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New Phenomena in the International Labor Movement

By John Pepper

In the series of new phenomenon which marked the course of the past year in the international labor movement a two-fold movement may be noted: on the one hand certain portions of the labor movement are impelled toward the right; on the other broad strata of the international labor movement begin to develop in the opposite direction, towards the left.

In generalizing these phenomenon it is necessary to point out that I will deal here only with general characteristics and will not go into details. I will deal chiefly with the new, hence the picture will be incomplete and in some respects it may even appear one-sided. The purpose of this article is not to give an analysis of Social Democracy or of the labor movement as a whole, but only an analysis of the new phenomena inside Social Democracy, inside the labor movement. It would be a distortion of proportions were we to draw our tactical conclusions only from a consideration of the new phenomena here cited without also considering the unmentioned, unchanged parts and factors of the labor movement.

I. Phenomena of Right Development.

Numerous phenomenon indicate a definite right development of certain strata and forms of the labor movement. This right development has as social basis a strengthening of the labor aristocracy in several countries, especially, however, in the United States of America.

The roots of this development lie:

1. In the relative stabilization of the European economic situation made possible chiefly by American export of capital.

The war time collapse obliterated the privileges of the labor aristocracy in Germany and in all conquered countries, reduced the numerical strength of this privileged stratum of the working class, while simultaneously millions of hitherto unorganized, unskilled, really proletarian masses were drawn into the trade unions and into political life. The development of recent years, however, brought with it a contrary tendency. Arm in arm with the stabilization of capitalism a re-creation of the labor aristocracy is in process. This is particularly clear in Germany where it is even fostered by the conscious efforts of the German capitalists. Large masses of unskilled workers have again deserted the trade unions and there is again a wide gulf between the wages of the labor aristocracy and the actual proletariat. This re-creation of a labor aristocracy served as the social basis for the recuperation of Social Democracy in Germany.
America in the years 1924 and 1925. The whole world must work hard at the amortization of debts and the payment of interest. In addition, the old debtors, which have been long due but paper promises, are being funded one after another. Millions and hundreds of millions, more than ever before from Europe, Asia, Central and South America to the United States as world-wide tribute to American imperialism. Never before was any imperialist country in the position to throw such large and such fertile crumbs to its working class as a share in the very crumbs, the bourgeoisie of the United States. The war and the economic earthquake of the post-war crisis in 1921 emphasized even the privileges of the American labor aristocracy, but in 1924-25 we experienced a restoration of the privileges of the labor aristocracy. The economic prosperity lends the American labor aristocracy a monopolistic position, a sort of high protective tariff for the common people. The American labor aristocracy today receives incomparably the highest wages in the world.

The results of this restoration of the special rights of the labor aristocracy became even more clearly apparent:

1. A shrinkage of the trade unions to one half.
2. Ebb of the labor party movement which in 1923 bore a real mass character.
3. The emergence of "company unions" as a mass phenomenon in 1924-1925.
4. Capitalist development of the trade unions thru the founding of labor banks and other institutions.
5. The development of labor imperialism, of the "Monroe Doctrine of labor," the ideology of Pan-American labor imperialism which finds its clearest expression in the policy of the American Federation of Labor at its last congress:

"Let us feel that the North American Continent—th e home of our forefathers—belongs to us, and we claim that our labor is the main support of our life in this field. For this reason we give our labor without reservation, even tho the workers of this field are capable that in the Western hemisphere we can stand alone."

The American Federation of Labor, ruled by the labor aristocracy, stands outside and even to the right of the Second International.

The Third International is the representative of the general fundamental historical interests of the proletariat on a world scale.

The Second International is the political representative of the European labor aristocracy and the personal interests of the time (the majority membership is composed of actual proletariat).

The American Federation of Labor, however, is the representative of the labor aristocracy of the labor aristocracy.

The Second International is the political expression of the fact that the European labor aristocracy shares the super-profits of the European bourgeoisie which are extracted from the colonies.

The American Federation of Labor with its home policy of class collaboration and its foreign policy of Pan-American imperialism is the political expression of the fact that the American labor aristocracy shares in American imperialism.

The American Federation of Labor has declared itself against the coalition of the Social Democracy—whether of the Europe of the United States. The most noteworthy appearance of the crystallization of the left wing is to be found in Great Britain, in the country of the most powerful working class and the abolition of the old laws.

What are the most important signs?

a. The growing activity of the working class; since last autumn the trade union membership has increased. The number of votes of the labor party has increased in all recent parliamentary by-elections and in local elections.

b. The inner cohesion, the feeling of solidarity within the working class is growing; important amalgamation moves are in process in the trade unions. The new developments proceed in the formation of the "International Alliance"; there is a general slogan: "more power to the General Council."

c. A general militancy reigns among the working class; "Red Friday" registered the peak of this militancy; the railway workers' agreement negotiated by Thomas met with stormy opposition (only 41 votes were cast in favor of the agreement, against 38 votes in opposition, the actual majority of the delegates).

The demonstration at Scarborough registered the victory of the left wing; nor is the defeat of the left wing at the Labour Party congress in Liverpool so serious if the new decisions are based on the question voting under rule 11 there were strong minorities which favored the left policy.

The left wing is organizing in various forms: The minority movement in the trade unions grows steadily; the left wing press shoots up like mushrooms after a shower; the left wing is beginning to assume organized form also in the labor party.

France. The opposition in the Social Democratic party is growing. It is centered chiefly in Hessen-Frankfurt and Saxony. But this local opposition grew to a national-wide left wing as the reverse side of the growth of the state capitalism, however, the Social Democracy also became stabilized. The Hamburg Congress in 1924 expressed the unification of the Second and Two and a Half Internationals. The unity explosion did not last long. Severe factional struggles are again shaking the entire structure of the International Social Democracy.

We shall enumerate the most important symptoms in the various countries:

The German Social Democracy, for example, is going through further; it has already declared itself against the coalition with the Communists. Two big victories for the Social Democrats have already also come out of the colonies and of the Central and South American semi-colonies, but also out of the labor of the European proletariat as a whole.

II

Phenomena of the Left Development.

Ample, many-sided and colorful are the phenomena which show the left development of certain labor strata. There is a certain justification for charging the phenomenon of which we are capable that in the Western hemisphere we will voluntarily tolerate no movement of the Old Looking to the American Workers. Just as the United States government, under President Coolidge, which against the attacks of foreign bauxite, we just as emphatically warn against attacks by way of trade union unity is the organizational form of this alliance. The affiliation of the Finnish and Norwegian trade unions to the unity committee are but further symptoms of the militancy as well as the development of the trade union movements in the entire world.

The workers' delegations to the U.S.S.R.

It is surely one of the most significant signs of the times that the European workers are beginning to organize themselves in a more sizable unit, the unity movement in the trade unions of the entire world.

The successful development of the trade union delegation is significant in principle. The results of the German delegation were not only caused by the economic crisis and the joint attack of the new centralized state power and the bourgeois and semi-bourgeois press on the workers. We have had a thousand trade union and personnel meetings reports were rendered on the experience of the German Workers' Delegates.

The Czecho-Slovak, Swedish and Norwegian Workers' Delegations also had reflex mass effects. Even in the United States of America almost 200,000 workers formed committees for the sending of Workers' Delegations to the countries of socialist construction and workers and soldiers.

3. The crystallization of a Left Wing. There is today hardly an important country in which a severe clash between right and left tendencies has not come into being as the labor aristocracy.

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France was really nothing but the political re-
flection of these three crises. The party con-
posing immediate participation in a cabinet
wing: The Paure-Blum group which was ready
measures beyond the parliamentary sphere; and
majority even tho the premier were a radi-
to be inevitable and that it is willing to fight
radicalization of the Polish working masses, the
more so since the P. P. S. already previously
splits. The question of the coalition govern-
tbor movement, and this upon the basis of the
itarian unity are manifest in the Norwegian la-
ure of the revolutionary workers of whom fair-
issue the slogan for the "rallying of the work-
movement the development of the left wing as-
ed renewed impetus to the unity slogan. Due
sumes the organizational form of the creation
cially strange manner—upon a national basis.
The Czech Social Democrats sit in the coalition
Democrats, again in harmony with their "own"
Czech bourgeoisie while the German Social

social democratically controlled Trade Un-

Austria. The Social Democratic Party itself
formed a part of the so-called left wing in the
recent Marseilles congress of the Second Inter-
party there emerge oppositional groups in Bur-
geland and also in the ranks of the youth.
The opposition to Social Democracy with Horthy and their simultaneous
alliance with the bourgeois parliamentary op-
position led to a split in the Social Democratic Party.
however, to the crystallization of a new opposition within the Social Dem-
cracy at its last party congress. The Social Democratic Party functionaries on De-
glishmen, i.e., the Independent Labour Party
ites the success of Socialist reconstruction in

good hand to the unity slogan. There

American Socialists, Norman Thomas, who is
considered the successor of the aged Debs in the leading
of the American Socialist Party, writes (May 12, 1925,) in the "New Leader,"
central organ of the American Socialist Party con-
But the most interesting country is the Czecho-Slovakia, the mis-
takes of the Socialists in the trade union field and in
in the economic and political and nat-
ural-political process. 5. The working mass-
e have faith in the Soviet regime. 6. He ad-
motherly "anti-Soviet" right wing.

In the Belgian provincial elections (Nov. 8,
the Social Democrats of Belgium, and in
In the Belgian provincial elections (Nov. 8, 1925) the Social Democrats of Belgium, together with about 60,000 votes while the Communist Party of Belgium increased its vote of about 30 per cent.
to unite the Second and Third Internationals. It will raise this question at the next session of the Second International and propose that the Communists relegate to the rear the question of armed uprising and that one should concentrate on the struggle of the national labor movement. The second part of the decision consists of two parts: The first states that the Independent Labour Party in Great Britain, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, dispatched their letters of interrogation and reconciliation maneuvers that not they but the Communists are the foes of unity.

The significance of these symptoms should certainly not be overestimated; at the beginning of 1926 they are surely not as strong as at the end of 1920, but still less can we shut our eyes to the significance of these signs. All these facts and events taken together are symptoms of a vitalization, differentiation and rationalization of certain portions of the international labor movement. The contours of a Third International sentiment are beginning to show themselves in certain parts of the work

Energetic preparations are afoot in the United States to celebrate the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The city of Philadelphia will be the center for the Sesqui-Centennial celebration, commemorating the event of inestimable significance for the entire world. Few who have followed with open eyes the developments of political thought — the ideological expression of class relationship and conflicts — the dynamics of human history — will fail to comprehend the historic role of the Declaration of Independence.

In the course of the last one hundred and fifty years the American republic has developed into what one may properly call an unconstitutional monarchy. On this occasion it is especially timely to examine the outlook for the development in the United States of the labor party movement — the movement for independent working class political action — the movement for a new declaration of independence in America, of, by, and for the workers, as a class.

The Basic Factors for a Labor Party.

We should first examine the basic factors making for the growth of political consciousness in the ranks of the workers. This must be done if one is not to have his vision and perspective blurred by the temporary sharp upward swings or the passing swift downward periods in the curve of the labor party or any other great class movement. Otherwise, our conclusions will be of a character vibrating between rosy optimism and the darkest pessimism. The Marxist-Leninist cannot estimate any great historical movement on the basis of transient affairs, by means of the yardstick of temporary and superficial phenomena.

There are two basic forces making for the development of an American class party of the proletariat. These forces are:

1. The development of a powerful centralized government, functioning ever more openly as the executive committee of the bourgeoisie.

2. The tendency towards the development of a homogeneous American working class is a basic factor making for the growth of class consciousness in the United States. One need but look at the effect of the World War in this direction, as shown in the levelling process in the ranks of the proletariat thru narrowing the economic gap between the skilled and the unskilled masses, thru the effects of decreased immigration, thru the great exodus of agricultural masses into the basic industries during the post-war severe agricultural debacle, and so on.

These two basic tendencies, coming as the impelling forces for the rise of a labor party in the United States, are inherent features of the development of American class society and class relations. The trend of these forces may vary and does vary at different moments. It would be foolishly for one to say that the movement towards the development of the giant centralized government playing the role of a strike-breaking agency is, has been, or would be continuously upward or uninterruptedly in one direction. It would be equally absurd to say that the movement towards the development of a homogeneous American working class is, has been, or will be unceasingly upward. The curve of social movements, of class relationships, is rather zig-zag, is more broken than straight, and has its ups and downs.

Speaking statistically, the Marxist historian must learn to judge events not by temporary upward or downward fluctuations. The Marxist-Leninist should be able to smooth all the curves, all the ups and downs, and find the general trend, the basic tendencies of the historic process, which forces of the basic trend, the downward or the upward, the consolidating or the disintegrating, are dominant at any specific moment.

Once we understand these two basic forces making for the growth of the American proletariat, we will find that the current of the development of the labor party movement is almost directly commensurate with and an accurate reflection of the fluctuations of the general trend, the variations of the unmistakable and undeniable tendencies towards the development of a highly centralized government, and the tendency towards a homogeneous working class in America.
Recent Currents in the Labor Party Movement.  

That the movement for a Labor Party is not distinctly new in the sense of being purely a post-war phenomenon. Local isolated Labor Party movements have manifested themselves long before the World War, during periods of acute economic depression, but it was not until 1918 that the American Labor Party movement assumed national fundamental features, signs of developing on a national-wide, or even a stable basis. From 1918 to the early part of 1924 the development of our Labor Party movement was, on the whole, in a downward direction. The general swing of the Labor Party movement in the last year or so, is not so much as one can speak of general trends in so basic a movement as the development of independent proletarian political action for so short a time, has been downward. Let us, then, examine the economic and the political basis of the recent downward curve, of the slackening in the pace of development of the Labor Party movement in the United States.

The primary reason for the slackening of the Labor Party movement has been the intense development of American imperialism during the last two or three years. From the Treaties of Locarno, that is, from Dawes to Locarno, we go thru months of broken advances and receding retreats, in which the American labor aristocracy has been reaping from their corner of the world gold supply, the great export of capital, their strategic industrial and financial position in the world, upon which the United States government when the last Italian loan was floated in the United States.

In this light it is instructive to note the report of the Federal Reserve Bank for March, 1926, dealing with the annual incomes of 294 representatives of American railroad companies. The per profits of these concerns were thirty per cent higher last year than in 1924 or 1926. The rubber, steel, railroad and tobacco companies especially had a banner year.

This tremendous, economically advantageous economic position maintained by the American bourgeoisie has its political reflection at home as well as abroad. In the arena of world politics, the American labor aristocracy, is still the undisputed leader. No treaties can be signed by European, Asiatic, or Latin American countries without the signatory powers taking into serious consideration the likely attitude of the actual labor aristocracy in the United States concurred with the decisions of the agreement under discussion. This is true whether America participates officially, unofficially or inadvisedly in the scenes in true magicians' style in the conferences or treaty negotiations. In domestic politics, the result of the improved stabilized economic conditions are many and significant. While the World War raised wheat in the 1924 World War brought a bumper crop of Coolidge votes and helped demoralize the agrarian ranks of the progressives and insurgents.

The Corruption of the Skilled Workers.  

The unprecedented advantages reaped by the American bourgeoisie through their strengthened monopoly position in the world market of commodities and capital have enabled them to bribe away even the most active sections of the working class, so reorganizing the American labor bureaucracy is more than ever before an integral part of the state machinery of the governmental apparatus of the exploiters.

Today, the American labor aristocracy is bigger and better off than ever was and consists of many millions of workers. The United States government has been functioning more or less openly and aggressively as an agent of finance capital against the great unskilled, unorganized proletarian masses, it has had occasion, in the last two years, to interfere with such ruthless brutality and against the trade unions as it did in 1921-23. The bourgeoisie have given the aristocracy of labor, those workers who constitute the bulk of American organized labor, a few more bones and cramps as shares of the fabulously increased profits which the American labor aristocracy has been reaping from their corner of the world gold supply, the great export of capital, their strategic industrial and financial position in the world on whose lines difficulties have arisen. The bill was overwhelmingly adopted by Congress—in the Senate. The bill was drawn by mutual consent and cooperation of the railway capital and the employees and the railroad magnates. The bill as finally revised, removed the American railroad legislation, to secure an open and explicit understanding between the representatives of the railroad capitalists and the spokesmen of the railway workers for the settlement of all differences that may arise without resorting to strikes and对抗ing the generally impossible for the workers to resort to strikes effectually.

In this connection, two facts TT must be remembered. First, strikes are conducted mainly by the organized workers. Second, the organized workers in America are in the habit of looking for the Fascist government. The Fascist government, even in a country like the United States, so renowned for ingenuity and technique in developing methods of production and finance! The unparalleled advantages reaped by the Fascist government in the United States.

This bill is sponsored in the Senate by no other champion of the working class than Mr. Charles M. Merriam, author of "The Beef Trust in the United States Senate! It aims to set up a new procedure to encourage and facilitate the arbitration of disputes between railways, railroad magnates and the employees. The bill was passed by Congress without even a vote, while the workers had no voice in it. No provision is made for the workers to resort to strikes effectually.

A year ago, three of the "Chiefs"—as the leaders of the Railway Brotherhoods are known—and a committee of the Railway Executives began private conferences with a view towards working out principles of railway legislation acceptable to both interests. The bill as finally revised, removed the American railroad legislation, to secure an open and explicit understanding between the representatives of the railroad capitalists and the spokesmen of the railway workers for the settlement of all differences that may arise without resorting to strikes and against the generally impossible for the workers to resort to strikes effectually.

b) The Home Ownership Illusion.  

For many years the bourgeoisie have tried to undermine progressive movements of the proletariat by pushing the idea of home ownership among the workers. Now we come to the latest stage in the development of class collaboration that has been formed an organization known as the American Home Builders, Incorporated. This organization was formed in cooperation with W. G. Lash, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, as chairman of the Board of Directors. The object of this organization is to sell homes to workers and to originate ways of profitable investment in mortgages on small homes.
unions of workers, it is not facing these workers as an individual railroad, but merely as an agent on the different railways be unable to settle a controversy, then a permanent Board of Mediators, consisting of five representatives of the railway companies and representatives of the skilled railway employees, will be constituted. This Board will have the task of bringing about a friendly adjustment. Should this permanent Board of Arbitration fail to settle a controversy, the workers and the railway companies will be required to submit their case to a permanent Board of Arbitration consisting largely of the less skilled and unskilled employees to smother the American workers and the American working class to tighten their grip on these millions of workers more firmly than many of us have judged in the recent past.

The Increase in Immigration.

Another fact must be reemphasized in discussing the slackening of the tendency towards the levelling process among the American workers. During the war the immigration wave to America was practically ceased. The cessation of immigration was a powerful factor toward the homogeneous development of the American working class. After the war, the restrictive immigration legislation there came into the United States more than one million workers who entered the country legally and officially recorded in the United States—between 1924 and 1925. In addition to this number of immigrants regularly admitted and classified as legally entered, we must also add the hundreds of thousands who have in the last few years come into this country through irregular channels, so-called illegal methods. According to Commissioner of Immigration, Harry D. Hull, there are at present in the United States approximately 1,300,000 immigrants who entered the country irregularly and who are now liable to deportation under the provisions of the notorious anti-foreign born bills.

This giant influx of immigration has certainly proved a barrier to the tendency towards homogeneity of the ranks of the working class for independent, political action as a class. Their economic organizations in these days of so-called prosperity have had a difficult time to serve the present needs of the American working class and has further deepened the chasm between the native American workers who have been relatively prosperous, and the foreign born workers who are in the less skilled proletariat classes.

The increase in immigration has certainly been a setback in the development of class consciousness on the part of the proletariat masses.

a) The Rising Challenge to Yankee Imperialism.

American imperialism is without question still exercising undiluted sway. But there are multiplying signs that the forces challenging American imperialism are growing stronger, uniting their ranks and preparing to resist Yankee capitalist aggression. We need but examine the statement recently issued by Mr. Julius Klein, the foreign trade expert of the Department of Commerce regarding the last annual foreign trade report of the United States. Mr. Klein declares that America's foreign trade will soon grow proportionately to the homogeneous development of the American working class. Despite the recently enacted anti-foreign immigration laws, there has already come into the United States more than one million workers who entered the country legally and officially recorded in the United States—between 1924 and 1925. In addition to this number of immigrants regularly admitted and classified as legally entered, we must also add the hundreds of thousands who have in the last few years come into this country through irregular channels, so-called illegal methods. According to Commissioner of Immigration, Harry D. Hull, there are at present in the United States approximately 1,300,000 immigrants who entered the country illegally and who are now liable to deportation under the provisions of the notorious anti-foreign born bills.

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The Petty Bourgeoisie Take Temporary Leadership.

One further factor must be examined in analyzing the trend of the labor party movement in the United States. A close study of the contradictions within the American bourgeoisie gave rise to the broad La Follette movement connected with the development of the petty bourgeois movement rebelling against the agression of monopolist capitalism took over the leadership of the workers' movement towards a Labor Party. No one should overlook the fact that the leadership of the new party movement represents a revolutionary experience compared to the leadership of the insurgent petty bourgeoisie movement.

The Labor Party movement, to the extent that it did develop simultaneously with the progressive petty bourgeoisie, is still weak, vague and uncertain. Consequently, it is an extremely easy task for the leaders of the La Follette movement temporarily to assume the leadership and make up for the political weakness of the petty bourgeois movement, the movement for a Labor Party. Then, in a way, the La Follette movement with the workers left behind as millions of American workers broke with the traditional two Party ticket and voted for a ticket against the big capitalists, yet temporarily it meant a setback in the development, a slackening in the pace of development of the distinct Labor Party movement in the United States.

The Basis for Tendencies Towards the Left.

Now let us look at the opposite tendencies. Let us see what other forces are at work in the development of class relationships in the United States. Let us examine the intensified movement for political consciousness on the part of the proletarian masses.
One need not lose his patience and say: Well, it will take us as many years as it took the English working class to develop a big movement and a conscious class-consciousness of the proletariat. Events move much faster now than they did in the 60's and in the early part of this century. We are living in a different period. The forces of international capitalist disintegration, the agencies making for contradictions and conflicts in the ranks of the exploiters are too numerous and too powerful to be disregarded. These forces were not present before World War I and are not developed especially not even visible in the days of the first challenge to British imperialism, in the days of the first threat of disintegration in the weakening of its strategic position in the arena of world capitalist financial and industrial relationships.

A very much underestimated phase of the Locarno Treaties is to be found in the trend towards the unification of Europe against Wall Street and its markets on its industries and finances. The calling in by President Coolidge of Ambassador Houghton from London for a special conference is an event of paramount significance, indicating the fact that the United States is not exactly satisfied in every respect with the working of the Locarno Treaties. The ease with which President Coolidge's initiative and invitation to the conference was accepted was an indication of the intense pressure of international business interests to be thrust aside by England and the European powers.

d) Leftward Forces Among the Workers.

Among the workers themselves, the sentiment for a Labor Party is stronger than its present organizational expression would indicate or than the superficial evidence and manifestations of discontent for urgent ones to conclude. Before the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, the leaders of the bourgeoisie categorically opposed to a Labor Party in principle. At the last convention there was a slight divergence from this hackneyed dogma and some of the leaders of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, who last year put the speech of Mr. Green on the Labor Party question, delivered at the last Federation of Labor convention.

"There may be a time when we in America can organize an independent political party, when our nation becomes an industrial nation, as Great Britain has, when the population has grown and increased, and the distances between our villages and our cities are greatly reduced, when the line of demarcation between village and village and city and city is so indistinct that it is scarcely discernible. In America we have not an industrial nation to a semi-industrial country before that line is blurred.

Of course, this is just a prattle used by Mr. Green with designs to hide the fact that even he is forced to recognize the growing economic basis and increasing power of the American Labor Party, coming from the ranks of the masses. To talk of the United States being developed into an industrial country is nonsense, and it is true that the highly industrialized country in the world, to talk of the agricultural situation as being a barrier to the development of class consciousness among the workers, is just as futile as to say there is no smoke screen hiding the change in class relations. The manifest fact that Mr. Green has declared himself as not being opposed in principle to a labor party but only opposed to a labor party at this time is weighty evidence of the tendency towards the Labor Party manifesting itself in the ranks of the American proletarian masses in the United States.

The defeat of the expulsion campaign launched against the trade unions, the growing sympathy for the Soviet Union in many of the largest labor organizations, the increasing signs of inter-organization antagonism, the daily Forward's machine in the Socialist Party, the additional signs of the strengthening of leftward tendencies in the labor unions in the United States. Here we have a fertile soil for the independent working class, for the idea of the formation of a Labor Party.

The Balance Sheet.

To conclude let us reiterate the fact that it was the intensified development of American imperialism in the last two years, with its consequent result of slackening of the pace of development of a homogeneous working class in the United States, the weakening of the tendency towards the levelling process in the ranks of the workers, the decrease of the frequency with which the war lords and business magnates resorted to striking back with war, the new tendency, openly and flagrantly against the workers, to turn the American Labor Party in principle and practice towards the development of a mass Labor Party in the United States, that has been the primary reason for the slowing up of the growth of the American Labor Party movement in the United States, the weakening of leadership of the Fundamentalist movement in the United States, the weakening of the American Labor Party movement by the petty bourgeoisie during the LaFollette campaign, as well as the increasing immigration—regular and irregular, legal and illegal—in the last two years, has been basic forces making against the development of a mass Labor Party in the United States.

The course of these forces has its ups and downs. So has the course of the development against the American Labor Party. In the 1926 congressional elections there will be a national Labor Party in the field. In certain states there will be a Labor Party entering the contest against the old parties of the bourgeoisie. In fact the states of North Dakota, So. Dakota, Montana, Pennsylvania, where there are already evidences of the likelihood of substantial Farmer Labor Party and Labor Party organizations participating in the coming campaign. The United Labor Party the first sign of labor towards a Labor Party, will very likely be resorted to in many of the industrial centers with the same results. Orientation towards a Labor Party is the immediate and most possible goal of the advanced, most conscious, most determined workers in all trades unions and organizations of the working and exploited farming masses.
Lenin and the American Labor Movement

By J. Fendel

THE predominant role the United States is bound to play in world development is becoming more and more clear every day. The world war broke the United States away from its "happy isolation" and bound it firmly to the American dollar the economic systems of all the rest of the world. Before the all-conquering American government that manifests itself in tariffization of the country, frantic naval and air fields of world politics is growing fast, support of American capital. Naturally, as a consequence, the American workers are still great and numerous. But the prerequisites for a mass labor movement and for its class political formation exist; the last decade which has brought American capital to the heights of world hegemony has, at the same time, consolidated the American proletariat and intensified its sense of homogeneity, has broadened the centralized state apparatus of the American bourgeoise that carries out the class policy of the capitalists, a class of individuals, with or without the cover of democratic-pacific phrases. The spasmodic nature of the development of the American economy, the extreme acuteness of its crises, the ever-increasing difficulties of solving the problem of markets—all these factors linked up with the growing economic and political power of the Soviet Union and with the revolutionary movements of the colonial peoples has, at the same time, created the necessary conditions of revolutionization of America, a country that, up to the present, has seen so little to the "revolution of the proletariat." The Problems Facing the American Proletariat and its Party.

In connection with the perspective arising from the processes of economic and political development in the United States, a whole number of the most serious problems face the Workers Communist party of America—problems that, for the coming period, will all be centered largely around the basic problem of organizing a mass independent political party of the working class. The solution of this problem is, however, linked up with a series of other problems; the relations to the so-called "Labor Party," theawan that, for the coming period, will all be centered largely around the basic problem of organizing a mass independent political party of the working class. The solution of this problem is, however, linked up with a series of other problems; the relations to the so-called "Labor Party," theawan that, for the coming period, will all be centered largely around the basic problem of organizing a mass independent political party of the working class. The solution of this problem is, however, linked up with a series of other problems; the relations to the so-called "Labor Party," theawan that, for the coming period, will all be centered largely around the basic problem of organizing a mass independent political party of the working class. The solution of this problem is, however, linked up with a series of other problems; the relations to the so-called "Labor Party," theawan that, for the coming period, will all be centered largely around the basic problem of organizing a mass independent political party of the working class. The solution of this problem is, however, linked up with a series of other problems; the relations to the so-called "Labor Party," theawan that, for the coming period, will all be centered largely around the basic problem of organizing a mass independent political party of the working class. The solution of this problem is, however, linked up with a series of other problems; the relations to the so-called "Labor Party," theawan that, for the coming period, will all be centered largely around the basic problem of organizing a mass independent political party of the working class. The solution of this problem is, however, linked up with a series of other problems; the relations to the so-called "Labor Party," theawan that, for the coming period, will all be centered largely around the basic problem of organizing a mass independent political party of the working class. The solution of this problem is, however, linked up with a series of other problems; the relations to the so-called "Labor Party," theawan that, for the coming period, will all be centered largely around the basic problem of organiz
advancing but this is being minimized and the position of the small farmer misrepresented by the fact that the investigation is restricted to classifying the farms according to quantity of land.

"Capitalism grows not only thrusting the development of large area farms in the extensive (non-intensive) districts but also thru the creation of more capitalist farms on smaller pieces of land in the intensive districts.

The exploitation of petty farming is proceeding apace.

During the last decade the percentage of proprietor among the total number of farmers has been steadily declining while the total number of farmers, in turn, lags behind the growth of population.

Peculiar to the United States are the great quantities of unused free lands. This pecularity has served Bourgeois and Kautsky as a basis for explaining away the absence of socialism in the United States. (This was only partly true up to the nineties). Lenin points to it as the basis for it and hastens its development."**

"This condition was also shown by Lenin to be a great factor in hiding the process of expropriation of the petty farmers that was advancing at a great rate in the more settled industrial districts of Russia.

This analysis of Lenin's provides the essential basis for the work of the American Communist among the agricultral proletariat on the one hand and in relation to the farmers' movement on the other.

III. American Bourgeois Democracy and the Intensification of Class Antagonisms.

In this advanced capitalist country class contradictions develop at an increasing rate and the bourgeoisie, already a great factor in hiding the process of expropriation of the petty farmers that was advancing at a great rate in the more settled industrial districts of Russia is beginning to feel the consequences of its actions.

The American bourgeois democracy is an absolute hypocrisy — exactly as the bourgeois democracy of any other country.

"The absence of private property on the land in certain districts of this tremendous country does not do away with capitalism. On the contrary it accentuates the basis for it and hastens its development."***

"The law of bourgeois democracy is such that the more developed democracy in the nearer at hand is the bigger the threat of civil war in connection with any profound political disturbance that threatens the existence of the bourgeoisie. This law of opposition to bourgeois democracy by suppressing, for instance, the acts that are committed by the most republican and democratic bourgeosie of America and of Switzerland against strikers."

"The tactics of American Bourgeoisie.

The tactics of the American bourgeoisie are extremely flexible—from the whip to gingerbread back and again.

As a supplement to the knout there is the "American" bourgeois fashion of killing weak socialists by kindness."

"The opportunistic habit of renouncing Socialism to the advantage, almost being in sharp contrast with the "48'er" from Germany, rose to prominent positions in the government and at the head of the "48'er" from Germany, rose to prominent positions in the government and at the head of the American Workingmen's Association) to these tactics not that for centuries America was heralded over the world as the land of opportunity for all newcomers and an asylum for the oppressed and among the workers of all countries under the rule of laissez faire."

The Legal Offensive Against the Workers. Similarly in the field of legislation, in all the bourgeois countries the so-called sedition laws, special deportation decrees and restriction of immigration measures become more and more oppressive. Especially the "Open Door" policy of American tariff barriers is designed to meet and over come the new labor problems arising out of changed conditions resulting from the world war and the victorious revolution and rise to power of the Russian workers and peasants. It immediately also the way is paved for the passage of federal (national) laws providing for the registration, take their internal administration, take the right of meeting and the freedom of the press and the so-called equality of all citizens before the law, that is, the bourgeois democracy of the American bourgeois democracy with all the class hopes of labor unfulfilled.

The Capitalist Offensive Against the Foreign-Born Workers.

By J. Louis Engels

A MERICAN capitalism never rests in its efforts to create and maintain divisions in the ranks of the working class. The capitalists have especially been successful in studying attacks on foreign-born workers resident within the United States, for instance, the law which legalized the enfrainment of the most under the supposed necessity of enfrainment is being used by the hypocricy of bourgeois democracy with each worker more and more intelligent worker is familiar. There is not a single country, however, in which that does not contain loopholes or limiting clauses in its constitution that guarantee the bourgeoisie the legal possibility of disfranchising troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth in case of disturbance of the public order, that is, in case of disturbance by the working class. A great part of that development and of attempts to assume a non-violent attitude, Kautsky shamelessly lends attractiveness to bourgeois democracy by suppressing, for instance, the acts that are committed by the most republican and democratic bourgeoisie of America, and of Switzerland against strikers.

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new arrivals, first into the northern countries, the British Isles, Germany and the Scandinavian lands and then into Southern Europe and across to Asia.

The year of greatest immigration was 1907 when 1,285,000 arrived in spite of the money penalty which was $500. If the World War had not broken out in 1914, this year would have established a new record. At that the total reached 1,502,000.

But all this huge immigration, even in the later years, was not lured across the Atlantic by the promises made at the mythical rainbow's end that resided on the top of the Statue of Liberty in New York's harbor. There were the masses who came newly escaped from the clutches of the now overthrown Russian czarism. There were Russians, Russian Jews, Poles, Finns, Latins, Lithuanians, Esthonians and Ukrainians. These nationalities provided the backbone of the American revolutionary movement, supplementing the earlier German immigrants who had the first foundations for the organization of American labor on a class basis.

Post War Conditions and Change of Policies.

One of the early storm signals, however, heralding mass Chinese immigration, was the beginning of selective immigration, which the whole war against the foreign-born is exclusively based. Secretary of Labor Davis, the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, stated, "The whole war against the foreign-born is based on the basis of the wages that can be paid out of economic activities, along the water-front and the railroads and in the lumber camps, that hurt the bosses of the Pacific North-west. There were these Chinese, those arrested in the country for 80 years, who others were actually native born. The law, however, vested in the immigration inspector the right to conclusively decide, of guilt or innocence of his prospective victims. When Chinese workers in New York City's chop suey restaurants walked out and went on strike New Year's Eve, 1919-1918, the leaders were immediately arrested and held for deportation. The deportation laws are being used, therefore, as an effective weapon, to combat organization on the part of the workers. They shackle, forever, the myth of an American political asylum for all dissenters. Congress definitely rejected a clause permitting entry to the United States to political refugees.

The Development of the Campaign.

These findings set in the heads of the workers the knowledge that they are the victims of a program of mass deportation and that the government is determined to make the mistake of certain nations of the past; "That the United States has settled upon resorted to a permanent policy of making available to other countries the manpower they need to man their industries and the institutions of the country to the detriment of our best national interests."

In an article in the Feb. 27, 1926, issue of the "open shop" Saturday Evening Post, Secretary of Labor calls it "guarding the gates." He adds: "The United States today stands before the world with the announcement that America is first of all a country for its citizens, and that the kind of guest she will receive in the future may be permitted to come in from without are going to be determined by the interests of those already here. She has announced that she intends to preserve her national institutions, that she does not want foreigners to make the mistake of certain nations of the past; she is willing to absorb, but not to be absorbed." The American Federation of Labor's platform plank on which the whole war against the foreign-born is based. Secretary of Labor Davis, the Pittsburgh multi-millionaire's make in terms of profits in steel and coal, knows only of "citizens" and "non-citizens" as terms with which to divide the workers. If Davis wishes to preserve the success of the handiwork of his own capitalist class, he has but to turn to the bitterly strug- ging masses of disorganized coal miners and strikers of the Pennsylvania. Davis is correct when he says he wishes to preserve the national institutions of the United States. His action and his associates know is the institution of private property, the right to plunder America's working class.

The Motive Behind the Alien Legislation.

The dominating motive in all alien legislation, as in every other statute that gets on the law books, is the protection of profits. These laws were passed in the first nation-wide strike of steel workers in 1919; in the repeated struggles since the war of both the short-time and soft coal miners; in the constant national struggle of the shopworkers on the railways, and in lesser industrial struggles.

Thru - erecting its "restricted immigration wall" around the whole nation, the employing class hopes to exclude "undesirable foreigners" - prospective agitators in the ranks of labor. Thru its registration proposals its hopes to weed out "ทำการ" among themselves satisfactorily to the demands of the profit-making machine. Out of its huge profits lies the right to plunder America's working class.

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The raid on the Communist Party convention in Chicago in 1926 was but the first step to exterminate all Communists and militants from the trade unions. Both the Communists and the Green administrators have been perfectly operated in this campaign. Yet the Communists are still in the trade unions forming an ef- fective part of the growing union. This effort to make the mistake of certain nations of the past; she is willing to absorb, but not to be absorbed."

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If investigation reveals that any considerable number are coming here in defiance of our immigration restrictions, it will undoubtedly create the necessity for the registration of all aliens.

The fact that a few immigrants may seek to evade the carefully guarded national borders is no excuse for imposing a census police system upon millions of American workers. It has even been suggested that this might be done to break the spirit of alien-born as well, thus spreading it over the whole population.

The anti-alien legislation in this congress duplicates similar measures previously proposed. They carry their own warning to the workingman:

The Aaswell Registration Bill.

Representative James B. Aaswell, the school superintendent, lackey of the Southern states, is an anti-union employer, is in favor of registration. The police registration, a house-to-house canvass by the police, is the direct police version of the registration bill. The percentage who will register voluntarily will not be large. The police canvass will be the only effective method, and in order to accomplish its purpose, it must include the native as well as the foreign-born.

The A. F. L. Comes Out Against the Aaswell Bill.

So evident are the strike-breaking provisions of the Aaswell bill, however, that even the executive council of the American Federation of Labor was forced to declare:

"This highly obnoxious measure which would, if enacted into law, mean the adoption of our immigration practices of private detective agents to the field of class strife. Hundreds if not thousands of workers are now being driven into the field of class strife. Hundreds if not thousands of workers are now being driven into the field of class strife.

The McClintic Deportation Bill.

Supplementing the Aaswell bill, is another bill proposed by Representative J. V. McClintic, of Oklahoma, demanding that all foreign-born workers be naturalized or deported. There is to be no escape. The case is cited of the coal strikers in Pittsburgh, who if the judge to whom they appealed failed to remand them back to work, then he would get his citizenship papers. The worker thus stands between the alternatives of deportation or strike-breaking. McClintic, in effect, tells the worker, "Obey your masters in all that they may order you to do, or the United States will be made a very uncomfortable place for you." Similar bills have been proposed by Representative Hayden, of Arizona, and Representative Taylor, of Colorado. The three states are stilled red with workers' blood.

Every effort is being made to force the American people to passively accept the will of the masses, once it became aroused thru a complete understanding of what is being attempted, would overwhelm the friends of the Coolidge administration. It is therefore proposed in some quarters that the registration, as a starter, be made voluntary, instead of compulsory with heavy penalties attached.

The Soosnowski Bill.

Thus we have the Soosnowski bill, which is the Aaswell bill all dressed up for congressional campaign purposes. Representative John Soosnowski, from Detroit, Mich., is 70 per cent foreign-born. His present claim to notoriety is that, as a member of the joint committee investigating the crime waves that continually lash the working class, is that the persecution of minority elements lessens as the war days recede.

"How can you hope to eliminate crime by deporting the criminals? the majority of our criminals are born and reared in this country?"

But the facts indicate the wide ramifications of the campaign of prejudice being instituted against the foreign-born. This ever increasing national sentiment is being used when required against those foreign-born workers who rise to places of prominence and responsibility in the organized labor movement.

A better mistake being made by liberal elements, and even by some radical sections of the working class, is the assumption that the persecution of minority elements lessens as the war days recede into the past. These hopes, hark back to the rapid rise of the great labor movement. It is not true. These same workers were supposed to have existed before the war.
The Youth Conference in East Ohio

A NEW phenomenon is manifest in these United States—a new force which is destined to play a tremendous factor in making the history of the succeeding years. America feels the first time the influence of a fast developing movement of organized working youth, which is inevitable with the increasing imperialistic epoch brings with it the economic field and the continued militarization of the youth generally which is inevitable with the developing imperialistic epoch brings with it the natural anti-theism—a revolt, mild tho it yet is.

The East Ohio Youth Conference.

It was these circumstances that influenced the Young Workers' League to initiate an organization of a youth conference in East Ohio, the beginning of a series of youth activities to be held throughout the country—a bold attempt to rally the working youth but one which met resistance.

The Immediate Demands of the Conference.

Our first task in beginning to work in the territory where incidently we had very weak connections, was that of picking a set of organizers and sympathizers in the field who knew of the actual conditions of the youth working on the farms, and among the miners. These organizers helped materially to estimate the psychological level of the workers, their specific economic grievances, and the language that is necessary to approach them. This is far in advance of our previous method of arriving at a decision of demands solely on the necessity of practical information and attempting to apply a general theory to this. We must confess that in many cases the wording of the demands were incomprehensible, even to our most experienced organizers because of their local jargon. Yet this was the language most comprehensible in the region and therefore, most necessary, and as the results showed—most effective.

The capitalist offensive in this section is extremely brutal; made so by the great economic whip it wields—unemployment, blunders, mismanagements, etc.

The more brutal the offensive of capitalism the more energetically must we raise political education among the youth in order to make them see that the struggle of the masses of young workers. This we did. We made the following demands:

1. For All Young Workers
   a. A six-hour day, five-day week, with no night work or overtime. Exception to be made only in case of emergencies in the mines. Mines should be regulated so that the miner can be understood when mine would be unable to work day overtime. Overtime must be paid at time and a half rate.
   b. Establishment of work school for young workers to be held in the towns and supervised by the unions.
   c. Two weeks vacation with pay each year for all young workers under 18 years of age.

2. For All Young Miners
   a. All tracks, roadways and manholes to be kept clean; timbering and wiring to be kept in shape to avoid accidents. No loader to be responsible for clearing any rock that may be necessary. A designated person should be on duty to take care of all rock clearings.
   b. Equal wages for trampers, gaugers, car cleaners or slate pickers, to correspond with this work but it should be done by day men.
   c. Abolition of the tannage system and institution of straight day wages and weekly pay.
   d. A minimum wage of $7.50 to all workers in the mines, if thru no cause of their own, they do not receive a full day's work.
   e. Wash houses and individual towels to be supplied free by company.
   f. Provision by company of pit clothes whenever necessary.
   g. Unemployment benefits to be paid during shutdowns at prevailing union wages from special funds to be established by setting aside part of profits of coal operators, this fund to be supervised by local union of U. M. W. Co.
   h. Two rooms for two miners in machine work in room and pillar.
   i. Machine work transported to and from work when entry is over half mile long.
   j. All tools, powder and implements necessary shall be furnished free by the company.
   k. From the U. M. W. Co. we want for all young workers under 21 years of age the initiation fees and dues be one half of the regular amount and for all young workers over 21 years of age the initiation fees and dues be one half of the regular amount and for all young workers over 21 years of age the initiation fees and dues be one half of the regular amount and for all young workers over 21 years of age the initiation fees and dues be one half of the regular amount.
   l. The central labor bodies and local unions must energetically undertake the organization of the companies and the enforcement of the contract.
   m. Abolition of the automatic penalty clause.

General Demands.

1. Free the Moundsville Prisoners and Domenick Venturella.
2. For a Labor Party.
3. For World Trade Union Unity.

The Problem of Arousing the Young Workers.

The second problem arose over the manner in which the young workers were to be aroused to respond to these demands. The region is an open shop region and lack of organization, as is the general rule, among the young workers. Our League organization consisted of mere nucleus of contacts, and the bosses and reactionary union leaders of the worst type. We therefore, had to approach the workers with a very low key concept. And the results, because of our mistakes and achievements taught us much.

Our League was to get delegates directly from the shops and mines. In this region tho it is industrial, the towns are very small, generally built around a mine or some kind of a factory. It therefore, suited our purpose to carry on a period of agitation in the town in this manner making connections with the workers and then arrange for shop and pit meetings for actual election of delegates. In arranging for these preliminary agitational meetings we almost met impossible conditions. The thing that is too common in the rest of our movement, namely, the failure of speakers to keep their dates, here proved almost fatal. The response to our call was so enthusiastic that it made it almost impossible to keep up. The meetings were packed with young workers—the whole town sometimes turned out. And when the announced speaker, the only one, failed to show up it made the indecisive element in our organization of the conference to a large extent a very unsatisfactory one. It was only with greatest difficulty that we succeeded in re-establishing the prestige of our organization. The confidence and pride of these young workers felt that there was something wrong with our trying to organize them for their own defense. We felt true many of them said, and the weak elements were only too ready to say, "I told you so" when the packed meetings found no speaker.

The second great difficulty in arranging these meetings was one already mentioned—the absolute lack of material assistance. Even the Party organization we had very weak and was almost entirely unable to reach the young workers, and the work we undertook had to be pursued by our organizers therefore was the only possible manner in which an organizational campaign could be reached; in the places where they congregate after working hours, in pool rooms, ice cream parlors, and was almost entirely unable to reach them in the places where they congregate after working hours, in pool rooms, ice cream parlors, and was almost entirely unable to reach them in the places where they congregate after working hours, in pool rooms, ice cream parlors, and was almost entirely unable to reach them. The fact that our organizer was forced to resort to this method of making the most essential connections shows the fact that of having a well-organized network of Young Workers' (Communist) League nuclei which could be organized as a basis for the organization of our future conferences. If we have no contacts in certain territory we must first sedd in organizers to build league units for a period of a few months and then begin the work for the conference. With nuclei acting as driving forces in the factories and mines greater numbers by far might have been reached.

Distribution of Leaflets and Young Workers.

We distributed approximately ten thousand leaflets and Young Workers' League forms in three different issues, all popularizing the immediate demands of the conference and "incli- nating" the workers to rally the broader aspect of class against class.

The Results of the East Ohio Conference.

Now in view of the difficulties that we were faced with and the energies that were expended —what were the results? The answer can only be, that we were able to build a few contacts, and we have developed better organizers for our future work.

The Delegates to the Conference.

First, let us examine the delegates: Some of the states had no delays at which delegates were elected. Several hundred young workers on strike for organization in the Belland Glass works had two of their number, a tight, a steel mill, the Wheeling Glass Co., workers elected delegates, a delegate from a local mine union in Ohio who acted fraternal to the League, and a delegate elected by local high school students.

This represents the conference in delegates. We would like to give the detailed list, but cannot do so for obvious reasons. For the first
time we had the heart of the masses—masses which we had never before reached, come together to discuss their youth problems. Almost none of the delegates had ever been in the Young Workers' (Communist) League. The actual conference separated from the text of the entire territory might be deceptive in that one could not build up the strength that it represented. The entire region was alive with discussion of the purpose and the immediate demands set forth by the League. This in itself gave much greater strength to the conference in that it directed the attention of the workers, especially the young workers towards it.

Reports on Condition in Industry.

The conference itself showed that almost every delegate was a young worker in heavy industry. Before the conference, we discussed whether it would be possible to have every delegate report on the conditions in his own industry and their relation to the general struggle of the workers. This was at first rejected because of the opinion of some of the comrades that the workers would not understand this sufficiently to be able to discuss it before the conference. However, when the discussion was opened on the floor immediately following the political report, almost every representative gave a full and remarkably clear (considering their backwardness) analysis of the situation in each of their industries. Here again, there was very little that could be added to the demands that had already been drawn up in the manner first suggested, which again justified the method that was followed in drawing up our original program.

The Building of the League.

What has the conference accomplished for us? In the first place, where we had not a single unit in the entire district after the six weeks to two months' work spent on the conference we now have four units in separate towns organized on the new basis—this is, shop nuclei.

Youth Conference Groups.

In addition, we have adopted the policy of organizing temporary youth conference groups where it would have been impossible to organize sections of the Young Workers' League to take up the demands of the conference to carry on the fight for them in the local unions in the mines, shops, etc. If we had decided that we have the conference "entrust the Young Workers' League with carrying out its decisions," it would have meant that we are to leave no organizational remnants after the conference was over except that of Young Workers' League units. This would have narrowed the basis of our activities considerably. On this point, the thesis of the Young Communist International says as follows:

"The conferences of the working class youth must be regarded as an important means for the mobilization of the entire territory for the purposes of the struggle of the Y. C. L. The ground for the calling of such conferences will be created by the growth of the shop nuclei movement, and the necessary preparatory work will be carried out by the nuclei which will propagate the necessary demands in the shops. The shop meetings of the working class youth called by our nuclei will take up their attitude and choose their delegates for these conferences, which will be called either on the basis of the entire organization of the League for the entire district or on the basis of the entire territory. To shop nuclei must take care that the selection of the delegates takes place in such a manner that the conference will represent the greatest possible participation of the group of young working youth. As far as possible special conferences of the shop nuclei of the Y. C. L. should be called before the calling of such conferences of the working youth, for the purpose of preparing these latter."

"The decisions of the conferences must afterwards be persistently propagated in the shops and used to the full. UNDER LEGAL CONDITIONS, NO SPECIAL "COMMITTEES," ETC., SHOULD BE FORMED BY THESE CONFERENCES, BUT THEY SHOULD GIVE THE Y. C. L. AS THE MASS ORGANIZATION OF THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH, THE TASK OF PUTTING THE DECISIONS INTO OPERATION. The reporting and the propagating of the decisions in the shops thru the shop nuclei belongs above all to this work." (Emphasis ours—S. A. D.).

However, in organizing the conference, the premise for the conclusion that "no special committees should be formed by these conferences but should give the Y. C. L. as the mass organization of the working class youth, the task of putting the decisions into operation" was missing; we had to look for a different organizational means with which to carry out these decisions. In the first place, our conference, different from that which the Y. C. I. speaks of, was not created by the growth of the shop nuclei movement. In other words, rather than the conference being the result of a growing organization of the League, the League was the result of our work in the conference. Besides, tho our organization was legal so far as the state was concerned, we were illegal so far as the trade union movement in that territory was concerned. It was impossible therefore to approach these unions under the banner of the League and expect that they would respond to demands which we would make in the name of these workers.

We therefore, changed our original decision that the conference entrusts the League with carrying out its decisions to read that the conference recognizes the role of the League and calls upon "to help defend and fight for the realization of our demands." This allowed for the organization of youth conference groups to carry on the fight where it was impossible to organize League branches, and gave the assurance that the demands would not die a natural death after the actual conference was over but would be carried to the masses either by the League or the conference groups. The attitude of the young workers in the region to the League already assures that we will get full organizational benefit from the work without holding the conference so close to our bosoms that we strangle it.

The Significance of Our Struggle for Immediate Demands.

The better the League understands how to lead the masses of the working youth in these struggles and how to deepen and broaden these struggles thru the setting up of concrete demands arising out of the existing situation, the more will the masses of the working youth have confidence in the Communist youth organization. We must make partial demands the lever for the struggle for the complete revolutionary transformation and a means for the destruction of the capitalist system. The struggle for partial demands (for obvious and necessary, minimum demands) must lead in the present period of the decay of capitalist economy to the bitterest struggles between the workers and bosses and in the measure that the struggle for partial demands embraces ever larger masses of workers and sets them in movement, in the same measure will it lead them to an understanding that the struggle for partial demands leads to the final struggle.

In East Ohio, even as in the rest of the country, the pauperization of the youth is hard reality. Yet, and again as everywhere else, they are discriminated against in every possible manner by organized labor, to the point where a union is called by these young workers "job trusts." The Young Workers (Communist) League cannot reach the masses in the same way that the Party can for the young workers are hardly organized at all. We must find new forms. And we have!

* The example of Bellairs Glass Works where two young workers went on strike demanding that the union organize them, is a case in point. The union adult workers, typically labor aristocrats, are very closely organized and refuse to admit the young workers. To-date they are not yet in the union.
THE socialist proletariat must consider the
basic principles of the literature of the
workers party in all its completeness, and
express them in their most complete
bourgeois customs, with the commercialized
form. These principles are in contrast with
the ambitions of the adventurous bourgeois literature
which are against the control of the proletarian
tariat must no longer be a means of enriching
men! Non-party writers; no more literary super-
airy endeavor, etc. Their laments are nothing
precise of the freedom of the
spearred into it the vital spirit of the workers, and
in this sphere, should throw off the outlook of the
mercenary bourgeoisie, who see in the writers
who sell their writings for only the
money of parasites and souteneurs.

Naturally we do not imagine that this change
in literature can be brought about at one swoop,
and that it will be easily be eradicated, or
mechanized and the free "struggle of minds," free criticism, free literary
endeavors, personal inclination, for inspiration and imagina-
tion, in form and content.

All this proves only one thing; that the literary side of the party's work
cannot be mechanically identified with the other sides of proletarian activity.
This by no means destroys the truth—ine comprehensible and strange as it may seem to
intellectuals, but it is the real demonstration that literary
work ought to be most strictly bound to the rest of the socialist work of the party. Writers
ought to endure with the party without making
any stipulations. Publishing establishments, bookshops, reading rooms, libraries, everything
to do with literature ought to be placed under the control of the party.

The organized socialist proletariat ought to
supervise and control all this work; it should
be "aesthetic" censorship, and corrupted by a Europeanized bour-
geoisie. We are far from expecting any pana-
ccea whatever in the shape of decisions and reso-
lutions settling the whole thing in an arbitrary
manner. That is not the point. What concerns
us is that our class-conscious proletariat
must understand that here is a new problem
that has to be faced frankly, and everything
possible done to solve it.

After having delivered ourselves from the
chain of censorship, we do not want to be
the captives of bourgeois commerce and its rela-
tionships. We want to create a press that is
freed not only from police control, but also from
the influence of capital and from private ambi-
tions, and that is freed from anarchist-bour-
geois individualism.

These last words will be an object of derision
to many of the reading public. "Good heavens,"
some burning apostles of "intellectual freedom"
will doubtless exclaim. "Good heavens! You
want to submit to the masses so subtle and so
personal a thing as literary workmanship. You
want workingmen to decide, by the majority of
their votes, what the workers want to read
to themselves. But that destroys the intel-
lectual freedom of the writer, the writer is a
mask of the bourgeoisie, or artist, or actress, is a mask of
intellectual freedom concealing a real dependence on
bourgeois individualists that their talk about
"absolute liberty" is nothing less than pure hy-
popocrisy. absolute freedom is a bourgeois or anarchist
fashionable idea in this bourgeois theory of art, the wrong way round). The freedom of the bour-
geois writer, or artist, or actress, is a mask of
intellectual freedom concealing a real dependence on
the money of parasites and souteneurs.

We Marxists tear aside this hypocrisy and un-
mask their false standards, not to arrive at
a literature "above class" (that will only be pos-
sible in a socialist society, in a society without
bourgeois literature "above class" (that will only be pos-
sible in a socialist society, in a society without
capitalism), but to oppose to this so-called free
literature which is really allied with the bour-
geois literature, a literature bound openly to the prole-
tariat.

This will be a literature truly free, because
commercial ambitions will have no place
there, and socialist ideals and sympathy with
the oppressed will continually bring into it new
features which are not recognized in bourgeois
literature.

This will be a free literature, for it will not
depend on the blaze heroine nor the ten thou-
sand bored and fattened high-brows, but on the
millions and millions of workers who are the
pick of the country, its power and its future.

This will be a literature which will en-
der new life and new strength to the
laborious proletariat, and new life and
strength to the traditions and traditions of revolu-
tionary thought, with the experience and living
work of the socialist proletariat.

Get down to the job, then, comrades! We
have before us an entirely new and difficult problem; we must create a rich literature, narra-
tive, and finally the experiences

of International Socialism, the whole experience
of the voluntary associations of the proletariat.

Our Party is a voluntary organization that will
accept the program of the Party, and enter the party
without making
materially, if it does not take care to decide the
program and program, and finally the experiences

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Death or a Program!

By Robert Minor

The Universal Negro Improvement Association, the forerunner of all Negro organizations, is in danger of going to pieces. A split is impending, if a split has not already occurred.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association.

A breaking up of this Negro association would be a calamity to the Negro people and to the working masses of the world. We say this not because the program or the leadership of the organization is of good quality, but because the Universal Negro Improvement Association is bigger than its leadership, and the deficiencies of its program are directly due to deficiencies of its leaders. The organization itself represents the first and largest experience of the Negro masses in self-organization. It is the largest organization that ever existed among the Negroes of the United States and the West Indies. It claims a large membership in Africa, and it certainly has some followers among seafaring Negro workers in many parts of the world. It is composed very largely, if not almost entirely, of Negro workers and improve-ment farmers, all of whom have arisen to activity in the period since the world war. We believe that the destruction of such an organization would be a calamity.

And the destruction seems to be an imminent danger. It also appears on the surface to be the result of a selfish quarrel among ambitious leaders.

The Garvey-Sherrill Feud.

Marcus Garvey, the principal founder and the President-General of the association, is now in prison in Atlanta, Georgia, where he is kept, first, by the United States government, and secondly, by the action of Calvin Coolidge and a few wealthy white men who control his release. William L. Sherrill is now the acting President-General of the association, serving in the place of Garvey because of the latter's imprisonment. Recently a quarrel broke out between Garvey and Sherrill, which finds expression in the present crisis. Garvey from his prison cell declares that Sherrill has been disloyal to him and to the organization. For the purpose of getting rid of Sherrill as the directing head of the organization, Garvey has initiated a movement for a convention.

Garvey is supported by Joseph A. Craig, Secretary of the Detroit Division, Fred A. Toote, President of the Philadelphia Division, William Ware, President of the Cincinnati Division, and John E. Haynes, President of the Pittsburgh Division. These officers of four important divisions of the organization have signed the call for a convention, and they are composing a large section of the organization, including many of the membership of the biggest cities, New York and Chicago.

The published utterances of both sides reveal no issue of principle—not more than a struggle for power among individuals, precipitated by Coolidge's recent refusal of a communica/tion of Garvey's sentence. The determination of the federal government to hold Garvey for some time and to deport him permanently at the end of his prison sentence has the effect of creating a scramble for his position which is merely temporary and momentarily out of Garvey's reach. Garvey accuses Sherrill of passive if not active acquiescence in keeping Garvey in prison, and of seeking to make use of Garvey's imprisonment to get permanent control.

The Social Roots of the Threatened Disruption.

However, it is an entirely false appearance from which one would judge that the present crisis is due solely to a quarrel among individuals for the control of Garvey's movement. The Universal Negro Improvement Association has been the victim of a leadership which turned it away from the struggles through which it was created. Therefore the organization, as expressed in its leadership, has during the past five years been steadily undermining its own reason for existence.

At the first substantial convention of the organization held in New York in 1920, it was appar-ent that the period of mass organization among Negroes of the working class (not merely organization of intellectuals) which had been the more social changes of 1918 and following the war, was beginning, and that it was crystallizing more largely in the U. N. I. A. than anywhere. Also the rather primitive and unclear expression of working class character in the movement was exhibited by the program adopted in 1920. Among the complaints for which the convention demanded redress were:

- Effects of Bourgeois Pressure on the U. N. I. A.

But is it certain that fatal weaknesses were present from the beginning? Is it true that Garvey, altho he was undoubtedly the chief builder of the organization, was also the chief one that cannibalized the program? To understand Garvey's character which seeks to organize a large section of the exploited classes, there always begins to be exercised a tremendous power. Garvey's whole scheme of organization is antagonistic to the capitalist society invariably rushes to its task of adjusting any mass movement in such a way as to make it impossible to conflict with the capitalist system. The effects of such pressure soon began to be apparent in garvey's character, especially in the trend of Garvey himself. Many incidents, especially occurring in the attempts to organize Negroes through the labor movement, brought out sharply the fact that the organization would be fought most bitterly on those issues which had to do with the organization for Negro negroes in trade unions, for political rights, and especially those demands which struck out in the direction of the elimination of the general system of social inequality.

Under the pressure, Garvey began to give way. Differences between the leaders of the U. N. I. A. on the ground that the organization had "bolshervistic" qualities leading toward economic, political and social equality. Garvey gave way sharply to the various portions of his organization's program which were under attack at the given moment. By a process of illusory concessions, he was offensive to the ruling class were dropt one by one, and the organization settled down to a policy of declining any idea whatever of demanding any rights for the Negro people in the United States—the policy of declaring that the Universal Negro Improvement Association was not striving to attain any political or social rights of the Negro in America, but was trying only to construct an organization which would bring about the establishment of "homo sapiens" for the Negro people in Africa." From a negative protestation, the policy evolved into a positive declaration that by means of the U. N. I. A. Garvey (and by his followers) that the Universal Negro Improvement Association recognized the United States and the United Nations. This body was therefore opposed to social equality in this country for the Negro.

Garvey issued a pamphlet (seemingly for private reading of wealthy white men to whom he sent it in the hope of securing gifts of money and not for circulation among the Negro membership), entitled, "Alms and Objects of Movement for Solution of Negro Problem Outlined." In the pamphlet Garvey wrote:

"The white man as a rule, always becomes the natural leader of the race. When, because of his salient position, is called upon to help in all human efforts. From nothing to nothing, the appeal is made to him for aid in all things affecting humanity, or change without first acquainting the leader on whose authority all are action among the Negro membership," entitled, "Alms and Objects of Movement for Solution of Negro Problem Outlined." In the pamphlet Garvey wrote:

"To us, the white race has a right to peaceful possession and occupation of countries of its own and in like manner the yellow and black races have their rights. To us, the Negroes of the other Negro movements in America, with the exception of the Tuskegee effort of Booker T. Washington, seek to "Aspire to Social Equality Through Socialism and Its Internary and Fraternity in Every Social Way. The Race of Much Trouble and Still Some Negro Organizations Continue to Preach This Dangerous Race Destroying Doctrine."
and the excuse that he had sold stock under
with all the qualities of a political frame-up.

Garvey leadership? Mr. Sherrill is unquestion-
ably the center of the anti-

Garvey investments.

Along came events which destroyed the illu-

Apparently Garvey did not operate this stock
selling operation according to free market charitably,
and the excuse that he sold stock under
false pretenses became the one under which he
was tried and convicted. He had sold stock in the United States
and his bankruptcy petition, amongst other
charges, making a present of a continent larger than
North America, laden with untold gold, dis-

to allowing the enemy propagandists to speak.

the center of the Garvey program had
become incredible even to Garvey's credulous

ed Negroes, out of pure love and Christian
kindness.

The one center of the Garvey program had
become incredible even to Garvey's credulous

Garvey leads, Mr. Sherrill, unquestion-
ably a man of ability and one of the most pow-
erful orators and powerful personalities in the
country. In this respect he is the one promi-

ances indicate. He did not raise his voice
against the disgraceful surrender to the Ku
Klux Klan. He did not rise up to save the

Garvey represents the point of view of President-General Garvey, the New
York demonstration against her speaking prob-
ably indicates that the New York membership
is at least partly aroused against the servile
program. Of course, this, if true, is of tremen-
dous significance. The metallic life of New
York, which has within it a tremendous Negro
southern sub-city of more than a quarter of a
million people, is the one place with the most
conscious and active expression of the Ne-
groes' movement for freedom.

Wm. L. Sherrill, the man who is the center of the anti-

Garvey's illusions Blasted.

Along came events which destroyed the illu-

Garvey's illusions Blasted.

Garvey's illusions Blasted.

Garvey's illusions Blasted.

Garvey's illusions Blasted.
What Is Workers' Education?*

By Bertram D. Wolfe

It seems to me that there are three points of view offered to the worker today in answer to this question.

1. The Point of View of the Philanthropist.

First, there is the point of view of the philanthropist, the social worker. A philanthropist is one who is better endowed with worldly goods and has therefore an obvious duty to give away, and he chooses to give away a bit here and a bit there. So it is with the philanthropist in workers' education. He is endowed with a godly share of the world's spiritual goods, and from time to time, he goes into the intellectual "alms of" the working class, so poverty stricken culturally, with a little bundle of that which he chooses to give away, and hands out a bit here and a bit there to the poor workers. All such cultural philanthropy is wasted, and with a non-working class point of view and with no relation to the needs of the workers. Therefore, we workers reject the so-called workers' education of the philanthropist.

2. The Point of View of the University Extensionist and Open-shopper.

A second point of view of permeation of the working class with a non-working class ideology. The adherents of this school, which is closely akin to that of the philanthropist, who have rate all the way from the university extensionists to the open shoppers. Thus, we find Cambridge University and the University of Chicago opening courses to the workers is "to continue in its hands that permeating influence which has so long been the hallmark of the work of the open shoppers." There are two universities in New York City that are willing and anxious to extend the "beauties" of their culture to the New York workers, and we must be on our guard against them. Then, there is the Carnegie Corporation with its millions available for the subsidizing of our educational activities, but which aid in the understanding of the social sciences...whatever subjects are secondary to them...whatever subjects are peculiarly enough, those who recognize the necessity of independent newspapers, do not always, as yet, recognize the necessity of independent working class education. They cannot be content with the parties controlled by and expressing the interests of their bosses. But peculiarly enough, the necessity of independent newspapers, do not always, as yet, recognize the necessity of independent workers' education. It is our belief, and it must be the belief of all conscientious workers, that the working class must own and control its own educational institutions, and pervade its education with its own point of view. We cannot tolerate the attempts of such institutions as the Carnegie Corporation to finance and thus buy out and control our educational activities.

3. The Point of View of the Workers.

To the point of view of the open shoppers, as quoted from their magazine, I oppose the point of view of the workers themselves. They have made us produce too much and that is why we have so many unemployed in the mining region. We want to teach our miners how to get more of what they already produce and that is the purpose of education, and so long as it draws attention to the contribution to social welfare which workers in every age have made, it must be looked upon not only valuable to workers but to everybody. The point of view, however, attempts to impose a certain curriculum as representative of the needs of wage earners, it must defeat its own purposes and the interests of its supporters.

Thus we see that the whole capitalist world, ranging from the philanthropist and social worker thru the university extensionists to the open shoppers, is united in its insistence that workers' education should as classless, dispensing "sweetness and light" from the surplus store of the privileged classes, and it is easy to understand that, even if their intentions are good, this point of view will lead to the confusion of the workers, a blunting of their understanding of the class struggle, which ranges among the workers, that they must also have their own independent political party and cannot be content with the parties controlled by and expressing the interests of their bosses. But peculiarly enough, the necessity of independent newspapers, do not always, as yet, recognize the necessity of independent workers' education. It is our belief, and it must be the belief of all conscientious workers, that the working class must own and control its own educational institutions, and pervade its education with its own point of view. We cannot tolerate the attempts of such institutions as the Carnegie Corporation to finance and thus buy out and control our educational activities.

The Basis of Workers' Education—The Class Struggle.

The labor movement has based upon the central fact of the class struggle. This applies to all forms of the labor movement however varied and many-thorned that, constant and那就 true, that the taking of the industries by the workers, should be classless, dispensing "sweetness and light" from the surplus store of the privileged classes, and it is easy to understand that even if their intentions are good, this point of view will lead to the confusion of the workers, a blunting of their understanding of the class struggle, which ranges among the workers, that they must also have their own independent political party and cannot be content with the parties controlled by and expressing the interests of their bosses. But peculiarly enough, the necessity of independent newspapers, do not always, as yet, recognize the necessity of independent workers' education. It is our belief, and it must be the belief of all conscientious workers, that the working class must own and control its own educational institutions, and pervade its education with its own point of view. We cannot tolerate the attempts of such institutions as the Carnegie Corporation to finance and thus buy out and control our educational activities.

The Aim of Workers' Education.

What shall be taught and how it shall be taught should follow from the aim of the labor movement? What shall be taught should be an instrument for the organization of the working class politically and industrially for the development of its consciousness of its own needs and purposes. It is not that the worker does not desire to learn more than this, but he desired it for the only reason because this is of life and death importance to him. He is culturally oppressed just as he is economically oppressed. His time is so limited. There are industries in which the legal department of the Chamber of Commerce for the whole of society. He declared, rightly, that this does not mean that they take from that heritage for education in that sense is no better than the industrial consciousness and organization.

Now we are prepared to answer the question what is workers' education? When we say workers' education, we must mean education as an instrument for the organization of the working class politically and industrially for the development of its consciousness of its own needs and purposes. It is not that the worker does not desire to learn more than this, but he desired it for the only reason because this is of life and death importance to him. He is culturally oppressed just as he is economically oppressed. His time is so limited. There are industries in which the legal department of the Chamber of Commerce for the whole of society. He declared, rightly, that this does not mean that they take from that heritage for education in that sense is no better than the industrial consciousness and organization.

*This article consists of the major part of the speech delivered by Bertram D. Wolfe, director of the New York Workers' School, at the Third Annual Conference of Teachers in Workers' Education, held at Brookwood, February 19-22, 1926.

**APRIL, 1926**
erage brief curriculum of workers' education should be as independent, subjects, and they may occasionally form the basis of a lesson or two in the working class, provided that they are light on the general subject of Social Evolution.

Then there is a second class of subjects which may be called "subjective." The English, Public Speaking, and Journalism, to which we refer to such subjects as English, Public Speaking, and Journalism. As to Public Speaking, it has been said that it is too narrow? I can only answer by reminding you of the cultural plight of the worker and of his economic plight as well; by reminding you of the hopelessly limited time and energy at his disposal for educational purposes; of his crying need to solve the historic problems which face him; to remind you that it is merely a question of putting first things first; a question of conquering the pre-conditions for a higher culture. I must remind you too, that culture is closed to the working class in the working class schools and by the ruling class in the working class schools should not teach anything that can be as well gotten in the government's schools referring to such subjects as English, Public Speaking, and Journalism. This content in the government nationalization and Americanization schools is for patriotism, jingoism and anti-imperialism, in a form that no conscious worker can tolerate. Therefore we have found it necessary to teach English in our school and give it a working class content. As to Public Speaking, it is far vaster than the classroom as indeed education, for it develops that understanding, feeling and the will. By experience has taught us that we cannot leave the teaching of English to the evening schools. English is not only the teaching of methods of expression, but always and of necessity includes a content. This content in the government nationalization and Americanization schools is a propaganda for patriotism, jingoism and anti-imperialism, in a form that no conscious worker can tolerate.

By Martin Abern

Work of the Organization Conference of the Workers (Communist) Party

The methods of work pursued by the Party must be as effective as the economic situation in the labor movement. In recognizing this the conference proceeded to analyze the situation in the organization of the labor movement, and the specific role of the Party in that movement. It has been demonstrated that the Party has a unique and essential responsibility for the economic situation in the labor movement, and its work is not only a question of organizing the workers, but of making them conscious of their economic plight and of the need for carrying out their aims. Education in its broader sense is precisely this—a training of the understanding, the feeling, and the will. But we must limit ourselves to this discussion in the field of class room education.

We must not confuse the situation of the workers in America with the situation of the workers in Russia. It has been said that we do not pay enough attention to literature and art, whereas in Russia they pay ample attention to these subjects. Let us note that we do not give technical education to the workers whereas in Russia, they do. We must remember that in Russia the problem is a different one. There the workers rule and are responsible for the whole of life and not only for a small portion of it. They have in their charge all education from that of the little child to that of the technical expert and not only the leisure hours of the workers, but the whole of their time. As the whole of everything else is in the workers' hands, so too is the whole of education.

Away With the Class Monopoly of Culture!

I suppose it shall be told in the discussion that follows this that the Party takes itself as the representative of the point of view of the workers as to their own education, is too narrow. Is it not too narrow to point out to you of the cultural plight of the worker and of his economic plight as well; by reminding you of the hopelessly limited time and energy at his disposal for educational purposes; of his crying need to solve the historic problems which face him; to remind you that it is merely a question of putting first things first; a question of conquering the pre-conditions for a higher culture. I must remind you too, that culture is closed to the working class in the working class schools and by the ruling class in the working class schools should not teach anything that can be as well gotten in the government's schools referring to such subjects as English, Public Speaking, and Journalism. This content in the government nationalization and Americanization schools is a propaganda for patriotism, jingoism and anti-imperialism, in a form that no conscious worker can tolerate.

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Party fractions present the greatest problems. In the coal industry it was noted that the unions in the heavy industries demand the greatest attention, but also wages and working conditions, trade problems, emphasized by every recent defeat suffered by the working class. The conference recognized that, during this process of laying the basis for a broad opposition movement within the trade unions in America, the particular co-ordination of the activities of Party union fractions and Party nuclei is needed. In unions of trades of the needle trades unions, with their higher degree of political consciousness of the members, where fraction work has proceeded further than within other unions, every new measure, every organizational step, must take into account the general state of development of the trade union movement as a whole. The conference recognized, during this process, that a common line in all the districts must be developed, the emphasis on the simple issues. Even within the needle trades unions, with their higher degree of political consciousness of the members, where fraction work has proceeded further than within other unions, every new measure, every organizational step, must take into account the general state of development of the trade union movement as a whole.

The First Experiences of the Reorganized Party

The American Party is now completely reorganized on the shop and street nuclei basis. It has been remarked that the particular co-ordination of the activities of Party union fractions and Party nuclei is needed. In unions of trades of the needle trades unions, with their higher degree of political consciousness of the members, where fraction work has proceeded further than within other unions, every new measure, every organizational step, must take into account the general state of development of the trade union movement as a whole.

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sufficient attempt been made to draw wider strata of workers into the labor movement. The leading comrades must be more in direct contact with the nuclei and members, giving guidance and experience. Many more functionaries are required in the reorganized Party. The Party democracy must be widened. The leading sections of the Party must be held responsible for selecting additional comrades for responsible work, making them feel responsibility and confidence to do more important Party work, either inside or outside the Party.

Protection of Foreign-Born Workers.
The campaign for protection of the foreign-born workers establishes itself as one of major political importance for the Party in the working class. Millions of foreign-born workers are affected by the registration, fingerprinting, deportation laws now before Congress for disposal.

Into the campaign to organize councils for the protection of the foreign-born must be drawn the mass of workers in America, those organized into the trade unions, the mass of unorganized chiefly foreign-born workers in the basic and key industries. The liberal groups through the Spartacus League, demonstrating solidarity of the American born and foreign-born workers against the reactionary congresses at home, the militant spirit aroused by the rebellions of Abd-el-Krim and the Egyptians, the mass of Negro workers, in the form of a Labor Party is not a mere and revolt. The conference in its three days of discussion took up of course many other problems; the DALI WORKER, agitprop work, work among the Negroes, only touched; women's work, many other questions too many for discussion here. The Party has handled the same. What are our resources? What have we done? What were our errors? What can we do that will better the situation?

The Young Workers' (Communist) League offered a program in that large numbers formerly of the youth were now in the Party and the League was stripped of many active elements. The conference, however, did little if anything toward a solution of this question beyond declaring the need of Party aid to the Y. W. L. in each city. This shortcoming of the conference must be remedied. Nor was the agitprop question discussed. The organization conference was carried on by the Communist Party has been in a factional struggle, but is now emerging from it. At this organization conference, it was impossible to carry on practical discussion on Party problems and campaigns without bringing the differences forward in a detrimental manner. The increase in educational and political activity of the Party, for instance the Workers' Schools in New York and Chicago, besides the establishment of many more class-conscious organizations and the widening distribution of fundamental Party literature, the many experiences and particularly the aid of the Communist International, are raising the theoretical level of the Party. This is making itself felt throughout the Party in its approach to questions of policy and tactics. Less personal, more fundamental and political! The Party is growing—in understanding and work among the masses.

While the organization conference marked one basic step forward, the other problems have, by no means been solved. That is the problem of real Bolshevization of the Party, development of a broad Communist leadership, and immeasurable expansion of the mass work, particularly in the trade unions—these must be solved, before the Party can be said to have gone thru successfully the fire of proletarian struggle and revolt.

Program or Death

(Continued from page 273)

"But it seems that Mr. Sherill's 'orienta-
tion.' It probably means that Sherill's program is only a dreary repetition of the old theory that the American Negroes can be saved by increasing the number of Negro bankers and real estate men. Under this program the mass organization would quickly disintegrate. The Hope of the U. N. I. A.

Probably it will not be thru the leadership of Sherill or the leadership of any of the hitherto prominent leaders of the Negro Improvement Association that the organization may be saved from disaster. The most hope lies in the fact that there has been generated in the organization in the past two or three years a very able corps of young men and women of working class character and political consciousness. These young leaders are instinctively and potentially with any left wing that may be developing in other factions. Inevitably sooner or later there must be a revolt in such a mass organization of working class Negroes against the policy of the Negroes having been diverted into a sort of pseudo-anti-imperialism—a sort of a wordy objection to the conquest of Africa by the great imperialist powers. Such an objection is not protest effective. In spite of the futility of a wordy program of talk against imperialism abroad while submitting to the most brutal persecution at home, the militant spirit aroused by the rebellions of Abd-el-Krim and the Egyptians has served to sift out among the Negro masses a very active and partly conscious element which now occupies many positions of local leadership in the association. Upon the rank and file of sincere Negro workers in the organization, and upon these more active spirits, the ultimate hope of saving the left wing has been placed. The hope of the U. N. I. A.

The splendor cover of this issue of the Workers' Monthly is the work of the gifted proletarian artist, Joseph Varak.

It is a case of a program or death, for the Universal Negro Improvement Association.
Modern Warfare

By George Staley

“CATTINUCUS” is an excellent discussion of the future uses of gas in warfare. It should be read by everyone who is weary of the fairy tales about super-gases and magic explosives that are to dehumanize or wring out humanity.

Haldane explains that the maximum energy to be gotten by chemical action is known and that, the explosives of twice the power of trinitrotoluol can be made, they are too temperamental to be safely used. Of course, if bombs depending on atomic energy could be perfected or even attempted, the wildest nightmare of the most scared liberal would be more than realized. This is impossible owing to our present abysmal ignorance of atomic structure. The Tsonareg tribe is as likely to manufacture airplanes as a modern scientist to solve this problem—a technical epoch intervention.

There are four main classes of poison gases—bromine or phosgene and their class of non-blistering gases can all be kept out by a mask or— as the Canadians proved in 1916—by a wet cloth tied over nose and mouth. Tear gases are also useless against masked troops.

Chlorine and the other gas molecules vibrate hundreds of yards a second, strike the sides of the mask passages and are absorbed. The arsenic smokes on the other hand have slowly moving molecules inches a second. These penetrate the mask entrance. There is no practicable mask that can give protection against a high concentration of arsenic smoke. These smokes cause the most excruciating torture in head and ears—sometimes the victim kills himself or goes insane. The effects pass off in two or three days.

The fourth type which will be used very much in future is the skin irritant. In the last war mustard gas—dichlorethyl sulphide—was the skin irritant. In the last war it was used only to reduce the effective of the enemy and to compel his troops to wear constant Saih—causing discomfort and loss of efficiency. Haldane points out that in the next war, one side will, if it has many war planes, say 30 miles by 10 miles deep, make it wholly untenable, and then advance with air tight tanks, breathing the air tight clothing can be used—but the wearers are unable to exert themselves. Too hot. Of course, if any government discovers a strong skin irritant and a means of protecting its own men, the results will be—devastating.

The Imperialist cloven hoof sticks out amusingly. The author has had little truck with Uncle Sam and regards his announcements with more respect than they deserve. The federal government announced that its tests showed that 20 per cent of white men and 80 per cent of Negroes have a natural immunity to mustard gas. This is possible—but by no means certain. On this evidence Haldane pictures the black shag troops of tomorrow, remarking casually that “Enough resistant whites are available.” It is un- conscious insolence! And the callousness of it. Jim Crow America is to push those Negroes, who have escaped the seething hell of modern war; blood-drenched Britain is to use the unmurdered Hindus; and the French butchers, the Syrians and Abd-el-Krim’s Berbers! It seems Haldane has not heard the rumbling in Dixie, Egypt, Morocco and Syria that foretells the coming earthquake!

It is with regret that the reader turns to "Winged Defence"—Colonel Billy’s—darling of the aircraft profiteers, a poor pilot and a bad writer. His views on future wars are—startling. He says all their surface craft "are not only to be bombarded as destroyers but they must be bombarded as accountants." It is true, air war is more economical and they are more capable, but the Riff artillery shot to rags the Spanish air force, and the anti-aircraft guns expect to accomplish. The author does not fail to make a passionate defense of those paragons of efficiency and patriotism, the profit-seeking manufacturers, the ghouls who pocket a billion and a half dollars in the war years and the Vernon who dropped the D. H. 4 whose wires snap like thread, whose wings collapse in a steep dive.

Mitchell’s thesis that air craft are invincible has been badly dented in Syria and Morocco where the most powerful air fleet in the world—the U. S. aircraft (DeHaviland models shown in the illustrations of this work)—was bottled up and prostrated by the anti-aircraft guns. It is true that a less primitive society is more vulnerable; more easily dislocated; but the anti-aircraft guns are the most scared liberal’s friend. He lets slip some valuable information on the expensive nature of modern armaments. An anti-aircraft gun costs $30,000, fires 20 shots for an hour and is worn out after 600 total shots. A battle ship costs $50,000,000 and the necessary auxiliary craft $40,000,000 more—all are obsolete in five years.

The information that is most wanted—how many war planes does the U. S. have today he avoids. The chief of tactical division of the air forces puts the figure at 69: the secretary of war puts it at 2,000. Colonel Billy talks gibberish of 150 and 200 miles an hour but the Curtiss and DeHaviland models shown in the illustrations of this work are not over 150 miles an hour. There is no good reason to suspect that these two models, with the antique Thomas More—and a few Le Peres’, DeHavills and Capronis constitute all the U. S. aircraft.

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vent the infection from spreading to one's own land. It is forbidden by Hague Rules of Land Warfare. But the section forbids the refusal of quarter and the murder of prisoners and Pershing's crusaders played hob with this section.

I do not believe the air force will be of much value to the bourgeois in time of social upheaval—bolting or revolution. If they are not all won over, a little sabotage by twenty must and can be won over by us. Even overused the tanks were apt to catch fire at the woods or wood and machine factories. These are not of the order of rebuilding the organization that supplies new planes and line plane itself, but must be had to maintain the most critical moments—and the unhappy crew would seem that such measures would-aggravate its stinginess as to allow such a plan. It bureaucracy and no congress could so far con- the same pay they can earn in civil life and be pilots as these are used up). These twenty are soldiers, even tho they never drill or get wailed that it is impossible to make a-soldier chanic. How many sour West Pointers have five per cent of those able to pass the searching physical exam (it is so severe that less than 25 to be fair pilots. The proletarian and the backward elements of the Party are spacked with folk who believe that not only workers but even Communists should study in bour-geois schools and colleges, that a professor can an-
alyze a Question better than a Marxist—and more slop

draw was that society develops and changes—a fact that
compared double track railways to the veins and arter-
elies, and blood corpuscles to coins! The conclusion he
drew was that science will take in the next century—at least the
will be discovered—chemicals to add to the amenity of
ergy sources. Substances similar to coffee and tobacco
were so badly shaken that confidence in make a big ox, a farm hand in civil life, whose favorite form of
of course—sleep? Few except young bourgeois are allowed to become pilots. Eighty-


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