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Whose Revolution Is It?
By Bertram D. Wolfe

WHEN a child comes of age, he has the right to claim his inheritance. And it is a test of the maturity of the working class when it begins to claim its inheritance from past revolutions.

One of the earliest articles of Lenin, written in 1897, concerns itself with this very question. It is entitled: “What Inheritance Do We Reject.” It disputes step by step with the Populists the inheritance from past bourgeois revolutionaries. “We are definitely more consistent and truer guardians of the inheritance than the Narodniki (Populists),” he declares, and he then adds, “to keep the inheritance by no means signifies that one must limit himself to what he has inherited.” This article by the youthful Lenin was a definite declaration that the Russian working class was coming of age and claiming the inheritance that the Decembrists, the “enlighteners” and the earlier generation of Populists had left to it.

We Claim Our Inheritance.
Judged by this test, the American working class is still immature—still infantile leftist. It does not claim its heritage. It does not dispute with the bourgeoisie, and particularly the petty-bourgeoisie (the “back to 1776-ers”) for its share in the inheritance of the first American revolution. This year, the Workers (Communist) Party intends to claim this inheritance on behalf of the American working class. It intends to proclaim that our class has come of age and demands its heritage.

This year is the 150th anniversary of the American revolution of 1776. If the average conscious worker is asked whether the American working class should commemorate the anniversary, his answer is an indignant “NO!” “It was a bourgeois revolution,” he will declare. “It created our present capitalist government. The constitution is a capitalist constitution. The Declaration of Independence is bunk. The revolutionary fathers represented the interests of landowners, merchants and capitalists. It’s not our revolution. It gave the working class nothing but exploitation. We have nothing to commemorate.”

Last year the Russian working class celebrated the 100th anniversary of the Decembrist uprising of 1825. The same workers who would condemn the celebration of 1776 by the American workers thought the celebration of the Decembrist uprising right and proper and to a limited extent joined in the celebration. Yet the Decembrist uprising of 1825 in Russia was an uprising of a few nobles and generals. If it had succeeded it would have developed a capitalist
government or, more properly speaking, a liberalized feudal government where capitalism could develop as the essential basis of man, the institutions created as classless and eternal and unimprovable.

Again there is the French revolution. It also was a bourgeois revolution. Its leaders outlawed the labor unions. It created the government of the people in the interest of capitalism and imperialism. Yet not only did the conscious French workers commemorate the 150th anniversary of the first American revolution, did other countries commemorate it, build upon its achievements and draw revolutionary inspiration and action.

"We are trying to bring up our youth in the spirit of the deepest respect for the outstanding representatives of the great French revolution," declared Zinoviev in his lectures on the "History of the Russian Communist Party." "We understand their class character. We know that while the revolution sent a monarch to the guillotine, it was surrounded and the uses to which it is put will be more easily controlled, more easily taxed and the tax on tea—because it enabled the British merchants to profit—was passed.

James Oneal dismisses the opponents of these acts as "land speculators." He points out, and rightly, that Washington, Hamilton and Morris "had good reasons for being a rebel, as he had surveyed lands outside of the royal grant to which the Congress was liable to persecution as a law breaker."

JULY, 1926

"Back to 1776"—it renounces its revolution—better named a "silly-bryatiion." The official traditions and methods and lessons.

A third cause of the revolution was the paper money that rules France today in the interest of certain British classes had been fighting against the issue of cheap paper currency. The British merchants in the interest of certain British classes had been fighting against the issue of cheap paper currency. The British merchants and importers and merchants in America were all importing goods in order to pay taxes in place of legislative grants. In one case, the factories were taking the money as a means of settling on easy terms. In one case, the factories were taking the money as a means of settling on easy terms.
Taken all together the British laws for the governing of the colonies and their exploitation served to further the interests of British merchants and the ruling classes hampered the industrial life of the colonies and festered the further development of productive forces in America. For this reason British measures were ineffective; the revolution was impossible without revolution. So revolution had to come—and it did. And from the moment that the movement burst upon America “unrevolutionary,” of the American method being “not revolution but evolution,” of the revolutionary forces having no adequate center. But such a center grew up—over 25,000 colonists, the Honourable Board of Trade, the Massachusetts Sons of Liberty, the Continental Congress, the Provincial Congresses. They mobilized and drilled volunteers and secretly gathered supplies of ammunition and developed a spy system to reveal the movements of British troops. They were analogous to the provincial clubs of the French Revolution or to the local Soviets of the Russian revolution. From another standpoint, they correspond to local or sectional revolutionary political parties. They acted as the unifying vanguard of the revolutionary forces.

A Revolutionary Bourgeoisie.

Finally, the revolution succeeded above all because it was truly “revolutionary” in its methods. The people who write histories, says S. G. Fisher in his True History of the American Revolution, are usually of the class who take the side of the government in a revolution; and as Americans, they are anxious to believe that the revolutionary leaders, the officers, the merchant adventurers, the conservatives, those who won to their cause by such measures as paper money and through the glittering trappings of honor the revolutionaries were a minority of the population. The revolution was “an ardor and enthusiasm” general and widespread among both the ruling classes and the ruling classes. As the revolutionary movement developed and the day of open revolt approached, they chose delegates to national “congresses.” The first of these called the Virginia Convention to plan resistance to the tax known as the Stamp Act. Of this Congress the historian Beard says: “The Stamp Act Congress was more than an assembly of delegates to the rise of the right-thinking classes to the government to express the will of America. It was the germ of a government which in time was to supersede the government of George III. In the colonies.” This is strangely reminiscent of the words of Marx: “And the clubs, what were they but a coalition of the working class against the entire bourgeois class, the formation of a workers’ state against the state, so many constituent assemblies of the proletariat and as many detachments of an army ready for action?”

As to suffrage, there was no pretense of letting anybody vote for these committees of correspondence or congresses except ex-officio representatives. Dictatorship.

All revolutions create alongside of the regularly constituted government their own unconstitutional, extra-legal revolutionary authority which unites the revolutionaries, mobilizes their forces for revolution and reveals the true enemy to the people. The countryside of many states and the clubs of the English Revolution and the clubs of workers in the revolutions of 1848, 1871, and 1917 were fighting against King George and his system of government. Pitt and Burke and Fox and a host of other major statesmen opposed the colonial policy and supported the revolutionaries. Lord Howe, who commanded the British troops in America during the American Revolution, was an avowed Whig and when it was too late recalled and tried for treason because he abandoned Boston to George Washington, made no effort to come in time to the relief of Burgoyne at Saratoga, and did not try to crush Washington. Lord Howe repeatedly defeated it in New York and New Jersey. "Thrusting the revolution the favorite targets of American officers was "General Howe".

During the latter years of the revolution, the British were defeated in Canada and on the sea; the British ruling classes but also conflicts of interest between England and other countries as well as in the strategy of the revolutionaries. There is a little "Leninist" lesson in winning alliances for a revolution.

In the American Revolution of 1776 the dual or revolutionary authority was to be found first in the Committees of Correspondence and then in the Second Continental Congress. The Committees of Correspondence were small, local, unofficial groups of revolutionaries who, with the exception of the matter of force, had full authority on all-colonial scale against objectionable British measures. They held meetings, sent out emissaries, gathered supplies of ammunition and developed a spy system to reveal the movements of British troops. They were analogous to the provincial clubs of the French Revolution or to the local Soviets of the Russian revolution. From another standpoint, they correspond to local or sectional revolutionary political parties. They acted as the unifying vanguard of the revolutionary forces.

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The Results of the Revolution.

It is false to pretend, as many working class writers do, that the American revolution of 1776, since it did not live up to the glorious promises of the Declaration of Independence, did not accomplish anything. The main result of the revolution was the establishment of a new form of government, a form which the Russian revolution was innocent. The Russian revolution was innocuous. As to freedom of the press:

"Loyalists or Tories who were held enough to speak and write against the Revolution were suppressed. A few "loyalists" or "Tories" were hanged without trial, and others were tarred and feathered (this is a peculiar American sport, as Washington did it to the French when they tarred and feathered him and held him up to his loyalty to King George in 1774), in two or three instances. . . . Thousands were blacklisted and subjected to espionage. . . . Those who refused (to support the Revolution—B. D. W.) were promptly rounded up and all sorts of danger was said to be thrown into jail. . . ." (Beard.)

All loyalists were driven out of the State Legislature, and the loss of the Constitution and Senate was voted the Constituent Assembly. It seems that the methods of all revolutions are alike—revolutionary.

In this connection it is interesting to hear the testimony of a very conservative historians, Dr. James Sullivan, Assistant Commissioner of Education of the State of New York. Speaking at Columbia University recently he said: "Just as at present we are wont to speak with a kind of horror of the Soviets of Russia without realizing that our own committees of correspondence during the American Revolution were almost counterparts of the present Russian Soviet, with a somewhat similar range of execution, for practically two-thirds of the revolutionary period. These committees of correspondence, with their rigor and summary justice that the modern Russian Revolutionists have emulated, were such as to any reasonable man be taken as an argument that revolution is a necessary and justifiable weapon in certain cases, and that the Soviets of Russia were not really the obscure form that the Western World is supposed to know them as."

We can quote Dr. Sullivan’s little weakness as to executions (in Russia they are called resolutions, in the United States “lists of the slain”) in the following words: "All loyalists were driven out of the State Legislature, and the loss of the Constitution and Senate was voted the Constituent Assembly. It seems that the methods of all revolutions are alike—revolutionary."

The Results of the Revolution.

It is false to pretend, as many working class writers do, that the American revolution of 1776, since it did not live up to the glorious promises of the Declaration of Independence, did not accomplish anything. The main result of the revolution was the establishment of a new form of government, a form which the Russian revolution was innocent. The Russian revolution was innocuous. As to freedom of the press:
Whose Revolution Is It?

Whose revolution is it? The master class of today rejects it. They shudder at its revolutionary methods and conceal them. They reject its revolutionary traditions. They violate the Bill of Rights, calumniate or falsely most its most advanced leadership, distort and disfigure its men and its acts. They are ashamed of its methods and its traditions.

A socialist speaker in New York was arrested in 1918 for publicly reading the provisions of the Constitution which guarantee freedom of speech and press. A Communist speaker in Pittsburgh who tried to read the Declaration of Independence was pulled in. "I didn't write that," he protested to the policeman, "Thomas Jefferson wrote it!"

"Well, I'll pull you in first," answered the cop, "and then I'll go back and get this here guy Thomas Jefferson."

The bourgeoisie is arresting the revolutionists of 1776 and rejecting its heritage! The leaders of 1776 range all the way from the aristocratic Washington and the monarchial Hamilton (the Mellon of his day), thru the democratic Franklin and Jefferson and the free-thinker, Tom Paine, to the champion of the poor farmers and imprisoned debtors, Daniel Shays, who started a new revolution against the newly formed government as soon as he had helped complete the old one against King George. We can say with Zinoviev:

"We understand their class character. . . . Nevertheless, we can say that the last bourgeois revolution were the first shock troops of struggling humanity; they broke thru the dam of feudalism (imperialism in this case) and thereby opened the way to the spring floods of the proletarian revolution."

Discover America!

This year, on the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the American Revolution, is the time that the American workingclass begins to "discover America" and its body of native revolutionary traditions. It is the time that the American workingclass begins to grow up and like the youthful Lenin disputed with the bourgeoisie for our heritage. We are the revolutionists of today and they the counter-revolutionists. In the words of Lenin we can say:

"We are definitely more consistent and truer adherents of the inheritance than you. And to the "back to 1776-ers," the Norman Thomases and LaFollettes we can add in the words of Lenin: "To keep the inheritance by no means signifies that one must limit himself to what he has inherited."

"Back to nothing," we can answer. "We use the past to build the future, not to block the present. Forward to Communism. . . ."

After all it is only the first American Revolution.

The British General Strike

By Robert Minor

I refuse to believe that the general strike will really change the struggle. . . . The British workingman is too sensible a bully: . . . wrote a certain English gentleman, at the beginning of May. The gentleman was wrong only because he spoke some years too late. It used to be true that it couldn't happen. At the time it was not thought possible. . . . England. A better man has expressed the one-time universal hope that it would be possible. . . . The British bourgeoisie hopes to conduct a mass struggle, in the following words:

"Imperialism has a tendency to create privileged ranks and communistic mass movements. The working class have separated them from the breadth of the masses of the proletariat. It is time the bourgeoisie learn to face the facts. Emphasize the tendency of imperialism to split the working class, to increase opportunism among them and also to bring about a temporary stagnation of the labor movement, expressed itself much earlier than at the end of Mr. Gladstone and the beginning of the Twentieth Centuries. For two great typical characteristics of imperialism existed in England since the middle of the Nineteenth Century: great colonial possessions and a monopolistic position in the world market. Marx and Engels for several decades systematically studied this relation of opportunism in the labor movement to the imperialistic characteristics of capitalism. Far back in 1866, Engels wrote to Marx: 'The English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so much so that it appears that most bourgeois of all nations evidently wants to bring things about to the point where it will have a bourgeois aristocracy and bourgeois democracy, and this the bourgeoisie. Of course, this is to a certain degree natural on the part of a nation exploiting the whole world.'

"Lenin, 'Imperialism.'"

That a general strike was impossible to England was a result of the workingclass of the entire world. England was saturated with the ideology of imperialism, and while its upper and leading strata, in control of the organized classes of society, relatively easily accepted the exploitation of half the world by the British bourgeoisie. But in April, 1921, Lenin could write: "In recent times, England has been completely deprived of her monopoly. The formerly relatively bearable conditions of life given place to extreme impoverishment as a consequence of the high cost of living. The class struggle is becoming acute to a possible point of merger between the positions of the two classes. The basis of opportunism and the propaganda of Liberal-Labor politics among the workingclass is being undermined."

In the world war England struck the death blow at the then most dangerous rival in imperialism: Germany. Germany was in the midst of a period of proletarian revolution, and at the same time robot England tried to maintain position which had made her immune to revolution.

The decline of British capitalism economy since the war, the strengthening of the opportunism of the capitalist imperialism of the United States, has made it feasible that attacks are made on the standard of living of the workingclass, and that the British proletariat begins to cease to be what British bourgeoisie gentleman call "sensible." A comparatively rapid series of events developed the workingclass toward proletarian consciousness.

"Classic England" and Force.

But "England is traditionally peaceful and orderly." England is the prototype of modern capitalist countries and the prototype of modern civil war from 1642 to 1869 which cleared the way for the conquest of the world market, for the industrial revolution and the modern factory system under a government of the bourgeoisie.

The English revolution of extreme violence and French revolutions. The violence of Cromwell in 1642-1660 made it possible for the English bourgeoisie to pass over the period of civil war of the French in 1793 and of Europe in 1848. It was possible to "muddle through" the Chartists crisis in the 1830's and to wet down the British workingclass movement with the hoot of Afrika, Africa, and the Pacific. By enslaving half a world England had "freedom" at home; by swatting brown and black colonies, England had a relatively prosperous—and "prosperous-thinking"—upper stratum of home workingclass.

The epoch of modern imperialism found England still the mightiest of empires and still possessing the name of "classic" democracy. The heroic traditions of the British bourgeoisie revolution were lost in the darkest of centuries, the traditions of the Chartist movement lost in the shadows of reform. And the new tradition of a patriotic labor movement—living as a whole and in the host of the colonial empire—became fixed. The British bourgeoisie control of the colonial land was turned outward toward the colonial world, not inward toward the English classes. The enormous bureaucratic and military machinery which was necessary to hold power in continental states, was unnecessary in England; therefore England thereby preserved the tradition of British capitalism made it possible to rule the British workingclass with compendious. British labor proceeded in the "democratic" way.

In the third quarter of the last century it was possible to conceive England being an exception to the rule that the workingclass must shatter the bureaucratic and military machine of the state. It was during the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Frankfort Agitators' Congress that the famous passage in which it was implied that England might at that time be considered an exception to the rule that the workingclass machine would be the instrument of the capitalist.

"If you will look at the last chapter of my Eighteenth Brumaire, you will see that I declare the next attempt of the French to be: "It is not merely to hand over, from one set of hands to another, the bureaucratic and military machine—has ever occurred to me to SHATTER it" and that this is the preliminary condition of any real people's revolution on the Continent. It is exactly this that constitutes the attempt of our heroic Parisian comrades."

Lenin, commenting on the above quotation, wrote: "... First, he confines his conclusions to the Continent. This was natural in 1871, when England was still the pattern of a purely capitalist country,
without a military machine and, in large measure, without a bureaucracy.

Hence Marx excluded England, where a revolution, even a people's revolution, could be imagined and where the workers had the necessary condition of the destruction of 'the available ready machinery of the state.'

"To think that the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this distinction of Marx becomes unreal, and England and America, the most important last representatives of Anglo-Saxon liberty, in the sense of the absence of militarism and bureaucracy, have not only given the world the birth of the bloody morass of military-bureaucratic institutions common to all Europe, subordinating all else to themselves, but in fact, in America, the 'preliminary condition of any real people's revolution' is the breaking up of the 'available ready machinery of the state' (perfeeted in those countries between 1914 and 1917, up to the 'European' standard)"—Lenin, "The State and Revolution."

However, we can now add to the foregoing quotations of Marx, Engels and Lenin, a quotation from the official announcement of the British government on May 7, 1926.

The ranks of the armed forces of the Crown are hereby notified that any action they may find it necessary to take in an honest endeavor to aid the civil power will receive both now and afterwords the full support of his majesty's government."

The bourgeoisie proclaims frankly its order with a club, not with a pen. (N. Y., Times, May 15.)

This announcement of the post-war bureaucratic-militaristic forces of Great Britain on the occasion of the general strike of 1926 is a "literary" contribution worthy of being preserved for posterity. But it was not only a piece of writing; it was put into action; the bourgeoisie did everything in its power to paralyze the strike. This was not only for "moral" effect but also for military action against the workers; in the Poplar district of London the bloody massacre was being performed. The "heroes of Black Friday," there was something done which perfectly reflected the deep-going change: the British Trade Union Congress brought together any argument and declared that the right of the common men to self-determination even to the point of its being stronger than the movement in the army. A certain increase of the powers of the General Council of the Trade Union Council, which was a move away from bureau centralized Great Britain under a single general staff, enabling concerted action and the centralized responsibility necessary to a general strike. (That the leadership which formed such a general staff remained dominantly the traitors of the past, was a fatal weakness in the result.) The endorsement of a campaign for World Trade Union Unity through a joint committee of Russian and British workers, was both an effect and a cause of rapid acceleration. In July, 1925, came "Red Friday." The leaders were forced to agree that the entire British Labor Movement would stand behind the coal miners in resisting the cut of their living standards. But still the decision of "Red Friday" for solidaric action remained to be executed by the "heroes of Black Friday."

The declaration of solidarity on "Red Friday" in July showed the leaders of the British bourgeoisie the necessity on their part, not only to give up their propaganda but by resorting to the subsidy until May 1 of this year. Against May 1 the government prepared with system and energy.

The most impressive features of this period of the events were: the enormous preparations of the bourgeoisie and government, and (3) the caustic and even openly stated double-dealing of the leaders of the trade unions that NO preparatory steps were taken for the working class. According to a publicized statement by J. A. Cook, secretary of the Miners' Federation, "there were certain leaders who were determined... preparations about the 'Red Friday.'" Among these was J. H. Thomas, who argued that any preparations would only strengthen the argument that the government had made full preparations.

The formation of the "Order for the Maintenance of Supplies" was the organization of a motley strike-breaking body, largely of the middle and upper class youth, who was the preparation and basis of the phenomenon of strike-breaking and fascist violence. The existing fascist organizations was absorbed into an official party. These preparations did not fail to alarm the rank and file of the working class. But still, it was necessary for organizing an armed workers' guard to sweep through the entire field of organized labor. This was done by the "heroes of Black Friday," by the arming of fascist groups. The struggle for wages and working conditions will raise in the minds of the working class the question of power.

The Soviet economy began to show a sharp contrast to the downward trend of their own standard of living. The attacks by the bourgeoisie continued, increasing the form and strength of the martyrs' movement. The news spread that fascist groups in England had already organized support of onefifth of the trade unionists of Great Britain. The conference of the left wing in Moscow representing 350,000 organized workers.

Was the General Strike a Political Struggle?

The British general strike brought a controversy as to whether the strike was a political struggle. Open enemies said that the strike was political, that it was proceeding in the name of the commune, while the supposed "leaders" of the strike (secretly its enemies) strenuously denied any political character in the strike, saying that it was one of purely economic demands and that it would not in any way extend into political activities.

The General Strike was Political Character.

The bourgeoisie and the government, knowing how to handle the workers, tried to have the workers recognize the insignificance of political struggles. The government must have known that the general strike would have been able to take on its political position in regard to the strike, free from coercion the army, the navy, the police and all other elements. The government did not neglect to use every means to paralyze and neutralize the strike. The army leaders refused to make any approach to the army to secure its support for the workers, because the trade union leaders did not want to have the army support the workers. The more the trade union leaders were forced to make concessions to the government which was fighting the strike was necessary. It was necessary in order to give the government the appearance of having a more complete set of forces.

An address to the army by the Trade Union General Council stated that the government had secured the political assent of the strike; that is, the workers' organs did not acknowledge the government's right to dispose of the national life and national wealth on the national capital power was at issue.

The Communist Party issued the famous leaflet, "Don't Shoot!" which formed the basis of the conviction and imprisonment of twelve members of its central committee.

Comrade Trotsky, in answering a critic of his recent book on "The World Crisis," has put forward the following: "... the real transfer of power from the hands of one class to those of another depends to an incomparably greater degree on the British army and navy than on the parliament. The political proletariat must therefore be a fight to win over the navy. Not only the fleet, but the admirals, the admirals, but the sailors, the engineers, the sailors and other workers know of and learn to un-
The Manifesto issued by the Communist International on April 25 said: 

"... The working masses are ready to fight, but their leaders are not yet ready to make the sacrifice. Some of them are betraying the fight before the battle. The RIGHT WING OF THE LABOR PARTY AND OTHERS IN THE GENERAL COUNCIL ARE SHAMELESSLY WORKING for a NEW "BLACK FRIDAY."..." 

Hodges has openly gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie; MacDonald has come forward against the strike, which follows the way of base compromise, it will take the International labor movement will prove its solidarity if it does not succumb to the treachery of the right-wing leaders, who pull the strings of the bourgeois government and the owners, but against a number of bourgeois and even the General Council, to which falls the role of General Staff, declared on the eve of the conflict that it did not demand any increase in its powers, in spite of the decisions of Scarborugh."

Commenting further on the actions of the reformist leaders, the rejection of the united front by the executive of the Amsterdam International, the fact that even the Left leaders of the Labor Party and the trade unions were showing themselves not up to the situation, the manifesto continued: "... The Communist International is convinced that the struggle for the single purpose of defeating the strike. On May 3 it did not end, but, on the contrary, is now (at the time this is written, June 21) at a sharp period in the form of a strike of more than one million coal miners. The first necessity today for American workers to support the British coal miners is to make financial aid with the utmost speed and generosity..."

The book "Moscow in December 1905" (published at Moscow, 1906) has come out at a moment that could not have been more timely. The association, which followed the experience of the December uprising is an essential task of the workers' parties. The book is a barrel of honey with a spoonful of <t>tar</t>—most interesting material despite its incompleteness—but incredibly slowly, incredibly trivial deductions. Of these deductions we shall speak separately, but now let us turn to the conclusion, the political topic of the day—the lessons of the Moscow uprising.

The chief form of the December movement in Moscow was a peaceful strike and demonstrations. The overwhelming majority of the working masses' activity participated only in these forms of struggle. But just this December action in Moscow has shown plainly that the general strike as an independent and main form of struggle has outlived itself, that the movement crossed its threshold and also went beyond it. The general strike as a fight of the proletariat, the struggle which wore out the troops and compelled Dumasov to plead for reinforcements. Only toward the 15th of December did the preponderance of the governmental forces become complete, and on the 17th the Seminov troops demolished Presnya, the last stronghold of the uprising.

From the strike and demonstrations to isolated barricades. From isolated barricades to mass construction of barricades and to street fighting with the troops. The working headed toward their goal and the strike from the uprising. In this consists the greatest historic acquisition of the Russian proletariat—the December 1905—an acquisition bought, like all preceding ones, at the price of greatest sacrifices. From the government there is still further to go than the artillery fire upon the barricades, the battle for the houses and the street crowd. For the revolution there is still further to go than the movement toward the barricades. The struggle goes on, in width as well as in depth. And the revolution has gone far ahead since December...
basis of the revolutionary crisis has become immeasurably broader; the cutting edge must be sharpened now more acutely.

The special conditions of the struggle demanding the transition from the strike to the uprising, was sensed by the proletariat from the very beginning. As always, went ahead of theory. Peaceful strikes and demonstrations all at once ceased to satisfy the masses; they demanded aggressive action. We, the leaders of the region with enormous delay while barricades were already being constructed in the center. The working masses set to work but were not satisfied. They had a right to expect next of what they demanded aggressive action. We, the leaders of the social-democratic proletariat, showed ourselves in December to be like that chief of the army who so absurdly disposed his regiments that the greatest part of his troops did not participate actively in the battle. The working masses looked for and did not find directives in regard to mass actions.

Therefore, there is nothing more shortsighted than the view of Plekhanov which was seized upon by all opportunists, that it was not advisable to begin an untimely strike, that "they should not have resorted to arms." The truth is that the method of conduct of the working masses was more resolutely, energetically and aggressively to resort to arms; it was necessary to make clear to the masses the indispensability of a desperate, ruthless armistice, necessary to make clear to the masses the indispensability of a desperate, ruthless armistice.

The Moscow proletariat gave us, in the December days, excellent lessons in the mental "making over" of the army—for example, on the 10th of December, upon Strastnaya Square, when the crowds surrounded the Cossacks, mixed with them, fraternized with them and in the main, carrying on, the march, we were able to utilize the fact as a "practical lesson," not throwing away the veil over the question. To hide from the masses the fact of a desperate, bloody, destructive war as the immediate task of the coming action, means to deceive oneself and the people.

Such is the first lesson of the December events. Another lesson concerns the character of the uprising—a lesson of the conditions of the coming over of the troops to the side of the people. In our midst, in the right wing of the party, an extremely one-sided view is widespread in regard to this transition. One cannot pronounce for a struggle against the modern army; it is modern, it is a battle. The modern army becomes more resolutely, energetically and aggressively to resort to arms; it is necessary that the army fight.
The tasks of the Party in the Light of the Comintern

By C. E. Ruthenberg

I. THE INNER PARTY SITUATION

There are at the present moment one or two important questions on which the Communist international can state its point of view:

1. The relations of the Workers Committee of the Soviet labor federation and the Workers Committee of the Soviet government.

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II. THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

The Workers' Monthly hopes to have such an account.

English miners is our affair, whatever may be the workers of England because the affair of the United States.

...the British labor movement was nevertheless carried forward by tremendous stages, through the strike experience.

"Hands off the Soviet Labor Federations!"

By C. E. Ruthenberg, general secretary of the Workers Committee of the Communist (Communist) Party, held May 28, 29, 30, 1926.

I "This interference of the British government in the affairs of the Russian workers declares that organized labor in our working public will not allow anyone to dictate its line of conduct.

"To demand that the Soviet government forbid the Soviet Labor Federations to help their class brothers is to show an entire lack of comprehension of the spirit and existence of the Soviet power."

"The Labor Federations of the Soviet government declare that they are helping, are helping and will continue to help striking workers of England because the affair of the English miner is an affair of our own people and the attitude of the British government supporting the mine owners.

"Doesn't your interference in our mutual relations with the English workers help to consolidate one of the big gains of the general strike?"

"The British general strike was by treachery defeated, but the British labor movement was nevertheless carried forward by tremendous stages, through the strike experience."

"The Communist Party of Great Britain will grow rapidly as a result of the great action, and every effort of the government to destroy the Communist Party will certainly only draw greater support to the Communists among the mass of organized labor."

"It is our task to carry on the revolutionary struggle against this mighty capitalist power, to mobilize the workers against it, and finally to overthrow and destroy it.

"It is the light of this task and this responsibility that we must consider the decision of the Communist International in regard to the controversy and factional struggle which has been going on in our Party for the past two years.

"The decision of the Comintern.

"This is a conflict between those who love their country and the enemy and those who love the enemy and their country.

The British general Strike (Continued from page 396)

British workers and Socialists, and particularly from workers in the Soviet Republics. MacDonald, Thomas, and their associates in the British labor movement as a whole have been the principal agents of capitalist domination.

The British General Strike, for example in August 1926, was financed largely by foreign financial help from "foreign" workers, and particularly from workers in the Soviet Republics. MacDonald, Thomas, and their associates in the British labor movement as a whole have been the principal agents of capitalist domination.

But the experience of facing the concrete problem has gone far toward destroying this absolutely fatal accumulation of idle talk and ideas. After the betrayal of the general strike, it was no longer possible to give any power to the Communist cause. And the battle of the coal strike was won. American Communists press indicate that the contributions from many countries--those countries which trade unions of the Soviet Republics, are enabling the British miners to hold out firmly.

Yet nothing of this dangerous taboo, with which the capitalist mediators may try to quiet the British labor movement, remains. Slave labor is not induced in a single week.

Relying upon this, the British government addressed a memorandum to the Soviet government, basing its idea that the Soviet government had intruded into British affairs when the Soviet trade unions sent money into England for the use of strikers.

A large dramatization of the anti-imperialist, the real proletarian, attitude, was called for by the situation.

The President of the Union of Soviet Labor Federations (according to the New York Times of June 18), in connection with a demonstration at the British memorial, issued a protest, saying:

"This interference of the British government in the affairs of the Russian workers declares that organized labor in our working public will not allow anyone to dictate its line of conduct."

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future will be to carry on the work of the Party in such a manner that this work can be completed. We must broaden the leadership of the Party and draw into it every comrade who can contribute to that work every comrade capable of carrying on such work without any discrimination based upon the previous political alignment. The Party tasks are so great that the services of every comrade who can contribute to the leading of the Party are needed and should be used in the Party work.

Naturally, the greatest responsibility in carrying out the decision of the Constitutional International and carrying on the Party work in such a manner as to eliminate the factional struggle, rests upon the comrades entrusted with the majority in the Political Committee of the Party. We recognize that responsibility, and we will endeavor to direct the Party policy in such a way, and support such an inner Party line, as will create in the Party the conditions for the ending of the factional struggle. We will give the opportunity for full participation in the Party leadership to all the comrades irrespective of previous groupings.

At the same time we must, however, have the cooperation of those who have previously been in opposition. We must meet with us in banishing the factional atmosphere and creating the condition for co-operation among all.

It cannot be expected that all of the bitterness and strife which has existed in the Party for so long a period will disappear in a moment. It will be difficult for the Party and every member of the Party to overcome this. We will, however, approach the problem in the spirit of overcoming and eliminating the friction growing out of it, and if we cooperate in this spirit, we can quickly create in the Party a new atmosphere: that of unity and work.

The basis of this unity is the broadening of the leadership of the Party, the accent on the line which the Party will follow. This line has been clearly established by our convention and in the decision of the Constitutional International.

On the basis of the policy accepted by the Party and in the spirit of the decision of the Constitutional International, we must forward into a new period of united work and common struggle against our capitalist enemies and for the uplifting of the revolutionary forces. The Party should mark such a new beginning in the Party life, the beginning of a period of achievement, of a forward movement by the Party.

II. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Order correctly, the policies and tasks in relation to the present situation, we must take as the basis the economic situation and the prospects for the immediate future. Without such an estimate we cannot lay down the correct line for the Party.

Capitalism in this country has been enjoying a period of economic prosperity. What are the indications so far as a continuation of this prosperity is concerned? There is the indication that we are peak of the present period of high production and high profits for the capitalists, and that the trend from now on will be downward and not upward. This is not an immediate period of economic crisis, but rather that the tendency is toward a period of depression such as we had, for instance, in the year 1924 and part of 1925. The period of depression is extending itself into the spring of 1925. This latter depression, however, was not the deep depression as the crisis of 1921-22. In 1921-22, the depression was characterized by a period of high production and low prices. In the year 1924 another depression occurred, but it was not of the deepness character of the crisis of 1921-22, but rather a period of such slowing down of production and prices which 'will make itself felt in a developed form possibly within the next twelve months. There are no signs of a depression being imminent. The depression will undoubtedly be the signal for attempts against the standards of the workers. It will result in resistance and wide-spread strikes. Such a situation creates a favorable ground for the Party to take the leadership in the struggle of the workers and through fighting for their immediate demands extend its influence and strengthen itself.

III. THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The great victory which the capitalist reactionaries scored in the election of Coolidge in the 1924 presidential election has been followed by an aggressive use of the power of the government in the hands of the capitalists through this big victory.

President Coolidge has more frankly expressed the capitalist program than his predecessors. The law-making power of the government has been openly and continuously used to strengthen the position of the capitalists. The President's message to Congress for the first time acknowledged the partnership of the government with the great trusts and corporations. All appearances of fighting for new laws were abandoned and the government sponsorstrustified business.

For law revisions were made so as to relieve the big capitalists of the burden of taxes, and thus opened the way for greater accumulation of new capital.

The laws passed by Congress have resulted in cancellation of from 25 to 75% of the debts owing this country. The partial cancellations were made in the interest of the international banking and financial system of strengthening American and European capitalism.

At the same time the program of legislation directed against the workers in Congress. The adoption of the Watson-Parker bill, the proposal for the registration of foreign born workers, the proposal for legislation to prohibit the use of child labor, and for the adoption of the Watson-Parker bill are offensive programs of the capitalists against the workers.

With this open offensive of the capitalists in the use of
of the state power, signs of developing differences within the capitalist camp have made their appearance.

On two major issues, recently, there have been votes cutting across the party lines. This was true on the world court issue and in favor of the Hawes-Geneva bill for

the entry of the United States into the world court and

capital which is primarily interested in

vestments, and industry which sees no gain for itself in having this

country become involved in the international collection

of the predominant big capitalist interests which are ruling

at Washington.

Another issue which will play a big part in the struggle

within the capitalist class is the question of the
tariff. The international bankers have their loans and investments in Europe desire a lower tariff in or-
der to create the condition which will enable their debtor
countries to repay them, and the only possibility of their do-
ing this is through selling in the United States. Hence,

the tendency to favor lower tariffs in these circles. Naturally this will be resisted by the industries which are

dependent on the tariff. These economic conflicts become the basis for struggles with the capitalist parties

and, together with the economic power of the governmental

bureaucracy, create the conditions for a new momentum in the development of the movement of the workers and exploited farmers for independent political action.

The Labor Movement.

The organized labor movement of this country has

undoubtedly moved far towards the right, as is estab-
lished, in the Enlarged Executive Com-

mittee of the Communist International. The approval

given to the various forms of class collaboration such

as labor banking, the Hawes-Geneva & O. plan, the tendency to

avoid strikes and to enter into agreement for all forms of

arbitration, establish this fact clearly.

At the same time we have found ourselves in com-

bined agreements with the capitalist leaders, which

aim at the stabilization of the labor movement. If we take the

Antipathy of the capitalists to this development of the labor movement, we can, in the process of work and

struggle, draw closer to us. We have outlined our pro-

gram for this work. We have based it upon the realities of

the present situation. Now we must speedily transform it into

our policy, the duty of the Party to draw its members into the trade unions where they are not already organized in the unions, and then to or-

ganize them into independent organizations systematically ap-

plying the Party policies and aid in the crystallization of

new left wing movements in the trade unions.

Organization of the Unorganized.

The period of prosperity is a period in which the work of organizing the unorganized can be undertaken

with prospects of success. The indications are that there

will still be an upswing before us some months before the

August depression set in to such a degree as to interfere

with this work. We must make the most of the oppor-

tunity which we have in this respect. We have some experience in the work. We do not have the eight to ten

months which the Hawes-Geneva plan provided. But we have

the experience that the organized labor movement for the revolutionary class struggle. The workers brought into the trade unions by our organizational efforts, both in stimulating the worker to be drawn into the Party organization from the unions and through direct independent ef-

fort, will strengthen the left wing in the labor unions.

WORKERS MONTHLY

JULY, 1926

The United Labor Ticket.

The campaign for a united labor ticket must be given

major importance. The congressional and

state elections this year will stir up new interest in political parties among the workers. The open action of the workers to support the labor movement has created the foundation for a new momentum for the movement for a labor party.

Our Party must see to it that this year there are labor

candidates on the ballot in every state and congressional
district where we have Party organizations. We have

not set hard and fast rules as to how the labor ticket should be carried through and the candidates should be chosen, but we will support exist-

ting farmer-labor parties, where they have been organ-

ized. We will endeavor to create united front confeder-

ces to nominate united labor ticket list in the countries

where the ground is sufficiently prepared and the conditions ripe for the nomination of a ticket on this basis. If we cannot achieve either one of these forms of developing a united front movement in the election campaign, we will nom-

inate candidates on our own Party ticket and conduct a
campaign directly under the Communist banner.

It should be possible for us to rally several hundred

thousand votes for independent political action through this campaign. That will be a forward movement for labor in the United States. If we throw sufficient en-

ergy into this work, we may be able to drive this ex-

pression for independent political action up to a hundred million votes. That is within the realms of possibility. Such a vote for united labor candidates would be a big step forward in the development to this party.

We must put sufficient drive into the movement to make the election campaign this year count in the develop-

ment of a class consciousness among the American workers.

Agricultural Work.

We have again made a beginning in our work among

the farmers. The crisis in the agricultural field creates favorable conditions for the development of this move-

ment. As the Party strength increases, it must give more support to the development of the movement among the farmers. It is our goal to draw these farmers into the Party, make them understand the necessity for them to join the

organization of their own class. This is a matter that requires of us the liquidation of the factional

struggle within the Party. It requires of us that all the

forces within the Party, irrespective of previous group-

ings, be drawn into constructive work for our movement.

The anti-imperialist campaign, the work among wom-

en, the work of the Young Workers' League, the work

among the Negroes, are phases of our work which must

be co-ordinated with the major policies of the

Party and aid us in developing a real movement for this country.

Our Party.

We have not, also, given sufficient attention in the past to the strengthening of our Party organizationally. This becomes more than ever a question which must

be faced up to. It is not to the Party reorganization since the Party reorganization. Our Party, organizationally, is still very weak. We must teach the new Party units how to function. Until we do this, the reorganization will not be effective.

A number of thousands of Party members have drop-

ped out of the organization through falling to register in

the reorganization. There has been too much of a tendency to accept this without an energetic campaign to

draw these members back into the reorganized Party. Many of them can be won back for the Party work.

This work must be undertaken immediately.

In addition to these efforts to strengthen the Party, we

must carry on an energetic campaign for new mem-

bers to be drawn into the Party organization from the

shop by the new Party units. We can greatly strength-

en our organization and thus fit it for undertaking

greater tasks in the work if given the proper attention.

We must take full advantage of the extension of the

influence and prestige of the Party to build the Party

organizationally.

New Progress for the Party.

Our Party is breaking the isolation in which it has found itself now for the first time actually undertaken the organization of the unorganized workers and has achieved successes in this field. The Party has become the leader in great strikes of the workers.

In the campaign for the protection of the foreign born

workers, the Party has successfully applied the united

front tactics and has drawn hundreds of thousands of

workers with it into common struggle. This has been favorable for the growth of the influence of our Party as the leader of the labor movement and for building the Party or-

ganizationally. What is now needed is that we turn our

full energy into the work of taking advantage of the

favorable conditions which are developing.

This requires the same kind of the same kind of the same envi-

ronment for the democratic work and liquidation of factionalism

within the Party. It requires of us that all the forces within the Party, irrespective of previous group-

ings, be drawn into constructive work for our movement.

The work of the Democratic Campaign must be directed. The present leadership of the Party, tak-

ing the direction of the Communist International as its

basis, will carry on the work of the Party in this respect

and with the cooperation of all the leading comrades, irrespective of previous groupings, will develop such an inner Party plan as to carry forward a successful con-

clusion the work of mobilizing the whole Party strength for mass work and liquidation of factionalism.

The DAILY WORKER.

We have considered fundamentally the situation in

which THE DAILY WORKER finds itself. We have care-

fully considered the lessons of the past to discover the

weaknesses and developing the form that will enable it
to become a mass labor paper, while not sacrificing its

Communist editorial policy. The improvements must be
carried through and the Party must be placed behind

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The Furriers Strike: A Victory for the 40-Hour Week

The Left Wing from Opposition to Leadership

By Ben Gitlow

The New York Furriers' Union was the first union in the United States of any importance to come under the leadership of the Communists and of the Left Wing. This union has approximately 15,000 members. The New York fur trade is an industry that produces 80 to 85% of all the fur garments manufactured in the United States. This accounts for the position the New York union holds in the International Fur Workers' Union of North America and Canada. It is the financial backbone of the International and comprises over 75% of its membership. The International, however, is not controlled by the Left Wing. At the last convention the Sorkinites, who were the allies of the Left Wing, broke away and united with the reactionaries and the Socialists and gained control of the leadership of the union. The International Fur Workers' Union is therefore in the hands of the right wing machine that still maintains its hegemony over the majority of needle trade unions.

The Original Demands of the Furriers

Early in January the New York Furriers' Union presented the following demands to the manufacturers:

1. Forty-hour, five-day week.
2. Thirty-two-hour week during the slack periods.
3. Equal division of work throughout the year.
4. Manufacturers to be punished for failing to maintain the present minimum scales.
5. Manufacturers to be punished for raising the cry of the manufacturers.
6. The manufacturers opened the attack upon the strike by raising the cry of Bolshevism. They declared the strike did not involve trade union questions, that the leaders of the strike did not represent the workers, that the strike was being engineered by Moscow and that the Communist leaders were receiving funds from the manufacturers.
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The Manufactures Reject the Demands

The demands were rejected by the manufacturers, who were divided into three winged View all the others in a common struggle against the workers. The bosses followed up their rejection of the workers' demands by declaring a lockout of the workers employed in the shops of the Associated Fur Manufacturers, Inc. This was answered by the union with a strike of all the 12,000 workers employed in the shops of the three associations.

The United Front of the Right Wing and the Bosses

The strike which was fought out most bitterly and lasted 17 long weeks would have been settled much sooner had the manufacturers not depended upon the following two factors from the very beginning of the strike:

1. The manufacturers had assurances from the Right Wing leaders that they would remain neutral during the course of the strike and would be discredited and eliminated, thus enabling the Right Wing to gain control of the situation and pave the way for a satisfactory settlement in the interest of the manufacturers.
2. The manufacturers were assured by the same elements that the funds of the union were insufficient for the strike. It was this policy pursued throughout the strike that compelled the union to go to the American Federation of Labor for aid.

The Leadership of the Union and the Rank and File

This policy of the union was backed up by a Left Wing leadership composed of a large number of Communists, and by a militant fighting mass leader. From the beginning of the strike the right wing machine in the needle trades that the continued dominance of the Right Wing bureaucracy will be menaced. The Furriers' Union was organized not to be allowed to win the strike. Everything must be done to sabotage and smash it. It was recognized that the strike could not be successfully fought against by the Right Wing strike-breaking agents of the bosses. A few events will prove this contention.

At the beginning of the strike the Forward differentiated between the strikers and the Communist leadership that was "misleading" the workers. This campaign to break down the confidence of the workers in their leaders and thus the morale of the strike, it conducted under the guise of supporting the strike. The Socialist Party did not object to this undermining work of the Forward and by its silence acquiesced.

Early in the strike the Right Wing leaders of the Furriers' International Union met in the office of the International together with a representative of the Forward and adopted the following last-ditch plans for smashing the strike.
1. That the Forward shall print news to the effect that the strike is associated with the working class leadership and the manner in which the Communist leadership conducted the strike, and that the same is the official stand of the Communist party.

2. That Abraham Beerman, manager of the New York office of the American Furriers’ Association, shall supply sluggers who shall beat up innocent strikers and that the representatives of the Communist party shall be held responsible for the Communist party for the beating up of the strike en- dorsers by the express orders of the Communist party leadership.

3. That the officers of the Communist party shall not have the wherewithal to carry on the struggle. 

4. That the strike fund shall be attached so that the international officers shall not have the wherewithal to carry on the struggle.

5. That the old agreement shall be made valid and that the workers are dissatisfied with the strike leaders and the manner in which the strike was conducted.

6. That the leaders of the Communist party shall not have the money to carry on the struggle.

7. That the officers of the International who are not voting with the strikers shall be held responsible for the strike.

8. That the officers should have the right to negotiate a satisfactory settlement.

The Left Wing in the needle trades to properly support the Left Wing in the American garment industry, the most reactionary group of the workers, the workers who have the most to lose, and the workers who have the least to gain. The Left Wing must fight as a united front for a minimum wage which is to be returned to the workers.

The Role of President Green and the American Federation of Labor.

The plots of the Right Wing, the Jewish Daily Forward and the Socialist Party, to have the strike ended, are shattered. The Right Wing and the bosses had only to bring in fresh forces against the strikers. The result was that Hugh Frayne, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and William Green, President of the A.F. of L., were brought into the strike arena. A letter was sent by the workers to the American Federation of Labor with the object of having the strike leadership changed. The American Federation of Labor, together with the Socialist party, have attempted to have the strike leadership changed.

The Left Wing in the needle trades to properly support the Left Wing in the American garment industry, the most reactionary group of the workers, the workers who have the most to lose, and the workers who have the least to gain. The Left Wing must fight as a united front for a minimum wage which is to be returned to the workers.

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The Terms of Settlement.

The strike was settled on the following terms:

1. The basic 40-hour week, which is so important for the protection of their health, has been won. The strikers will have their ten legal holidays, only three without pay and three in the first month. They will have a 10% increase in their minimum wage scales and a reclassification of work which makes a further pay rise for a great many of them. No workers can be discharged the week before a holiday. The employers’ old trick to avoid payment for the workers’ days off. No apprentices are to be taken on for two years.

2. Overtime is not allowed, except during the four months following the settlement. The new agreement is to cover the workers employed in the factories, when employers may hire workers for four hours extra on Saturday—extra pay. There is to be no section of the contract covering the workers who deal with the more technical phases. The contract runs until June 30, 1926.

3. The old agreement shall form the basis for the settlement of the strike. The settlement would be a serious mistake. Rather the leadership of the Left Wing in the needle trades should be free to adopt a well working policy of regulating the entrance into the trade unions into one powerful union for the entire industry.

4. The old agreement would be made valid and the workers would be entitled to the 40-hour week. The Furriers’ Union has won a victory. The Furriers’ Union has won a victory. The Furriers’ Union has won a victory. The Furriers’ Union has won a victory. The Furriers’ Union has won a victory. The Furriers’ Union has won a victory. The Furriers’ Union has won a victory. The Furriers’ Union has won a victory. The Furriers’ Union has won a victory. The Furriers’ Union has won a victory. The Furriers’ Union has won a victory.

5. The settlement would be a serious mistake. Rather the union with this clause should be free to adopt a well working policy of regulating the entrance into the trade unions into one powerful union for the entire industry.

The Forty-Hour Week.

What Green’s position was to the demands of the workers at the negotiations is not publicly known. However, following the breaking up of negotiations, Green came out with an in- dorsement of the main issue of the strike—the 40-hour week. The Furriers’ Union used this inheritance in their own meetings upon which the strike was to be betrayed. They were as follows:

1. The old agreement shall form the basis for the settlement of the strike.

2. Elimination of overtime work as much as possible.

3. A three-year agreement.


5. No sub-contracting.

6. A ten cents increase over the present mini- mum wage scales.

7. At the end of two years there shall be one minimum wage scale instead of two, after a four-day week, 4 hours work to be done on Saturday.

Hugh Frayne rushed to the Central Trades and Labor Assembly of New York before the strikers had withdrawn their indorsement of the strike. He planned to settle with the manufacturers on the eight-hour law and the forty-two-hour week and that the strikers did not want to be betrayed. The Left Wing and the Socialist party, to have the strike ended, are shattered. The Right Wing and the bosses had only to bring in fresh forces against the strikers. The result was that Hugh Frayne, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and William Green, President of the A.F. of L., were brought into the strike arena. A letter was sent by the workers to the American Federation of Labor with the object of having the strike leadership changed.
China's Period of Organization

Baron William F. Dunne

TWO months ago the great capitalist news services were telling glibly of the prospec
tive downfall of the workers' and peasants' govern
ments, according to the disasters of the re
volution in Kiangsi—"the people's army"—predicting the break-up of the people's party, in
cluding the supposed break between Chang Tso
ling and Wu Pei Fu, Great Britain being, and who
also fired with U.S. imperialism when Brit
ish influence waned.

The capture of Peking by Chang Tso-lin was duly
noted, the retreat of the national army thru
Nankow pass towards Kalgan was hailed as the
end of all resistance to China's imperialist ene
my by the following methods:

1. To isolate the imperialist forces in the
coastal cities.
2. To surround and isolate the imperialists
and their militarist allies in the interior.
3. To increase the mass pressure on these
imperialist centers until the existence of for
eign forces in China is made impossible.

This strategy is being carried out systematically
by the following methods:

1. The organization of strikes and boycotts in
the coast cities (Shanghai and Chung
ingtang) boycott of imperialist enterprises and
imperialist centers in the interior.
2. The extension of union organization and
central labor councils into imperialist or semi
imperialist territory (Peking, Tientsin, Hankow,
etc.).
3. Organization of peasants' leagues and
mass resistance to tax collections by the mili
tarists and imperialists.
4. Organization of students and the
national liberation movement by combining the
successful military enterprise with the
mass movement without which no suc
cessful military enterprise can be under
taken.
5. The organization of students and the
lower middle classes among the intellectuals in
the Mainland center in co-operation with the work
ers.
6. The organization of a national army of
liberation composed of the workers and peas
ants and the close connection of the military
campaigns with the economic and political is
sues of the national struggle.
7. The consolidation of a workers' and peas
ants' government in Canton and the organiz
ation of peasants' leagues in all of China
and the extension of the authority and influence
of this government to the southern provinces.
8. The organization of foreign capital into the
country has undermined the patriarchal rela
tions in the country.
9. The extremely backward development of
agriculture makes it impossible for the increasing
population in the agricultural regions to gain a
sufficient living from the land.
10. The continual civil war between the militarist
cliques places an intolerable burden on the peasant
masses.

The importation of cheap foreign made goods
rules the handicraft tradesmen.

Millions of peasants suffer from land famine
and uncertainty, while the money lenders
suffer from a shortage of land, exorbitant
land rents and the continual exactions of
the money lenders.

The peasant is burdened with enormous
land taxes, which with the practice of collect
ing these taxes a number of years in advance,
takes away the little surplus the peasants might
otherwise save.

In addition to all the above there are the
salt taxes collected for the benefit of the foreign
powers, special taxes on necessary goods and the
customs duties, all of which are set up between the
country and the towns.

The factors mentioned have made the great masses of China a potentially
revolutionary force which needed only elemen
tary education as to the source of their wrongs
and a great driving force against imperialism and its agents
in China.

In the light of the foregoing, the immediate
tasks which presented themselves to the ad
vanced section of the national liberation move
ment are as follows:

1. To show to the peasant throng China
that only a workers' and peasants' government,
firmly based on an alliance of the two most
oppressed sections of the population, could im
prove substantially the position of the mass of
the peasants.
2. To bring the peasantry into the struggle
with the workers and the national liberation
movement by combining the necessary econo
mic and political pressure with the war on the
militarists and imperialists.
3. To centralize the existing peasant organ
izations, broaden them, extend these organiza
tions throughout China and give them a militant
character.
4. To take advantage of the fact that the feudal character of Chinese agriculture and
the government has made impossible the develop
ment to any great extent of strata among the
peasants, which might be able to support the
peasantry, that they cannot be reconciled in order to wage a
common struggle against militarism, feudalism
and imperialism and therefore to organize in the
whole countryside united revolutionary peasant centers which can arouse and lead the whole peasant mass in the fight against all enemies of the Chinese masses. From this distance and with the information at hand it is manifestly impossible to tell in detail what has been done to carry out this program or the exact extent of the successes secured. But the capitalist press news services furnish us with a guide. We know that the people's army (Kuomintang) after its defeat before and retreat from Peking, has been reorganized and is once more a powerful force.

We know that Wu Pei Fu's army was paralyzed for six weeks, that great sections of it, perhaps the decisive sections, together with a number of military leaders, refused to enter the struggle in aid of Chang Tso-lin around Peking. We know that the revolutionary-democratic government in Canton has not only retained its center and freedom of action but that most of South China has rallied to it. These facts, and particularly the crisis in the ranks of Wu Pei Fu's forces, indicate that the organizations of workers and peasants are being extended and that where this is done the imperialist and militarist armies lose whatever mass bases they have and collapse. It is not too optimistic to expect that in Southern and Central China the imperialist forces will soon lose all freedom of movement and enter a period of decline ending in a complete debacle.

In Manchuria the situation is somewhat different. In this rich territory, whose development began with the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Russo-Japanese war, and which in 1925 exported 2,323,000 tons of wheat, beans, soy-beans and oil-cake, Chang Tso-lin, with the aid of Japan, has made himself master. A powerful middle and capitalist class has developed around the agricultural and export industry and the liberation movement in Manchuria is very weak.

The liberation movement will isolate Chang in Manchuria and when it has united the rest of China it will crush him. The process of unifying the Chinese masses is going forward steadily and we should not be fooled into believing that in this period the purely military struggles are decisive. This is not the case.

The decisive factor in the Chinese situation is the steady growth of the labor movement, the extension of the peasants' leagues, the growing strength of the alliance of workers' and peasants' organizations, the closer relations of the army with the masses—a word, the welding of the Chinese masses into an instrument of revolution from their native and foreign oppressors.

The strength of the Chinese national liberation movement is reflected in the statement made by Chao Chin-chu, minister to Italy, in Geneva, June 1, following a charge of corruption against the Chinese government preferred by the British representative on the opium commission, Sir Malcolm Delevigne.

"You insult my government and I am not afraid to insult yours.

"Today I have the courage to make a statement publicly against the foreign interference with China's affairs. I assure you that the time is nearing an end when China will tolerate any longer the interference of foreigners."

It is the ambition of Chang and his Japanese backers, with sympathetic support from the prosperous Manchurian merchants and bankers, to extend his power south and west—to become the ruler of all China.

But although financially strong and with a powerful army, Chang Tso-lin is not a real menace to the national liberation movement. His Japanese imperialist connections are so well-known that as in the case of Wu Pei Fu, an alliance with Chang discredits and defeats its maker.

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basis: International unions may each buy as much as 800 shares; local, city, and state trade unions may buy up to 80 shares each; and in-

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the local trade unions are also invited as or-

organizations to come into these rich financial pastures, where billions are thrown around so freely in the statistics. Instead of letting their money vegetate in banks at 3% or 4% interest, they are urged to buy insurance company stock and thus to join the movement for trade union capitalism. They are assured that there is no danger. Says the promoters: "By becoming shareholders, trade unions will also provide that 16 out of the 24 of the members of the board of directors shall be representatives of the international unions. Once elected, these directors become legal entities and cannot be removed by action of the members. Their stock is removed only by a majority vote of the stock, and it is easy to imagine how impossible it would be to se-
cure a majority vote of shareholders controlled by the upper bureaucracy, to displace some favorite reactionary in case he were defeated in his union.

The left wing against trade union capitalism will make it increasingly difficult to defeat the controlling bureaucrats in the unions. They will have almost limitless patronage and as a result they can dispose where they can, in the various industrial centers. These must all be opportune, and the price for such appointments will be for the holders to help keep the labor movement lined up in support of the big bureaucrats and their capitalistic program.

Wherever the left wing becomes threatening in any section of the unions, the bureaucrats, with the enormous funds at their disposal, will be able to put hordes of agents in the field to control the elections, to pack the conventions, and to otherwise dominate the situation. Even with their present meager financial resources, they can imagine the results that they could secure in the unions, the trade union bureaucrats are exceedingly difficult to displace. But once they entrench themselves in the leadership of trade union capitalistic institutions behind them, they will become virtually invincible. Trade union capitalism kills the fighting spirit of the unions and makes them what they are today a bound hand and foot in the grip of a reactionary buro-

The Appeal of Trade Union Insurance.

The trade union life insurance companies are being organized on a typically American "get rich quick" plan. Their literature overflows with appeals to the workers to buy insurance, and the claims they tell the workers as they "build up a so-

society" is thru investment in life insurance; lur-

sion, and make war against trade union capitalism, even as aggressively as against its twin evil, the B. & O. Plan of unionism. The workers must be aroused against the danger of trade union capi-

tality. This is the appeal to the workers.

Tasks of the Left Wing.

The left wing cannot rest idle while the buro-

crats are slipping the noose of trade union capi-

talism around the labor movement. The militant and progressive elements must organize in and around the Trade Union Educational League and make war against trade union capitalism, even as aggressively as against its twin evil, the B. & O. Plan of unionism. The workers must be aroused against the danger of trade union capi-

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tality. This is the appeal to the workers.
THE purpose of the following investigation is to throw light upon the agrarian relations in the American agrarian economy. Economists have a habit of representing the United States as the classic land of the so-called "labor-principle"—that is, a land where the owner of the land also works and where the capitalist principles and methods of exploitation cannot be found to any large extent in agriculture. The following conclusions, based upon official sources, especially the material of the 1920 census and the publications of the department of agriculture, will show in how far such pretensions are justified.

1. Who Possesses the Land of the United States.

The entire territory of the United States extends over 1,965 million acres. If we subtract the 212 million acres upon which cultivation is impossible (deserts, swamps, soil under cities, etc.), we have 1,753 million acres used for agricultural purposes (including cattle raising). In 1919 this 1,753 million acres belonged to the following categories—farmers, private non-farming enterprises, federal government institutions, other state and social institutions—in the proportion shown in Table I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1919 Acres (in millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owner Land</td>
<td>902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented Land</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desert</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grazing Land</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forests</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Miscellaneous Land</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,753</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this Table I it follows immediately that 26.4% of the entire land belongs to private non-farming enterprises, 20.5% to the federal and state governments and other social institutions, and no more than 53.1%—that is, somewhat more than half—could be found in the hands of farmers. As we shall see below 29.9% (374 out of 1,781 million acres) of the entire land is in the hands of tenants. This means that the farmers working on their own land possess, in the United States, no more than 32.2% of the entire agricultural area.

In other words, less than one-third of the land belongs to farmer-owner—large, middle, and small. One-fifth of the land belong to tenant owners. The other half belongs to owners who do not themselves cultivate the soil but hire out or operate it through wage labor.

It is significant to note the distribution of the land in the forest. Less than one-third belongs to farmers—more than one-fifth belongs to the government. The other half (47.4%) belongs to private companies.

Grazing land in the dry regions of the West belongs to farmers to the extent of hardly 25.5% to the government, about 42.5% (This constitutes the only land in America now used for colonization purposes). Thirty percent belongs to the railroads, to the great cattle companies, and to private enterprises in general. These private enterprises own 30% of the grazing land in the better watered irrigated regions.

2. The Size of the Farms.

From the above it appears that in 1919 the farmers as a whole (including tenants) owned 946 million acres of 35.3% of the agricultural area of the United States. How is this land divided among the big, middle, and small farmers?

According to the structure of the economy we can regard the full owner as the typical average farmer with the figure for this category: a great many capitalist enterprises. The part owners are mostly big enterprises that utilize the seasonal state of the world market for the extension of the cultivation of certain grains and perhaps the additional land for that purpose. The full tenant is the average small farmer who works a portion of the time for the land owner in the form of rent payment. It therefore appears that the entire rent that can in any way be associated with the "labor-principle" possesses more than a quarter (45.9% of 35.1%) of the entire agricultural territory. The tenant owns 26.4% of 35.1% of the land in the form of rent payment. It is necessary to find out how much rent a tenant can on something very different from the "labor-principle." If we now recall that among the full owners there are many big capitalist enterprises the number of "working farmers" who own their own land in America is very small indeed. A word or two about the tenants. Not all of them, of course, are small landowners. According to the 1920 figures it appears that 49.2% of all rented farms were found in the hands of tenants renting but one farm; 20.8% in the hands of those renting more than one farm, 25.4% of the farms in the hands of those renting five or more farms. The farmers of this last category can be called "working farmers," they are in truth capitalist enterprises.

3. Land as a Commodity.

We have seen that 27.7% of the total agricultural territory was found in the hands of full tenants. From this alone it follows that a great part of the land is passing from the hands of owners to land to land. But this is not all. We have seen that there is a great number of partial landowners who are also partial tenants. If we add the rented land of the full tenants to the rented land of the partial tenants we get as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1919 Acres (in millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rented land (in the hands of non-owners)</td>
<td>1,000 (1900)\ 1,920 (1920)\</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented cultivated land.</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entire rented land......</td>
<td>54.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1920, therefore, the proportion of rented land reached almost 40% (29.3). And, if we consider not land in general but land actually cultivated (and this is the point), we reach the conclusion that about 44% of the entire agricultural area is cultivated by persons who are not owners of the land. As a matter of fact the figures are higher. Of course they do not reach the English level where in 1909-1914 90% of the agricultural area was in the hands of tenants. But they practically reach the Belgian level (54.2% in 1910); they are higher than the French level (43.7% in France); or in Germany (12.7% in 1897.) Apparently land is a very mobile affair in the United States. These figures in themselves, however, do not tell us the whole tale. To find out how frequently the tenant changes land. On the aver-
age, a farmer remains no more than four or five years on a rented piece of land. In 1922, 27% of the tenants changed their farms. It would not be too much to say that the American tenant farmer leads a wandering life. These facts are associated with the change in land ownership in general. Even the full owner does not remain very long on his farm. He is always ready to sell his farm (not as in Europe does not remain very long on his farm. He is always ready to sell his farm (not as in Europe) for this reason too, he is hesitant to speculate on the increase of land values and is about renting out his farm for too long a period. Of course commodity exchange. Of course commodity exchange.

5. The "Agricultural Ladder": Farm Laborer—Tenant—Owner

Under such conditions it would be absurd to speak of the dominance of the "family-labor-principle" in the United States. On the other hand, the idea of the so-called "agricultural ladder" is very wide spread. This implies: the land does not pass on thru inheritance—the farmer buys it for money; hence every farm hand (farm laborer) can acquire the status of an independent possessor. Didn't Henry Ford start out as an errand boy? Just so can any sensible, hard-working, thrifty, and business-ability, get hold of some capital and mount the ladder: farm hand, tenant, owner.

There can be no question that once upon a time, when there were large stretches of uncultivated land and when the situation of America on the world market was favorable, such "climbing the ladder of success" was a widespread fact. Even so, we must remember that such "climbing" was largely accomplished thru speculation—an enterprise whose value would remain steady, even if land prices rose, then sell out at huge profit, rake up the money and go still farther West to get down to more solid business.

The situation today, is, of course, entirely different. The "Agricultural Ladder" speculation of this sort was still possible only a few years ago (colonization had not come to a complete end and the war boom of 1916-20 prevailed). As a matter of fact, according to the census of 1900, 42% of all owners had been tenants and 32% had been farm hands. Of 100 tenants, 35 had already become owners in 1920—in other words, had ascended the ladder. Until a few years ago this "ladder of success" undesirably existed. But we must not fail to examine the other side of the picture. First, according to the 1920 census, 42% of the owners had never been either tenants or farm hands. Secondly, according to the same census, 47% of the tenants became tenants immediately and did not pass thru the stage of farm hands. Even, therefore, according to the 1930 census, "climbing the ladder" was not a common phenomenon.

(Continued in next issue)
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The workers submitted, outwardly to the Pinkerton spies that the bosses sent into the union. When the strike broke out the railroad company was surrounded by thousands of workers who besieged the barracks and would allow no one to leave the building. The militiamen attempted to break thru the crowd, but were met with a shower of stones, lumps of snow, and bullets and screamed in making for the depot. The aroused workers besieged the depot and set it on fire and then would not let the firemen put it out unless they had gone pretty badly for the militiamen had not the Baltimore police arrived and helped the firemen. It was not until that the New York Evening Post complained in an editorial that we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the governmental power of the state did not succeed in maintaining order.

Battles, Captured Stations, Storm and Strike!

Thus all organized attempts to resist the terrible exploitation of the railroad magnates ended in failure. The hard times lasted for almost seven years. The panic of 1873 was one of the worst in the history of American capitalism. The hard times lasted for almost seven years.

The railroad capitalists used this defeat of the union in order to destroy it entirely. The president of the Pennsylvania and Reading ordered the engineers on the Pennsylvania line to withdraw from the union. Outwardly the workers submitted, in secret they were preparing a strike supposed to begin April 14. The railroad company was surrounded by thousands of workers who besieged the barracks and would allow no one to leave the building. The militiamen attempted to break thru the crowd, but were met with a shower of stones, lumps of snow, and bullets and screamed in making for the depot. The aroused workers besieged the depot and set it on fire and then would not let the firemen put it out unless they had gone pretty badly for the militiamen had not the Baltimore police arrived and helped the firemen. It was not until that the New York Evening Post complained in an editorial that we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the governmental power of the state did not succeed in maintaining order.

In the train of the crisis came, as usual, unemployment, hunger and misery. The bosses utilized the paralysis of industry and the great mass of the unemployed to reduce wages. In the textile industry, for example, wages decreased to half in the seven year period from a little more, a way that meant throwing half of them out of work entirely. On the 19th of July the company issued an order that the number of cars that should be increased from 17 to 34. This meant that about the same number of workers that had previously been employed on 17 cars would now be in charge of 34.

In the Revolt of the Railroad Workers.

Nowhere else was the pressure of the capitalists so pronounced as in the railroad industry; nowhere else did the inhuman exploitation among railroad workers reach the degree that it did among workers as here. The workers were treated in the railroad yards as if they were worse than cattle. There was absolutely no limit placed on the number of hours that the workers were obliged to work. In many cases the wages got were hardly enough to cover these expenses and the family of the railroad workers were in the same state of famine. The wages were supposed to be paid on the 1st and the 15th of the month, but so frequently month after month went by without any payment of wages.

Immediately after the panic that broke out in 1873 the Pennsylvania Railroad Company cut wages 10% and shortly after another reduction of 10% was announced. On the 25th of June, 1877, the New York Central followed suit and also cut wages 10%. Here the wage cut was to go into effect the 1st of July. The whole move toward the collapse and the new union had little influence on the coming events.

A few months before the railroad magnates had attempted to destroy the railroad unions entirely. The two strikes that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers had carried on in April, 1877—one against the Boston & Albany and the other against the Pennsylvania—were both lost. The railroad capitalists used this defeat of the union in order to destroy it entirely.

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The railroad capitalists used this defeat of the union in order to destroy it entirely. The president of the Pennsylvania and Reading ordered the engineers on the Pennsylvania line to withdraw from the union. Outwardly the workers submitted, in secret they were preparing a strike supposed to begin April 14. The railroad company was surrounded by thousands of workers who besieged the barracks and would allow no one to leave the building. The militiamen attempted to break thru the crowd, but were met with a shower of stones, lumps of snow, and bullets and screamed in making for the depot. The aroused workers besieged the depot and set it on fire and then would not let the firemen put it out unless they had gone pretty badly for the militiamen had not the Baltimore police arrived and helped the firemen. It was not until that the New York Evening Post complained in an editorial that we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the governmental power of the state did not succeed in maintaining order.

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The battle between the workers and the militia in Pittsburgh began on the 21st. The mass of the union leaders were not at all frightened at the soldiers and met them with showers of stones. Without any warning whatever the soldiers went into the workers and 26 fell dead and dozens wounded.

The soldiers emerged victorious from the first battle. At a later hour a new battle took place. A few hours later the workers returned to the battle-field, this time not unarmed. They saluted the dead of their comrades and called them to rally and organize to resist the workers. In the above encounter we read: "The leading citizens understood very well that it was a struggle for the very foundations of capitalist rule in America. And the American capitalists understood very well that it was a struggle for the very foundations of capitalist rule in America in the United States."
The Persistent "Mexican Question"

By Manuel Gomez

The "Mexican Question" came permanently to the fore in our generation not simply, as the amiable writers of travel books would have it, because the Mexicans do not understand English and the people of the United States do not eat chili, but because of the requirements of U. S. capitalist industry expanding upon an imperialist basis. Mexico as a source of important raw materials and as a field for the investment of surplus capital were the first considerations in twentieth century U. S. aggression.

Mexico and the U. S. Empire.

To the economic-business factors confined to direct exploitation of Mexican territory were added strategic factors. American imperialism developed further. Even while individual groups of capitalists were pursuing strictly limited purposes in Mexico, the idea of subjugation of Caribbean and Central American countries was underway. Swiftly and unmistakably the schematic outline of empire in the Caribbean hemisphere began to unfold itself with Mexico as an obvious converging point. Cuba, Porto Rico and Panama had already been seized by the United States. American marines planted the flag of U. S. imperialism in the western world. American marines planted the flag of U. S. imperialism in the western world.

Mexico's Line of Development.

Meantime, Mexico continues to follow a line of development which the amiable writers of travel books would have it, because the Mexicans do not understand English and the people of the United States do not eat chili, but because of the requirements of U. S. capitalist industry expanding upon an imperialist basis. Mexico as a source of important raw materials and as a field for the investment of surplus capital were the first considerations in twentieth century U. S. aggression.

The Beginnings of a Native Mexican Bourgeoisie

Great changes have taken place in Mexico in the last few years, visible even at the first glance. The signs of a developing native bourgeoisie have been increased tremendously. Walking thru the streets of Mexico City at the hour when workers are going home from their jobs, you cannot fail to be impressed by the rush of crowded street cars and "camiones" branching out in all directions. According to official gov-

JULY, 1926

emnent figures, the Mexican republic now has 112 sugar refineries, 75 large factories, 222 cigar and cigarette factories operating on a commercial scale, 2,000 woolen mills, 75 large factories, 222 cigar and cigarette factories operating on a commercial scale, 2,000 woolen mills, 75 large factories, 222 cigar and cigarette factories operating on a commercial scale, 2,000 woolen mills, 75 large factories, 222 cigar and cigarette factories operating on a commercial scale, 2,000 woolen mills, 75 large factories, 222 cigar and cigarette factories operating on a commercial scale, 2,000 woolen mills, 75 large factories, 222 cigar and cigarette factories operating on a commercial scale, 2,000 woolen mills, 75 large factories, 222 cigar and cigarette factories operating on a commercial scale, 2,000 woolen mills, 75 large factories, 222 cigar and cigarette factories operating on a commercial scale, 2,000 woolen mills, 75 large factories, 222 cigar and cigarette factories operating on a 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WORKERS MONTHLY

JULY, 1926

The Calles Program.

In a country like Mexico the middle class forms far too narrow a base for the construction of a national economy. Calles recognizes this fully. His governmental program—the first really well-worked out constructive program that has appeared in Mexico—assigns an important role to the workers and peasants, although always with an eye to middle class hegemony. That is what I referred to earlier in the present article when I spoke of "the beginning of development of an independent national economy with a base broader than that of the strictly capitalistic classes."

Calles' nationalist program is clearly set forth in a long series of official acts which together in a surprisingly consistent whole. The Calles Program.

Can Calles' Program Succeed?

Can such a program succeed? Certainly not if it is followed by a lack of confidence in the workers and peasants. Already Morones has obliged workers belonging to the CROM to accept reductions in wages, on the ground that it is necessary to help Mexican capitalism in competition with the United States. This is the method of the "realistic and it is nothing but that," for the accumulation of capital. Similar reasons are given for attacks on Communist and attacks on militant elements in the labor movement generally. Capitalist newspapers, business men, government, and Crom labor leaders tell the workers day in and day out that "class collaboration" is the national policy. "class collaboration," that is, for the benefit of the middle class. Calles and his friends talk up "class collaboration" and brandish it as a club to force the workers and peasants to accept the hegemony of the petty bourgeoisie in the middle class. But Mexico is overwhelmingly an agricultural country and the agrarian revolution is still in process. For this reason alone, if no other, it will be impossible at the present time to put a damper on the radical atmosphere of Mexico. For the workers and peasants do not have sufficient confidence in the middle class to allow it to carry on its own national program. Moreover, it has to the workers their resources nor the courage, nor the ability.

The Hegemony of the Workers and Peasants.

The petty bourgeoisie has given body and form to the economic struggle against imperialism, and is necessary to any constructive program of Mexican nationalism. The workers and peasants must dominate the alliance. On such an economic solution which is at the same time offering effective resistance to the imperialist pressure of the United States? Mexico has enormous natural resources, considering the stage of development of the country, a well-disciplined working class. She has a peasants' program already being organized on a national scale. Workers as well as peasants are skilled in the use of arms. With proper leadership and a constructive program—embracing many of the points brought forward by President Calles—Mexico may be able not only to maintain herself as an independent nation at the very door of the greatest imperialist power of the world but to become, far more actively than in the past, an organizing center for the whole Latin American resistance to imperialist domination.

Much would depend upon the complicated balance of forces in the United States and in the world at large. American imperialism only makes truce with Mexico. It obviously does not accept the present situation. Every step to curtail Wall Street privileges in Mexico and to build up an independent national economy places the persistent "Mexican Question" a little higher up on the American agenda.

Considerations that might have led Wall Street and Washington to temporize a few years ago do not have the same weight today. In the period since the World War, U. S. capitalists have fallen heir to a position which puts the United States above the forefront of consciously imperialist powers. American imperialism is everywhere on the offensive. Its aggressions reach into Europe, Asia and South America. It is impossible to appreciate the recent series of adventures of American imperialism in Latin America—beginning with the infamous invasion of the City of Panama to the Pershing-Lassiter "arbitrary" expedition in Tacna-Arica, and including the latest U. S. assault upon the sovereignty of Mexico herself—without expecting a determined drive for the complete subjugation of Mexico.

We must realize all that is at stake in this conflict. We must be prepared to lend solid support to the struggles against American imperialism, at the same time calling upon our comrades in Mexico—and throughout Latin America—never to permit him that if he is sincere in his national program he must rely partly upon the important revolutionary and constructive elements of the Mexican population—the workers and peasants, who cannot be sacrificed to a small group of petty bourgeois and whose sacrifice would constitute the betrayal of Mexican nationalism.

The Hegemony of the Workers and Peasants.

(b) Establishment of the sole bank of issue.
(c) Establishment of farm-loan banks.
(d) Establishment of co-operatives.
(e) Distribution of permanent titles to lands par-titioned out in "ejidos" (peasant communities).
(f) "Ley del Patrimonio de Familia"—set- tlement of peasant ownership as against the "ejidos."
(g) Oil and land laws (under Article 27) —"Ley de Extranjería."
(h) Irrigation works, on a cooperatively basis or un-ders government control.
(i) Local road-building program.
(j) Law exempting from all taxes Mexican business enterprises formed with a capital of 5,000 pesos or less.

This is plainly a program for building up a na-tional economy in Mexico which would be inde-pendent of foreign capital. It would be based upon cooperation among petty-bourgeois, peasant and working-class elements under state patronage.
The Trade Unions in the Theoretical System of Karl Marx

By N. Auerbach

(Continued from June issue.)

The Trade Unions, Let us now return to our original question: Can we find in the Marxian system—as far as the position of the working man is concerned—the development of knowledge—a justification for the existence of economic organization? The answer is very brief: No, only are such organizations possible but they are necessary for the regulation of the sale of the commodity labor-power so that in the constant fluctuations of the markets it will be sold at its value in spite of the counter-acting tendencies of capitalist production.

The necessity of trade unions within the capitalist wage-system is emphasized by Marx again and again in his writings and speeches touching on the subject, above all in "Value, Price and Profit," and "The Poverty of Philosophy." Repeatedly he defines the role of the trade unions as against the liberal and "socialist" economists who cry out against the "threat" these organizations hold out for the "pure" play of the "holy" law of supply and demand. "As a result, therefore, as workers learn the secret, how it comes to pass that in the same measure as they work more, as they produce more wealth for others, and as their productive power increases, work is in the same measure even their function as a means of the self-expansion of capital becomes more precarious for them; as soon as they discover that the degree of intensity of the competition among themselves depends wholly on the pressure of the relative surplus-population; as soon as by Trades' Unions, etc., they try to organize a regular co-operation between employed and unemployed in order to destroy or to weaken the ruinous effects of this natural law of capitalist production on their class, so soon capital and its sycophant, political economy, cry out at the infringement of the eternal and so to say sacred law of supply and demand."

As a consequence of the existence of the "free" worker (the prerequisites of every form of capitalist production) as well as of the monopolistic position of the capitalist owning the means of production, it naturally follows that the commodity-labor-power can become really a commodity on the plane with other commodities only when labor-power is bought and sold at its value in spite of the counter-acting tendencies of capitalist production. Naturally strive for a corresponding increase in wages; unless the price of the labor-power is to sink there must be an increase in wages not merely corresponding to the increase in the working day but even exceeding it. But naturally, the contrary, decays a greater ratio than would be visible from the mere numerical addition of work.** If the increment is not large enough to meet the demand the substitution of the collective labor contract; for, as long as the individual worker stands defenceless at the mercy of capital which, were it not for such successful experiments in the workers' interest, would permanently depress the price of labor-power, there is a special form of expression for the consciousness of the workers of their exploitation tendencies of capital which, were it not for such a successful union struggle—that is the "graduated wage." As a general rule, all these factors operate simultaneously and so the changes that result are the consequences of all of them together. To unaccustomed eyes it is difficult indeed to grasp the casual relations—and so the wage movement itself—appears as the original factor. Essentially, however, it is almost always a case of the resistance of the workers against the tendencies of capitalist production; but his system was the case before the rise of labor or- ganizations. The most complicated, but also the most profitable method of increasing the surplus value at the expense of the worker—a method that plays a particularly prominent role in developed capitalism—is increasing the production of the commodity labor-power. This may be the cause as well as the result of wage movements and has the greatest part in the theory of the struggle between the capitalist, that is the level for technical progress. In the end, this, of course, reduces the value of labor-power, of course it provides the necessary material conditions for the economic reconstruction of society.***

The increase in the productivity of labor brings with it effects and counter-effects of many kinds, depending upon the particular branch of production dealt with. A decrease in productivity in agriculture means an increase in the cost of production. Therefore, the struggle to increase wages or the raising of the price of labor-power, that is, the wage struggle. Such activity is generally mostly a matter of reacting to previous actions of capital, as Marx, showed in his speech to the general council of the International.** There are important of these cases will be mentioned here.

The value of labor-power can be changed thru changes in any of the three factors: Length or the working day, intensity of labor**, productive power of labor. If the working day is increased, the "other factors are given"—it, naturally follows that the commodity-labor-power can become really a commodity on the plane with other commodities only when labor-power is bought and sold at its value in spite of the counter-acting tendencies of capitalist production. Naturally strive for a corresponding increase in wages; unless the price of the labor-power is to sink there must be an increase in wages not merely corresponding to the increase in the working day but even exceeding it. But naturally, the contrary, decays a greater ratio than would be visible from the mere numerical addition of work.** If the increment is not large enough to meet the demand the substitution of the collective labor contract; for, as long as the individual worker stands defenceless at the mercy of capital which, were it not for such successful experiments in the workers' interest, would permanently depress the price of labor-power, there is a special form of expression for the consciousness of the workers of their exploitation tendencies of capital which, were it not for such a successful union struggle—that is the "graduated wage." As a general rule, all these factors operate simultaneously and so the changes that result are the consequences of all of them together. To unaccustomed eyes it is difficult indeed to grasp the casual relations—and so the wage movement itself—appears as the original factor. Essentially, however, it is almost always a case of the resistance of the workers against the tendencies of capitalist production; but his system was the case before the rise of labor organizations. The most complicated, but also the most profitable method of increasing the surplus value at the expense of the worker—a method that plays a particularly prominent role in developed capitalism—is increasing the production of the commodity labor-power. This may be the cause as well as the result of wage movements and has the greatest part in the theory of the struggle between the capitalist, that is the level for technical progress. In the end, this, of course, reduces the value of labor-power, of course it provides the necessary material conditions for the economic reconstruction of society.***

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**Published by Bernsteiner in 1907 as "Lohn, Preis und Profit" (in English as "Value, Price and Profit.

** N.B. To English: Value, Price and Profit page 108.

*** This slogan of the "cursed lack of desires" was thrown forth by Lassalle in the struggle of the workers without any consideration of its consequences.
economy of today, so also are wages determined socially. For wages contain not only the physical effort and the resistance of the workers on the one hand and the minimum, their proportion to the surplus value being in general determined “by the relative weight that capital on the one hand and the market requires of the workers on the other can throw in to the scale.”

It is thru emphasizing this element that Marx shows us the possibility of increasing the way to increasing the value of labor-power. The most usual case is the one noted above. If labor succeeds in counter-acting or at least in limiting to a certain point the sinking of wages resulting from an increase in productivity, in agriculture and in mass production—which really means that it succeeds in maintaining this wage level for a considerable time, then the value of labor-power is really raised as a result of the expansion of the moral-historical element. But this does not exhaust all practical possibilities. The greatest field of activity of the trade union and its co-operative system is presented in the periodical crisis of capitalism, the theoretical and practical significance of which Marx emphasized. In the last analysis everything helps increase the value of labor-power that tends to extend the needs of the people. The unions must control their own savings thru genuine co-operatives, based upon the principle of every member having one share of stock and one vote in the co-operative enterprise. Such must be our program. We must oppose the foundation of new trade union capitalist institutions and we must fight against the extension of those of the workingmen. We must demand the severance of these organizations, such as labor banks, insurance companies, investment companies, etc., completely from the trade unions and other organizations and their transformation into real co-operatives with rank and file control. We must fight against the investment of the workers’ funds in any form of capitalist enterprise. We must propose investment of these funds in the industries of the Soviet Union. The reactionaries who organized the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, knowing the stand of the left wing against trade union capitalism and hoping to forestall the rank and file opposition to their present autocratic control, argue in their literature and speeches that any attempt to separate their company from the trade unions and other organizations is impossible at the present. But they say: “When successfully established, the company may easily be converted into a mutual form of organization.” But the workers will do well not to be deceived by such hypocrisy. Once this life insurance company is established on the present basis, the reactionaries who control it completely will never let it go. The time to make the fight for democratic control, that is, real co-operative organization, is now. We must fight against the establishment of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company. Trade union capitalism is the very worst form of organizing the workers’ savings. It must be nipped in the bud or it will bear fruit that will poison the whole body of organized labor.

Trade Union Insurance
(Continued from page 415.)

that of a means to handle the workers’ savings. These savings exist; their total is enormous; and they are full of dynamic possibilities. We cannot ignore them. We cannot advise the workers to turn their savings over to the capitalists nor can we tolerate the trade union buccaneers getting hold of them and poisoning the unions with them. The workers themselves must control their own savings thru genuine co-operatives, based upon the principle of every member having one share of stock and one vote in the co-operative enterprise. Such must be our program. We must oppose the foundation of new trade union capitalist institutions and we must fight against the extension of those of the workingmen. We must demand the severance of these organizations, such as labor banks, insurance companies, investment companies, etc., completely from the trade unions and other organizations and their transformation into real co-operatives with rank and file control. We must fight against the investment of the workers’ funds in any form of capitalist enterprise. We must propose investment of these funds in the industries of the Soviet Union.

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Review
Oil A Review by H. M. WICKS.

Most writers dealing with the subject of oil and imperialism make the mistake of being obsessed with the idea that the imperialist policy of Great Britain will always be the same and that it will always be against the establishment of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company. Trade union capitalism is the very worst form of organizing the workers’ savings. It must be nipped in the bud or it will bear fruit that will poison the whole body of organized labor.

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