aim by direct means. In fact, the most notable successes capitalism has achieved in this line have been a relative reduction of paid labor, of wages, by increasing the intensity of labor. This reduction is not always recognized by the workers.

Duties Boost Prices, Fleece Workers.

But aside from all attempts to reduce wages directly, the capitalist also devises means to reduce the portion of unpaid labor indirectly—by getting back in some manner wages already paid, without delivering value for it. Collection of customs on goods imported is one of these means. By this method the capitalist succeeds in making the worker pay out of his wages for what he himself ought to pay for out of his profits extracted from unpaid labor: namely for the upkeep of his main agency, the government. And, on top of that, by being protected against low prices of imported goods, he succeeds in giving his native products an artificial value, expressed in excessive prices. By forcing the worker

to pay these prices for the necessities of life, the capitalist cajoles back into his pocket, as profit for unpaid labor, a part of the same money which he had been forced to give up be-

Aside from the customs, the Government collects other millions from the masses. In 1924, \$545,637,503 were collected as custom on imports. The greatest portion of that sum came out of the pockets of the working masses. Nearly \$350,000,000 was collected on tobacco, paid in the main by the workers. Nearly \$40,000,000 were the proceeds from the admission tax, taken mostly from the workers when they paid for their meagre enjoyments.

While the collection of customs on imported goods means the collection of an indirect tax from the masses which directly benefits the capitalist, we have in other forms of taxes collected from the masses direct attempts of capital, to reduce the portion of paid labor by making these masses pay the expenses of the capitalist agency, the government.

Workers Sharpen Knives to Cut Own Throats!

Writing about the budget which was submitted to the English parliament by Gladstone in 1853, Karl Marx says: "The 'state,' that common tool in the hands of the landed aristocracy and the financiers, needs money to accomplish the task of oppression within the country and without. For this purpose the 'state' borrows money from capitalists and usurers and gives them in exchange a piece of paper by which it accepts the obligation to pay so and so much interest for every 100 pound sterling. The means for these payments are taken out of the pockets of the working classes in the form of taxes. The masses themselves, therefore, are used by their oppressors as a security toward those people who lend their money so that the throats of the masses may be cut." Marx saw clearly that the tax-paying worker is not a mere illusion, but an indisputable reality. As long as there are forces at work that make it impossible to force wages down to an irreducible minimum, the capitalist will always try to get back, directly or indirectly, part or all of the money paid in wages above that minimum. Taxation is one of these methods. It enables the capitalists to force the masses to pay the expenses of an apparatus indispensable for the oppression of the masses. The collection of taxes from the masses represents a method by which the exploited is forced to pay the lion's share of the expense for the upkeep of the system of exploitation.

The method of making the oppressed pay for the cost of the oppression is not only applied to workers receiving in wages more than the irreducible minimum. During the time of the worst inflation in Germany the German government collected a tax on earned incomes from which it allowed no exemption. The German workers receiving in those days the equivalent of only a fraction of a dollar per week in wages were forced to pay their weekly proportion of this tax, although, even without reduction by the tax, these wages did not enable them to satisfy their hunger and the hunger of their families seven times a week on potatoes and bread.

And while the workers had to pay this tax weekly at the current value of the money, on the basis of which the wages were fixed, the capitalists were permitted to pay their tax on earned income months after it had fallen due. They paid the tax after six months, when the real value of it had vanished completely in the bottomless pit of inflation, and when they thus saved for themselves 99% of what they were supposed to pay.

If a "revolutionist," in the face of this experience, had told the German workers that they pay no taxes, and that the question of taxation should not bother them, he would have received what he earned: scorn and contempt.

Marx never indicated anywhere that it is his opinion that the workers do not pay taxes. On the contrary, in arguing against the formula of a fixed wage, Marx speaks of a raise of the wages for the agricultural workers in England. In this connection he points out how these wages were reduced again by a collection of taxes. He says: "During the period when that rise of wages took place, counter-acting influences were at work, such as the new taxes consequent upon the Russian war. . . (My emphasis)" In other words: The wages of the workers were reduced again by means of collecting taxes from them.

Farmers and Small Bourgeois Feel Tax Burdens.

The question of taxation has another aspect for a political party of the proletariat. It affects a large number of groups and classes whose economic status is between that of a wage worker and that of a bourgeois. The recruiting of these groups and classes in a struggle against the rule of the bourgeoisie is an important and difficult task. The base of operation for the revolutionary proletariat with those groups and classes is the issue which they have in common with the proletariat—the issue of oppression and exploitation by the ruling bourgeoisie. With large sections of these groups excessive taxation is a manifestation of oppression. It is necessary, therefore, that our Communist Party concern itself with this problem. It is a live issue, which demands attention and which refuses to be brushed aside with the help of the theoretically incorrect abstraction that "the workers pay no taxes."

At present the question presents itself in the concrete form of the Mellon tax reduction plan. As a result of considerable pressure from below demanding that those who reaped a harvest of gold from the war be made to pay some of the expenses of the war, Congress decided on a surtax on high incomes. Now, after the fever of the war days has somewhat cooled, the capitalists insist that this surtax be reduced to little more than nothing. Andrew Mellon, one of the richest men of the country and financially one of the biggest beneficiaries of the war, secretary of the treasury of the government in Washington, makes himself the chief propagandist for this reduction. Mellon proposes radical reductions of the surtax on high incomes, because:

Rich Patriots Defraud Own Government.

1. High taxes lead our millionaire 100% patriotic Americans to conceal taxable income—to defraud the government.
2. High taxes cause our millionaire 100% patriotic Americans to invest their riches in tax-free securities.

On the other hand, Mellon opposes tax exemption of low incomes on the ground that the payment of taxes creates for people with low incomes a sense of part ownership in the government.

As against these reasons we Communists say in the name of the workers:

1. If your 100% patriotic millionaire defraud the government by concealing their wealth, send them to jail—but do not legalize their fraud.

2. If your 100% patriotic millionaires invest their money in tax-free securities stop issuing these securities. This reason for tax reduction is not worth the paper it is written on. The tax-free securities are government bonds. There is only a fixed amount of these bonds on the market. This amount is absorbed and neither increases automatically as a result of high taxes nor decreases automatically as a result of low taxes.

3. You cannot give the men and women with low incomes a sense of part ownership in the government because this government is owned completely by your 100% patriotic millionaire defraudants and no money-extracting maneuver of the government can change that.

The only tax program acceptable to the masses is one based on the principle: "Let those who own the government pay for the expenses of the government."

Our demand is a graduated income tax starting with incomes above 5,000 dollars per year, and increasing gradually so that all incomes over 25,000 dollars per year are confiscated. All tax exemptions must be abolished.

No Tax Solution for Workers Under Capitalism.

In bringing the issue of taxation before the masses we Communists intend by no means to create the impression first, that the problem of taxation can be solved under capitalism in the interests of the working class, or, second, that even if such a solution were possible, it would in any way relieve the workers from the economic pressure from which they suffer. The issue of taxation for us is rather a means to bring to the understanding of these masses the character and the methods of the capitalist state. Aside from that it is one of the rallying points for these masses in a political struggle against the capitalist state.

U. S. S. R., 1921-1925

By A. A. Heller

(Continued from November Issue).

Like many another pilgrim I entered the Lenin sanctuary. In a square room draped in red, the dead leader lies in a glass casket. With bated breath I stop and look at him. Can this young man—only fifty-four—resting so peacefully, be dead? As you watch his face, soft and kindly, you imagine he is going to raise an eyelid, or move a finger perhaps, of the hands crossed on his breast. . . This quiet peaceful body

communicates with you; you feel an electric shock going through you—the spirit of Lenin is there, it is alive, it bids you to carry on his great work. . .

But not in a spirit of mysticism or romance is this work being carried on. The Lenin ideas, his theories, are working through mine and factory, through blast furnaces and lathes, through power stations, motors, tractors, homes, schools, stores and offices, through the complex and many-sided armies

of a hustling, living industrial state. Only a few months ago, says Djerzinsky, the Chief of the Russian industries, did the industrial fabric come out of the stage of hesitation and uncertainty. Only now are industries assuming the tempo of active production. And all without foreign aid, with our own efforts! And what a tempo, what a pace is set up. The pre-war production is rapidly being approached; in another year or two, it will be left far behind.

There is a department of the Supreme Council of National Economy called the Scientific Technical Department. Its business is to carry on research and investigation into every branch of technical knowledge and to further invention and application of the Diesel engine to Russian conditions, a new at the present time are thirteen scientific institutes or laboratories, which are being directed by the foremost scientists of Russia. Physical, chemical and electrical problems are being studied there; much that is new and important in every field of science has already been developed there; the economical production of superphosphates, improvement and application of the Diesel engine to Russian conditions, a new kind of brick, light and waterproof; an asbestos board, fire-proof, light, and able to replace lumber in buildings, and much else. It is only necessary to visit the exposition on Petrovka in Moscow to see how much has been achieved with the modest resources at the command of this department.

At this same exposition, other industries exhibit their products. Textiles and steel, electricity and the printing press, perfumes and wines, tractors and aeroplanes built in Russian factories, show how all-embracing is the industrial development, and what a promise of gigantic growth it holds out.

There is another institution in Moscow called Tzit—the Central Institute of Labor. This institute studies and develops methods of labor-saving and efficiency. The work of Taylor, Gantt and other American efficiency apostles is studied there, and new methods developed, all with the aim of easing the workman's task, of making his work more attractive and less of a drudgery. The handling of a tool, the rest periods, most comfortable positions for resting and working, proper light, ventilation, hygienics are studied. Tzit methods are already applied in many large works, and the workmen developed by Tzit are intelligent craftsmen, not mere slaves of machines.

The book-publishing business of the Soviet Union has grown to tremendous proportions. Book publishing is carried on both by the State and private firms. The Gosisdats—the State Publishing Department—is easily the largest publishing house in the world. It publishes books, pamphlets, pictures, maps, periodicals on every conceivable subject. The annual output of books in the Soviet Union for 1924 is stated to be 900 million volumes; some of the editions run into 300,000 copies and more; over half of the enormous output is handled by the Gosisdats, which has distributing centers all over the Union. Alongside of this institution there are many other public and semi-public publishing houses—each Commissariat bringing out a great many books relating to its work; each institution of learning, such as the Marx-Engels institute, the Sverdlov University, the Communist Academy, etc., are bringing out many volumes. The Commissariat of Labor and the Trade Union Council publish a great many

books; all the organizations of the young Communists bring out many works; also authors' organizations, just as Krug, Mapp, and others. Besides there are in Moscow alone some two dozen private publishing houses, whose output is very considerable. It is not an exaggeration to say that there are as many bookstores to the square block in Moscow as drinking bars in London or soda fountains in New York.

Much has been said about lack of professional men and technicians in Russia. That is true. The years of war and revolution have made a big gap in professional and higher education. That gap however is being filled now. The universities are beginning to graduate engineers, chemists, doctors, students of jurisprudence; last year saw the first graduating class since 1917; from now on the number of professionals graduated under revolutionary auspices will constantly increase, and compare in quality with the product of the best European universities. Already these red professionals are taking their places in the industries, and bringing new life and new ideas into this most conservative field.

I've touched but briefly on the growing industries of the Soviet Union. What about art, music, letters, the theater? One can devote endless pages to these subjects. It is true that the livelihood of the artist and writer is still earned with difficulty. His place in the scheme of things hasn't yet been clearly defined; he cannot look to the State for a wage, and there are no private patrons. Most difficult is the life of the painter; unless he can find work at some state institution or theater he cannot exist as a painter. Yet there are a great many young painters in Moscow, as witness the numerous art exhibits. The work shown there is fresh and interesting; in some cases seeking new forms, in others, following classic lines.

In music, there are many attempts at innovations. Not the least significant are the performances of the First Symphonic Ensemble—Persymfans—the symphonic orchestra without a conductor. It is a brilliant attempt on the part of the Moscow Symphonic Society led by Professor Zeitlin to train an ensemble of artists so alert and proficient as to perform as a unit. The orchestra is composed of eighty pieces, and their repertoire covers a wide range. The underlying idea is the same as that of the Proletarian State; to build a society of equals, so highly trained, so disciplined, so attuned to one another as to work without direction from above. Needless to say, Professor Zeitlin is a gifted musician, a brilliant violinist, and a tried Communist to boot. Professor Shor, an old musician of high standing, finds Persymfans an extremely interesting and significant institution. While I cannot speak with authority about other musical developments, yet I know there are many talented composers and performers, and that the land that produced Tchaikovsky, Mussogorsky, Rimsky-Korsakov and many other musical lights of the first order, is not without them today. In fact I was privileged to meet at least two musical marvels, both altogether unusual. One—Raya Garbusova, a slim girl of seventeen, a 'cellist, is even now setting musical Berlin on its ear by the magnificence and inspiration of her playing. The other, Julian Krein, a boy of twelve, has been composing musical pieces of a high order since he was eight. I understand little in music; but when I listened to Julian Krein play his compositions, with the little hands of a delicate child,

I was amazed, I marveled: I thought I was listening to the music of Chopin, or Bach, or the best Russian composers. Julian inherited his art from his father and grandfather—gifted musicians both. But his genius is so unique as to astound and delight old musicians; such marvels, they say, happen but once in a century.

In literature, much is being produced both in verse and prose. Of verse makers there is no end, a whole galaxy of young, very young poets, and some older ones of undoubted merit. Pasternak's style is very graceful; Yessenin, Mayakovsky and a host of others possess both power and form; and Demyan Bedny (Demyan the Poor)—everyone in Russia knows his fables and songs by heart. He is the homely bard of the Revolution—a sort of Bill Nye, James Riley and Mr. Dooley in one. Of prose writers, the outstanding figure is that of Boris Pilnyak; young (not yet thirty), impetuous, an artist and a tramp, he is tracing new paths in literature; already he has written some powerful works in a style all his own; but his best work is still to come with greater maturity—and more restfulness. Another gifted writer is Seifullina, a young woman of Tartar origin, whose novel, "Virinea" can well compare with some of Gorki's or even Turgenev's writings. There are so many other good writers, it is difficult to name them all. Most of their present output is in the form of short stories; a good many deal with the Revolution and civil war. Only recently works of large dimensions, covering wider periods, are beginning to appear. The time has not come yet for a long and serious study of the life in New Russia. Life itself is still seeking stable forms, it is still in transition. The artist therefore catches only fragments of life, describes a scene or a mood; for this the short story is the best vehicle. But in this medium the Russian writers have certainly reached perfection; Maupassant has not produced better short stories than Babel, or Ivanov or Shishkov. Alas, many of these excellent stories cannot be made available to the Anglo-Saxon reader: they are too true to life, too unvarnished!

But if in belles lettres there isn't yet any epoch-making work, there certainly is in science and particularly in the field of sociology and economics. Lenin's works will become the heritage of mankind as Plato's Republic or Marx's Capital. But there are many other serious writers in Russia, as Bukharin in economics, Pokrovsky in history, Riasanov in the study of Marx, Radek in international affairs, Zinoviev on revolutionary movements and Trotzky, to whom no subject is foreign.

I am citing only a few names at random as they come to mind. There are luminaries in every branch of pure and applied science in the Soviet Union today, some of the old school, and more of the new, of whom any country may well be proud.

A word about the art treasures of Russia. An American professor visited the Hermitage in Leningrad and several museums in Moscow. His comment is characteristic: "Good lord, weren't we told in the American press that the art collections were ruined, museums destroyed, and priceless relics looted? And here I find the finest collections in the world, of paintings, of pottery, of ancient and medieval treasures, of oriental art, kept in most exemplary order, and unknown to the rest of the world. Our ill-advised press is guilty of

a crime against civilization!" Be it as it may, the Russian museums are not only intact, but are being enlarged by new collections—from sources formerly in private hands, or as a result of finds by scientific expeditions which the government lavishly supports. In addition to the established museums, some of the old churches and monasteries, as well as nobles' palaces, which contained many art treasures, have been turned into museums. And the people are encouraged to visit them: factories, schools, offices send their groups on such visits, in charge of competent guides, who explain the art and trace its historical relationships. In the church of St. Basil in Moscow—now a museum—a young girl gives the history of Byzantine, Persian and Italian architecture; at the Usadba (palace) of Count Sheremetov in Ostankino; another young guide describes the life of the nobles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and shows the furnishings and art works as witnesses of that period. In the Winter Palace in Leningrad, the life of the czars is traced, before audiences of school children and factory workers. And in another wing of this palace, the Museum of the Revolution has assembled a great collection of revolutionary relics from 1789 to our days. . . . Not only have art collections been preserved, even many monuments to generals and czars remain untouched; except in the case of the monster monument to Alexander III which stands in front of the Nicholai (Now October) station in Leningrad. Thereon the workmen of Leningrad have carved, with revolutionary justice, Pugalo, Scarecrow, in large letters.

The Soviet Union grows stronger in breadth, as well as in the depth of its roots in the Russian soil. The harvest this year promises to be excellent. The area cultivated is greater and the quality of the crops is better than ever before. The government is turning its "face to the village"—giving the village the first call on its efforts. It has diminished the peasant's taxes, canceled some of his debts, appropriated money for farm improvement and irrigation. . . . Industrially, the union has made substantial gains and is energetically pushing an expansion program, which will bring industry to a stage sufficient for the needs of the country. In this program are included new power stations, new factories, new rail and water routes, improvement of roads, motor transport, electrification. The government may even permit itself a few luxuries, such as forbidding of overtime for responsible workers, perhaps even a raise in their salaries (which is 192 rubles—\$96—per month at present) or trips abroad for education and study; or it may carry out an aeroplane expedition from Moscow to Peking, which by the way is making history in aviation, but of which the European and American press keep their readers in ignorance. The state doesn't feel as poor as it did a year ago.

Is the picture too rosy, too onesided? Why, then, is there joy in Russia and laughter, when there is gloom in the rest of Europe? Why does even a stranger in Moscow feel the bursting of young life, whereas in the rest of Europe one is oppressed by age, dyspepsia and pessimism. . . . An American girl in Moscow too fond of it to leave, asks every foreign arrival: Have you got the disease, the infectious disease of love for young, uncouth, struggling, poor, but healthy and hopeful Soviet Russia? No, the picture is not too rosy; but neither need the observer be an old dyspeptic!

Revolution in China and in Europe

By Karl Marx

The best and most valuable sources for the proletarian student of Marx are the writings and comments of Karl Marx on contemporary historic events. No treatise on the subject of historic materialism can bring to the mind of the student of Marxism a cleaner understanding the mind of the student of Marxism a clearer understanding pamphlet we find Marx operating with Marxism. We do not merely get acquainted with his formula; we see the master in his laboratory, dissecting the event in the retort of his science. We see the raw material; the naked historic event; we perceive the master's method of investigation; and finally we find the product: a brilliant analysis.

Only a very small amount of the contemporary writings of Karl Marx are available for the student. Most important comments on historic events of his day were written by Marx as newspaper articles and are buried in the files of libraries. Past efforts to dig up this material were not completely successful. A number of these writings do not even bear the mark of the writer. Many articles, written by Marx as correspondent to the *New York Daily Tribune*, for instance, were printed by that paper, at least in part, as editorials. Only the correspondence between Marx and Engels revealed the real author of some of these gems.

But even the correspondence between the two friends, as published by Bernstein and Bebel, withholds valuable information. Some of the letters were printed only in part, some were suppressed entirely by the editors of this correspondence.

The researches of the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow have thrown light on an abundance of hitherto inaccessible writings of Karl Marx. Incidentally, they brought to light also an abundance of crimes committed by the trustees of the literary estate of Marx and Engels, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

We reprint here an article written by Karl Marx and published in the *New York Daily Tribune*, August 8, 1853.

This article is not among those printed in Rjasanov's edition of Marx's contemporary writings. This collection of Rjasanov is the only attempt ever made to make available to the workers those writings. Although most of these articles were originally written in English, yet those available are printed only in German.

Karl Marx acted as foreign correspondent of the *New York Daily Tribune* from 1851 to 1862.

The *Tribune* was founded by Horace Greeley, who for some time flirted with Fourierism. In those days Greeley and his partner, McElrath, brought into their editorial department several idealist apostles of Fourier. One of them, Charles Dana, made the acquaintance of Marx on a trip through Europe. When Dana became the editor of the foreign columns of the *Tribune* he requested Marx to become a regular contributor. Marx as usual was in straitened circumstances and accepted, although the pay was very meager. He by no means enjoyed his role as a correspondent of the

Tribune. He wrote about it very to Engels most bitterly: "It is indeed disgusting when one is condemned to consider it fortunate that such a blotter (the *Tribune*—Editor) takes one into its boat. To crush bones, to grind them and to cook soup of them, as the paupers do in the almshouse, that is what the political work amounts to that one is often condemned to do for such concerns."

The article we reprint was written by Marx on the occasion of a popular rebellion in China led by Hung Si-ts'uan.

English capital had "persuaded" the unfortunate Chinese, by force of arms that it is absolutely indispensable to "the national honor of Great Britain" that there should be no interference with the profits of British merchants derived from poisoning the Chinese with opium. The burdens of the opium wars rested heavily upon the shoulders of the masses of China. Revolts were frequent. One of these revolts succeeded in contesting, for some time very seriously, the power of the established government of Emperor Heinfeng.

Marx' analysis of this rebellion, and his conclusions, are of special significance at this moment when modern imperialist aggression in China has again resulted in a general revolt of the exploited masses of China. And today, a thousand times more than in the days Marx treats in his article, the Chinese revolt may be a lever with the help of which the international proletariat can lift capitalism from its base.

—Editor Workers Monthly.

A MOST profound yet fantastic speculator on the principles which govern the movements of humanity, was wont to extol as one of the ruling secrets of nature, what he called the law of the contact of extremes. The homely proverb that "extremes meet" was, in his view, a grand and potent truth in every sphere of life; an axiom with which the philosopher could as little dispense as the astronomer with the laws of Kepler or the great discovery of Newton.

Whether the "contact of extremes" be such a universal principle or not, a striking illustration of it may be seen in the effect the Chinese revolution seems likely to exercise upon the civilized world. It may seem a very strange, and a very paradoxical assertion, that the next uprising of the people of Europe, and their next movement for republican freedom and economy of government, may depend more probably on what is now passing in the Celestial Empire—the very opposite of Europe—than on any other political cause that now exists—more even than on the menaces of Russia and the consequent likelihood of a general European war. But yet it is no paradox, as all may understand by attentively considering the circumstances of the case.

Whatever be the social causes, and whatever religious, dynastic, or national shape they may assume, that have brought about the chronic rebellions subsisting in China for about ten years past, and now gathered together in one formidable revolution, the occasion of this outbreak has unquestionably been afforded by the English cannon forcing

upon China that soporific drug called opium. Before the British arms the authority of the Manchu dynasty fell to pieces; the superstitious faith in the eternity of the Celestial Empire broke down; the barbarous and hermetic isolation from the civilized world was infringed; and an opening was made for that intercourse which has since proceeded so rapidly under the golden attractions of California and Australia. At the same time the silver coin of the Empire, its life-blood, began to be drained away to the British East Indies.

Up to 1830, the balance of trade being continually in favor of the Chinese, there existed an uninterrupted importation of silver from India, Britain and the United States into China. Since 1833, and especially since 1840, the export of silver from China to India has become almost exhausting for the Celestial Empire. Hence the strong decrees of the Emperor against the opium trade, responded to by still stronger resistance to his measures. Besides this immediate economical consequence, the bribery connected with opium smuggling has entirely demoralized the Chinese state officers in the Southern provinces. Just as the Emperor was wont to be considered the father of all China, so his officers were looked upon as sustaining the paternal relation to their respective districts. But this patriarchal authority, the only moral link embracing the vast machinery of the state, has gradually been corroded by the corruption of those officers, who have made great gains by conniving at opium smuggling. This has occurred principally in the same southern provinces where the rebellion commenced. It is almost needless to observe that, in the same measure in which opium has obtained the sovereignty over the Chinese, the Emperor and his staff of pedantic mandarins have become dispossessed of their own sovereignty. It would seem as though history had first to make this whole people drunk before it could rouse them out of their hereditary stupidity.

Though scarcely existing in former times, the import of English cottons, and to a small extent of English woollens, has rapidly risen since 1833, the epoch when the monopoly of trade with China was transferred from the East India company to private commerce, and on a much greater scale since 1840, the epoch when other nations, and especially our own, also obtained a share in the Chinese trade. This introduction of foreign manufactures has had a similar effect on the native industry to that which it formerly had on Asia Minor, Persia and India. In China the spinners and weavers have suffered greatly under this foreign competition, and the community has become unsettled in proportion.

The tribute to be paid to England after the unfortunate war of 1840, the great unproductive consumption of opium, the drain of the precious metals by this trade, the destructive influence of foreign competition on native manufactures, the demoralized condition of the public administration, produced two things: the old taxation became more burdensome and harassing, and new taxation was added to the old. Thus in a decree of the Emperor, dated Peking, January 5, 1853, we find orders given to the viceroys and governors of the southern provinces of Woo-Chang and Hun-Yang to remit and defer the payment of taxes, and especially not in any case to exact more than the regular amount; for otherwise, says the decree, "how will the poor

people be able to bear it?" "And thus, perhaps," continued the Emperor, "will my people, in a period of general hardship and distress, be exempted from the evils of being pursued and worried by the tax-gatherer." Such language as this, and such concessions we remember to have heard from Austria, the China of Germany, in 1848.

All these dissolving agencies acting together on the finances, the morals, the industry, and political structure of China, received their full development under the English cannon in 1840, which broke down the authority of the Emperor, and forced the Celestial Empire into contact with the terrestrial world. Complete isolation was the prime condition of the preservation of Old China. That isolation having come to a violent end by the medium of England, dissolution must follow as surely as that of any mummy carefully preserved in a hermetically sealed coffin, whenever it is brought into contact with the open air. Now, England having brought about the revolution of China, the question is how that revolution will in time react on England, and through England on Europe. This question is not difficult of solution.

The attention of our readers has often been called to the unparalleled growth of British manufactures since 1850. Amid the most surprising prosperity, it has not been difficult to point out the clear symptoms of an approaching industrial crisis. Notwithstanding California and Australia, notwithstanding the immense and unprecedented emigration, there must ever, without any particular accident, in due time arrive a moment when the extension of the markets is unable to keep pace with the extension of British manufactures, and this disproportion must bring about a new crisis with the same certainty as it has done in the past. But, if one of the great markets suddenly becomes contracted, the arrival of the crisis is necessarily accelerated thereby. Now, the Chinese rebellion must, for the time being, have precisely this effect upon England. The necessity for opening new markets, or for extending the old one, was one of the principal causes of the reduction of the British tea-duties, as, with an increased importation of tea, an increased exportation of manufactures to China was expected to take place. Now, the value of the annual exports from the United Kingdom to China amounted, before the repeal in 1834 of the trading monopoly possessed by the East India company, to only £600,000; in 1836, it reached the sum of £1,326,388; in 1854, it had risen to £2,394,827; in 1852 it amounted to about £3,000,000. The quantity of tea imported from China did not exceed, in 1793, 16,167,331 lbs.; but in 1845, it amounted to 50,714,657 lbs.; in 1846, to 57,584,561 lbs.; it is now above 60,000,000 lbs.

The tea crop of the last season will not prove short, as shown already by the export lists from Shanghai, of 2,000,000 lbs. above the preceding year. This excess is to be accounted for by two circumstances. On one hand, the state of the market at the close of 1851 was much depressed, and the large surplus stock left has been thrown into the export of 1852. On the other hand, the recent accounts of the altered British legislation with regard to imports of tea, reaching China, have brought forward all the available teas to a ready market, at greatly enhanced prices. But with respect to the coming crop, the case stands very differently.

This is shown by the following extracts from the correspondence of a large tea-firm in London:

"In Shanghai the terror is extreme. Gold has advanced upward of 25 per cent; BEING EAGERLY SOUGHT FOR HOARDING; silver has so far disappeared that NONE COULD BE OBTAINED to pay the China dues on the British vessels requiring port clearance; and in consequence of which Mr. Alcock has consented to become responsible to the Chinese authorities for the payment of these dues, on receipt of East India Company's bills, or other approved securities. THE SCARCITY OF THE PRECIOUS METALS is one of the most unfavorable features, when viewed in reference to the immediate future of commerce, as this abstraction occurs precisely at that period when their use is most needed, to enable the tea and silk buyers to go into the interior and effect their purchases, for which a LARGE PORTION OF BULLION IS PAID IN ADVANCE, TO ENABLE THE PRODUCERS TO CARRY ON THEIR OPERATIONS.

"At this period of the year it is usual to begin making arrangements for the new teas, whereas at present nothing is talked of but the means of protecting person and property, all transactions being at a stand . . . If the means are not applied to secure the leaves in April and May, the early crop, which includes all the finer descriptions, both of black and green teas, will be as much lost as unreaped wheat at Christmas."

Now the means for securing the tea leaves will certainly not be given by the English, American or French squadrons stationed in the Chinese seas, but these may easily, by their interference, produce such complications as to cut off all transactions between the tea-producing interior and the tea-exporting seaports. Thus, for the present crop, a rise in the prices must be expected—speculation has already commenced in London—and for the crop to come, a large deficit is as good as certain. Nor is this all. The Chinese, ready though they may be, as are all peoples in periods of revolutionary convulsion, to sell off to the foreigner all the bulky commodities they have on hand, will, as the Orientals are used to do in the apprehension of great changes, set to hoarding, not taking much in return for their tea and silk, except hard money. England has accordingly to expect a rise in the price of one of her chief articles of consumption, a drain of bullion, and a great contraction of an important market for her cotton and woolen goods. Even *The Economist*, that optimistic conjurer of all things menacing the tranquil minds of the mercantile community, is compelled to use language like this:

"We must not flatter ourselves with finding as extensive a market for our exports to China as hitherto . . . It is more probable that our export trade to China should suffer, and that there should be a diminished demand for the produce of Manchester and Glasgow."

It must not be forgotten that the rise in the price of so indispensable an article as tea, and the contraction of so important a market as China, will coincide with a deficient

harvest in Western Europe, and, therefore, with rising prices of wheat, corn, and all other agricultural produce. Hence contracted markets for manufactures, because every rise in the prices of the first necessities of life is counterbalanced, at home and abroad, by a corresponding deduction in the demand for manufactures. From every part of Great Britain complaints have been received on the backward state of most of the crops. *The Economist* says on this subject:

"In the South of England not only will there be left much land unsown, until too late for a crop of any sort, but much of the sown land will prove to be foul, or otherwise in a bad state for corn-growing. On the wet or poor soils destined for wheat, signs that mischief is going on are apparent. The time for planting mangel-wurtzel may now be said to have passed away, and very little has been planted, while the time for preparing land for the turnip is rapidly going by, without any adequate preparation for this important crop having been accomplished . . . Oat sowing has been much interfered with by the snow and rain. Few oats were sown early, and late sown oats seldom produce a large crop . . . In many districts losses among the breeding flocks have been considerable."

The price of other farm produce than corn is from 20 to 30, and even 50 per cent higher than last year. On the Continent, corn has risen comparatively more than in England. Rye has risen in Belgium and Holland full 100 per cent. Wheat and other grains are following suit.

Under these circumstances, as the greater part of the regular commercial circle has already been run through by British trade, it may safely be augured that the Chinese revolution will throw the spark into the overloaded mine of the present industrial system and cause the explosion of the long-prepared general crisis, which, spreading abroad, will be closely followed by political revolutions on the Continent. It would be a curious spectacle, that of China sending disorder into the Western World while the Western powers, by English, French and American war-steamers, are conveying "order" to Shanghai, Nankin, and the mouths of the Great Canal. Do these order-mongering powers, which would attempt to support the wavering Manchu dynasty, forget that the hatred against foreigners and their exclusion from the Empire, once the mere result of China's geographical and ethnographical situation, have become a political system only since the conquest of the country by the race of the Manchu Tartars? There can be no doubt that the turbulent dissensions among the European nations who, at the latter end of the seventeenth century, rivalled each other in the trade with China, lent a mighty aid to the exclusive policy adopted by the Manchus. But more than this was done by the fear of the new dynasty lest the foreigners might favor the discontent existing among a large proportion of the Chinese during the first half century or thereabouts of their subjection to the Tartars. From these considerations, foreigners were then prohibited from all communication with the Chinese, except through Canton, a town at a great distance from Peking and the tea districts, and their commerce restricted to intercourse with the Hong merchants, licensed by the government expressly for the foreign trade,

in order to keep the rest of its subjects from all connection with the odious strangers. In any case, an interference on the part of the Western governments at this time can only serve to render the revolution more violent, and protract the stagnation of trade.

At the same time it is to be observed with regard to India, that the British government of that century depends for full one-seventh of its revenue on the sale of opium to the Chinese, while a considerable proportion of the Indian demand for British manufactures depends on the production of that opium in India. The Chinese, it is true, are no more likely to renounce the use of opium than are the Germans to forswear tobacco. But as the new Emperor is understood to be favorable to the culture of the poppy and the preparation of opium in China itself, it is evident that a death-blow is very likely to be struck at once at the business of opium-raising in India, the Indian revenue, and the commercial resources of Hindustan. Though this blow would not immediately be felt by the interests concerned, it would operate effectually in due time, and would come in to intensify and prolong the universal financial crisis whose horoscope we have cast above.

Since the commencement of the eighteenth century there has been no serious revolution in Europe which had not been preceded by a commercial and financial crisis. This applies no less to the revolution of 1789 than to that of 1848. It is true, not only that we every day behold more threatening symptoms of conflict between the ruling powers and

their subjects, between the state and society, between the various classes; but also the conflict of the existing powers among each other gradually reaching that height where the sword must be drawn, and the ultima ratio of prices be recurred to. In the European capitals, every day brings dispatches big with universal war, vanishing under the dispatches of the following day, bearing the assurance of peace for a week or so. We may be sure, nevertheless, that to whatever height the conflict between the European powers may rise, however threatening the aspect of the diplomatic horizon may appear, whatever movements may be attempted by some enthusiastic fraction in this or that country, the rage of princes and the fury of the people are alike enervated by the breath of prosperity. Neither wars nor revolutions are likely to put Europe by the ears, unless in consequence of a general commercial and industrial crisis, the signal of which has, as usual, to be given by England, the representative of European industry in the market of the world.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the political consequences such a crisis must produce in these times, with the unprecedented extension of factories in England, with the utter dissolution of her official parties, with the whole state machinery of France transformed into one immense swindling and stock-jobbing concern, with Austria on the eve of bankruptcy, with wrongs everywhere accumulated to be revenged by the people, with the conflicting interests of the reactionary powers themselves, and with the Russian dream of conquest once more revealed to the world.

Karl Liebknecht—Leader of the Youth

By Herbert Zam

"In the Russian embassy in Berlin," writes Nikolai Buchkarin, "we celebrated the release of Karl Liebknecht from prison. Many people were there—the society was rather mixed. . . . All spoke but no one made such a deep impression upon me as a young worker a young man with one arm and a thin face with yellow cheeks. He spoke with such a firm belief in our victory that every revolutionist present felt that such a generation must be victorious. Karl himself felt this also. . . . Most of what Liebknecht said was addressed to him, for there existed a close connection that bound them together. **LIEBKNECHT WAS ALWAYS SURROUNDED BY THE YOUTH**; it was these 'children' who above all took part in the street battles and demonstrations.

"Some days later the young comrade was injured in a street fight—a police sword had hit his arm stump.

"Mehring no longer lives and Liebknecht is dead; even Haase has been buried by the hangmen of Scheidemann. I do not know whether the young comrade with the one arm still lives. But this I know—the German working class youth still lives, the revolutionary spirit with which Liebknecht was baptised still lives."

Liebknecht—Leader of The Youth.

"Liebknecht was always surrounded by the youth!" It was this intimate relation with the revolutionary youth that was the keynote of the whole career of Karl Liebknecht;

it was this bond that determined his relations to the proletarian movement and to the social democratic party. It was this consuming interest dominating his whole life that made Karl Liebknecht at the age of 49 (he was of the same age as Lenin.) still one of the "young" and a leader of the youth.

The Significance of the Attitude Towards the Proletarian Youth.

Zinoviev has well pointed out that one's attitude to and conception of the youth movement can serve as an excellent criterion for one's relation to the proletarian movement as a whole and position in regard to its various tendencies. It is only the true revolutionary, the Bolshevik in the real sense of the word, the proletarian leader who seriously addresses himself to the problem of the proletarian revolution, who can deeply appreciate the full significance of the movement of the working youth and who can assume a proper attitude towards it.

Towards the beginning of the century the deep-going opportunism that was to turn the whole social democracy into a "whited sepulchre" was already becoming more and more evident. The trade union and socialist leaders were losing contact with the masses, were getting out of touch with their daily struggles, were responding to the triumphant march of imperialism with more and more reformist and compromising tactics, and were slowly becoming transform-

ed into conscious or unconscious agents of the capitalists. To the official labor movement of Germany the proletarian revolution was losing its clearness; it was becoming more and more a matter for abstract propaganda and was regarded very uneasily from the point of view of practical possibility.

The Reformists and the Youth.

To such people the youth movement did not present itself in a very welcome form. The youthful proletariat has no "aristocracy" in whom opportunism and reformism can find a basis; the youthful proletariat is largely unorganized, suffers from long hours, most miserable conditions, and intolerable treatment; the youthful proletariat is subjected to forced military service and bears the brunt of militarism. Psychologically also the young workers are the bearers of a living revolutionary spirit, a spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction, a spirit of revolution. In the ranks of the workers, therefore, the youth form the most proletarian, the most revolutionary section of the toiling masses.

To the comfortable, well-fed, and self-satisfied bureaucrats the movement of the revolutionary youth was a constant and serious menace. It was as a breath of fresh air rudely disturbing the stale atmosphere of officialdom. It brought the spectre of the proletarian revolution vividly before the frightened eyes of the well-established trade union and party leaders. These gentlemen, therefore, quite systematically paid no attention to the plight of the young workers and regarded every move in the direction of approaching the youth as "dangerous" to a degree. The very thought of organizing the young workers on a real militant basis was anathema to them and the most they could see in the youth was a loose non-political, social, and cultural organization. "The youth must not interfere in politics" solemnly maintained the reformists who were mortally afraid that the proletarian spirit and the revolutionary impetuosity of the working youth would cause them no end of "trouble." Nowhere was the opportunism of the social democratic and trade union bureaucrats more marked than in their attitude towards the nature and functions of the socialist youth movement.

Liebkecht Fights for the Youth.

It was Karl Liebknecht who from the very first took upon himself the not very grateful task of championing the cause of the young workers within party circles and without. In committees and conferences of the social democratic party and of the trade unions, everywhere he could possibly get a hearing, Liebknecht was perpetually putting forward the case of the toiling youth and demanding aid for their organization. It may well be imagined what uphill work it was to convince the bureaucrats of the necessity for a youth movement. Finally, however, the beginnings were made with the formal and grudging consent of the Party officialdom but, as Liebknecht himself complained, against their active and systematic sabotage. At any rate, the beginning was made and the Young Socialist League was formed. To this league and to its counterparts in the other countries of Europe Liebknecht dedicated his best efforts and his most brilliant work.

Liebkecht and the Anti-Militarist Struggle.

It was to a section of the Young Socialist League that Karl Liebknecht, in 1906, delivered his course of lectures



KARL LIEBKNECHT.

on Militarism and Anti-Militarism. The problem of militarism is predominantly a problem of the working youth, for the young workers and peasants form the vast bulk of the conscript armies of the bourgeoisie and bear the full brunt of capitalist militarism. It is a sign of the real proletarian spirit of Liebknecht that he, above all others, immediately saw the truly revolutionary implications of the struggle against militarism and called upon the whole working class to give its full aid to the proletarian and peasant youth in their campaign against it. Liebknecht was the prophet not only of the revolutionary youth but also of the revolutionary struggle against capitalist militarism that now constitutes one of the primary forms of activity of the Young Communist International.

"Militarism," wrote Liebknecht, "is not only a means of defense against the external enemy; it has a second task, which comes more and more to the fore as class contradictions become more marked and the class consciousness of the proletariat continues to grow. . . . Thus the task of militarism is to uphold the prevailing order of society, to prop up capitalism and all reaction against the struggle of the working class for freedom. Militarism manifests itself here as a mere tool in the class struggle, as a tool in the hands of the ruling class. It has the effect of retarding the class consciousness of the proletariat in co-operation with the police and the courts, the school, and the church."

"Anti-militarist propaganda must cover the entire country like a net," wrote Liebknecht addressing his words to the whole proletariat but particularly to the revolutionary young workers. "The proletarian youth

must be systematically imbued with class consciousness and with a hatred for militarism. Agitation of this kind would strike a response in the warm hearts and the youthful enthusiasm of the young proletarians. The proletarian youth belongs to the social democracy. It must and will be won over if every one does his duty. He who has the youth has the army!"

These lectures, immediately published in book form, caused a sensation throughout Germany and shocked the bourgeois authorities hardly more than it did the respectable social democratic leaders. It may well be imagined how the Prussian military state reacted to this fundamentally revolutionary attack of Liebknecht. "GUILTY, of a treasonable undertaking. . . . condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment in a fortress. . . . all copies of the book and all plates and forms are to be destroyed. . . ." This was the verdict after a sensational trial with which it is said the kaiser himself was kept in touch thru a private wire.

Liebkecht in Parliament.

Lenin has more than once held up the work of Liebknecht as a model of revolutionary parliamentarism, as an example of the revolutionary use of parliament as an arena of struggle. In truth, Liebknecht deserved this praise. But it was not only during the war that the revolutionary courage and foresight of the great leader were evident. From the time he was elected to the Prussian Diet, Karl carried the class struggle of the proletariat and of the proletarian youth into that body and used it as a tribune from which to address the millions of workers and peasants of Prussia. Again the problems of the youth were foremost in his mind. Militarism and the struggle against it stood in the front rank. But the question of education also preoccupied him and it was on this issue that he succeeded so well in exposing the hypocritical class nature of the whole cultural apparatus of bourgeois society.

"We cannot separate," Karl spoke to the young workers and peasants of Germany from his place in the Diet, "the educational from the social systems. . . . Education under capitalism is not an aim in itself. . . . The higher schools serve as institutions for preparing higher state officials while the elementary schools are used today to consolidate the position of the ruling classes, to capture the souls of the young proletariat for the ruling classes, for militarism. . . . You are trying to give the impression that you are throwing open the road of education to the people but that is only because you require educated soldiers."

It is clear that Karl Liebknecht himself consciously dedicated his whole life to the cause of the enlightenment, organization, and mobilization of the toiling youth against capitalism. It is for this reason that the revolutionary young workers of the world over now hail the martyred hero as the leader of the revolutionary youth.

The War Breaks Out—The Collapse of Social Democracy.

But it took the war to provide a fitting background to bring out the true greatness of the man. We all know what happened before and as the war broke out. The grand moguls of social democracy had solemnly met year in and year out before 1914 and passed one resolution after the other declaring that under no circumstances would the pro-

letariat permit the occurrence of the great world war everyone knew was coming. It was only a few profound Marxists like Lenin who could see that these brave words covered a rotting corpse and that the whole imposing structure of social democracy was but housing a stinking carcass. It took the outbreak of the war to convince the honest workers of this. The rottenest reformism, the most shameless social patriotism immediately took control of the workers' organizations and began with the greatest enthusiasm the task of turning over the working class body and soul to the general staff. Those who had been loudest in proclaiming their international solidarity, now without any hesitation flocked to the support of their respective bourgeoisies. The whole social democratic Party and the social democratic trade unions became transformed into departments of the German war machine. And not only in Germany, in Belgium, in France, in England, everywhere, "class peace" (Burgfrieden) was declared. Each to the defense of his own fatherland—as Kautsky sagely proclaimed.

Liebkecht Fights the Imperialist War.

In all this madhouse one clear voice could be heard—the voice of Karl Liebknecht. This man who had been dubbed "eccentric" and "stormy petrel" because of his militant championing of the role of the youth and of the struggle against militarism, now became more "eccentric" and more "stormy" than ever. He spoke against the war—he voted against the war—he fought it. That at first he was alone did not daunt him. Soon he succeeded in gathering around himself a few other comrades who had remained faithful to the cause of the struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the emancipation of labor—Luxemburg, Mehring, Jogisches, Zeitkin, and together with them organized an extreme left wing within the social democratic party devoted to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, against the war and for freedom.

"Forward Against Capitalism, Against the Government!"

Of course, the German general staff was quick to retaliate. To imprison Liebknecht or to murder him openly was out of the question—for so beloved was Karl by the workers that the German state simply did not dare to make any open move against him. So, early in the war, he was conscripted into the army. But here too, he continued his propaganda. On May 1, 1916, while he was in Berlin on leave he became the center of a tremendous May Day Anti-War demonstration in the great public square before the kaiser's palace. In full uniform the heroic Karl flung these stirring words to the huge masses mad with enthusiasm:

"Let thousands of voices shout: 'Down with the shameless extermination of nations! Down with those responsible for these crimes! Our enemies are not the English, French, or Russian workers but the great German landed proprietors, the German capitalists, and their executive committee, the government.'

"Forward. Let us fight the government. Let us fight these mortal enemies of all freedom. Let us fight for everything which means the triumph of the working classes, the future of humanity and civilization!"

The German Masses in Motion.

Of course, Karl was immediately arrested. But the German masses were already moving. Strike after strike

broke out—continually growing and expanding to ever wider proportions. It was this movement of revolt that two years later unseated the kaiser and the landowners and placed the power for a brief period of time into the hands of the false representatives of the proletariat.

The Social Democrats Incite Against Liebknecht.

The hatred and fear of the German state for Karl Liebknecht was heartily shared by the shameless betrayers of the German workers—the socialist and trade union officials who now became the most open agents of the military machine. The whole party apparatus was mobilized against him and his comrades. The worst passions of the lowest strata of the German workers were incited against them. They were publicly baited as “mad dogs” and “scum of the earth.” The social patriotic jingoes who were licking the boots of von Hindenberg were frothing at the mouth in their wild hatred of the heroic Liebknecht. These were the same men—these bureaucrats and “leaders”—who had a few years before shaken their heads and spoken pityingly of the “madcap” Karl who actually wanted to organize the “reckless” and “impetuous” youth for the struggle against capitalism. History indeed has a knack of placing fitting conclusions to its tales.

October, 1917.

In 1917, the world proletariat broke through the chain of capitalism at its weakest point—on the Russian sector—and in the fall of that year the Russian proletariat and poor peasantry took power. The world proletarian revolution was begun! October, 1917, resounded through the world!

The German Revolution and the Treason of the Social Democrats.

In Germany the collapse came towards the end of 1918. The kaiser fled the land. The workers everywhere threw off their yoke. Liebknecht was released and again became the idol of the masses. He immediately saw that the social democrats were actively engaged in robbing the workers of the fruits of their struggles, in liquidating the revolution and in turning the state power over to the bourgeoisie who were too weak to seize it themselves. With all the fervor of their profoundly revolutionary spirit Liebknecht and his comrades threw themselves into the work of showing the German working class the road to emancipation that had already been trodden by the Russian proletariat under the guidance of the Bolsheviki and of organizing them for the struggle. It was at this point that the full baseness and murderous lust of the “humanitarian” and “civilized” social democrats became evident. It was now that they showed themselves to be as bitter enemies of the cause of the proletariat as ever their masters, the capitalists themselves.

Liebknecht is Murdered!

It would require too much space here to recount the already well-known tale of Spartacus—of the organization of the Spartakusbund and of the uprisings and struggles it led. In these Liebknecht's “children,” the working youth, played the leading part for was the youth ever absent when there was revolutionary work to be done and revolutionary struggles to be fought! We know too well of the bloody provocations of the Scheidemann-Ebert Vonwaerts against the leaders of the struggling proletariat, of the blood-hound Noske, of the blood bath into which these “peaceful” gentlemen plunged Berlin and Germany. They did their duty—to the capitalist masters. But the working class will remember



ROSA LUXEMBURG.

these people who served the capitalists in the ranks of the working class!

Liebknecht Lives in the Revolutionary Youth.

Liebknecht and Luxemburg are dead—murdered by the social democrats for their service to the revolution. But the banner they bore has not fallen. The Red Flag of the proletarian revolution is still aloft—waving defiantly in the face of the imperialists. And rallying around the banner of the embattled toilers, in the front line of the struggle for the emancipation of labor and of humanity, are the spirited ranks of the proletarian youth—the youth for whom Liebknecht fought, whom Liebknecht inspired, whom Liebknecht taught, whom Liebknecht organized, whom Liebknecht led, for whom Liebknecht died!

The spirit of Liebknecht lives in the revolutionary youth—in the Young Communist International!

JOBS

In the depths of a sultry sewer,
Where muck runs yellow and sweat runs hot,
The backs of shovelmen
Swing in monotonous toil.

Up, down . . . Up, down . . .
Ten hours a day
Heaving yellow muck
Out of a sewer.

Lounging in the shade of the foreman's shanty,
A dozen shovelmen with clean overalls
Are waiting. . .

—Jim Waters.

Economics of Class Collaboration

By Bertram D. Wolfe

INCREASINGLY the literature of our party has been repeating the formula that certain strata of the working class are won over to the side of capital and corrupted out of the profits of monopoly and imperialism. What is needed now is not so much repetition of this formula as an analysis of its mechanics as actually observable in the American labor movement.

The monopoly position of British industry thru much of the 19th century enabled British capital to make capitalism endurable to the British working class, for which reason, in the words of Engels, “there was no socialism in Great Britain.” Just as it was impossible to understand the nature of the British labor movement without understanding this phenomenon, so is it today impossible to understand the American labor movement and adopt a conscious program for its further development without analyzing the present privileged position of certain sections of the American working class.

He who would understand the American labor movement, the corruption of its leadership, the conservatism of its “aristocratic” sections, its political unripeness, its stratification, the patriotism and jingoism of certain of its sections, its class collaboration, must study in detail the mechanics of this phenomenon.

This, of course, is a big job, and one in which the entire party must interest itself. A few are already working on some of the problems involved, but many more must investigate them and many fields as yet untouched must be subjected to analysis. The writer does not intend to attempt such an investigation in the present article but merely to sketch some of the methods and fields of investigation in order to stimulate further work along the lines indicated.

At this moment, when the ascendancy of American capital and its monopoly of the world investment market is definitely assured, when the total loans of our bankers abroad amount to about ten billion dollars and when the beginning of payments under the debt funding plans will build up ever-increasing sums for reinvestment, and when the number of foreign government and industrial loans mounts in continually increasing ratio—the importance of such investigations cannot be over-emphasized. A concrete understanding of the economics underlying class collaboration and the creation of an “aristocracy” of labor is indispensable for the understanding of the American labor movement.

Why There Was No Socialism in America.

Large sections of American labor have, during long periods, been satisfied with capitalism and have sought to achieve certain reforms under it but not to attack the capitalist system as a whole. In 1852, we find Marx saying of America that “the classes already exist, but have not yet acquired permanent character, are in constant flux and reflux, constantly changing their elements and yielding them up to one another; where the modern means of production, instead of coinciding with a stagnant population, rather compensate for the relative scarcity of heads and hands; and,

finally, where the feverishly youthful life of material production, which has to appropriate a new world to itself, has so far left neither time nor opportunity to abolish the illusions of old.”

A couple of generations passed before this lack of fixity, this flux and reflux, came to an end. The opening of the western homestead lands, the great railroad expansion and the industrial developments succeeding the civil war continued many of the characteristics of the period described by Marx and it was only with the collapse of the post-civil war boom, the panics of the last quarter of the 19th century and the gradual occupation or closing of the public lands that the native elements of the working-class began to manifest some signs of consciousness of their fixed class position. But these phenomena must not be confused with the new disturbances in class consciousness caused by the imperialist development of the United States since the Spanish war and especially since the world war. The ideology of the earlier period runs over and blends into the ideology of the later period and they reinforce each other, but the causes are distinct and must be analyzed separately.

The Privileged Position of American Capital.

American industry is enabled at present to “bribe” certain sections of the American working class; first, because of its privileged position in respect to raw materials (43 per cent of the world's coal, 54 per cent of the world's iron, 64 per cent of the world's steel, 73 per cent of the world's petroleum, 70 per cent of the world's cotton, 90 per cent of the world's automobiles, etc.—see “The New America” by Jay Lovestone in the Workers Monthly, July 1925). Secondly, there is the privileged position of American industry in respect to mechanical organization, transportation facilities (more than half the world's railway mileage is found within the boundaries of the United States; three out of every four telephones in the world; the bulk of the auto trucks produced, etc.) and sources of power (coal and hydro-electric). Then, there is the privileged position derived from technical organization (gigantic trusts, efficiency and speed-up systems, etc.) which, on the one hand, eliminate much waste and, on the other, greatly increase the productivity of labor. Finally, and most important, is the privileged position of the United States acquired through the world war which did not destroy her industries as it did those of the European countries but brought her untold wealth, made the world her debtor, accumulated in the United States one-half of the world's total gold supply, gave her undisputed control, first, in Latin-America and then bit by bit in other portion of the world until now she is dominating financially even such industrially advanced countries as Germany, through the Dawes plan and dictating the monetary policy of her nearest rival, England.

Thus, the United States capitalist class is deriving (1) a higher rate of profit than the average through the fact that superior technique and more easily accessible raw materials reduce the time necessary for production below the time

socially necessary on a world scale; (2) a higher rate of profit than the average through the exploitation of colonial and "backward" peoples whose living standards are lower and who can be made to work more cheaply and for longer hours under the compulsion of the lash and the gun; and (3) a higher rate of profit due to the extraction of surplus value directly from European and other foreign industries in which American capital is invested and indirectly from the surplus value which goes to foreign governments from foreign industry in the shape of taxes and then to America in interest and loan payments.

Out of these surplus profits, which are at present on the increase, American capital can afford to pay its wage slaves a trifle more than the ordinary wages of labor. Of course it does not do this unnecessarily nor where it is not forced to. Not all workers but only certain groups in a strategic position receive some portion of these surplus profits. These workers thus receive some portion of the surplus value extracted either from their fellow workers in the same shop or industry, from workers in other industries in America, or from the surplus value extracted from the workers in other countries. The effect of this is twofold: (1) It enables capitalism to give to certain workers a wage above the average and often even above the value of their labor power, thus reconciling them to capitalism; and (2) the derivation of this extra wage from surplus value extracted from other workers in the same industry, different industries, or from other countries, develops in these workers a subtle sense of superiority, destroying their solidarity with their fellows and their consciousness of class (replaced either by individualism, by craft consciousness or by nationalism), wins them to the support, not calculated and selfish but quite unconscious, of capitalism and imperialism.

I take it that the fundamental subject for concrete economic analysis therefore is the manner in which surplus value extracted from other workers arrives directly or indirectly into the hands of this "aristocracy," this privileged section of the American working class, and the manner in which workers participate in monopoly or imperialist super-profits. I will here examine a few typical cases in order to suggest the nature of the problem or problems involved.

First Type: Sharing in War Profits.

During the participation of America in the world war, certain privileged section of the working class became participants (altho quite unconscious ones) in the enormous gains of war profiteering. The shipyards furnish a typical example. In the shipyards the "cost plus" system prevailed. This meant that the higher the cost of ship construction, the bigger were the profits of the shipyard owners since they received the real or alleged cost of construction plus ten per cent of that cost. They therefore padded costs of paying high prices for materials, high wages to the officers of the corporation, etc., AND ALSO HIGH WAGES TO THE WORKERS. This extra wage was due to the privileged position of war industries and is a method by which the workers shared in the "ill-gotten gains" of war-profiteering. It goes a long way to explaining the patriotism of war-industry workers.

Second Type: Sharing in Monopoly Profits.

Monopoly yields a rate of profit above the average for the general run of competitive industry by reducing costs,

promoting efficiency in production and sale, by restricting supply and by raising the price of the product above its value as his privileged position enables the monopolist to do. Monopolies in the making will resort to any and every means of crushing their competitors. Among the means so used, are found, in certain industries, LABOR UNIONS. A simple example of this type is the building construction industry which is passing from free competition to monopoly under our eyes. The big associations of contractors aiming at monopoly aim to crush their competitors through the monopoly of materials and of labor power. Therefore, these contractors have, during certain periods, recognized the closed shop, making a contract with the building trades union whereby it is agreed that the contractor shall hire none but members of the union, and that members of the union shall not work for any contractor not in the monopoly association. Thus the unions are used as a club against those who will not go into the association, which is in reality a nascent monopoly. The workers who are organized in the unions that are parties to the contract are in a privileged position as compared to those unorganized and the union receives fairly good conditions as part of the contract and at the same time becomes a sort of job trust. The other workers in the industry are excluded from this job trust by high initiation fees, rigid tests, closed charters, etc. The favorable conditions received from the contractors and the recognition of the right to limit the supply of labor (a right that the employer normally opposes with all his might since it is counter to his economic interests) are thus a small share of the abnormal monopoly profits conceded to the privileged workers in return for the right to use these workers against independent contractors in order to further the growth of monopoly. The temporary job monopoly born of collaboration with the bosses' enterprise monopoly not only promotes class collaboration but also promotes stratification within the working class, division into skilled and unskilled, and the destruction of class solidarity. This phenomenon, which was and still is typical for certain branches of the building trades in certain sections, is the breeding ground for the so-called Brindellism, typified not only by Brindell in New York but quite as much by P. H. MacCarthy in San Francisco, or by "Skinny" Madden and "Umbrella Mike" in Chicago. The building trades in all of these cities were passing through the same epoch of transition from competition to monopoly and like causes begot like effects.

But it is noteworthy that such class privileges are only temporary and that a monopoly, once established, no longer needs to bribe its workers for such purposes and then becomes ruthless in suppressing the unions involved. No big monopoly firmly established permits unionism; so that the building trades workers and other sharers in monopoly profits share in them only during the transition period. It should also be remarked that the essence of Brindellism from this standpoint is not the personal corruption of an individual leader but the "impersonal corruption" of a whole section of workers. In general, it is far more important to understand such roots of class collaboration than the phase of direct bribery of individual leaders.

Variants of Monopoly Profit Sharing.

Many cases analogous in one respect or another to the sharing of monopoly profits are to be found in industry. In this connection some of the so-called label trades should be

studied. Often, the producers of a label product derive an extra profit from the sale of that product to union men. Unionization in these industries is sometimes a farce. No shop is "controlled" but the label shop and the label is nothing but a selling point. It represents a monopoly of a certain limited market. A few brands of cigars are typical of this. The printing trades label in certain open-shop towns is used by one printer who gets thereby a monopoly of all political printing. The label of the United Garment Workers furnishes another example. A collection of such cases should be made and studied. Altho they do not represent a large proportion of the total production, nevertheless, the mechanics involved is of great interest in understanding the degeneration of certain labor councils in which only label trades are represented.

An interesting study to be made in this connection is an examination of how the old Central Trades and Labor Council of New York, once a most militant body under the control of the old Socialist Labor Party and accustomed to undertaking mass picketing on behalf of any union out on strike, has degenerated into a body led by Tammany politicians with second-rate socialist henchmen like Lefkowitz as their lieutenants. At one time the big mass unions of New York, German and Jewish for the most part, participated actively in this council. Today, the needle trades workers of the I. L. G. W. U., etc. have no representation there. The meeting nights somehow always conflict in a most surprisingly coincidental manner quite "by accident" and the bulk of the representation consists of the leaders of city employes who enjoy a political monopoly of Tammany jobs and of local trades. The workers in all sections should make studies of their labor councils and a comparison of these will reveal much as to the effect of such privileged arrangements as were described above on the degree of militancy of the labor body in question.

Third Type: The Taking of a Portion of the Workers' Wage.

Closely related to the type described above but an extension of it, is the job trust union that directly exploits the unorganized workers through working permits, as is the case in the Electrical Workers' unions in many cities. Here the job trust is not able to supply from its own ranks all the jobs of which the closed shop gives it a monopoly, yet in spite of this it maintains a closed charter not admitting new workers into the union. But the unorganized workers are given jobs in return for the payment of heavy fees from their salaries to the union which through the issuance of a working permit acts precisely as the employment agency, taking some portion of the worker's wage in return for placing him or permitting him to work. Thus the unions derive their funds and the officials particularly their incomes, in large measure, not from the dues of the organized workers but from the wages of the unorganized workers. This is not the receipt of some portion of surplus value but, like the income of the landlord who rents his dwelling to the worker, it is money derived from what the worker earns and has received. In investigating this and related types, all examples of closed charters, working permits, high initiation fees, etc. should be examined, particularly with a view to understanding the influence of the monopoly of jobs upon the organized, the influence of their source of income upon



CHAINS.

THE CAPITALIST: Come, come, now, my friend! You see, I too have my chains to bear!

the labor leaders and the nature of the situation that enables the "job-trust" to maintain a job monopoly in the face of the fact that it hasn't a monopoly of the labor supply.

Fourth Type: Derivation of Part of Income from Surplus Value Extracted from Workers in Same Industry.

Very often a highly skilled craft or a craft of key strategic importance is paid more than the value of its labor power whereas the rest of the workers in the same shop are paid less than the value of their labor power. This is done by the bosses in order to keep the workers divided and make impossible the organization of the bulk of their workers. It is the cheapest way to break strikes, to prevent strikes of the entire industry and to prevent organization of the industry as a whole. With such privileged sections separate contracts are made with special privileges that encourage the workers involved to accept the doctrine of "sacredness of contract" as a substitute for the doctrine of solidarity of labor. The boss is thereby enabled to exploit the bulk of the workers in the industry more intensively than the average, and, however grudgingly, pays for it to the privileged section. Therefore the privileged section gets its bit of "extras" out of the big slice of extras that the boss takes from the bulk of the workers in the same factory or industry. There are any number of examples of this mechanism and it furnishes the biggest problem in the organizing of the basic industries where large masses of workers are employed. A few examples of how this works in practice will serve to illustrate the whole type. In telephone strikes in Mexico and San Francisco, the electricians stayed on the job, getting an increase at the expense of the telephone girls who struck and were beaten. In the shopmen's strike the traffic departments remained at work and hauled trains. The cutters in the old needle trades fights prevented organization for a long time, getting double pay and considering themselves superior to their fellow-workers. Part of their higher wages was explainable by virtue of

the higher value of skilled labor power as compared to unskilled, but part of it was actually derived by the boss out of the extra profit which he was able to extract through the sweating of the bulk of his workers. During the great steel strike of 1919 effective organization was largely prevented by the privileged section of the steel workers belonging to the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. These had their contracts which covered only the skilled workers and, in many cases where the men were willing to strike, they were forced back by a threat of a lifted charter if they stayed out. The very nature of the contracts entered into by this organization are such as are calculated to prevent the organization of the unorganized.

"It was agreed that when a scale or scales are signed in general or local conferences, said scales or contracts shall be considered inviolate for that scale year, and should the employes of any departments (who do not come under the above named scales or contracts) become members of the Amalgamated Association during the said scale year, the Amalgamated Association may present a scale of wages covering said employes, BUT IN CASE MEN AND MANAGEMENT CANNOT COME TO AN AGREEMENT ON SAID SCALE, SAME SHALL BE HELD OVER UNTIL THE NEXT

GENERAL OR LOCAL CONFERENCE AND ALL MEN SHALL CONTINUE WORK UNTIL THE EXPIRATION OF THE SCALE YEAR." (Foster: Steel Strike, pp. 173, 4; emphasis mine).

This division is not always between skilled and unskilled or between organized and unorganized although it promotes such division. Often the employing class finds it profitable to play a small union against a larger one where they are both organized. Thus the wages of the larger union are kept below the average; and of the smaller, above the average. Out of the greatly increased exploitation of the larger mass the smaller group can be bribed and a big profit left. In San Francisco, the cooks and waiters were both well organized and had a solidarity pact. They went out on strike together and the demands of the cooks were granted on condition that they break their solidarity pact with the waiters. As the waiters are far more numerous than the cooks (ranging from a ratio of three waiters to one cook in the small houses to a dozen to one in some of the big hotels) it obviously paid to give the cooks a privileged position in order to beat the waiters.

(To be concluded in a subsequent issue).

Red Stars

By Wm. F. Kruse.

THE effect of the tremendous improvement in Russian motion pictures has not yet penetrated as far as New York's "roaring Forties," but Berlin's film marts along Friederich Strasse give abundant proof of the progress. Here Russian productions are welcomed to the local screen by newspaper critics, art lovers, and of course by the great proletarian masses. This by no means "makes it unanimous"—the police censors, in Germany as in the United States, find working class pictures little to their liking, but public pressure is such that the censorship must pass them.

Thus the censors have just passed, with minor eliminations, the most artistic and technically the best conceived Russian film, "His Warning," dealing with revolution and counter-revolution, with the death of Lenin and the tremendous increase in Party membership during the "Lenin Memorial Enrollment." This film was reviewed very favorably in the *New York Times* by Walter Duranty, and likewise praised by a correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*. Well it might be, for the technical treatment is on a par with all except the highest super-features of the American studios, the camera work is skillful, the suspense and continuity well sustained by good direction, and the acting

vibrant with universal human sympathy.

The two "leads," hero and heroine, were only recently factory workers, and their charming naturalness is seldom marred by that over-acting that robs so many European products of all chance of success on the American screen. There is no camera consciousness, no spotlight grabbing, just a smooth, delightful development of a story packed with human interest, thrilling action, and entirely plausible behavior of plain folks who find upon their shoulders the pioneering duty of a new social order.

Katje, a girl of ten or twelve, is orphaned by the struggle on the barricades, and is taken by her grandmother to the little village that had formerly been their home. Side by side with them in the hard boarded train rides another fugitive, a young counter-revolutionist, the man who had shot down Katje's father. He is the "villain of the play," but even in his delineation there is fine restraint. As he enters his father's mansion he finds a committee of workers demanding the keys to the factory. The servants have already told their former master that henceforth he must cook his own dinner. The old parasite wants to end it all right there but the son has hopes for the future. So they take some of their jewels, bury the rest under the kitchen floor, and flee the country "for three months until the czar will be restored."

White Officer Returns as Spy.

One sees their high jinks in foreign capitals as the "three months" drag out into three years, and then five years. Impoverished Grand Dukes bestow decorations in return for cash and other favors, as a gay courtesan proves when she shows the "Cross of St. Anthony" on her brocaded garters, and thereby brings to earth the newly decorated financier. As their cash dwindles so do their boastings over military maps, and finally nothing remains but for the young "White" to re-enter Russia as a spy and endeavor to dig up the hidden booty.

In the meantime the Russian workers have rebuilt the factory; Katje, now five years older, stands at her father's loom and does the work he used to do. The perfect resemblance between the child that first plays the part and the charming Russian girl star is the sort of effect many American directors have tried unsuccessfully to achieve. In the village school military maps are also studied but the arrows point the opposite way, toward the driving out of the White Guardists who would rob the workers of their victory, and an argument between two ten-year-old strategists winds up in a free-for-all fight.

The intensity and high spirit of the free workers is shown in their efforts to electrify the whole local industry, an effort about to be crowned with success just as the spy returns to the village. His early successes, even to the extent of winning Katje away from her young engineer sweetheart, keep suspense at a high pitch. Time after time the villain almost gets the jewels dug up, but every time there is an interruption, often to the grave peril of the unsuspecting interrupter. Finally one slip arouses suspicion, and a second almost convicts, so in desperation to get the swag he blazes a trail of assault and murder that ends in his own



KATJE.

death as he runs away.

This would mark the end of an American film, but not so here. Katje feels deeply her own part in unwittingly contributing to the progress of the spy so she avoids her young lover and tries to forget in doubly hard work. Then a cloud settles upon the whole community as it anxiously follows the reports on the illness of the beloved leader, Vladimir Ilyitch (Lenin). Even the children show the deep psychic response, and, as in other Russian films, the child actors contribute heavily to the artistic success. The heights of pathos are reached when a five-year-old gravely asks that her most cherished possession, a doll, be also given to Lenin as her gift of love.

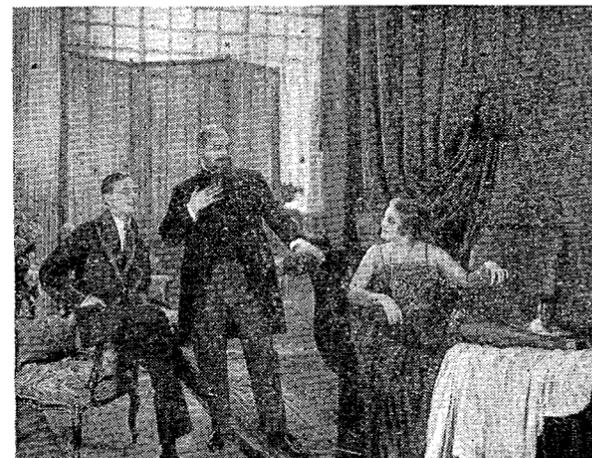
ished possession, a doll, be also given to Lenin as her gift of love.

Ride Through Storm for News of Lenin.

Finally, as the villages are making ready, despite a raging blizzard, for the anniversary celebration of the 1905 Revolution, a fragmentary phone message indicates that Lenin may have died. Then the wires are down, and the suspense, which communicates itself clearly to the audience as it watches the film, will allow no other solution than that someone must ride to the city for definite word. A thrilling ride through the blizzard; one horse after another is ridden down. The news is found to be true, and is finally relayed to the crowd that has waited in silence for six hours. It darkens all with a mantle of poignant grief. But soon comes the answer, a call to the masses to fill up the vacant place of Lenin with thousands of the best elements of the proletariat.

Heroine Joins Communist Party.

Katje hesitates. Should she ask for this treasured membership after she had unwittingly helped the spy? But



The Gay Emigree Shows the Cross of St. Anthony.



The White Guardist Stopped in His Murderous Course.

the meeting decides for her; she shall be admitted, and her tremendous joy capped by her reconciliation with the ever-ready engineer brings a lump and a cheer to the throats of those who watch.

There is nothing trivial or trite in the whole film. Not a dull moment, not a hackneyed sentiment. As it unfolds it shows us the effect of the revolution on the "inside" of the

Russian people; it reveals their strength and courage, their never failing humor, and their unquenchable will to freedom. The picture took Russia by storm, and the German workers are anxiously waiting their chance to see it. American workers share this desire and the International Workers' Aid is trying to arrange to bring it to the United States in time for showing in late winter or early spring.

Stupendous Facts

By Vladimir Mayakovsky

Never in annals of history has it been
facts
yesterday
circling
booming out internationality—
Smolny
spreading
to workers in Berlin.
And suddenly
stool pigeons
saw
—old timers of bars and the opera—
the three-storied
fright
From Russia.
It crept up.
Stepping across Europe
diners gagged with the food in their throats.
It loomed
and above the victorious arch
waving:
"ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS!"
Useless the revolt of soft hands
for they cannot stop it on its unheard of course.
It crumbles away.
And Smolny rushes onward
over barriers of republics and czarism.
And
from the sparkling sidewalks of
Brussels
with tense nerves
has woven a legend
of the "Flying Dutchman"
revolutionary "Dutchman"
And be
on Belgian plains
on fields red with blood
bounds,

there where the Allies' yells resound.
Standing red above Paris.
Parisians become mute.
Stands and alluring with winning March.
And lo
under the heel of revolt
the republic collapses
And he is over the La Manche
his path taking in London sky vaults.
And then
they saw him on board ship
down, down,
above the Atlantic ocean
paddle across
to the gold diggers of California
they say—
he forged fire from the depths.

These facts are valued hundredfold.
Few believed
and craftily engaged in debate.

And Friday
morning
America blazed up
—thought it earth but was gunpowder—

Useless the finicking of bourgeois gossip
Do not be pigheaded with Russia, excited boys—

Be referred
to this happening at Smolny
And to this
I
Mayakovsky
Am a witness.

Translated by: JOHN MACZA.

The Democratic Party

By H. M. Wicks.

SURELY no one except the most pathetically partisan democrat can believe that the democratic party of today is the party of Jefferson and Jackson. A hundred years, the most eventful century in all the history of the world, separate Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson from William Jennings Bryan and Al. Smith.

When Jefferson became president of the United States the first stage of the French revolution had closed. A year and a half before the inauguration Napoleon Bonaparte had achieved his "Eighteenth Brumaire" against the French directorate. Frederick William III of Prussia was waging the struggle against France that was to culminate in his humiliating defeat and the Peace of Tilsit. On the throne of the Czars in Russia sat Paul, the imbecile son of Catherine II, who was assassinated three weeks after the inauguration of Jefferson. George III. was on the throne of England. Mankind has travelled far since the days that these figures personified the clash of social forces on the stage of history.

The Birth of the Party of Jefferson.

The party of Jefferson rose directly out of conflicts engendered when the constitution of the United States was adopted at a secret convention September 17, 1787. Jefferson, himself, was in France at the time, where he had been since 1784 as the representative of the states. But there were present at the convention men who held the ideas that afterward distinguished the party of Jefferson.

The economic situation of the country was such that at that time there was no dominant class capable of creating a powerful political party that could rule the states. Roughly there were four economic divisions:

(1) The commercial interests that spread over the states north of the Potomac river that desired a centralized government and who proposed giving congress control over commerce.

(2) The manufacturers of New England, some of whom supported the program of the commercial interests and a strong faction that feared such a centralization of governmental power might work to their disadvantage, hence they were more sympathetic toward state rights.

(3) The two southernmost states, South Carolina and Georgia, where chattel slavery was very profitable, who feared that congressional control over commerce would interfere with the slave trade, therefore they resented a centralized government.

(4) The states of Virginia and Maryland, which had as many slaves as they could profitably employ, and no popular demand for more. They joined with the delegates of the North in proposals to eliminate the slave traffic at once, though keeping those slaves already in slave territory.

This enraged South Carolina and Georgia and they flatly refused to continue discussions. In this they were joined by North Carolina. The people of the southernmost states looked with eagerness upon the rich lands of the gulf region, awaiting development through slave labor. It

was evident that a powerful nation could be formed if the three states decided decisively to break with the others. The situation was critical for a time, but finally a compromise prevailed. Congress was to be given control over navigation, but the slave trade was not to be disturbed, for a time at least.

Even with this compromise it required several years of bribery, intimidation and terror to secure ratification of the constitution as adopted. In New England the anti-federalists were strong in the interior towns and thoroughly distrusted the manufacturers and capitalists of the coast towns. Popular leaders like John Hancock and Samuel Adams were won over to the side of the federalists with promises of exalted positions in the new government, and helped get Massachusetts to ratify the constitution.

Lesser lights of other states were appealed to in the same way. Most of the outstanding figures in American history were involved in the corrupt practices preceding the ratification by states of the constitution.

But there also crystallized a definite opposition to the constitution, on the basis of states rights. Two political groups sprang up that later developed into parties. Those in favor of centralized power of government and congressional control of commerce were known as federalists. Those opposed were known as republicans. George Washington and Alexander Hamilton were leaders of the former, while Thomas Jefferson became the first outstanding leader of the latter.

The Return of Jefferson.

All the states except Rhode Island and North Carolina had ratified the constitution by the end of the year 1788, so preparations were made to organize the new government. Thomas Jefferson, who had been in France during the seething five years from 1784 to 1789 and whose ideas were unquestionably influenced by those stirring events, was recalled to this country four months before the storming of the Bastille to become secretary of state in Washington's cabinet.

Washington had been elected president of the United States without a political campaign and without the citizens of the states voting for him. It was more in the nature of an appointment than an election. John Adams, having secured the next highest number of votes of the delegates from the various states, was designated vice-president. The political divisions had not yet crystallized into political parties. There was no opposition to Washington in the convention that elected him, nor did the party of Jefferson develop for some years afterwards, although intense political conflicts soon arose.

Alexander Hamilton was appointed secretary of the treasury by Washington and he, more than any other one person, formulated the policies that distinguished the federalist party. Through the establishment of a national bank in an effort to fund the national debt, stabilize currency and build

up powerful support for the government as a means of aligning commercial interests in its support, Hamilton aroused opposition against the government. At first this opposition was led by James Madison, who fought it in the house of congress. In the cabinet Jefferson opposed it, but was outvoted.

Attitude Toward French Revolution.

Jefferson's opposition to Hamilton, Adams and Washington on domestic questions was supplemented by the most intense opposition on foreign questions.

The French revolution was raging. As secretary of state, Jefferson recognized the revolutionary government and when a general European war broke out and the French government declared war against Great Britain and Holland he proposed that the United States come to the aid of the revolution. Adams and Hamilton, both pro-British, bitterly assailed Jefferson's stand on the conflict. The outcome was a declaration of neutrality on the part of the United States. From that time onward Jefferson waged a terrific campaign, at first stealthily, then openly, against both Adams and Hamilton.

Alien and Sedition Laws.

At the end of his second term Washington retired to his home in Mt. Vernon and John Adams was elected president, receiving an electoral vote of 71; Jefferson receiving the next highest vote which was 68. Therefore according to law at that time Jefferson became vice-president.

The outstanding act of Adams' term was a vicious blow at free speech, free press and free assemblage through adoption of the odious "Alien and Sedition Acts." The sedition act was directed against "conspiracies to oppose any measure or law of the government." It also provided penalties for "writing, printing, uttering or publishing any false, scandalous or malicious writing, or of aiding to do the same against the government, congress or the president, with intent to defame them or to bring them into disrepute, or to stir up sedition . . ."

Derisively called the "gag" law by Jefferson and his followers, it was intended to crush all opposition to the course of Adams and his brigands who, in the interest of the large southern plantation owners and the sea coast commercial interests of the North, were favorable to Britain in the war against the revolution in France.

Resolutions drawn up by Jefferson were introduced in various state legislatures and passed many of them. At first secretly, then openly when sufficient support had been mobilized, Jefferson and his party finally discredited Adams, even splitting the ranks of the federalist party by his expose of Adams' truckling to Britain.

The Triumph of the Party of Jefferson.

When the electoral college met after the presidential elections of 1800 it was discovered that President Adams, the federalist, received 65 votes; J. J. Pickney received 64 and John Jay 1. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, both republicans, received 73 each. The election was thrown into the house of congress and Jefferson chosen president and Burr vice-president. In the balloting in the house Alexander

Hamilton threw his federalist support to Jefferson in order to defeat Burr.

The one outstanding achievement of Jefferson's administration was the purchase from France of the vast territory of Louisiana by an act known as the "Louisiana purchase." Napoleon was engaged in his great wars against other nations in Europe and was sorely in need of money. Jefferson anticipated that this territory would eventually become settled and extend the power of the country.

Within his own party there was considerable dissension until after the purchase of Louisiana. Aaron Burr, the vice-president, was a person of extraordinary ability and Jefferson feared his power and influence and assumed toward him the most acrimonious manner, never neglecting an opportunity privately to insult him and publicly to humiliate and revile him. Burr resented the attitude of Jefferson and felt that Hamilton had been induced by some nefarious compact to throw his support to his opponent in the congressional decision on the election.

Burr later proved himself a characterless individual by accepting as federalist candidate for governor of New York in 1804, thinking he could split the republican party and secure enough of their support with the federalist vote to elect him. Hamilton entered into the conflict and exposed the purpose of Burr to gain office by the complete abandonment of principles for which he was alleged to have stood. The exposure discredited Burr and so he challenged Hamilton to a duel which resulted in the death of Hamilton on July 11, 1804.

Meanwhile Jefferson had enfranchised many new voters, previously prevented from participating in elections because the vote had theretofore been based upon ownership of property. This assured his reelection by a substantial majority.

Refusing a third term he left the presidential chair on March 4, 1809, arriving at his Virginia home at Monticello on March 15, where he remained, never leaving the borders of the state, for the next seventeen years of his life.

Madison and the War of 1812.

James Madison succeeded Jefferson and served two terms as president of the United States. The wars in Europe had reacted to the benefit of American industry and commerce. European demand for products of this country were so great that an uninterrupted period of prosperity characterized both terms of Jefferson hence his party easily triumphed at the polls with Madison as its candidate.

The population of the country was pushing westward and a series of Indian wars, waged with the most shameful frightfulness, were conducted in Indian territory. The Indians had arms that were said to have been received from England by way of Canada.

Britain, at war with Napoleon, had, as a war measure, blockaded continental European ports, which interfered with American shipping. Both France and Britain were short of seamen on their merchant ships and indulged in impressment of American seamen on foreign ships.

Finally, in 1812, during the second campaign of Madison, war was declared against Britain on the pretext of resisting the impressment of American seamen on British ships. Never was there a more uncalled for war. The "orders of council" adopted by Britain to prevent American ships going to French ports, were repealed on June 23, but war had been declared by the United States five days before. If there had

been cables between the two countries the excuse for the declaration of war would have vanished as soon as news of the repeal of the orders reached Washington. The announcement of the repeal reached this country three weeks after the declaration of war. But since the step had been taken the war party in control of congress decided to carry it through, with the hope of annexing Canada.

There were many freak events connected with the war besides the senseless prosecution of it after the "cause" had been removed. The principal battle, that of New Orleans, was fought on January 8, 1815, after the treaty of peace with England had been signed on December 14, 1814. When the treaty was signed not one clause was incorporated regarding impressment of American seamen and the United States although claiming victory, agreed to pay an indemnity to Britain.

Industrial Stagnation After Wars.

The close of the Napoleonic wars in Europe stopped the demand for American products. The result was a period of unprecedented industrial depression, with foreign traders dumping enormous quantities of goods on the American market.

A tariff on imports was adopted in 1816 in an effort to arrest the flood of foreign products and protect the "infant industries" of this country. The tariff was not then a party question, though the southern states presented strong opposition to it on the ground that it interfered with the import of goods useful to them. It is not improbable, as it was frequently charged by Northerners, that British industrialists had some influence on the southern states in this tariff controversy.

Revolution in Cotton Industry.

While political events of great magnitude were transpiring in every part of the world changes in the sphere of production were preparing the soil for a rapid transformation of society. During the years at the close of the Eighteenth century when the constitution was being bludgeoned down the throats of the various states of the union and the first dim political party lines were forming another and less spectacular, but more profound, revolution was taking place that was destined to affect American political life for more than half a century. That was the revolution in the cotton industry.

A series of inventions began with Hargreave's spinning jenny in England in 1767, which was supplemented by the spinning frame of Arkwright in 1768 and that in turn supplemented by the spinning mule of Crompton in 1779. These inventions greatly increased the productive power of labor.

It was almost impossible to obtain sufficient raw material to keep the machines running even half time. The work of removing seeds from raw cotton had to be done by hand, and this slow process made the production of raw cotton for the mills of England and the northern states of this country very certain and inadequate.

Finally, after many people had spent years on experiments, Eli Whitney in 1793 invented his cotton gin, a machine that could extract seeds from the cotton ball by a mechanical contrivance. The earliest of these machines

driven by horse power could clean 300 pounds a day, while the most dexterous slaves of the south could clean but five or six pounds a day by hand. The inventions in the sphere of cotton spinning created a demand for a change in the production of raw material for the market.

Thus we see illustrated one of the fundamental laws of industrial development: a change in the mode of production in one branch of an industry brings changes in other branches of the same industry.

While these inventions stimulated cotton production and chattel slavery in the South and also stimulated the industries of England, the manufacturers of the North were experiencing a decline, because the British were jealously guarding the secret of their inventions.

However, this secret was eventually smuggled into America by adventurous industrialists and mills in Rhode Island and Massachusetts began to spring up employing hundreds and later thousands of men, women and children to tend the machines.

Speaking of the productivity of Massachusetts factories in 1813, Trenché Cox, (writing in the American State Papers, finance) said:

"The wonderful machines, working day and night as if they were animated beings, endowed with all the talents of their inventors, laboring with organs that never tire, and subject to no expense of food or bed or raiment or dwelling, may be justly considered as equivalent to an immense body of manufacturing recruits, enlisted in the service of the country."

During the war of 1812, when shipments of coal from England were shut off, a boat load of "stone coal" (anthracite) was brought down the Lehigh and Delaware rivers to Philadelphia. This sort of coal was difficult to light and keep burning until Joseph Smith, who had already invented the steel plowshare, conceived the idea of building his fire over a grate to secure a stronger draft. This experiment was successful. Sufficient heat to fuse iron was developed by this process, thus anthracite came into general use by the iron foundries. It fell into disuse for this purpose only after fields of soft coal were discovered, which furnished a still better fuel for fusing iron. Ore that had been discovered west of the Alleghenies came into general use and soon there was a network of furnaces and forges in Fayette county and adjoining counties in Pennsylvania.

Inadequate transportation stimulated still more inventions, the most important of which was the steam engine. Peter Cooper's engine, the "Tom Thumb" was the first one used in this country. The Baltimore & Ohio adopted it as "the most practical motor." From that time forward railroads spread throughout the country, and industries, mostly confined to the sea coast towns, sprang up in the interior of the country along with thousands of towns.

The series of inventions in textiles, the invention of the blast furnace, the discovery of coal fields and the use of the steam engine, ushering in the period of modern industry in the United States, determined the economic development of the nation and it is the mode of wealth production which is the real formation upon which rests political and other social institutions.

No understanding of political parties is possible without a knowledge of the fact that they express conflicting economic interests and classes.

James Monroe and John Quincy Adams.

With the invention of Whitney's cotton gin the slave traffic of the South that had been at a standstill for many years suddenly revived. New cotton plantations were opened up and a steady stream of Negroes, imported in specially constructed slave ships, poured upon the Atlantic sea coast.

The plantation owners and their retainers soon became the dominant class in the United States. This class desired complete control of the government in its own interest.

The next president after Madison was James Monroe. He was elected in 1816 on the republican (Jeffersonian democrat) ticket, defeating his federalist opponent by an overwhelming majority. This was the last campaign of the federalist party of Washington and Hamilton. Its decline had been steady from the days of the infamous alien and sedition laws of John Adams, and it never had another victory.

Slavery became an issue of national importance during the Monroe administration, when the territory of Missouri applied for statehood.

Efforts were made to make Missouri a free state by a process of gradual elimination of slavery within its boundaries. A compromise was finally reached to the effect that slavery could exist in Missouri but not north and west of that state.

Two figures that loom large in the pages of the ruling class history of America engaged in one of their first notable conflicts during this discussion—Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun. Both of them entered the house at the opening of the twelfth congress in 1811 and on opposing sides of various issues, mostly arising out of the controversy that eventually led to the civil war, they played spectacular roles over a period of forty years.

Commenting on this conflict over slavery Jefferson from his place of retirement at Monticello, wrote:

"This momentous question, like a firebell in the night awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed indeed for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence."

Monroe was unopposed for President of the United States in 1820, the federalist party having expired and no single economic class in disagreement with the administration was powerful enough to maintain a political party. A marked recovery as the result of the tariff and a general revival in industry eliminated the possibility of an issue.

But in the campaign of 1824 there were four candidates, all claiming to be republicans (Jeffersonians). In the vote of the electoral college Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans, was given 99 votes; John Quincy Adams, 84; a person named Crawford, 41; and Henry Clay, 37. The election was thrown into the house of representatives where the vote was by states and was so close that the one state of Kentucky decided it.

Henry Clay was the political leader of the state of Kentucky and he swung his support to Adams and defeated Jackson, thereby electing John Quincy Adams in spite of the fact that Jackson ran far ahead in the popular

voting and in the electoral vote. It developed that the state legislature of Kentucky had requested Clay to vote for Jackson but he ignored this request.

Jackson charged that Clay had been bribed to cast his vote for Adams. The fact that Adams selected Clay as his secretary of state, the highest office within the gift of the president, lends color to this charge and it was many years before Clay lived down the taint of corruption. However, it is probable that Clay opposed Jackson in order to thwart the designs of the slave power, of which Jackson was the apostle, in its desire to control the government.

As for John Quincy Adams, he was probably the most unscrupulous demagogue that had up to that time sat in the presidential chair. Elected as a supporter of Jeffersonian principles he proved in action to be a federalist, with all the vicious characteristics of his father whose administration wrecked the federalist party. The charge of having been elected by corrupt practices combined with his political dishonesty caused the defeat of Adams. He was beaten by Jackson, who had the backing of powerful combinations of plantation owners in establishing a new political party—the democratic party.

The Slave Holders' Party.

Other parties had represented mere tendencies of class divisions in society. Most of the earlier parties had been created on certain issues and before there existed any dominant class the campaigns were fought out on minor issues with contesting candidates running on the same political ticket. From the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 all this was changed. There was one dominant class in the country and the party of that class ruled the nation, with but two intervals, from the inauguration of Jackson until the inauguration of Lincoln.

But an avowedly slave holders' party was certain to be challenged by opposing elements. So long as the class lines were not definitely drawn it was possible for a party to straddle the issue of slavery, but after the conflict over the Missouri question there could be no compromise. So powerful, however, were the slaveholders and so firmly implanted in the minds of the whole population was the respect for slavery that no one who hoped to survive politically dared challenge it.

During his two terms Jackson did everything within his power to increase the might and prestige of the slave holders of the South. A half-educated, adventurous braggart, never shrinking from any low act that would gain advantage for those he served, Jackson personified all the viciousness of the slave holding class.

The Invasion of Texas.

The single achievement of his administration was encouraging the invasion of Texas by a horde of criminal adventurers. One of his agents in Mexico, Anthony Butler, was a shifty individual whose intrigues became so flagrant that he was exposed and Jackson, much embarrassed, was forced to recall him. This episode created a profound distrust among Mexicans for "our diplomacy."

Another of the agents of the slave holding aristocracy was one Sam Houston, who had been consecutively soldier, Indian agent, member of congress and governor of Tennes-

see. A typical chivalrous Southern gentleman, he deserted his wife, joined a Cherokee Indian tribe, debauched them with booze, married a squaw, became chief and finally landed in Texas where he devoted his talents to fomenting an uprising in order to expel the Mexicans so that slavery could be introduced in that vast territory.

After a group of adventurers under one Col. Travis had been defeated and killed while invading Mexican territory in the year 1836, Sam Houston and his bandit gang drove out the Mexican soldiers and proclaimed Texas a "free state." This was only a pretext for the next move—annexation to the slave power. The brigands and bandits under Sam Houston then raised the cry that in view of the inability of Texas to maintain itself against Mexico the benevolent government of the United States should annex it.

The Rise of the Whig Party.

Jackson's vicious administration was challenged by every person in political life not absolutely wedded to the slave power. In various states new parties began to enter the field against Jacksonian candidates. The opposition was based almost exclusively upon hatred of Jackson and his policies. It embraced Jeffersonian republicans, former federalists, anti-masons, and other opposition elements.

Finally the name Whig was applied to the opposition movement in 1834 by James Watson Webb, editor of the New York Courier and Enquirer, and was intended to suggest encroachments of the executive.

Under Jackson's administration the anti-slavery agitation of William Lloyd Garrison began and it was a gang of Jackson henchmen from Alton, Illinois, who murdered Elijah P. Lovejoy in 1834 because of his anti-slavery agitation. The next year Garrison was mobbed in the streets of Boston by a gang of hoodlums returning from church who had been listening to a democratic preacher prove by the holy bible that slavery was a divine institution and that all abolitionists were infidels.

The Texas situation gave the abolitionists opportunity to deliver telling blows against the slave power, but the new political party never took up the issue. The Whig party was under the leadership of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster.

Clay had tried to found a new party against Jackson in 1832 and he, himself, for the second time became a candidate for president on a ticket that he called the National Republican. He received only 49 electoral votes to President Jackson's 219. When, during the next few years the Whig party sprang up in a number of states, he threw his influence on the side of the new party.

Storm Clouds Gather.

Martin Van Buren, a dyed-in-the-wool Jacksonian, whose one motive was to strengthen the slave power, had been selected by Jackson as his successor and easily secured the nomination at the democratic convention, which was absolutely dominated by Jackson.

William Henry Harrison, the Indiana Indian fighter that had blazed with gunpowder the trail for industrialism in the North, was selected by a number of states as Whig candidate, though there was no national convention of that party. A number of other candidates, among whom was Daniel Webster, were chosen by their friends. The general

scheme was to divide the vote and throw the election into congress in the hope of defeating Van Buren.

In the campaign John C. Calhoun, one of the foremost apostles of chattel slavery and a luminary of the democratic party, insisted that the opponents of Van Buren declare their stand on slavery. Neither Webster nor any of the others dared take a stand opposed to it.

Van Buren easily triumphed, securing a safe margin in the electoral college over four opponents.

In ability Van Buren had all the virtues of mediocrity. He was colorless, thrifty, simple, with total incapacity for leadership. The slave holding aristocracy praised him as a super-man, but forces already operating when he was inaugurated reacted against his administration. The great industrial depression of 1837 had already commenced. The industrialists of the North had expanded the network of railroads far into the middle west, new industries were springing up everywhere throughout the vast stretch of territory from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi.

This new industrial class was opposed to any extension of slavery for a very substantial reason. Industrialists in New England, for instance, who employed women and children at a few dollars a week, would never think of purchasing slaves and supporting them the year around. It was cheaper to purchase labor power over short periods of time than to pay for the laborer himself and support him even in slack times.

The tremendous development of the economic forces of the North were being gradually strangled as the government under Jackson devoted its energies to defending and extending the slave power.

The cotton growers of the South entered into agreements with the mills of England to the effect that they would furnish all the raw cotton required, after which they would supply the domestic mills of the United States if there was enough cotton left. The tariff was lowered so that foreign goods could be poured onto American shores.

Such governmental interference against the industrialists, combined with a periodic industrial depression brought about a crisis much deeper and more prolonged than that which followed the close of the Napoleonic wars.

In the midst of this depression and general disorganization of the country the question of the annexation of Texas again came up in the form of a resolution to "reannex" that territory during the congressional session.

Supporters of John C. Calhoun tried to force it through, but they met stern opposition from Clay and his followers. In the debate on the question former president John Quincy Adams, then a member of congress, opposed the annexation of Texas and said: "I avow it as my solemn belief that the annexation of an independent power by this government would, ipso facto, be a dissolution of this union."

Adams continued, in the outstanding speech of his career, to expose the nefarious chicanery and intrigue of Andrew Jackson and his vice-president, John C. Calhoun. This was the keynote for a veritable barrage from the opposition. The situation became so menacing that Texas was persuaded by the slave powers to withdraw its application for annexation.

At the next session (1838-39) a "gag rule" was adopted to the effect that the next time a question affecting the issue of slavery was brought up it should be laid on the

table without being debated, printed or referred to any committee.

An avalanche of denunciation swept the country. The long depression and the widespread misery prostrating the northern industrial centers aroused the deepest aversion to Van Buren.

The Victory of the Whigs.

Abolitionists throughout the North took full advantage of the discontent to arouse sentiment against the institution of chattel slavery. Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison were carrying the fight to the masses, while in congress their champion became none other than John Quincy Adams, who did much to redeem his reputation which was badly damaged during his occupancy of the white house. He openly defied the rules of the house by arising whenever the hour for presenting petitions arrived and stating: "I hold in my hand a petition from the citizens of the town of _____ praying for abolition of slavery in _____." At this point he would be declared out of order as the hammer of the speaker fell, only to pick up another paper and mention the name of another place demanding abolition of slavery.

In 1840 the Whigs for the first time held a national convention and selected William Henry Harrison as their candidate. The democrats renominated Van Buren. Harrison was elected, but died thirty days after he was inaugurated. John Tyler, the vice-president succeeded him and had a stormy administration, principally because of the antagonism of Henry Clay, the real leader of the Whig party. Clay was arrogant and imperious and not inclined to bow before so insignificant a figure as Tyler.

After vetoing a number of Whig financial bills designed to relieve the appalling depression that still gripped the nation, Tyler was summarily read out of the Whig party by Clay and his associates who issued a solemn public statement that "all political connection between the party and John Tyler is at an end."

This upstart president, catapulted into office because of the death of Harrison, proved to be as contemptible as he was insignificant. He opened negotiations with Sam Houston, the adventurer squaw-man and Cherokee chief who had become president of Texas by grace of guerilla bands financed by the slave holders. Houston demanded that the United States send an army to the frontier to fight Mexico in case that government resisted while the annexationist negotiations were being conducted.

This was considered inadvisable by the astute slave holder, Calhoun, who was then secretary of state and a secret treaty was concluded annexing the territory of Texas. Tyler had become completely identified with the democrats and carried out Calhoun's policies. But this treachery did not win him the nomination on the democratic ticket. Not even Calhoun was willing to trust Tyler. The result of the democratic convention was the nomination of James K. Polk. The Whigs nominated Henry Clay, who for the third time met defeat as a presidential candidate.

The War with Mexico.

Polk's victory indicated that Texas would be annexed according to the agreement that only needed the ratification of congress. In the closing days of Tyler's administration this was accomplished.

But the territory formerly controlled by Houston's brigand bands was not sufficient for the slave power. The greedy cotton planters wanted to extend their power to the Rio Grande. For this purpose an army was sent to the border under command of General Zachary Taylor. Though Talfor, himself, was a whig, and opposed to the venture, certain elements in his army provoked the Mexicans and a scrimmage ensued, which gave Polk the excuse to present a request to congress for a declaration of war on May 12, 1846.

Even General Winfield Scott, who had been in Texas, as commander of "the army of occupation," sent a scorching note to the secretary of war in which he imputed the vilest motives to Polk for his declaration of war against Mexico. For this affront Scott was removed as head of the army and forced to remain in Washington throughout the balance of the struggle.

In congress Polk was assailed in the most vindictive manner. Among those who denounced the war as an unwarranted act of aggression in the interest of the slave power was Abraham Lincoln, a congressman from Illinois, who had been elected on the Whig ticket. The defeat of Mexico extended the slave empire to the Rio Grande in spite of the fact that slavery had been abolished by Mexico twenty years before. The soldiers, workers and farmers, who fought the war had been induced to join the army on promises of being granted land in the conquered territory, but when the war closed they were given the uninhabitable swamps and hillsides, while the plantation owners got the level plains upon which to establish chattel slavery.

The Last Clay-Calhoun Conflict.

In the elections of 1848 the Whig candidate, General Zachary Taylor, was elected, but died in 1850 and was succeeded by Millard Fillmore. The principal event of this administration was the conflict over the admission of California as a state of the union. Under John C. Fremont, who had established a loose sort of government in that state after the great gold rush of '49, California had prohibited slavery within its boundaries. When the state applied for admission John C. Calhoun, the life-long servant of the slave holders, arose from his bed where he had lain stricken and, with the shadow of death upon him, tottered into his seat to deliver a tirade against Henry Clay, who at the age of 73 years had just delivered his last great speech. Both of these men had entered the twelfth congress in 1811, and in the year 1850, after having dominated the political stage for nearly forty years they faced each other to the last as bitter opponents.

But while Calhoun was an avowed defender of slavery, Clay was a hesitating, vacillating, pliant opponent in principle. He served the interests of the rising industrialism of the North and was the personification of the immaturity and timidity of that class in its conflict with the slave power. His unstable political career caused him to be known as "the great compromiser."

Clay's speech consumed two days, February 5th and 6th, 1850. On March 4th, Calhoun delivered his reply and three days later Daniel Webster, himself then a veteran, delivered one of his last famous orations.

Neither Clay nor Webster dared face the fight squarely. They both defended the rights of the slave power, while opposing its extension. In discussing the question of fugitive slaves that were flooding certain sections of the North, both Clay and Webster upheld the rights of the slave power to

force their return. Clay said that he thought the South had "serious cause of complaint against the free states." (Cong. Globe, 31 Cong. 1st session.) Webster said in this regard that "the South is right and the North is wrong."

Here was an opportunity decisively to challenge the slave power, but the traditional cowardice and respect for things as they are that characterized the industrialists of the North prevented an open break. One of Clay's notorious compromises prevailed and patched up the situation.

But the terrible economic depression that had continued

since 1837 and was only to end with the outbreak of the Civil War brought out the total incapacity of the Whig party to solve the problems of the class it was created to serve, and at the famous discussion on California when the three gladiators, Clay, Webster and Calhoun, were roaring their last, a new generation of statesmen were becoming audible who carried out the conflict that had to be decided before industry could break the political fetters imposed upon it by the slave power.

(To be concluded next month.)

The Co-operative Movement in America

By George Halonen

THE Workers (Communist) Party represents the interests of the working class as a whole, but as our party has been comparatively small and weak in the face of the big task it has to fulfill, insufficient attention has been paid to many questions. However, the roots of our party are penetrating deeper and deeper into the masses. Our work is expanding in the unions, in the factories, and on the farms. Side by side with these activities, we should also pay more attention to the co-operative movement.

The co-operative movement in America has remained very weak in comparison to the movement in Europe. However, lately the movement has been growing. The bankruptcy of American "independent" farmers brought about a situation which created all kinds of "patent medicine" cures, and co-operation was hailed as the most promising. Promoters of all varieties began to milk the farmers with all kinds of co-operative enterprises, most of them being fake co-operatives. The national and state governments wanted also to "help" the farmers with co-operatives. In addition to the U. S. Department of Agriculture there are 48 Agricultural Colleges, 2,000 county agents and 35 State Market Bureaus, devoting considerable time energy towards promoting co-operative undertakings.

The Extent of the Co-operative Movement in America.

During the last ten years, the economic conditions of farmers have undergone great changes. No wonder, then, that during this short period the Farmers' Marketing Associations have increased from about 5,000 to 12,000 and the membership from 500,000 to 2,600,000. And, what is more important to us, the consumers' movement consists at present of about 2,500 co-operatives, with about 500,000 members, and a turnover of \$125,000,000.

It would be a grave error to ignore all this and remain aloof from this movement. On the contrary, the communists should be the real pioneers, the ones who put life and energy in this movement, and at the same time exhibit an intelligent understanding of its possibilities and limitations.

1. The Historic Background.

Regardless of what our opinion about the necessity and benefits of the co-operative movement may be, the truth remains that the movement will develop despite us because it is based on economic conditions.

The Early Co-operatives.

Co-operation is nothing new in America. The consumers co-operative movement has an eighty year history. The first consumers co-operative was organized as early as 1845 in Boston, Mass. In 1849, The New England Protective Union, a federation of co-operative societies, comprised over a hundred local societies. During the following three years, the number of local societies increased to 403, of which 67 reported a capital stock of a quarter of a million dollars.

When this federation was split thru internal quarrels, the American Protective Union was formed. This federation, in addition to the first one, comprised in 1857 over 700 local societies thruout New England and extending as far as Illinois and Canada.

Shortly before the civil war, economic conditions changed and this brought about a decline in the co-operative movement. During the civil war and the following year, the movement practically died.

Co-operation in the Seventies.

The early seventies brought about a new wave of co-operation. A farmers' order, the Grangers or Patrons of Husbandry, began to organize co-operative stores. The city workers followed the lead, by organizing, in 1874, The Sovereigns of Industry. Stores organized by this federation were already more or less clearly based on Rochdale principles. This organization advocated fighting against capitalism, expressing in its constitution its purpose to check the advance of predatory capitalism and to establish an industrial system based on equity. This aim was to be reached by class collaboration. Many of the stores established by this organization were successful, some of them having a turnover of over a hundred thousands dollars. The member-

ship of the organization reached over 30,000 after two years activities.

The Knights of Labor also took active part in co-operation. Enthusiasm went so far that the Chicago local of the K. of L. advocated a \$6,000,000 fund to advance the co-operative cause. During the expansion period of American capitalism, the labor movement in general declined. So with the co-operative movement. For the few extra pennies that expanding capitalism offered them, the workers forgot their class interests; individualism became the watchword instead of collective action.

For decades the co-operative movement remained dormant. It is only recently that it is beginning to wake up.

II. Co-operative Principles.

The history of the co-operative movement in America as well as in Europe shows clearly that co-operation is a result of certain economic conditions. Co-operation is a fight against capitalist exploitation. That's why we cannot ignore it, but must pay more close attention to it.

Naturally co-operation has created certain "principles" which vary according to the interpretation the different "theorists" give of the economic conditions. The dominant principle of co-operation is the old reformist idea. This principle is based on the assumption that co-operation is a phenomena completely independent of social life. Society with its class antagonism is completely ignored. The co-operative ideology is claimed as something absolute, an eternal truth.

Reformist Conceptions in Co-operation.

This reformist conception of co-operation does not recognize that the changes in economic life and in the class struggle in general are reflected in the co-operative movement also.

The reformist "eternal truth" conception is based on the idea that society is divided into producers and consumers and, because their interests are contradictory, the consumers should be organized to defend their interests as consumers against the producers. As we always have had and always will have producers and consumers, the reformists very easily come to their conclusion about the "eternal truth."

The Class Struggle in the Co-operative Movement.

However, this division of society to consumers and producers completely ignores the main factor in the present society, the division between the owners of the means of production and those who own only their labor power. The appearance of these two classes, the capitalists and workers, is characteristic of the capitalist system of society, and distinguishes it from other systems of society. If we want to change the society, we cannot do it by defending the interests of "consumers", but by defending the working class, fighting with it to abolish classes. The struggle between the classes, the class struggle, is the moving spirit in society.

To ignore the class struggle in the co-operative movement, is to ignore its whole purpose. The co-operative movement was created by the workers as a result of capitalist exploitation, therefore this movement must be a working class movement against capitalism.

The commercial side of co-operation is necessary. Many comrades judge co-operation merely by taking commercial

questions into consideration. They cannot see anything else in it. And as many co-operatives have become purely business institutions in the hands of the reactionaries many of us make the mistake of opposing co-operation, thus forgetting the real purpose of this movement as already pointed out. Co-operation is in its nature a working class movement and therefore the communists must be active in it.

III. The First Step.

In Europe the communist parties have to some extent taken active part in the co-operatives. Some mistakes have also been made. We have to learn from these mistakes. "Die Genossenschaft im Klassenkampf", the Bulletin of the Co-operative Section of the Comintern, in an article speaking of the mistakes, stated: "When merely general communist propaganda has been transferred into the co-operatives—and this has happened for the most part—the membership has continued to look upon us as outsiders whose sole purpose is to bring communist propaganda into the co-operatives. No working class member of the co-operatives would thereby be convinced that the communists are those who alone represent the real interest of the workers in the co-operatives. The propaganda must be connected with the everyday needs of the members."

The Weakness of the American Co-operative Movement.

As the co-operative movement in America is comparatively weak, the first step we must take is to help the workers to build for themselves better and stronger co-operatives. The isolated, purely commercial co-operatives should be centralized, by districts and nationally. At the present this centralization is very weak. The American Co-operative League, a national organization, has only about 50,000 members. Even commercially the co-operatives are decentralized.

The workers co-operatives have no easy road to travel, having to face the competition of the centralized chain and department store systems. This capitalist centralization should be used in explaining to the workers why they need something more than "a store on the corner."

Our Tasks in the Co-operatives.

Membership in the co-operatives must be increased. Practical examples on the relation between quality and prices will bring the workers to their own co-operative stores. In every way the co-operative should be made stronger. New business methods should be used and we ought to be able to propose in the membership meeting of the co-operatives practical steps for the general betterment of our own store.

Thru practical, responsible work the confidence of the masses can be gained and thru practical work the workers will themselves be drawn into activities which eventually will lead to a struggle against capitalism. Sooner or later experience will teach them that prices, quality, etc., are questions which can be solved to the benefit of the workers only when the workers control the means of production, and then they will come to understand the communist policies in general.

Co-operative work is a part of communist activity. At the present period of capitalist imperialism there is no room for division of the working class activities in the different "independent" movements but all should be subordinated to the common purpose, to deliver the workers from the bondage of capitalism.

Company Unionism and Trade Unionism

By Wm. Z. Foster.

THE trade union bureaucracy of this country are now and have long been most loyal servitors of the capitalist class. This fact is patent. They have always been ready to perform whatever services the employers may demand of them. They look upon their leadership in the unions simply as an easy, good-paying profession, in which success depends very largely upon their maintaining the good will of the bosses with whom, moreover, because of their petty bourgeois ideals and standards of living, they have much class sympathy and solidarity.

The Labor Lieutenants of the Bourgeoisie.

Following their masters' policy, the trade union leaders are the most bitter opponents of Soviet Russia, often exceeding the capitalists themselves in their rabid hatred of the first workers' government. The imperialist policy of the capitalist class of the United States is likewise the foreign policy of the trade union bureaucracy, lock, stock, and barrel, in China, in South America, in Europe, throughout the world. Wherever its malign influence extends at home or abroad, the A. F. of L. has been unsparing of its resources in tricking the workers into the imperialistic traps of the American capitalist class. Its leaders have also systematically demoralized every effort of the workers to form a mass political party of their own and have kept the labor unions under the sway of the old parties; they have betrayed and sold out strikes whenever they became dangerous to the employers; they have defeated all efforts to consolidate the unions on an industrial basis and to organize the unorganized masses; they have relentlessly combatted every manifestation of class consciousness and revolutionary action in the unions. Insofar as it is in the power of the bureaucracy to hinder the advance of the labor movement they have done it willingly and militantly in their lickspittle service to the employers. It is with justification that such agents of the capitalist class as Ralph Easley can sing the praises of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

The Bosses' Opposition to Unionism.

But for the bureaucrats there is a large fly in the ointment. Their services are not altogether appreciated by the employers. It is true that some of them are occasionally appointed to fat political positions and that many of them become rich through their capitalist connections. Nevertheless their lot is not entirely a happy one. This is because the employers as a class refuse to accept the trade union movement as at present constituted, even with the guarantees provided by the ultra-reactionary bureaucracy. The employers have their "open shop" program. Their plan has long been to break the unions altogether and to assume full charge of handling all the affairs of their workers. They consider the unions a menace, in spite of their conservative leadership, and their traditional policy has been to destroy them in every industry.

Such a policy on the part of the employers is of course

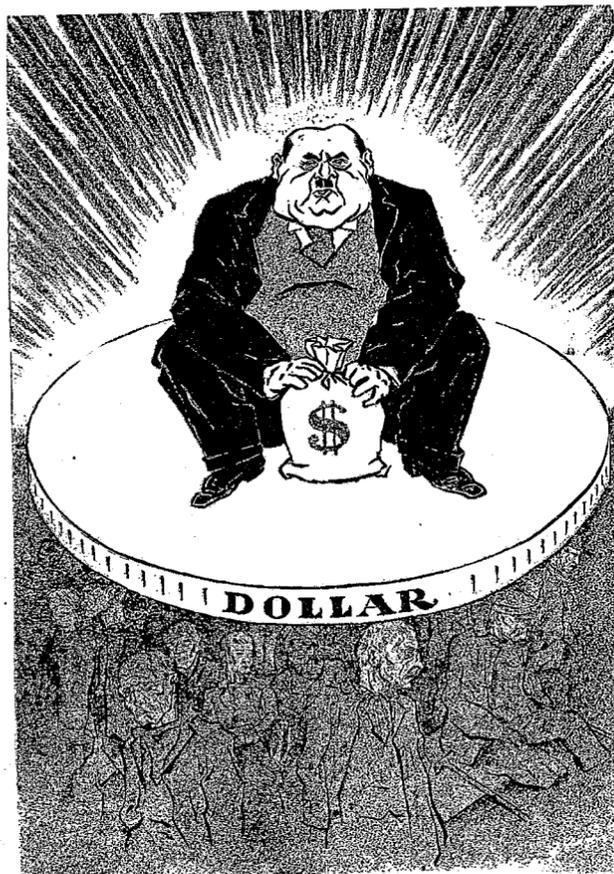
incompatible with the interests of the bureaucrats. By killing the unions the employers destroy the base of the bureaucrats and make their very existence as a group impossible. The "open shop" policy is the bane of trade union leaders. It has sent many a dozen of them back to work in the dreaded shops. To overcome it and to get the employers to "recognize" the unions is a leading objective in the bureaucrats' program. But very little success has attended these efforts since the war. Leaders like Lewis of the miners have tried in vain. Lewis has betrayed the miners flagrantly in every district in the country in his eagerness to do the bidding of the operators. Nevertheless the war of extinction against the union continues with unabated or even increased fury. The employers refuse to grant the Lewis bureaucrats the privilege of keeping up a fat dues-paying organization among their workers, despite the loyal efforts of these bureaucrats to prevent this organization from becoming of real service to the workers. They see a menace in the union. And so it is (or was until recently) in every industry. The employers plan to knife the unions to death, conservative though they are.

But of late new tendencies are manifesting themselves which indicate that the employed and the trade union bureaucrats are beginning to agree on a policy to allow the existence of some semblance of labor unionism in the industries and thus permit also the continuance of the labor bureaucracy. This drift towards an agreement comes from two directions. On the employers' side it comes from the development of company unionism, and on the bureaucrats' side from the degeneration of the trade unions through the B. & O. plan and other schemes of class collaboration. The tendency of these two converging lines of development is to culminate in some form of unionism between those of present-day company unionism and trade unionism. Let us trace these developments briefly.

As stated above, the traditional policy of the employing class in this country has been to ruthlessly eradicate trade unionism from all the industries. The employers aimed to be absolute masters in their own plants and to brook no interference whatever from their workers. In no country of high industrial development has the "open shop" campaign compared even remotely in intensity with that carried on in the United States. Here it went to the extent of eliminating very form of economic organization from amongst the workers and of reducing the latter to the arbitrary and ruthless sway of the employers, who carried on their exploitation under the rawest and most brutal forms.

The Efficiency Experts See the Need for "Organization."

About 15 years ago the industrial efficiency engineers began to learn the futility of these methods and to appreciate the necessity of devising means to still the workers' discontent. The enormous campaign which developed for stock-selling, profit-sharing, "welfare work", etc., designed to obscure the workings of capitalism, to smooth of some of its rough edges, and to check the growth of class consciousness,



SEATS OF THE MIGHTY.

is the result of this change in policy. But the employers had to go farther than such devices. They had to give their workers as such some form of economic organization in addition to that in the shops. Speaking recently before the Taylor Society, R. G. Valentine, an efficiency engineer, stated that Taylor overlooked two prime factors making for increased efficiency in production: 1) the workers' consent, 2) their self-organization and discipline. It is with some realization of these necessities that the employers have built their great network of company unions in nearly all industries. The company union movement is a departure from the early policy of the employers, and its growth and expansion is one of the most striking and important developments in the United States in the past decade.

Company Unionism and the Bureaucrats.

Meanwhile the trade union bureaucracy looked with suspicion and hostility upon this whole development. Gompers himself denounced the rapidly spreading employers' schemes of "welfare work", group insurance, company unions, profit-sharing, etc., as detrimental to the trade union movement, but characteristically the A. F. of L. did nothing to counteract the movement. The corrupt bureaucrats followed their own crude policy of class collaboration, as stated earlier. They sold out strikes, they clung to the policy of arbitration, and they militantly defended the capitalist system against

the attacks of the left wing. But they were not yet prepared to go along with the new schemes of class collaboration being worked out by the efficiency engineers. Although gradually yielding to more advanced forms of class collaboration, they still maintained some shadow of independence from the employers.

The Bureaucrats Capitulate to Company Unionism.

But now they are rapidly and completely surrendering. They are adopting policies which, if unchecked by the revolt of the organized masses will degenerate the trade unions into an approximation of present day company unions. This development was greatly stimulated by the sweeping defeat suffered by the unions in nearly every industry in the great post-war struggle of 1919-23. After this disaster, the bureaucrats refused to adopt the measures necessary to strengthen the unions by consolidating them into industrial organizations and embarking upon a real campaign against the employers and to organize the unorganized. On the contrary, they raised still higher their yellow flag of class surrender. The class collaboration movement grew apace. Labor banking and all its co-related schemes of trade union capitalism flourished; the B. & O. plan spread its slimy growth upon the railroads. The El Paso convention of the A. F. of L. last year gave its blessing to labor banking, and to the B. & O. plan as in effect on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The Atlantic City convention this year went a long step farther, in its widely advertised new wage policy, by endorsing the B. & O. plan principle as the program of the whole labor movement. The trend in the direction of company unionism is unmistakable.

The Converging Development of Company and Trade Unionism.

Already the clearest heads among the employers and the trade union bureaucrats realize the converging development of company unionism and trade unionism, and are seeking the policies and organization forms which will unite the two. It is of real significance that recently the heads of the Pennsylvania, Lackawanna, Southern Pacific, and other railroads having company unions made application to the Interstate Commerce Commission for the drafting of a model scheme along the lines of the B. & O. plan for general application on the railroads. Such a scheme would be welcomed by the trade union leaders, not only on the railroads, but also in other industries. Their demands, as against the prevailing conception of company unionism, would be modest. Their principal demand would be for a type of organization enjoying at least a formal independence, which would be dues-paying in character and which would furnish them control over sufficient funds to pay their fat salaries and to finance their many new schemes of trade union capitalism. It is significant that Wm. H. Johnston puts forth as his principal argument in favor of the B. & O. plan that it will give the unions an opportunity to exist, which means in plain English, that the bureaucrats will be able to prosper and flourish. Johnston and his cronies controlling the A. F. of L. see no farther than that.

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—An Example of the Degenerated Trade Union.

How far the trade union leaders are willing to degenerate the trade unions in order to secure the employers' per-

mission to barely keep them in existence is evidenced by the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. This organization is only a few shades better than the ordinary company union. The shoe companies collect the dues, the locals have little power and seldom meet, the rank and file have no control, the union heads consider themselves and act practically as officials of the companies, and the union is bound up with iron-clad no-strike agreements. What the workers think of it as a union was shown by their long and desperate strike two years ago to be freed from its yoke. The trade union leaders will be willing to establish such unions as the Boot and Shoe Workers, or even worse, in the various industries if thereby they can win the permission of the employers to exist. In return for this concession they will agree to the most stringent prohibition against strikes and to co-operate with the employers to the fullest extent to increase production and to choke out all manifestations of class consciousness among the workers. The defense of the workers' interests will, of course, be out of their program. In the near future we may expect the trade union leaders, if they can have their way, to intensify their policies more in the direction of company unionism. That is the meaning of the so-called new wage policy of the A. F. of L.

Tasks of the Left Wing.

In this situation, where the workers are menaced, on the one hand, by the campaign of the employers to establish company unions and thus still further enslave their workers, and, on the other hand, by efforts of the bureaucracy to degenerate and devitalize the unions in order to win the favor of the employers, great tasks of leadership fall upon the left wing, which alone correctly analyses the situation and proposes the policies necessary for its solution. Against the company unions, the left wing must carry on a persistent and relentless warfare. This must aim at their complete destruction. In fighting the company unions, however, we cannot simply stand aside and fire criticism into them from a distance. Often we will find it necessary and possible, in spite of the employers' opposition, to penetrate these organizations where they have a mass character. In such cases, our fight must be so conducted, by opposing the bosses' candidates in the company union elections, by raising real demands in the company union committees, etc., as to completely expose the company unions as instruments of the employers and to utilize the accompanying agitation among the workers as the basis for real struggles against the employers. Experience with company unions teaches us that in many cases the workers, under left wing leadership, have actually been able to seize control of the company union committees and use them for the formation of real trade unions.

The Struggle Against Company Unionism.

The Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League have devoted entirely too little attention to company unionism. This is a serious mistake which must be rectified. We must become the leaders in the struggle against this great and menacing development. Even the reactionary trade union leaders are becoming aroused to the necessity of a definite policy regarding the company unions. In the Workers Monthly for September, 1925, I wrote an article on Company Unionism in which I advocated the capture and transformation of the company unions into trade unions

wherever favorable circumstances permitted. In the very next months' issue of the American Federationist (October), "taking a leaf out of our book", as The Nation put it, the leading editorial advocated the capture of company unions in the following words:

"Wage earners will do themselves and industries a great service when they capture company unions and convert them into real trade unions. The machinery of the company union offers a strategic advantage for such tactics. Use that machinery as a basis of a real organization."

Our Trade Union Tasks.

As against the degeneration of the trade unions practically into company unions by the bureaucracy, the left wing must intensify its activities along the lines of our established policies. The Workers Party must carry on an extensive ideological campaign to awaken the membership to the great necessity for trade union work and to bring all the non-union members into the trade unions. Our party must thoroughly organize its fractions in the unions and the T. U. E. L. It must everywhere build the League into a broad, definitely organized left wing movement. We must stimulate the development of the so-called progressive bloc in the unions. We must make united fronts with the progressives on the basis of minimum programs of immediate needs of the unions. We must take advantage of the union elections to defeat the bureaucracy and to put progressives and revolutionists in key positions. We must redouble our agitation for the Labor Party, for the organization of the unorganized, and for amalgamation. We must relentlessly combat labor banking and the rest of the class collaboration movement. We must be the heart and the head of every struggle of the workers against their employers and the state. We must emphasize the struggle for world trade union unity, especially because at this time the A. F. of L. is maneuvering to enter the Amsterdam International to block the program of the Russian and British Unions.

Intensify Our Work In the Trade Unions!

There must be no talk of quitting or neglecting the trade unions. Despite their weakness and reactionary character these offer and will continue to offer a most valuable field in which our party can work. We must work more militantly and systematically within them than ever before, without, however, failing to support the formation of new unions in industries where no trade unions exist. The labor movement is confronted with the twin dangers of company unions and devitalized trade unions—the bureaucracy would make Siamese twins of these dangers by building a living bridge between them. But the left wing will not and cannot be discouraged by the difficult situation. The masses in the unions and outside are suffering from bitter exploitation. They are discontented. Our experiences among the masses demonstrates that clearly. Labor banking, the B. & O. plan, and the general rapprochement of the bureaucracy to company unionism will not allay this discontent, but increase it. Our program of revolutionary class struggle is the correct one. If we know how to apply it effectively the masses must and will continue to rally in greater numbers around our red banner.

Build for the Third Year

By J. Louis Engdahl

KENNETH DURANT, American editor and manager of the Russian Telegraph agency, (Rosta), which has changed its name to the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (Tass) returns to New York after a two months' visit to the Union of Soviet Republics, declaring that the Soviet daily press is using the telegraph, wireless and radio more extensively than the newspapers of any other country in Europe. It is well to put down here that part of his report in which he says:

"The newspaper situation is extraordinarily good. The advance in the last few years in newspaper mechanics in Russia has been tremendous. The technical advance in transmission of news especially has gone beyond that of any other European country.

"Use of wireless in news transmission has met with great success in Russia. More than fifty newspapers are at present being served daily by wireless telephone within a radius of a thousand miles from Moscow."

This means that the eager population of the Soviet Union wants to know about events in the world immediately they happen. The Soviet press publishes more foreign than domestic news.



—Ellis



—K. A. Suvanto

Differs From Social-Democratic Press.

In the days before the war the social democratic press, of Germany for instance, was content to print the news of a British Trade Union Congress several days after it had occurred. It was evident that the correspondent had taken his time leisurely to compose his dispatch and send it off by mail. The socialist press of the Second International never established a telegraphic service of its own.

The recent strike wave at Shanghai, China, for instance, that had its repercussions thruout the republic, found detailed daily telegraphic dispatches going forward to Moscow and the whole Soviet press, for immediate publication, making them available immediately for the Communist publications in other countries. Similarly, all important events, that are of interest to the newspaper readers of the Soviet Union, receive like prompt attention. That interest, of course, is not a passing one. The millions who read the Soviet daily press feel themselves a part of the events reported. They become, if they are not already, a part of those events. "Hands Off China!" committees are organized everywhere springing up simultaneously, almost before the agonizing moans of the dying martyrs are silenced in the blood-becrimsoned streets of China's great cities. Demonstrations for the release of Lanzutsky, Rakosi and others. The pulse beat of a great nation—the Union of Soviet Republics—throbbing in unison with those great human developments that receive the most careful attention from their press, that speaks for them.

It is not sufficient, therefore, to say that the Soviet press uses the telegraph and the radio more extensively than the newspapers of the rest of Europe. The American capitalist dailies can say that they lead the world in this

respect. But it is also what goes over the wires and thru the air. When Russian spokesmen plead for world trade union unity at a British labor congress, Soviet labor reads the reports and mobilizes to help drive for this desired goal.

It is the growing success with which the DAILY WORKER, on the eve of its second anniversary, is duplicating this condition in the United States, that assures its future as the spokesman of increasing masses of American workers and farmers. It struggles toward the desired goal—to become a mass organ. It not only reports events, for workers to read, but more and more its readers are being made to feel themselves a vital factor in the seething conflict of social forces.

FOR the first time since the DAILY WORKER was established, a long session of congress gets down to work at Washington, with the reading of the presidential message. This was not looked upon as a casual news event. Through the DAILY WORKER, and through it alone, the workers and farmers learned that Coolidge, on behalf of the ruling capitalist class, challenged them to new struggles. And through the manifesto of the Workers (Communist) Party that challenge was accepted, and labor in the United States moves into a more advantageous position in the class struggle because it has its DAILY WORKER to blaze the way.

Two factors, practically unknown when the DAILY WORKER was established and even when it celebrated its first birthday, enter into the strengthening of its relation with the masses. These are the reorganization of the Workers (Communist) Party on a shop nucleus basis, and the mobilization of an increasing army, now small but steadily growing larger, of worker correspondents.

As the party develops contact with the masses, so does its official expression, the DAILY WORKER, go to the masses. The question of reorganizing the Workers (Communist)



—Lydia Gibson

Party was still being discussed when "The Daily" was established on January 13, 1924. Little progress had been made by the time the "First Anniversary" was reached. The "Second Birthday Anniversary" will see the party completely and successfully reorganized. The party will be in the shops, the factories, the mills, the mines, where labor, in sweat, blood and agony toils at its task under the slave whip of its master. There "The Daily" will also establish itself, more firmly than ever, the standard bearer of the struggle.

NOTHING was said about "Worker Correspondents" in the first issue of the DAILY WORKER. To be sure, isolated workers did write for "The Daily," just as they had casually written for the weekly Worker, that preceded it. But no plans had yet been made to organize worker correspondents as part of the editorial staff of the DAILY WORKER. The first anniversary came and we were talking about "Worker Correspondents." It was difficult to get a start. Most of the party members who could write were foreign language comrades who wrote in their own language for the foreign language publications of the Party. Those who could write the English language were not in the shops in any great numbers. And these didn't seem to grasp the meaning and the importance of "Worker Correspondence." But that is all of the past. Although our "Worker Correspondents" now number less than 200, their ranks are growing. They are learning to write as they fight. The Worker Correspondent not only writes the story, but distributes a bundle of the issue containing it, among the workers who will be most interested in it. Thus virgin soil is broken. The circle of readers spreads. The influence of the DAILY WORKER grows.

Thus the DAILY WORKER is struggling valiantly toward the goal set for it by the Communist International in the greeting cabled to its first issue when it said:



—Robert Minor.



—Robert Minor

"The DAILY WORKER must become a power. It must become the expression of all the oppressed workers and rebellious farmers in the country. It must be the leader in the struggle against American capitalism, which is consolidating its forces for fresh assaults on the working class."

With the DAILY WORKER as its spokesman, and with its members in industry in close contact with the masses, great achievements lie directly ahead for the American Communist movement. And every victory of the party rebounds to the strengthening its "Daily" through increasing its prestige among the workers.

That is the basis on which the building goes on.

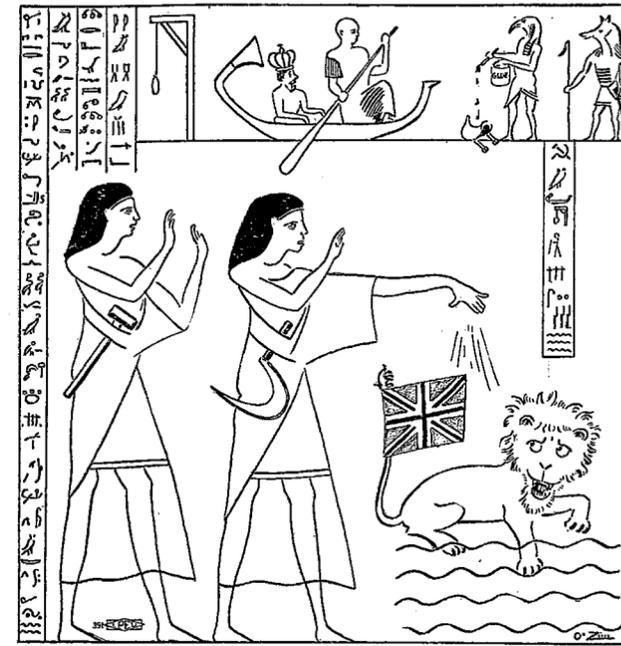
Just as labor must look to the Communist DAILY WORKER for its viewpoint toward what is transpiring in the capitalist government; so it must also read its pages to learn what is really going on in the organized ranks of the workers. The second year closed with the DAILY WORKER alone giving the left wing viewpoint, in the English language, of the three important conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the International Furriers' Union and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, that all marked new progress by the militant minority. The

telegraph delivered the news as soon as it happened to the DAILY WORKER office in Chicago, and quickly the edition was pouring from the press to be mailed to interested readers in all parts of the nation. It is difficult for reaction to maintain its seat in comfort under such conditions. The clear gaze of the informed rank and file pierces the darkness under cover of which it seeks to hide its crimes. Therefore, reaction rails at the DAILY WORKER, while the rank and file in growing numbers rallies in support of it.

Much more will be said in the future, than is possible now, of the valiant little group upon whose shoulders falls the editorial work, in the Chicago office, of issuing the DAILY WORKER. Socialist journalism in this country established itself by picking members of its editorial staffs off the capitalist dailies. Communist journalism develops workers from the revolution's ranks for duty in the editorial rooms of its publications, just as the party develops workers to assume every important task of the Communist movement.

Thus the power of "The Daily's" pages grows with the Bolshevization of our party and its press. The results already achieved constitute the best assurance of continued progress.

Skilled news handling is not purely a matter of hack



—O'Zim

training in the big plants of the bourgeois newspapers; and for the purposes of effective results we can say that an intelligent, quick-witted Communist worker, with a little experience, becomes a more skilled reporter than can be obtained among the "professionals" of long training under millionaire employers or university schools of journalism.

In the particular field of art—journalistic art—cartoons, poems, etc., the DAILY WORKER not only makes no bow to the big capitalistic journals, but can truly boast that it produces the work of the world's greatest artists. On these same pages we have distributed a few cartoons that have been published in the DAILY WORKER. Are they good? It is safe to say that one comrade, Fred Ellis, a man who

works day in and day out on the scaffold as a sign painter, is a cartoonist of such truly great genius as to be compared with the greatest of the world. Then the drawings of K. A. Suvanto, (K. A. S.), O. R. Zimmerman (O. Zim), Hay Bales, Lydia Gibson, G. Piccoli, Juanita Preval, and others, show that among the ranks of the proletariat is all of the genius that is needed to make the revolutionary press. Robert Minor, a member of the central executive committee of the Workers (Communist) Party and newly appointed editor of the weekly magazine section of the DAILY WORKER, is also a cartoonist whose work as such in spare hours produces political cartoons of a quality that commands attention not only in the United States but also throughout the countries of Europe.

Thus powerful forces and untiring comrades are at work moulding "the Daily" into an invincible weapon of the Bolshevik revolution. The days of greater triumphs to be achieved lie ahead. BUILD FOR "THE THIRD YEAR!"



—Robert Minor

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Worlds in the Making—by Moissaye J. Olgin

"Literature and Revolution." By Leon Trotsky. Translated from the Russian by Rose Strunsky. International Publishers, New York.

HOW versatile and sincere, how freedom-loving and close to life, how laden with ideas did the leading Russian writers appear in pre-revolutionary times! How flame-like did their talents seem to shoot upward above the sordidness or a grim, autocracy-swamped reality, high into the beautiful realms of creative thought! What keen vision they seemed to have in discerning the minutest commotions of the soul and the distant forebodings of social upheavals! With what reverence and adoration were they met by their fellow-intellectuals who called them "the teachers of life!" Was it to have been thought of that they were only expressing the soul of the propertied classes? Were they not seeking for universal truth? Were they not with the sufferer, the downtrodden, the fighter for freedom? Did not every one of them, at one time or another, turn the magic lantern of his talent to some phase of the abortive 1905-6 revolution?

Came the November revolution of 1917 and revealed their social substance. The people, not of the imagination of novelists and poets, but of the soot- and dust-choked factories, of the black, primitive soil, of the filth-reeking trenches, rose to establish themselves as the real masters of life, putting their own iron-clad meaning into the age-worn term "freedom." And in what panicky contortions did the intellectuals, the writing craft in the first place, shrink before this apparition which to them was nothing but the apocalyptic beast! How swiftly they withdrew from the workers and peasants who had risen to power! How miserably dried-up did the sources of their creative faculties become with the advent of the new order! Could it have been really true that they were bone and flesh of the bourgeoisie as was repeatedly asserted by the Marxists?

There are still many writers in existence who are shocked by such assertions. Mr. Yarmolinsky, who as chief of the Slavonic division of the New York public library ought to know what had become of the pre-revolutionary Russian writers, devotes an entire article in the New Republic to proving that "it is hardly reasonable to speak of his (the writers's) prostitution," as if it was conscious venality that the Marxist imputes to the average bourgeois writer. A certain Mr. Nazarov goes further to prove in the Literary Digest that the "real" Russian literature is still that produced by the emigres outside of Russia, that "the emigre literature is alive," that "it is even growing and developing," that "new emigre writers are springing up" and that "the emigre literature has a future as well as a past." It is hard for intellectuals who think that they are dealing in "universal values" to concede that their reactions towards life, their conceptions of morality, their social outlook and their artistic notions are determined by the prevailing social and economic order of which they are an integral, if sometimes fretting part.

Trotsky's "Literature and Revolution" tends to prove this not only through theoretical reasoning but through the concrete historic example of the November revolution. The Revolution offers enormous material for the student of society in all its aspects. "Just as geologic landslides reveal the deposits of earth layers, so do social landslides reveal the class-character of art," says Trotsky. Literature in its relation to the revolution may be approached from one of many angles; one may ask one or several of the following questions: What became of that literature which occupied the forefront at the moment of November? What is the literature that sprang up in the Soviet lands in the course of the revolution? What does the revolution, the most colossal and lightning-like transformation in history, expect of literature which is supposed to give artistic expression to life's realities? In what relation to the entire history of Russian literature does the present, revolutionary, phase of it find itself? What is the place of the artist in society generally? How are the works of an artist, notwithstanding his unique and unrepeatable individuality, determined for the class of which he is a part? What is the outlook for the creation of a new proletarian literature in consequence of the proletariat's coming into power? What may we expect of literature and art in a society which has already passed the stage of violent overthrow and reconstruction known as the dictatorship of the proletariat and has entered the era of organic non-class development?

Trotsky's book touches upon every one of these problems, which are, of course, intimately related. Trotsky does not give an exhaustive study of each phase. In many cases he gives only a tentative opinion pending further developments, for instance in the characterization of young writers who had just begun their career; in other cases Trotsky only brushed a serious problem by way of illustration. But whatever emerged from under his pen is intense with thought, astir with theoretical passion, backed up by a broad and well-rounded knowledge, and ablaze with that peculiar brilliance of which Trotsky is the rare master in present day Russia and of which even a sound translation of his writings into a foreign tongue can hardly give an idea.

The American reviewers who seem to excel in not knowing the foreign authors on whose work they pass judgment, have marvelled in unison at the fact that the former "war minister of the Soviets" came forth with a book in literature. The reviewer of the *New York Herald Tribune* is filled with "instant respect for the literary and historical perspicacity of this ghetto tailor." The fact is that since the beginning of his literary career Trotsky published keen and penetrating essays on literature and art. The present book is only one-half of a large volume of his critical articles published in Russian, the other half containing pieces published between 1908 and 1914, among them an excellent critique of the mystic Mereshkovsky and a brilliant essay on Frank Wedekind. In this endeavor to enlarge the scope of his analysis of society to include also literature, Trotsky followed the almost century old tradition of Russian sociologists who battled against the existing order, beginning with Belinsky through Dobroliubov, Pisarev, Chernishevsky and Mikhailovsky to Plekhanov and to a whole school of twentieth century Marxian political writers. The nucleus of most of the ideas

expressed in the chapters that have been translated into English may be found in those earlier essays of Trotsky. The ideas are the common property of Marxists who attempted to apply the class-analysis also to the realm of art. What lends the more recent sector of Trotsky's literary criticisms its heightened significance and poignant interest is that it deals with the palpitating life of the revolution, with art and revolution. The man who writes it is no amateur in either.

The general impression carried away from the volume that has now appeared in English is that the author has an unusual degree of mature and responsible fairness. One can hardly find a case of prejudice, an instance where personal inclinations dictate a judgment. The author does not overlook the fact that many of the pre-November or non-November writers (these names being designated to writers not accepting the November—in Russian: October—revolution) have literary talent in the technical sense of the word. "They have small pages and short lines, none of which are bad. They (the lines) are connected into poems where there is quite a little art, and even an echo of a once existing feeling." But how utterly unnecessary all these writings appear to a modern man, particularly in Soviet Russia! "A novel of Roman life, letters about the erotic cult of the bull Apis, an article about St. Sophia, the Earthly and the Heavenly . . . What hopelessness, what desolation!" The reader who followed Trotsky through this dismal desolation of a field which seemed to blossom as long as the system of exploitation blossomed, will not fail to appreciate this conclusion: "How can one not come, finally, to the conclusion that the normal head of an educated Philistine is a dustbin in which history in passing throws the shell and the husk of its various achievements? Here is the Apocalypse—Voltaire and Darwin, and the psalm-book, and comparative philology, and two time two, and the waxed candle.* A shameful hash much lower than the ignorance of the cave. Man, 'the king of nature' who infallibly wants to 'serve,' wags his tail and sees in this the voice of his 'immortal soul!'"

Trotsky is more lenient towards the next category of writers—those who have "accepted" the revolution, but he has no illusions about their value. He is aware that they are "fellow travelers" of the Revolution. "Between bourgeois art which is wasting away either in repetition or in silence, and the new art which is as yet unborn, there is being created a transitional art which is more or less organically connected with the revolution, but which is not at the same time the art of the revolution." Most of those writers have not known any other spiritual atmosphere than that of the revolution. Most of them are young men between twenty and thirty. Many of them personally participated in revolutionary struggles. In fact, they would be impossible as writers without the revolution. And yet, they are only artistic fellow travelers of the revolution.

It is in substantiating this thesis that Trotsky is most instructive, revealing simultaneously the characteristics of the writers and how they fall short of the requirements of

* One of Turgenev's personages wishing to express the height of absurdity says: "Two times two is a waxed candle."

the revolution. To Trotsky the revolution is a magnificent summit of a mountain range from which there will flow far into future generations new streams of art, new inter-relations with life's experiences, new cohesions of feelings, new rhythms of thought, new precipitations of the spoken and written word. For an artist to express the revolution, says Trotsky, it is not necessarily required that he be a communist or that he be active in politics ("No one would think of dragging Pilnyak into politics") but it is required that he carry within himself the axis of the revolution. Trotsky quotes Alexander Block who is alleged to have said: "The Bolsheviks do not hinder the writing of verses, but they hinder you from feeling yourself a master. He is a master who feels the axis of his creativeness and holds the rhythm within himself." Only the writer who feels the axis of the revolution and holds its rhythm within himself may be termed a writer of the revolution.

The fellow travelers, says the author, do not represent the revolution in this way. Some take it as a revolt of the "black soil," an elemental upheaval of the peasant masses akin to the eighteenth century Pugatchew revolt; some see in it a return to pristine national life as opposed to the corrupting influences of the "West"; some exult in it as in a splendid spectacle, a sort of picturesque human conflagration. All of these writers are incapable of seeing the real moving forces and the meaning of the revolution. A political error inevitably results here in an artistic error. He who presents the revolution without the conscious, planning, organizing activity of the proletariat cannot pretend to have created a work of art. "The most important traits—clarity, realism, the physical power of thought, a merciless consistency, a lucidity and solidity of line, which come not from the village, but from industry, from the city, from the last word of its spiritual development—are the fundamental traits of the October (November) revolution, and they are entirely foreign to the fellow travelers. And this is why they are only fellow travelers."

The subsequent sections of the book take up in turn the poetry of Alexander Block, the poetry of the futurists, the question of class analysis vs. formal analysis of literature, the question of whether there is a future for purely proletarian culture, including art, the functions of the Russian Communist Party in relation to art, and the future of culture and art in a society not divided into classes. Each section is replete with subtle observations and striking elucidations, some of which will undoubtedly become proverbial as did become the term "fellow travelers" or the label "islanders" attached to those who, living in Soviet Russia, manage to remain untouched by the revolution.

While it is impossible to dwell on every section, one cannot resist quoting such expressions as "Time has been split into two halves, a living and a dead one, and one has to choose the living one;" or "In the predetermined dynamics of the revolution, in its political geometry, lies its highest beauty;" or "The November revolution is not only an outbreak of elemental forces, but also an academy of the nation;" or "Block is not one of ours. But he had thrust himself toward us. In doing so he broke down. But the fruit of his thrust is the most significant creation of our epoch. The poem 'Twelve' will remain forever;" or "The exaggerated rejection by the futurists of the past is nihilism of the

boheme, not revolutionarism of the proletariat;" or "We (proletarian revolutionists) stepped into the revolution while he (Mayakovsky) dropped into it;" or "Mayakovsky does athletic stunts on the arena of the word, and sometimes he performs miracles indeed, but quite often he lifts, by heroic effort, notoriously hollow weights." Trotzky's characterizations of the various writers are drawn with precision, skill and a charm the more enchanting because his words cut to the quick.

In the chapter on proletarian art he takes pains to make it clear that due to the comparative brevity of the period of proletarian dictatorship when the working class will be the ruling class, and due to the struggles that must inevitably fill this period allowing little leisure for creative work, the proletarian dictatorship when the working class will be the way the bourgeoisie did. But since Trotzky himself admits that socialist art, i. e., the art of the epoch that will follow the period of proletarian dictatorship, "grows out of the transitional period," and since it is obvious that the future non-class society will be modelled after the proletariat and necessarily imbued with its spirit which manifests itself

even at present, this distinction between real proletarian art and socialist art seems to be of a mere formal nature. The very fact that Trotzky knows so much at present about the character of the future socialist art, all his forecasts being based on the revolutionary art of the present and on the basic traits of the class psychology of the proletariat, shows that it is difficult to draw a sharp line between the art of the transitional period and the socialist art of the future.

The last chapter of the book, where with bold strokes and with a powerful flight of imagination Trotzky outlines the art and the spiritual aspects of humanity under socialism, blends force of thought, sustained emotion and beauty of expression onto one rhythmic whole.

The English reader should not shrink from the book because he does not know most of the authors it deals with. The book is readable to a very high degree. It approaches the authors in such a way that even the uninitiated is spell-bound. The book is an event of great significance in the world of literary criticism and theory of art. It is even more of an event as a sweeping review of what the revolution can be for the modern artist and what it expects from revolutionary art.

History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

(Continued from the December issue)

THE LESSONS OF THE 1905 REVOLUTION.

WE shall now consider the period from 1905 to 1909. The first revolution, the revolution of 1905, constituted in a certain measure, a rehearsal for the revolution of 1917. Without 1905 the comparatively easy victory of 1917 would have been an impossibility. Despite the fact that in 1915 the Soviet idea only flashed by meteor-like, it none-the-less left its mark deep on the souls of the workers. And when in 1917 the first thunder-peals of the approaching March revolution sounded, every worker straightway took it as a matter of course that the whole land was to be covered with a network of soviets. I repeat: The events of 1917 could not have followed the course that they did had we not gone thru the great experience of 1905. And yet, the revolution of 1905 itself was defeated. At this point arises the problem of why this was so, and wherein lay the causes of its failure.

The Menshevik answer to this question was set forth in great detail in a five-volume work which was edited by Martov Potressov, Dan, and others of the Menshevik leaders, during the period of counter-revolution from 1909 to 1910. Their explanation was as follows: The 1905 revolution sustained defeat because the working class went too far in its purely class proletarian demands; as for instance, when at the close of 1905, it put forward its demand for the eight-hour day, even making a beginning of realizing this demand thru legal channels. From the view-point of Menshevik philosophy, this was the initial crime perpetrated by the working class in 1905. Through their extravagant demands—said the Mensheviks—the working class alienated a considerable section of the bourgeoisie, pushing them towards alliance with the landowners, that is, with czarism. The Mensheviks looked upon the whole activity of the First

Soviet of Workers' Deputies in Petersburg as not only erroneous, but demagogic, despite the fact that for a long time the Bolsheviks themselves were largely in control. According to their theory, the Soviet quite spontaneously adopted the line of Bolshevism. To a limited degree this is correct. The first Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies, altho far from being purely Bolshevik in party composition, did, under the influence of the whole existing situation, actually follow the line of Bolshevism. In fact, history even played the following malicious trick upon the Mensheviks. Their own daily paper, "Natschalo" (The Beginning), which first appeared in 1905, took a strongly Bolshevik stand; so that later we were witness to the spectacle of the whole Menshevik general staff repudiating its own newspaper organ. I shall take this opportunity to say a few words in regard to "Natchalo," and also to "Novaya Zhizn" (New Life).

"Novaya Zhizn" and "Natchalo."

Both Bolshevik and Menshevik legal dailies commenced publication towards the close of 1905, first "Novaya Zhizn" and then "Natchalo." Until the return of Comrade Lenin and several other of our leaders from abroad, "Novaya Zhizn" was edited by more or less casual individuals. The editor-in-chief was Rumanev, who later abandoned the revolution and whose whereabouts today are unknown. A number of intellectuals participated actively in the publication of the paper, among whom were not only Gorky, but also such men as Minski, Tefli, and other literati, who have long since taken their stand on the other side of the barricade. Today it is difficult for us to conceive how men of this type could ever have been in the Bolshevik camp. The situation changed only with the return of the leading group of Bolsheviks from abroad, when the "Novaya Zhizn" was converted into a genuinely Bolshevik organ.

In regard to the Menshevik "Natchalo" a totally different situation developed. It fell into the hands of Parvus and Comrade Trotzky. Beginning with the middle of 1905, when differences of opinion concerning relations with the bourgeoisie came to the fore, these two leading Mensheviks commenced to progress away from Menshevism. When, due to a whole chain of circumstances, "Natchalo" came under their direction, they made it very largely Bolshevik in character. The group at that time headed by Parvus and Comrade Trotzky, enters into party history as representative of the theory known as that of permanent i. e., continuous, revolution. The essence of this theory is as follows:

Permanent Revolution.

Natchalo maintained that the revolution of 1905 had opened up an era of revolutions that would come to a close only with the complete victory of the world proletariat. The paper declared that the Russian revolution forming a part of the international revolution, its complete triumph was possible only in the event of victory on an international scale. This viewpoint was plausible, but it contained a number of errors. Its principal error lay in the fact that it ignored, or at any rate vastly underestimated the role of the peasantry, completely failing to take into consideration the fact that the Russian revolution could not conquer unless the working class entered into the closest friendship with the village. In other words, the exponents of this theory underestimated the slogan of the Bolsheviks formulated by Comrade Lenin already in the middle of 1905—the slogan proclaiming the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry. This question aside, the Menshevik paper "Natchalo" spontaneously struck out in a direction other than that taken by the Bolsheviks. So that when the Mensheviks came to balance the accounts of the 1905 revolution, they had cause to bewail not only the line followed by the Petersburg Soviet, but that pursued by their own paper "Natchalo", which naturally wielded great influence thruout the movement.

In the light of the above facts, it is altogether understandable that they should have explained the failure of 1905 as they did: the working class, Maximalist in its tendencies, as they expressed it in those days, had fallen victim to the lure of attainable demands, and, following the path of Bolshevism, had ridden to a fall. The chief mistakes of the working class, according to the Mensheviks, lay in the fact that it failed to limit its program, that it did not adjust its tactics to conform to the demands of bourgeois "society," but strode on past them, putting forward the demand for the eight-hour day and other purely class demands.

The Causes of the Failure of the 1905 Movement.

The Bolsheviks thought otherwise. Even granted that it were true, they said, that the demand for the eight-hour day was mistaken,—the movement was absolutely inevitable. Only bureaucrats could form such a conception of revolution as to believe that the awakening millions of the oppressed classes would have renounced their own demands and refrained from placing in the forefront the question that was for them supremely urgent. If at the time not a single Bolshevik had existed in Petersburg—nor, for that matter in the whole world—nevertheless, the working class, awakening after decades of oppression, would have demanded the eight-hour day nor would it have confined itself to support of the bourgeois constitutionalists. In reality, this demand was not

incorrect. It had to be made, and should have been made. The Russian working class, at that time counting at the lowest reckoning eight millions (and very probably ten), felt that the outcome of events depended on itself alone. And when it arose, it is self-evident that it could not put place its own fundamental class demands upon the order of the day. Although it was defeated in 1905, the time would come, we said, when the demands of 1905 would triumph. This, then, was our refutation of the aforementioned Menshevik philosophy.

And now, how did Bolshevism diagnose of the 1905 defeat? It took, and still takes the stand that the failure of 1905 had three basic causes. First and foremost, the international situation, for the Russian revolution necessarily constituted an episode in the wide international struggle. The fact that our revolution of 1917-20 was closely linked up with international events is now obvious to everyone; but the revolution of 1905 was no less closely related to the whole international situation. There can be no doubt that the loan which Minister Witte succeeded in negotiating with foreign bankers played a decisive role. Moreover, the international bourgeoisie, in addition to the material assistance which it rendered Czarism, lent it also powerful moral support. At that period the bourgeois world of Western Europe was not split up as it is to-day. It presented a single, practically solid entity. The most friendly relations existed between Czarist Russia and bourgeois France, and the celebrated Franco-Russian alliance was in actual fact an alliance of millions of Czarist bayonets with milliards of French francs. And it was a powerful alliance.

Russian Czarism received powerful aid not only from France; it got ready support from practically all the great nations of Western Europe. And though the defeat of Czarism was extremely convenient for the individual capitalist groups which were in competition with like Russian groups, there can be no doubt that by and large the Western European bourgeois world lent Czarism support and prevented its downfall. Moreover, the bourgeois politicians of Western Europe acted as mediators between Russian Czarism and the Cadets and liberal bourgeoisie of Russia, whose leaders were linked up with European capital. To-day there no longer remains any doubt that the bourgeoisie of France and the other nations of Western Europe played the role of go-between and broker between a section of the Russian opposition bourgeoisie and the Czarist autocracy. Russian Czarism felt that it had the backing of the bourgeoisie of the civilized European states. This, then, was the first cause of the defeat of 1905.

The second cause was the lack of class-consciousness on the part of the peasantry. Plekhanov had said that the Russian revolution could conquer only as a workers' revolution. This is true and incontrovertible in the sense that it was indispensable that the working class should be the leader, the basic force in the revolution. But Plekhanov's formula suffers from incompleteness. He should rather have put it thus: the Russian revolution must conquer as a workers' revolution but the working class absolutely must enter into close alliance with the peasantry.

In 1905 it was not possible to achieve this aim. The Soviet of Workers' Deputies was a soviet of workers' deputies alone, for the peasantry were as yet politically illiterate. If we call to mind the fact that on the Ninth of January, 1905, the workers of the Putilov plan still had faith in the Czar, and approached him with ikons, we can the more easily

understand that the same sentiment ruled among the great mass of the peasantry, which possessed still less political experience. This also throws light on the temper of the army, which did finally come to the aid of Czarism in crushing the revolt of the workers. At that time the feeling in the army was still of such a character that the Czarist autocracy could operate with them comparatively without hindrance and employ them against the workers. While the working class of Petersburg and the other leading cities of Russia underwent a quick course of political training in some eight to ten months, (January 9-October 17), a much longer period was required in the case of the peasantry and the peasant army. The mutinies among the troops which broke out in a number of places from 1902 on, remained for a long time purely local in character and possessed no definite revolutionary program. Of course the first signs of such a movement were extremely significant, and the mutiny of the Black Sea Fleet was especially symptomatic. It was a really important and serious phenomenon. Nevertheless, in 1905 Czarism still held sway to a very great extent over the minds of the soldiers as well as of the peasants. The latter proved to be insufficiently prepared as an ally for the proletariat: while they remained on the whole more or less neutral, those in the ranks were more under the influence of Czarism than of the revolution.

Finally, the third cause of the failure of the revolution lay in the treachery of the bourgeoisie. The Mensheviks were completely mistaken when they put the matter as though the workers were to blame for everything because they had advanced immoderate class demands; and the Bolsheviks correct in maintaining that at the critical moment the bourgeoisie had deserted and betrayed the movement by compromising with Czarism, snapping at the bones that were flung them on the 17th of October. From that moment on, the whole bourgeois-liberal camp had carried on a determined drive against the proletariat. Struve, who had always had a knack of coining phrases, came out with "the madness of the elemental force" of the strike movement, which was already going forward under definite proletarian class-slogans. The liberal bourgeoisie conceived of the situation as though it were a case of a raging natural force bursting asunder its chains, of tempestuous waves that must at any cost be forced to subside, lest a deluge sweep over the land, destroying all order and leaving utter ruin in its wake. When they saw that Czarism was no longer invulnerable, and was coming to meet them with outstretched hand, they faced to the right, turned traitor to the liberation movement, and actually entered into an alliance with Czarism.

The Results of 1905.

What then were the results of 1905? What are the results involved in every revolution—even those that have failed? First and foremost, a regrouping of class forces. In the case under consideration this regrouping consisted chiefly in the fact that the bourgeoisie became definitely a counter-revolutionary force. As you know, this has not always occurred. In France in 1789 the bourgeoisie constituted a revolutionary class in the struggle against feudalism, against the land-owners' regime and against the monarchy. They played a more or less opposition role also in Russia up till 1905. There was a time when a part of the Russian bourgeoisie aspired to alliance with the working class, and sought the favor of our workers' party. It is well-known how Struve, Tugan-Baranowsky and the best among the representatives of the bourgeoisie tried to come to an understanding with us. Miliukov came to London where Lenin was then living, and

saluting him as the leader of the workers submitted to him a proposal for working in cooperation. There was a time when the whole opposition bourgeoisie, moved by their hatred of Czarism favored entering into some sort of alliance with the working class, with the secret hope that it might become a willing tool in their hand, and pick the chestnuts out of the fire for them as had been done in 1848 in Germany and other lands.

But the clearer the class character of the workers' movement became, the more distinctly the bourgeoisie began to hear the under-current of class demands, the further they turned from the liberation movement, and the more evident it seemed to them that the Czar, bad as he might be, was yet better for the bourgeoisie than would be the triumph of the working class. When the former had become convinced beyond doubt that the working class was already really strong, that it no longer followed Gapon, but followed its own party, that it possessed its own class program, and saw that it was demanding the eight-hour day, and had elected its own Soviet of Workers' Deputies,—then the bourgeoisie soon began to change its color, and it was not long before it became an outspoken counter-revolutionary class.

The decisive determining factor was the formation of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies. This gathering was a horrid spectre haunting the whole bourgeoisie, which was quick to sense its significance. They realized that it was the future workers' government, that is, a class organ of the proletariat of which the bourgeoisie would never be able to gain possession. And from this juncture they began to change their colors from pale pink to black. From this time on even the theoreticians of the II International such as Kautsky were forced to the realization that the proletariat of our land had become too strong to admit of the Russian bourgeoisie playing a role similar to that of the French in 1789. It was inevitable that the Russian bourgeoisie should become a force for counter-revolution, while at the time of the Great French Revolution the working class, being still in swaddling clothes, it was objectively possible for the bourgeoisie to play a revolutionary role.

The second great result of the 1905 revolution was thus the fact that one of the most powerful classes, the young Russian bourgeoisie, at one blow became counter-revolutionary. Its second effect was expressed in the indisputable awakening of the peasantry from its century-long slumber. Even though the 1905 movement did not end in a victory, it brought the land question forcibly to the fore, as was shown in the appearance of the first Land Committee. In some way the events of 1905 aroused the peasantry and set them into motion, as was unmistakably evidenced by their representatives in the first and the second Dumas. In these two Dumas not only the peasant Trudoviki—the semi-Social-Revolutionaries who made up the Trudoviki party—but even peasants who were on the right, who in political questions were counted as members of the Black Hundred, delivered speeches on the land question that were filled with revolutionary fire. As soon as it came to questions of the land and the soil, these right peasants, on whom the land-owners and the Czarist monarchy had placed their cards, spoke a language that the Bolsheviks could well applaud.

The second great result of the 1905 revolution was thus the steadily mounting class-consciousness of the peasant masses. A radical readjustment took place: the bourgeoisie turned to the right, while the peasantry, which was gradually awakening, began to be drawn to the left.

(To be continued in the February issue)

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