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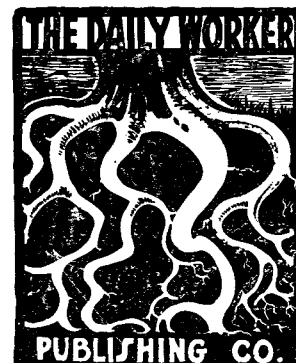
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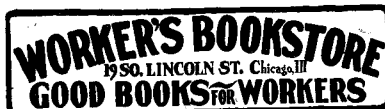
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No. 12

Uncle Shylock

By Maurice Mendelsohn

"FRANCE is not for sale!"—was the hysterical cry issued on August 8th by Georges Clemenceau, one of the chief authors of the treaty of Versailles. "Not even to her friends," (meaning Americans) ran the ironical addition to the "Tiger's" declaration.

"The British nation has turned into a debt collector to the United States of America; but unlike most debt collectors we get all the odium but none of the benefits"—recently remarked the London "Daily Mail."

The capitalist papers of the United States, in their turn report with varying degrees of alarm that "we have become extremely unpopular in Europe." "Europe is forming alliances against us"—says the less dignified yellow press, partly forecasting events for the sake of sensationalism. Certainly alarming signs of opposition to the more and more aggressive American policy in Europe, are aplenty. About three months ago, the Center and even the Right, as well as the Left, of the French Chamber of Deputies applauded the speech by Marcel Cachin, a Communist deputy, in which he denounced the position of imperialist America on the debt question and demanded a cancellation of all war debts. The "unpopularity" of America is obviously, not confined to a single quarter.

It was Germany which a few years ago stood in the limelight in connection with America's economic advances. But it is France, "victorious" France, that occupies that rather uncomfortable position now. The immediate cause precipitating the present situation was the demand of the U. S.—which debtor Europe ironically interprets as meaning "Uncle Shylock,"—to be paid up for loans made to allied powers during the World War. Great Britain was in a position, at least, to make an agreement with the United States in regard to the dates of settlement and even to make small cash payments. But for France, impoverished by the world war to a greater extent than Great Britain, for France which owes, besides what it owes to the United States, billions of dollars to Great Britain, and whose debtors in Eastern Europe (Poland, Roumania, etc.) are in no position to offer anything in payment, for France, which furthermore since the World War has been conducting desperate and expensive wars against its colonial slaves, the

prospect of gradually increasing payments has proven to be so distasteful that the agreement on France's debt to the United States has not been ratified as yet. According to the provisions of that agreement (Mellon-Berenger) now awaiting ratification, France is to pay an amount, the present value of which is \$2,008,122,624 instead of the original total of \$4,211,000,000. But with the interest of from 1 to 3½ per cent, averaging 1.58 per cent added, the total that France must pay in 62 years according to the agreement, is \$6,847,674,104.17.

A Dawes' Plan For France.

So much for France's war debt as such. But in that same letter of Clemenceau's there is a phrase which points towards something even more disturbing to the equilibrium of the capitalist world. With the frankness of one who has little to lose, France's aged war premier says:

"The secret of the comedy lies in the fact that here is only a matter of fictitious dates of settlement (of war debts) in order to bring a loan with good mortgages on our property." This means that being unable to make payments according to the provisions of the debt agreement, France will have to borrow money under good security and pay on it with far higher interest than that paid on the original debt. The money-lender in the latter case will again prove to be the same United States of America, though now not in the form of the official government of this country, but in the form of the real government—the Wall Street bankers.

The immense significance for the world situation of tomorrow of this type of a "financial operation," which has already been applied to Italy and in a slightly different manner to Germany among the larger countries, cannot be grasped without a consideration of its recent economic-historical background, without the knowledge of the facts of America's sudden rise to the position of the economically predominant power of the world.

Before the War.

Nearly every country of the world now looks back to 1923 as the year of maximum capitalist prosperity. The United States of America is the colossal and practically



Joseph Stalin.

only exception. In 1913, thirteen years ago, the land of Wall Street, Morgan & Co. was a debtor to the world. While foreign investors had in their possession American securities amounting to four to five billions of dollars, American capitalists in 1913 had investments abroad totalling only slightly over two and a half billion.

Between the year 1913 and today, a transformation took place which under pre-war conditions should have taken many decades to develop. It is true that the twentieth century found America already with 500 millions investments abroad, and before the war American investments in Mexico alone equalled 1,050 millions dollars. But what took place during and after the World War was a gigantic broadening of the comparatively narrow channel of American foreign investments.

Even before actually entering war, in the two years and five months from August 1, 1914, to January 1, 1917, the United States loaned to the world, \$2,324,000,000 or an amount almost equal to the total of American investments accumulated up to the year 1914.

The Golden Flood.

With the entrance of the United States into the war, a number of still larger loans were floated culminating with the postwar loans to Britain, France, Italy, etc. As a result of that the nominal sum of foreign war debts to the government of the U. S. was estimated in 1925 as twelve billion dollars (\$12,151,000,000). (Report of the United States Treasury May 16, 1925).

At the heels of this stupefying outpour of money, almost overnight, came the foreign investments effected by private capital. The first year after the war found private investors at a high peak of activity. According to the U. S. Federal Reserve Bulletin the total of foreign and U. S. possessions investments in 1919 constituted \$681,707,000. This included both new and refunded capital, nevertheless, the amount of new obligations to American private investors, added during that year alone, may be put as above half billion dollars.

In 1920 private investments abroad amounted to a sum somewhat smaller than that of the previous year. Nevertheless, of the \$651,512,000 of new and refunded capital, undoubtedly half a billion dollars represented the sum of new investments. The **Commercial and Financial Chronicle** gives the total of new capital only invested by Americans in 1921 as \$553,662,000. The figure for 1922 according to the **Chronicle** is \$673,233,000, while a different source estimates it to be nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars, namely \$733,819,000. (The Balance of International Payments of the U. S., published by the U. S. Department of Commerce.)

Three-quarters of a billion dollars worth of foreign securities obtained by Americans in one year—such a figure by itself means much. And when it is realized that in the more recent years, with the exception of 1923, still higher figures were reached, the immense significance of the movement dawns upon the observer. The same source gives the totals of American foreign investments for the recent years as follows:

1923.....	\$394,816,000
1924.....	\$877,518,000
1925.....	\$1,031,207,000

The source quoted is rather conservative, and figures given above must be considered as minimum. For instance, Department of Commerce estimates both new and refunded capital invested abroad in 1924 as \$1,209,786,000, while Moody's estimate, which takes into consideration short term loans and other items, gives \$1,633,081,000. The total given by the **Foreign Securities Investor** is \$1,635,089,382. (Robert Dunn, **American Foreign Investments**.)

A total of above a billion dollars foreign investments, most conservatively estimated, will be probably reached during the present year. The first half of 1926 with a total of new capital invested equalling \$432,658,200 (**Statement of the Finance and Investment Division of the Department of Commerce**.) compares somewhat unfavorably with the total of \$437,266,000 reached in the first half of 1925, (altho it is by far greater than the total for the first six months of 1924 which was \$225,913,000) but coming months are expected to bring huge loans to France and Belgium and so to raise the total for the year to at least the figure of 1925.

In the last seven and one-half years, then, Wall Street has been able to purchase titles to foreign securities amounting to above five billion dollars. When the amount of previous investments is added to this sum, the following grand totals for American foreign investments, excepting war loans, are reached, according to the U. S. Department of Commerce:

At the end of 1923—	\$ 8,105,000,000
At the end of 1924—	9,230,000,000
At the end of 1925—	10,405,000,000
On June 30, 1926—	10,837,000,000

This means that besides war debts (amounting to upward of twelve billions dollars) the world owes American capitalists nearly eleven billion in long term loans and, probably, another billion dollars in short term loans. During the World War the capitalists of our country also repurchased some three billion dollars' worth of American securities formerly held by foreigners, thus wiping out the greater share of foreign investments in America.

Private Investments and War Debts.

The significance of private investments by far overshadows that of war debts. At this very moment we have, a serious campaign supported by large sections of capitalists to cancel all war debts. No such thing, of course, can be dreamed of in regard to private investments. The significance of private investments lies in the fact that they are instrumental in turning over to Wall Street the control of world-wide natural resources, public utilities and manufacturing concerns. Private investments are responsible for the extension of working hours in various countries (Italy, Germany, etc.), they are responsible for the natural and even governmentally effected lowering of the standards of living (Mussolini's "potatoes decree," Poincare's decree as reported in the press of August 21, etc.).

The reasons for the support given by many capitalists to the proposals to cancel war debts must be looked for in a kind of competition between private investors and exporters and the government. If Italy, Belgium and other countries are to pay their war debts, naturally they cannot be expected to be able to meet their obligations except by means of private borrowing. This is a situation devoutly wished for by the bankers. It is the source of a lot of moral indignation displayed by those who stand for the "principle" that debts must be paid. But at the same time, as the war time secretary of war, N. W. Baker, points out in his letter of August 29, 1926, the burden of war debts hanging over Europe keeps it from buying in the American market. This is not quite so desirable for industrial capital in the United States. And when we consider that the European debtors can only hope to meet their obligations to the American creditors by dumping great quantities of surplus goods on the world market in competition with American made goods, we can easily understand why there is a strong sentiment for complete cancellation of these debts among certain circles of American capital and why we hear such strong pleas for the "principle" that these American war loans were not loans but war expenditures of the government.

The present Coolidge administration is officially dead-set against total cancellation of war debts and for very good reasons (capitalist reasons, of course). If Great Britain and other debtor countries are relieved of the obligations of war debts, then they may much more easily become serious economic competitors of America. Britain received the worst treatment of all (it has to pay 78 per cent of the debt as compared with France's 50 per cent) because it pays to keep the most serious economic competitor of the United States from receiving money from Europe and using it for investments.

At the same time these very war debts can be used extremely well not as a hindrance to American private investments but as an aid in a different way. The classic illustration of this point is afforded by the French situation of the moment. The Coolidge administration quite effectively uses the French war debt in order to scare France into a kind of Dawes' Plan, thus opening the way for the private activities of Morgan & Co.

Nevertheless, while it is so strict in regard to France's and Great Britain's war debts, the Coolidge administration did all in its power and succeeded in effecting a near cancellation of the Italian debt. Two factors determined this action. First, reduction of war debt to a very low sum (26 per cent of the original debt) at a nearly nominal rate of interest 1.8 to 2 per cent) permitted the private firm of Morgan & Co. to supply Italy with \$100,000,000 loan, on which an interest of 7 per cent plus commission is collected and which runs no risk of cancellation. Secondly, the Coolidge administration obviously, believes that no economic nor political danger is to be expected from the Fascist government and that the latter even deserves especial consideration on the part of its American brother.

But whether used for economic or political purposes, war debts serve none but indirect purposes. Every seri-

ous capitalist newspaper in the United States frankly admits that war debts as such will probably never be paid up in full. Baker's letter and the effect it had on the Democratic press and other facts of similar nature, show that the project of a nearly complete cancellation of war debts may be not so utopian. The direct goal of the Wall Street bankers who guide the hand of the United States government in the matter of war debts is but to add new links to the chain of private American foreign investments which already encircle a goodly portion of the world.

Encircling the Globe.

At the end of 1925 the geographical distribution of American investments abroad exclusive of war debts was as follows:

Europe	\$2,500,000,000
Latin America	4,210,000,000
Canada	2,825,000,000
Rest of the world	870,000,000
Total	\$10,405,000,000

The largest item on the list was afforded by Latin America which still offers one of the best fields for the investments of American capitalism. This circumstance is closely related to the well-known fact of American political control, to a greater or lesser degree, of the whole of the continent, thanks to the U. S. marines and to the American cash lavishly used to buy Latin-American administrators (Nicaragua, San Domingo, Chile, etc.) Canada, which like Latin America, lies in tempting proximity of the United States is the next greatest field for American investments. Unlike Latin America, the British Dominion has no marines sent into it nor are revolutions set up there by enterprising Americans with the aid of native generals, nor probably, is the Canadian prime-minister paid an annuity by a "man in Wall Street." And yet billions of dollars of investments are responsible for making Canada as accessible to the further penetration of American capital as any part of the United States proper. A neat illustration of this is afforded by the common classification of foreign investments under the headings of: "Government loans," "Corporate loans," "Canadian loans," and "American possessions loans." Capitalist economists, not daring to include Canada in American possessions, and yet knowing that Canada is far more than merely a foreign country, leave it in a class by itself.

The World War, while bringing about an increase in American investments in Canada from 750 million dollars to 2,850 million dollars in some twelve years, was responsible for a still greater increase of American investments in Europe, namely, from 350 million dollars to 2,500 million dollars.

The recent trend to Europe, altho the latter still occupies the third place in the list of American foreign investments, is evident from the following table of investments by years, based on figures supplied by the U. S. Department of Commerce.

New Capital Invested Abroad.

GOVERNMENT, PROVINCIAL & MUNICIPAL LOANS

(In thousands.)				
	1922	1923	1924	1925
Europe	131,725	85,000	511,850	405,159
Latin America ..	148,275	62,500	81,490	92,941
Can., Newf'dl'd	105,000	40,000	98,768	70,933
Asia, Australian				
Oceania	110,758	70,502	81,011	75,000
U. S. possessions	37,235	2,000	1,500	3,000
Total	532,993	260,002	774,620	647,025

CORPORATE LOANS.

(In thousands.)				
	1922	1923	1924	1925
Europe	97,250	27,567	14,000	206,917
Latin America ..	57,300	53,247	38,383	43,375
Can., Newf'dl'd	42,506	54,000	35,016	67,189
Asia, Australian				
Oceania	1,250		15,000	66,700
U. S. possessions	2,500		500	
Total	200,826	134,814	102,899	384,189

GRAND TOTAL OF ALL SECURITIES PUBLICLY ISSUED.

733,819	394,816	877,518	1,031,207
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The above table definitely shows that, while Latin-American and Canadian securities were fluctuating but little during the four years, investments in Europe were constantly on the increase (with the exception of 1923). The trend toward Europe is likewise evident, altho to a somewhat lesser extent, from the figures for the first six months of 1926. New capital invested during that period is distributed as follows (figures are based on the report of the U. S. Department of Commerce):

Europe	\$208,602,500
Canada	102,715,000
Latin-America	114,970,000
Far East	6,370,700

It is true that Latin-America and Canada occupy a somewhat more prominent position in the investments of this year than in previous years. But the present peculiar condition of France, boycotted by Wall Street, offers the key to the situation. In the near future, after the boycott is lifted, France can be expected to bring about a still greater flocking of American capital to Europe.

It must be remembered that investments in European securities pay, and pay highly. European fleece is stripped, first, by the banker who arranges the loan. In 1925 par value of loans to Europe was \$612,069,400, but after deductions, due to low issue price and bankers' commissions which "ran in some instances as high as 10 per cent," it is estimated that only about \$546,000,000 was sent to Europe.

Next comes, of course, interest. It runs in the case of

Europe from 5 to 5½ per cent in a few instances (Denmark, Norway, Great Britain) to 8 per cent as in the case of Poland, an Austrian city and Ufa Motion Picture in Germany, and averages 7 to 7½ per cent (1925). This compares very favorably with the average interest on loans to Canada which is 4½ to 4¾ per cent in case of government loans and 6 to 6½ per cent in the case of corporate loans and shows the distrust American capitalists felt toward European securities even last year.

Dawes' Germany.

The closest parallel to the French situation of the moment is afforded ironically enough, by that of defeated Germany. The "Dawes' Plan" in the latter country, which was the culmination of an intense crisis due to the devaluation of German mark, now fatefully looms on the French horizon. The American bankers' boycott of France caused the French franc continually to decline in value. The condition under which bankers would agree to grant further loans to the French government is a complete reorganization of the French economic administration. This would require the formation of an American-run committee, similar to that formed under the "Dawes' Plan" to supervise French natural resources and monopolies in order to extract interest on private loans and war debts. This would also mean of course, the increase of working hours for the whole working population of France, the lowering of the standards of living, etc.

How the Dawes' Plan Works.

A further indication of what awaits France in the hands of Wall Street is given by the figures of American investments in Germany for the last two and a half years. In the first half of 1925, American investments in Germany amounted to \$53,500,000 out of a total of \$437,266,000. But in the second half of 1925, investments in Germany jumped to \$174,320,000 out of a total of \$593,941,000. In the first half of 1926, investments in Germany again constituted more than one-third of the total. At the same time, the importance of corporate loans as compared with those granted to governments, municipalities, etc., or expressly guaranteed by these, has been constantly growing in importance, as is evident from the following table of German offerings in the U. S. for the last 2½ years, according to the report of the Department of Commerce:

GOVERNMENT LOANS.

Year	Number	Value
1924	1	\$110,000,000
1925 (1st half)	2	18,000,000
1925 (2nd half)	14	86,150,000
1926 (1st half)	9	52,300,000

CORPORATE LOANS.

Year	Number	Value
1924	1	\$ 10,000,000
1925 (1st half)	5	35,500,000
1925 (2nd half)	14	89,170,000
1926 (1st half)	24	107,420,500

TOTALS.

1924	2	\$120,000,000
1925 (1st half)	7	53,500,000
1925 (2nd half)	28	174,320,000
1926 (1st half)	33	159,720,500

The grand total of American investments in Germany for the last two and a half years is \$508,540,500.

It must be noted that in the year of the granting of the \$110,000,000 loan according to the provisions of the "Dawes' Plan," only one other loan was made by American investors. But once the "Dawes' Plan" went into operation, the number of loans, the amounts and the percentage of corporate loans immediately rose. Of the huge sum of 174 million dollars in the second half of last year more than 50 per cent went as corporate loans, while this year nearly 70 per cent of all American investments in Germany were in corporate securities.

Let us compare this with the figures for all American foreign investments. In 1919, five-sixths of American money was lent to, or guaranteed by various state, provincial or municipal governments. In the following years corporate securities always constituted less than one-third of the total, and in the year of 1924 did not exceed 12 per cent. But last year, due largely to the influence of the investments in Germany, the percentage of corporate securities reached 37 per cent of the total. It was nearly 60 per cent during the first half of this year. The tendency toward corporate investments, made possible by the temporary and partial stabilization of European corporations. Nowhere it is as evident as in Germany, and the direct effect of the "Dawes' Plan" can be seen from the above table.

Once France is put under an American regulated "plan" a similar process of buying up of French concerns by American capital is sure to follow.

And it was this expectation that Clemenceau tried to stave off with his frightened cry: "France is not for sale."

Negotiations between bankers and the Poincare government that are in progress now in Paris according to the scant reports of the press (note Mellon's and B. Strong's "vacation" in Europe) show that Clemenceau's

letter will serve to no purpose, at least in so far as the real issue of private investments is concerned. But once Wall Street sets its hand still more heavily on the shoulder of the French worker and the French middle-class and industrialists, it will cause a new wave of hatred to spring up against the "Uncle Shylock" of the world. European industrialists forced to sell their plants and to part with the greater share of their profits in order to make payments to the all-powerful American capitalists will have little sympathy with Wall Street. At the same time, taxes on the British, German, French, etc., middle-classes in order to pay interest on the debts of their governments to the United States of America will not set their hearts vibrating with affection for America.

Churchill's recent strong declarations in Great Britain, the most powerful rivals of the United States in the capitalist world of today, against the war debts, the threatening fate of France, the wretched conditions of the middle and even higher classes almost everywhere in Europe, etc., all these events and conditions have given rise to a discussion, hesitant as yet, of the slogan of bourgeois Europe: "The United States of Europe."

"The United States of Socialist Europe."

The working class of Europe, under the leadership of the Communist International, is raising the slogan: "The United States of Socialist Europe." Thru Latin-America an anti-imperialist movement is spreading. The Orient has been a storm center these last couple of years. Where is Uncle Shylock going? Toward conflicts with the British bourgeoisie for the control of the world! Towards conflicts with Japan for the Pacific! Towards conflict with each bourgeoisie for the control of its own wealth and resources! Towards a new world war of which he will be the central object of hatred and antagonism! On the other side lies the example of the Soviet Union, lies the slogan of "The United States of Socialist Europe," lies the possibility of new allies for the American working class in the ranks of the European working class, in the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin-America. It is a question as to which comes first as the fruit of world empire—war or revolution. If war comes first, it will be of immensely greater magnitude than the last one and it will bring the revolution in its train.

Is Russia Going Back to Capitalism?

By Max Bedacht

RUSSIA is going back to capitalism! Behind that prediction for the future of the Soviet Union, the social traitors of the Second International are trying to hide their past betrayals of socialism. With that slogan capitalist governments, who in days past, swore never to recognize the Soviets, are apologizing for their recognition. This slogan is the pretended casus belli for the petty-bourgeois refuse thrown out by the Communist parties of different countries, in their campaign against the Soviet Union and in their joining of the army of the enemies of Russia.

Back from Where?

Russia is going back to capitalism!—back from where? Has there at any time since the taking over of power by the workers existed a Communist society and is the present economic policy of the Soviet Union a radical departure from it?

The very formulation of the accusation is proof of its incorrectness. After the taking over of political power by the workers, the building up of a Communist society is a matter of organization and reorganization of production. The first step of the building up of a Communist society is the destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie and the taking over of that power by the working class. The second step is the application of the political power of the workers to a Communist reconstruction of production.

Political Power and the Economic Order.

The first of these steps was accomplished by the Russian workers in the victorious revolution of November 1917 and the complete defeat of counter revolution from 1917 to 1922. The second step is still in progress. The first step is a fundamental one. The second step is a process built upon the foundation of the first.

Not even the most optimistic capitalist prophet dares to utter any hopes or predictions that the Russian Soviets contemplate abdication in favor of the political rule of the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, all of these prophets hope for and predict successful revolts against Soviet rule, victorious counter-revolution. These hopes and predictions also determine the answer to the question whether the Soviet Union is reconstructing capitalism instead of building up Communism. And this answer is an emphatic NO. If the peddlers of the tale of Russia's return to capitalism would believe in the quality of their own ware, they would not need to hope for rebellion. **The reconstruction of capitalism is absolutely impossible without the reconstruction of the political rule of the capitalist class, and the abdication of the proletariat from political power.**

Are the Bourgeoisie Wining the Soviets?

Some tell us, however, that the present economic policy of the Soviets is creating a new bourgeoisie. This new bourgeoisie, we are told, is constantly increasing its political influence. It will eventually dominate the ideology of the masses and thus gain supremacy over the Soviets. The Soviets then will become the instrument of the rule of the bourgeoisie.

These predictions are merely retranslations of petty bourgeois democratic illusions into the language of the present situation in Russia. The Soviets are as little adaptable to instruments of bourgeois rule or to instruments of bourgeois struggle for power, as bourgeois parliamentarism is adaptable to instruments of proletarian rule or to instruments of proletarian struggle for power.

The N. E. P.—Step Forward or Retreat?

It is evident that all the rumors about Russia's return to capitalism are without foundation in fact. If, in spite of this, these rumors find ready victims, it is because many wrong conceptions and ideas prevail about the character of revolution.

Immediately after the taking over of power by the Russian proletariat the burning issue of the revolution became the defense of this power to the point of utter defeat of the bourgeoisie. This utter defeat was the completion of the first step of revolution; and all measures of this period belong to that first step of taking power and not to the second step of Communist reconstruction.

During this period, many measures had to be taken which do not at all fit into a program or reconstruction. They fit only into a program of destruction. And destruction (of capitalist power and the capitalist class) was the order of the day.

All those who could not see and understand that could not comprehend the N. E. P. as a step forward. They could see in it only a retreat.

Of course, it was a retreat. But it was a retreat from a position not occupied by choice in an advance toward Communist reconstruction, but occupied as a matter of necessity in a war of defense of the Soviet power. The N. E. P. was not a retreat of a defeated army. It was the selection of a better starting point for an onward march of a victorious army. This army was victorious on the military field and could now choose its road of advance on a different field, on that of economic reconstruction.

The war Communism of the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1920 was not Communism but was a war necessity. Its abandonment did not signify an abandonment of

Communism but the exchange of the gun for the tool as a weapon in the completion of the Communist revolution.

Whither Russia?

Only when we are clear on this can we judge the trend of the economic development of the Soviet Union. Only then can we answer intelligently the question whether the Soviet Union is going back to capitalism.

It is clear by now that the question is not: Is the Soviet Union going back to capitalism?—but: Is it moving further away from it?

The first and decisive distance was put between Soviet Russia and capitalism through the establishment of the power of the Soviets. This distance has not diminished since November 1917. **This distance is really the difference between capitalist rule and proletarian rule.** The query now is whether proletarian rule has increased this distance. It cannot decrease it—except by abdication or defeat.

The construction of a Communist society is the organization and systematization of production with an aim of satisfying all needs of society without waste. The success of such reconstruction, therefore, depends on two factors:

First, success in building up the productive machinery, increase of productivity, etc.

Second, control of the productive machinery by society (by the proletarian state power) so that the advantages of the success in this upbuilding become advantages of society as a whole, and not merely advantages of private owners of the machinery of production, the capitalists.

N. E. P. and Industry.

The production machinery of the Soviet Union was completely disorganized and partly destroyed by the war, by the revolution and by civil war. The institution of the new economic policy, the N. E. P., was the first step of the Soviet Union in the direction of its economic reconstruction. The N. E. P. went into effect in March 1921. At that time the total production of the Soviet Union amounted to hardly 15% of the total production of pre-war Russia. With the closing of the budget year 1925-26 the total production of the industries of the Soviet Union has reached 95% of the pre-war standard. It rose from a total value of 1949 million gold roubles in 1922-23 to 5215 million gold roubles in 1925-26. This corresponds to an increase of 274%. In 1921-22 there were employed in the industries of the Soviet Union 1,240,000 persons. At present, or more accurately speaking in June 1926, 1,898,000 persons were employed. From the foregoing it becomes evident that the N. E. P. was of tremendous value as a stimulant for the development of production.

But perhaps this forward development was obtained at the cost of socialization of the industries? Maybe this process is, after all, a victory of capitalism, and not of the revolution. Let us see.

The total value of capital in the productive machinery of the Soviet Union amounted last year approximately to 19.2 billion gold roubles. Of this amount 62%

is owned and controlled directly by the Soviet State and 38% is privately owned. A considerable capitalist nucleus, our pro-capitalist prophets declare. Indeed—but this 38% includes agricultural means of production. As far as the industries are concerned, 89% are nationalized. Including railroad transportation, the percentage of nationalized industry reaches 97%. Railroad transportation is nationalized 100% and heavy industries alone 99%. Foreign commerce is nationalized 100%. No private banking concern exists in Russia.

Production of the nationalized industries amounted in 1924 to 76.3% of the total output of Russian industry. This grew in 1926 to 79.7% while at the same time the contribution of privately owned industries to the total output decreased from 23.7% in 1924 to 20.3% in 1926. If the pro-capitalist prophets can get any pleasure out of these facts, it merely proves that this gentry is dominated by an unusual, although unfounded, optimism. But by no means can it prove a return of Soviet Russia to capitalism.

Increase of production alone is not sufficient to prove the construction of Communism. We must also prove systematization of production. Here, too, we can present telling figures. During the last budget year the increase of the output of large industry as against the previous year was 64%; of medium industry the increase amounted to only 55%, and in the small industrial establishments the increase of the output amounted to merely 30%. The marked increase of the output of the large industrial establishments as against the small ones is evidence of systemization by concentrating production gradually upon the larger plants where the productivity of labor is highest.

Through the State Planning Commission (Gosplan), the Soviet Union is working on a closer connection of the heavy industry with the manufacturing establishments of finished products. This will systematize the supply of raw material for the finishing industry.

N. E. P. and Agriculture.

In spite of all these facts, our hopeful capitalist prophet has not yet given up hope. The basis of his optimism is the peasantry. He tells us: "Russia is going back to capitalism. You are talking about industries. But Russia is overwhelmingly agricultural and in the field of agricultural production the Soviet Union has only nationalized 4% of the total means of production while 96% are privately owned. The peasant, who is an individualist, will overwhelm your workers' republic and will lead it back to capitalism."

It is true: in the field of agricultural production only 4% of the means of production are nationalized. But—that does not include land. Land is nationalized 100%.

Although 80% or more of Russia's population is agrarian, yet agrarian production supplies only one-third of the marketed goods of the Union. Two-thirds are supplied by the industries. Thus it becomes clear that the present state and future development of industrial production exert the decisive influence on the direction of future economic and political development of the Soviet Union. In the meantime, however, the process of re-

construction of agricultural production is proceeding more slowly than that of the industries. Agricultural production increased only 32% in the period from 1922 to 1926. This is so because the reconstruction of agricultural production is not accompanied in the same degree by concentration and systematization as is the case in industries. This fact has a very important political reaction on the Soviet power. The numbers, the importance and the influence of the industrial proletariat is growing so fast that the political supremacy of industrial workers in the Soviets cannot be successfully challenged. But also the economic effects of this fact will become an important and welcome factor in the future development of Soviet economy. It will enable the Soviet industry to produce the necessary agricultural machinery and implements without which the socialization of agricultural production is impossible. Since private property of the land is removed as an obstacle on the road to socialization of agricultural production, the latter hinges to a large degree on the ability of the industries to supply the machinery indispensable for social production.

Private and State Capital.

Thus we see that in the Soviet Union private capital is practically restricted to small industry and to small commercial enterprise. These small privately owned industrial enterprises must get their raw material, and the privately controlled commercial enterprises must get their merchandise either from state factories or from state import. And since the state is not controlled by them but by the working class it is quite sure that the

trees of these N. E. P. capitalists will not grow into heaven.

Towards Communism.

The undisputable facts about Russian economic reconstruction are:

1. Systematic progress in the organization and up-building of the productive machinery of the country;
2. Systematization of production;
3. Tremendous positive increase of the output of nationalized industry;
4. Relative decrease of the output of privately owned industry;
5. Progress in the socialization of agricultural production;
6. Strengthening of the Soviets as the instruments of political power of the workers and as controlling factors of socialized industry.

All of these tendencies taken together are a clear and unmistakable sign of development toward Communism. They prove that the Soviet Union is increasing the distance between present day Russian economy and capitalist economy, that it is systematically decreasing the distance between present day Russian economy and the future Communist economy. Russia is traveling toward **Communism—and not back to Capitalism.**

With foreign commerce nationalized 100%, with nationalized industry amounting to 89% of the total, with railroad transport nationalized 100%, and with the workers holding the state power, private capital may be an additional help for the economic reconstruction—but it will never become its master.



The Crisis in Philippine Independence

By Manuel Gomez

NOT only are the already discovered sources of raw materials of importance to finance capital, but also the possible sources of such materials, as technique is developing very fast in our times, and the lands which today are useless, may tomorrow become useful if new methods happen to be discovered . . . and large amounts of capital are applied. The same applies to searches for new mineral deposits, and researches for new methods of utilizing one or another kind of raw material, etc. Hence the unavoidable tendency of finance capital toward expansion of its economic territory and even to the extension of territories in general. Just as the trusts capitalize their property at two or three times their value, counting on the 'possible' future profits and on the further results of monopoly, so also does finance capital in general tend toward the acquisition of as much land as possible, no matter what kind, where, or how, lest it remain behind in the frantic struggle for the undivided portions of the earth or the redivision of the already divided portions," wrote Lenin in his treatise on Imperialism.

Lenin did not have the Philippine Islands in mind when he wrote these lines but they furnish an excellent example. For now the Philippines are to have a development which "vindicates" all of the most extravagant hopes of the imperialists of 1898, so universally deprecated at the time. Suddenly, after twenty years, the distant colony of the Pacific has been lifted into a foremost position in the considerations of American foreign policy.

The 7,000 or more islands, great and small, lying 650 miles from the Chinese Coast, are at last to assume their destined place in the scheme of American Empire.

Empire-building is for the most part a tentative and unselective process. The ultimate disposition of conquered territory depends on many factors—some of which can be only dimly perceived at the time of conquest. Not only has this been true in the past, but it will continue to be true, as new developments take place in industrial technique, as new points of world strategy stand out, as new shifts take place in the co-relation of forces between imperialist nations, etc.

Imperialists everywhere have thus been able to popularize the legend that the process of empire building is entirely haphazard. The British have invented terms such as "blundering ahead" and "muddling thru" to indicate the long sequence of events by which the British Empire reached its present proportions. In the United States this Innocent Interpretation of History appears particularly plausible, for the reason that American capitalism in its internal economy is still improvising, still feeling its way with unknown quantities. Additions to the territory of the home-land seem like undesired ac-

cretions which Uncle Sam has picked up quite by accident and even against his will.

Who would have imagined that when President McKinley initiated "The War to Free Cuba" it would end with not only Cuba in American possession, but also Porto Rico and colonies thousands of miles away in the Pacific?

And yet . . . Com. Dewey was stationed fortuitously at Hongkong when the war broke out, less than three days' steaming from Manila. McKinley could not know what the future development of the Philippines might be—but he gave expression to the classic imperialist policy when he made the following declaration of general principles: "While we are conducting the war and until its conclusion, we must keep all we get; when the war is over we must keep what we want." (Storey and Lichauco, *The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States*, Putnam, 1926).

On Aug. 13, 1898, Dewey received the following dispatch from the Secretary of the Navy:

The President desires to receive from you any important information you may have of the Philippines; the desirability of the several islands; the character of the population; coal and other mineral deposits; their harbor and commercial advantage . . .

Dewey's reply was satisfactory, as the President's diary reveals, but it was the veriest guesswork. The one advantage of the Philippines that imperialists estimated correctly at the time was the geographical position of the islands, lying athwart the future trade routes. However, that is an advantage which is still to be fully realized, even now. An empire cannot be exploited beyond the capacities of the imperialist nation to exploit it. In 1898, the United States stepped into the world imperialist arena fully armed, as a result of developments within the United States itself. These developments were creating the basis of American imperialist policy, but the actual benefits of that policy for the imperialists remained necessarily for the future—when the United States should have sufficient accumulation of capital and sufficiently-developed points of contact in various parts of the world. In 1898 the United States was a debtor, capital-importing, nation. Trade with Asia and Oceania was still very small. If the Philippines were to be exploited at that time it would have to be in an isolated fashion, without direct connection with the general scheme of American capitalist economy.

The two factors—ignorance of the possibilities of the Philippine Islands, and the inability of the United States fully to exploit them—made of the islands a sort of colonial reserve held in trust for a developing imperialism.

American trade with the colony of the Far East developed rapidly enough, with always a favorable bal-

ance for the United States. Nevertheless, the profits of empire have been relatively small as compared with other possessions. Even today American investment in the islands is much lower than in other nearer and more easily exploited colonies and semi-colonies (Cuba, etc.) Of course, if we compare the investments of our financiers in the Philippines with their investment in other (non-colonial) lands of the Far East it is very great, thus indicating that even picayune imperialism has its advantages for the capitalists.

American colonial policy was naturally influenced by the economics of the Philippine situation. The first confident imperialism of 1898 was succeeded by a more uncertain attitude. Altho the decisive elements of American public life were never in doubt as to the advisability of holding the Philippines, there was nevertheless, a general vagueness as to just how they should be administered. Certain sections of the Democratic Party were influenced in favor of giving more liberty to the Filipinos, whose relatively unproductive progress made it seem unnecessary to govern them along classic colonial lines.

Hence, the Jones Law of 1916, which gave the Filipinos a share in their government thru the Filipino-elected legislatures. The preamble of the Jones Law went so far as to declare, in the broad-gestured American manner, that "it is and always has been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein."

To the brutal, almost military, regime of Governor-General William H. Taft, there succeeded the administration of Governor-General Francis B. Harrison. The Harrison regime was in such sharp contradiction to what had gone before that it is even today remembered with gratefulness by large numbers of the Filipino people. Harrison replaced American executives by Filipinos. With his approval, the Filipino legislature established the government-owned Philippine National Bank, purchased the Manila railroad and organized the National Coal Company and the National Development Company. His rule was a model of benevolent imperialism.

Who can imagine today, when American capital is eagerly seeking investment in the Philippines, an American governor-general approving the creation of Philippine-owned enterprises such as these? As a matter of fact these publicly-owned companies are the target of attack from all Wall Street interest now.

Harrison was governor-general from 1913 to 1921. During this period profound changes were taking place in the United States and in the world at large which inevitably affected the American attitude with regard to the Philippines. In these years the United States became a capital-exporting nation, with huge accumulations of capital pressing for outlet. In 1913 when Harrison went to the Philippines the total amount of American investment abroad was \$2,500,000,000. In 1921, when he left for home it had reached \$5,000,000,000, exclusive of capital exported in the war loans. Today capital is going abroad at the rate of a billion and a quarter dollars a year. Moreover, by Harrison's time, American trade

with the Orient was growing by leaps and bounds. Between 1905 and 1914, only 17 per cent of imports into the United States came from Asia and Oceania. By 1920, those imports had risen to 29 per cent of the total.

American imperialism, everywhere on the offensive was already struggling for advantage in Asia as well as in Latin-America and Europe. The frontiers of American empire had widened tremendously from the days when they took in only a small section of Latin-America with Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines as isolated outposts. In 1921, let us remember, the Washington conference took place, a bold thrust at Japan which destroyed the Anglo-Japanese agreement and placed the lords of Wall Street and Washington in position to carry out extensive encroachments in China.

The first sign of the new situation with regard to the Philippines was the Wood-Forbes report and the selection of Major-General Leonard Wood to be Governor-General of the Islands.

We need not here go into the details of General Wood's administration. They are well enough known. He went to the Islands as one charged with completely reversing the old policy, bringing with him his old military aides, who were given most of the positions of trust under him. From the beginning he has engaged in bitter conflict with the Filipino legislature, vetoing one bill after another, attempting to confiscate the funds placed at the disposal of the Filipino Independence Movement, and following a general policy of repression which has aroused the entire Filipino nation against him.

General Wood's policy is not the policy of an individual. He has been supported consistently by Presidents Harding and Coolidge. Furthermore, Coolidge's last message to congress specifically recommended more power for the governor-general of the Philippines at the expense of the Filipino legislature.

But even then the Philippines did not yet occupy the center of the stage as they do today.

It was during 1925 and 1926 that American capitalism began to take steps for the immediate exploitation of its colony. Secretary of Commerce Hoover startled the world with the government's militant declaration against foreign monopolies, announcing the intention of the government to participate consciously in the world struggle for sources of raw material. This was particularly a threat to England, which controls 70 per cent of the world's crude rubber output, 77 per cent of which is consumed in the United States. The spectacular tussel between British rubber producers and American tire manufacturers lasted into the spring of this year when the price of crude rubber was boosted to well over \$1.00 a pound. President Coolidge began to echo the demands of Wall Street that "rubber must be grown under the American flag." Harvey Firestone had already launched his mysterious rubber-plantation venture in Liberia, and other interests were investigating possible rubber country in Mexico and Panama. It was inevitable that the furious searches for rubber-growing territory should reveal the fact that in the Philippine Islands there are over 1,500,000 acres of the best rubber-growing lands in the world.

Rubber is one of the most important raw materials of contemporary capitalist industry. From the time it was first discovered that rubber might be grown profitably in the Philippines on a huge scale, American imperialist policy in the Islands has moved forward with winged speed.

Developments within the last few months have included the following:

1. Visits of rubber magnates to the Philippines.
2. Introduction of the Bacon bill and Kiess bill in congress.
3. Organized agitation to the effect that the Moros, some 400,000 tribesmen spread out over 53 per cent of the land area of the Philippines, hate the rest of the Filipinos and love American imperialism.
4. Dispatch of the Thompson mission to the Philippine Islands to investigate economic conditions, etc.
5. Announcement by President Coolidge that his next message to congress will demand a modification of existing administration in the Philippines.

The Bacon Bill would provide for segregation of the Moro province from the rest of the Philippine territory and administration by an American governor-general with an American advisory council, all the members to be appointed by the President of the United States. In the territory involved the Moros do not make up a majority of the population, but that did not bother Congressman Bacon. The important thing is that in this territory all of the prospective rubber lands are to be found, as well as the coal and iron and most of the other coveted resources.

The Bacon Bill is a brutal fraud. In the name of self-determination and self-government for the Moros, it proposes to deliver them over to the unrestrained tyranny of a foreign governing directorate. The bill is supported by practically every important American capitalist newspaper, altho it is not honestly explained by any of them. Its passage is being urged by the rubber interests without circumlocution.

Col. Carmi A. Thompson, who has been investigating conditions in the Philippines as President Coolidge's personal representative, has let it be known very definitely that he will recommend measures "tending to improve the economic exploitation of the possibilities of the Philippine Islands." There can be little doubt that this means the Bacon Bill.

It means more than the Bacon Bill, however. It means the repeal of the Jones Law or its conversion into a dead letter.

Anyone who pays the least attention to it can sense the augmented tempo of Philippine developments in recent months. Rubber has played an important part in it, but is by no means responsible for it. The search for rubber has been accompanied by study of other resources. Vast deposits of iron ore are to be found on the island of Basilon with excellent coking coal close at hand. The signal has been given for wholesale exploitation of the immense resources of the islands. Imperialist aspirations in China and the broadened perspective of empire generally give spur to the movement.

It is plain that these precious islands held in reserve for so long are at last to be given their destined place in the American Empire. The profits which up to now have been relatively modest are to achieve real colonial proportions. Capital is to be invested in the islands on a great scale. At the present time, the total American investment in the islands is not much more than \$300,000,000. Harvey Firestone proposes to invest \$500,000,000 in rubber development alone. At least these are the plans of those in control at Wall Street and Washington.

But such plans imply that the comparatively easy-going system of administration left over from the Harrison regime be given its final death-blow. To yield the coveted super-profits an out-and-out colonial system must be put into effect in the Philippines, with the cheapest of cheap labor and no restrictions upon the monopoly schemes of American capital. Filipino resources must be put at the disposal of Wall Street. The Filipino legislature must be deprived of all power; the Filipino independence movement, which now embraces practically the entire population of the islands must be reduced to impotence. American imperialist rule must be tightened and perpetuated. Wall Street has demanded as a prior condition for the investment of large sums of capital the guarantee that investors will be protected and rewarded by the repeal of the bothersome Jones Law.

The Jones Law promises independence to the Philippines as soon as a stable government should be established there. President Wilson defined a "stable government" as a government "able to maintain order and peaceful society." Governor-General Wood recently gave his own definition: "A stable government is one under which capital is invested at normal rates of interest."

But neither of these definitions mean anything to American imperialism today. Wall Street wants from the Philippines not a normal rate of interest, but a colonial rate of interest, a rate conditioned upon intense exploitation and continued political subjugation.

That the promise of independence given in the preamble to the Jones Law shall be withdrawn is openly demanded.

The cause of Filipino independence is facing its greatest crisis. The government of the United States is preparing to split the territory of the Philippines thru the "rubber-tired" Bacon Bill, and at the same time to sharpen imperialist rule thruout the whole territory of the Islands.

The Filipino Independence movement is organizing its resistance with considerable energy but unfortunately it does not recognize that the changed situation renders all the more hopeless its tactics of exaggerated diplomatic subservience and pleading respectability. Now more than ever it becomes apparent that Wall Street will never grant independence to the Philippines of its own accord; yet the Filipino leaders, confronted with the prospect of destruction for their entire movement, limit themselves to appeals to American "generosity." The repeal of the Jones Law, if it is effectuated, will at

least accomplish one good thing: It will force the Filipinos to recognize reality and employ new methods. It will be the political death-knell of some of the present leaders who have been living on the vague promise of the Jones Law.

The American working-class, which should be in the

forefront of the struggle for Filipino liberty, is unmoved. Even those elements who are already ranged with the cause of the Filipino people against American imperialism are inactive. It is vitally necessary that they recognize the facts of crisis which are now unmistakable and prepare to take resolute action.

Rubber and the Bacon Bill

By Ella G. Wolfe

THE Bacon Bill, providing for the separation of the Mindanao, Basilan, etc., from the Philippines is a maneuver to postpone indefinitely the independence of the Philippine Islands.

To trace the authorship of the Bacon Bill is to follow a trail that leads directly to the doors of the automobile interests of America and their rubber hunger.

The Bacon Bill provides:

For the separation from the Northern Philippine Islands and the annexation to the United States . . . of . . . the Islands of Mindanao, Basilan, the Sulu Archipelago, the Jolo group and Tawi Tawi, Palawan and Dumarán.

This is precisely the territory judged most suitable for the production of rubber—in a report made by the U. S. Department of Commerce in 1925—entitled "Possibilities for Para Rubber Production in the Philippine Islands."

The British monopoly of rubber coupled with America's steadily increasing needs is forcing the United States to cast about for new rubber sources. The southern Philippines provide ideal territory for the production of rubber.

It is true that in 1916 in the Jones Law the United States government stated that "it has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein."

But—

In 1916—The United States and Canada produced only 1,617,708 automobiles—and had no trouble securing the necessary rubber for the industry.

In 1920—Wilson in his message said:

"The people of the Philippine Islands have succeeded in maintaining a stable government . . . and have thus fulfilled the condition set by congress as precedent to a consideration of granting independence to the Islands. I respectfully submit that this condition . . . having been fulfilled it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those Islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet."

In 1920—The United States and Canada produced 2,205,197 automobiles and rubber was still easy to obtain.

But in 1924—production increased by 1½ million: the United States and Canada produced 3,617,602 automobiles and the British monopoly on rubber was "extracting its profits."

In February, 1924—President Coolidge writes to Manuel Roxas, one of the fighters for Filipino independence, as follows:

"Altho they have made wonderful advances in the last quarter century, the Filipino people are by no means equipped either in wealth or experience to undertake the heavy burden which would be imposed upon them with political independence.

"The government of the United States would not feel it had performed its full duty by the Filipino people or discharged all its obligations to civilization, if it should yield at this time to your aspirations for national independence."

And just at this time the American government sent a commission to the Philippine Islands to investigate the possibilities for growing rubber. The results of this investigation were embodied in the report of the U. S. Department of Commerce referred to above.

The report outlines in detail the special adaptability of the soil of the Southern Philippine Islands for the planting of rubber trees—discusses the available labor supply as follows:

"The Mohammedan Filipinos known as Moros are generally good agricultural workers where supervised . . . Moro laborers . . . work peaceably side by side with the Filipinos." (Page 78)

In 1925—the production of automobiles in the United States and Canada jumps to 4,336,754. (Statistical Abstract for 1924. The 1925 figures are from the U. S. Census of Manufactures.)

And our rubber magnates still more irritated by the British monopoly are becoming impatient with the government's slow, hypocritical, diplomatic investigations and dilly-dallying. They refuse to indulge in discussions about "granting independence when you are ready

for it"; they speak plainly and frankly. J. W. Harriman of the Harriman National Bank, says:

"While conferences and conventions are held, and we sit around and holler like small boys over where we are to get rubber to supply our future needs, the United States is in the position of a man who has a valuable asset in HIS SAFE DEPOSIT BOX but does not know it.

"THE PHILIPPINES ARE A GOLD MINE IN TERRITORY AND LABOR. Costly government investigations have proven an already known fact—that rubber can be produced cheaply and efficiently in all parts of the islands . . .

"In the Philippines WE HAVE 120,000 square miles of territory . . . adapted to the growing of rubber. Labor is plentiful among the population of 11,000,000 WHILE CHEAP CHINESE LABOR IS ONLY 60 HOURS AWAY."

"ASSURANCES THAT THE ISLANDS WILL REMAIN UNDER OUR FLAG by the definite government policy and the ELIMINATION OF FOOLISH RESTRICTIONS AND LIMITATION OF OWNERSHIP OF LAND ARE NECESSARY. Once this is effected the influx of American capital will be rapid."

By "foolish restrictions" Harriman is referring to the Philippine land law which provides that no corporation can hold more than 2,500 acres of land.

Dr. J. W. Strong, manager of the American Rubber Co. in the Philippines, has proposed an amendment to the above law, permitting corporations to lease 25,000 acres of land for a period of 75 years.

With such an arrangement "Harvey Firestone, America's King of Rubber, told Coolidge that in fifteen years the United States could become independent of the British rubber monopoly."

In "Men and Rubber" Firestone says that he will not "open" the Philippines unless its laws are changed to permit foreign corporations to own large tracts of land.

The keynote to every speech made by Colonel Carmi Thompson is RUBBER. Visiting the Basilan rubber plant in the Philippine on August 29, he says:

"The success of the Basilan rubber planters convinces me that a rubber industry could be developed in the Philippines which could make the United States INDEPENDENT OF ANY FOREIGN RUBBER CONTROL AND KEEP PACE WITH THE AUTOMOBILE TIRES." (Emphasis mine.—E. G. W.)

J. W. Strong (manager of the American Rubber Co.) told Thompson that the net profit on rubber in the Philippines in 1925 was 16 per cent.

So runs the speech of the American capitalist—in dollars and cents. But the speech of his servant—the government—is characterized by words like civilization, white man's burden, and other holy slogans.

Russel Porter in his dispatch to the New York Times on August 24, quotes the Americans in the Philippines as follows:

"Unless we want to stand by and let the Moros remain savage, we must RETURN TO THE JOB OF TRYING TO CIVILIZE THEM."

At the present time the best civilizing methods known to the U. S. government are the growing of rubber trees for the American capitalists.

Colonel Carmi Thompson reported that the southern islands possess not only vast rubber growing trees but also huge coal and iron deposits, in short, enough treasure to justify any act on the part of the imperialist mother country to secure the Philippines unto herself.

Thompson told the Filipinos (Porter dispatch to New York Times, Sept. 5): "With your natural resources 25 or 30 years of trading and financing should make these islands lending instead of borrowing islands,"—implying that at least until such time comes the United States will be glad to protect the Philippines.

The Filipinos themselves are not fooled by America's holy slogans of civilization. When Thompson returned from Mindanao he saw before him, upon landing, a large replica of the Liberty Bell bearing the legend:

"This bell has been silent for centuries; when will it ring for the Philippines?"

There was also a large banner to greet him with the inscription:

"WE HOPE COLONEL THOMPSON WILL BE THE LAST INVESTIGATOR."

Some of the Filipino leaders of the independence movement realize that the Thompson mission and the Bacon Bill are the brow-beating tactics by which the American government hopes to force a double compromise from them:

1. To get them to so modify the Filipino land law as to permit of large holdings—to make possible the growing of rubber on a large scale—in order to meet the growing American needs for rubber and in order to beat the British monopoly.

2. To put off their bothering for independence for at least a generation—in order to permit complete economic domination of the Philippines and a substantial profit on the investments about to be made.

The Third Conference of the British Minority Movement

By Earl Browder and Hans Sturm

UNDER the slogan of "All power to the workers of the world," printed on a red banner across the platform, the **Third Annual Conference of the National Minority Movement of Great Britain** gathered in Battersea Town Hall, Battersea, London, on August 28 and 29. There were 802 delegates, including 264 delegates from the provinces, representing a membership of 956,000, in 521 organizations.

The important items on the agenda of the conference were: Aid to the Miners; the General Strike and its Lessons; the Reorganization of the Trade Union Movement; International Unity; Anti-Labor Legislation; and Organization of the Minority Movement. On each question, comprehensive resolutions were presented, debated, and adopted unanimously.

Aid to the Miners.

The whole character of the conference was determined by the circumstance that it met in the midst of the miners' struggle, which is but the most acute point in an extremely acute class struggle in Great Britain. The fourth month of the heroic struggle of the coal miners, at this moment becoming most critical, dominated the proceedings of the conference. "Help the miners" was the first and last note of the conference.

There were 110 miners at the conference. About 30 to 40 of them, being without money for railroad fare, had walked to London from the coal fields. Only 49 of them are included in the official list of delegates, as the others represented minority groups, and only the officially credentialled delegates were counted in the representation. This group of miners' delegates represented 100,000 miners, who comprise the vanguard of the million members of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

"The coming Trades Union Congress must decide to call for a levy on all the unions to help the miners, and to apply an effective embargo on coal . . . It is war we are in, and there must be no scruples in calling out the safety men from the mines."

These statements made by Tom Mann, the chairman, in his opening speech, gave the lead on practical proposals for the immediate help of the miners. They were embodied later in official documents. A. J. Cook, secretary of the M. F. G. B., addressed a letter to the conference, greeting it and wishing it every success, and raising the issues of the levy and the embargo. He declared that "Even now, with an embargo on coal and a levy to help feed the women and children of the miners, victory can be secured."

Sharp, bitter, and drastic criticism of the general council, including its right and "Left" members, was voiced by all delegates in the discussion from the floor. The conference delegates were especially indignant against the decision of the general council to bar discussion of the general strike and miners' struggle from the coming congress. After a militant, fighting speech from Arthur Horner, leader of the Miners' Minority Movement, which was greeted by an enthusiastic demonstration of solidarity by the conference, an open letter was adopted, addressed to the delegates to the Trades Union Congress. This letter declared that the capitalists are employing two chief weapons against the miners:

"The first has been the unimpeded import of foreign coal and its transport over the British railways, together with that of stocks accumulated here before the lockout. In this way the capitalists have succeeded in keeping industry and transport going, and have, therefore, been in a position to defy the miners. The general council has done absolutely nothing to stop this, whether by making definite recommendations to the unions concerned, by launching a national campaign, or by appealing to the Amsterdam International and its affiliated International secretaries.

"The second weapon of the capitalists has been that of starvation. Single miners have been denied relief even when straving, boards of guardians have cut down relief to women and children below starvation level, the N. S. P. C. C. has been mobilized to report that "no starvation exists," scores of newborn babies have died of hunger, while at home the capitalists in dozens of places have refused permission to collect for relief purposes. Abroad there has been Baldwin's dastardly appeal to Americans to 'let them starve.' The total collected in Great Britain by the two national funds has been under 400,000.

"Action by the general council is imperative. Its inaction is having a disintegrating effect on the movement. It is vitally necessary that the movement should be kept intact, firmly knit and united, and concentrated under central leadership, and that all the resources of the movement should be utilized to the utmost in support of the miners.

"The general council is afraid to face the responsibility of this disgraceful policy. That is why they are trying to burke discussion of their conduct, referring the matter to conference of executives to be held after the miners have been finally starved into submission.

"Comrades, don't be led away by this outrageous

policy. It is you who constitute the supreme authority of the British Trade Union Movement, and every standing order can be suspended by you, if you choose to insist on the right to discuss, and decide on measures to help the miners, whose defeat means the defeat of every worker.

"They will tell you that discussion would militate against the miners' struggle. Comrades, it is a lie. At most it would only expose to the workers of Britain the fact that their elected leaders, even before the general strike, tried to force wage reductions on the miners. That will only help the miners because it will expose the real motives of the traitors or cowards who are now obstructing practical steps to assist them.

"Insist on the miners' fight being discussed. Suspend standing orders to discuss ways and means of helping them. Send out a call to the workers of Britain, and the world for an embargo on coal and a levy on wages.

"STAND BY THE MINERS!"

Detailed policy regarding the immediate situation of the miners, was laid out in a special resolution adopted by the meeting of the 110 miners' delegates. This important resolution said in part:

"This conference of miners' delegates, meeting under the auspices of the Minority Movement, warns the officials and the executive of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, that the defeatist utterances for which they have been recently responsible, are being interpreted by the government and coal owners as retreats, permitting them to increase their demands and to intensify their ruthless attempts to smash the Federation and its policy.

"This conference declares itself still prepared to fight for the retention of Hours, Wages and National Agreements as obtaining on April 30, and under no circumstances must any settlement be agreed upon without first being submitted to the whole membership for ratification.

"It declares that District Autonomy has been mainly responsible for permitting desertions by District Federation officials, and calls upon the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to forthwith secure complete control of the struggle in order that it may direct all the resources of the whole movement wherever assistance in men and money is most necessary.

"The Miners' Federation of Great Britain is urged to prevent outcropping; blacklegging in pits; by means of intensive propaganda, the withdrawal of safety men, and such other steps as may be considered necessary.

"It urges the Miners' Federation to now make an application to the Transport and Railway Unions, asking them to impose an embargo on coal, and to the T. U. C. at Bournemouth for a five per cent levy on all wages earned by members of affiliated bodies."

On the question of international action in support of the miners, the conference adopted a resolution which stated: that it takes note of the steps taken by the con-

tinental workers, especially shown by the results thru many organizations and trades councils in Germany, protesting against the sabotage of the bureaucracy, and appealing to them to call upon the transport workers to assist in this blockade; it notes the sympathetic 24-hour strike of the French miners; it greets the magnificent assistance of the Russian Unions which has stirred the workers of the whole world; it notes with approval the wage movements undertaken by the German miners; and calls upon the T. U. C. to initiate international action to combine all these movements into one great international movement.

The Lessons of the General Strike.

In the discussion on the lessons of the general strike, the unanimous note struck by all speakers was, in the words of the report:

"The fundamental failure of the general strike was a failure of the trade union leadership, both in the Right wing whose policy was dominant thruout the whole period since Red Friday, and the "Left wing," who failed to combat the development of this policy in its earlier stages and who capitulated to this policy even before the general strike."

In the discussion from the floor, many points were made, which demonstrated that the delegates had well-learned the most important lessons of the strike. The most important of these were summarized in the following resolution of the conference:

"This conference of the Minority Movement declares that the failure of the late general strike was primarily a failure of leadership. The leadership failed:

"1. To make preparations during the period of truce between Red Friday and the general strike.

"2. In accepting the Coal Commission Report which means the reduction of the miners' wages.

"3. In its refusal after the issue of the Coal Report to reaffirm the previous T. U. C. policy, which was also the policy of the miners and the working class, of no reductions in wages.

"4. In trying to get the miners to accept reductions in wages up to the eve of the general strike.

"5. In general, not to carry the general strike to the logical conclusion of challenging the wage-cutting government.

"This Minority Conference further declares that the general strike was forced upon the leaders by the rank and file and that the leaders had no intention of leading it to a victorious conclusion, because from the beginning they played with the idea of accepting a reduction in wages and never believed in the efficiency of the general strike. In these circumstances the government called the bluff of the general council. Faced with the demand for an extension of the strike, and afraid to accept the responsibility, the terms of the Samuel Memorandum provided an excuse for calling the strike off. This was an act of wage-cutting treachery which stimulated the capitalists to attack the workers all around. Only the steadiness of the miners and the rank and file workers saved the workers from a more crushing defeat.

"Since the ending of the general strike, the general council has done nothing of value to assist the miners, who are now being forced to negotiate. Thus the defeatist policy of the general council has strengthened the Baldwin slogan of 'All wages must come down,' and has produced the anomaly of a united front of class-cooperation between labor's general staff and the capitalists.

"This policy of class collaboration before, during, and after the general strike, was and is the policy of the Right wing. The 'left' leaders, however, share the responsibility, as they completely capitulated to the Right wing.

"The conference declares that no 'Left' leadership can be trusted in the future, unless it breaks with the Right wing policy and allies itself with the left wing trade unionists organized in the Minority Movement.

"This conference, therefore, declares that the sole guarantee against future failures, and betrayals, lies in the development of a new trade union leadership with a fighting working class policy. To this end the conference pledges itself to strengthen the campaign for the policy of the Minority Movement in the trade unions, not only by securing trade union affiliations, but also by developing a mass individual membership."

Trade Union Reorganization.

The conference reiterated its previous policy on trade union reorganization, that the entire trade union movement must be rebuilt on the basis of industrial unionism. The special resolution on the reorganization question in the present conference points out that "the future success of trade unionism will be determined by the extent to which the movement lifts itself out of the rut of craft interests and petty sectionalism, and transforms and strengthens its organization so as to enable the workers to wage the class struggle as one united class." The general strike, it declares, signaled the end of the day of sectional fights as an effective weapon. Mass strikes, of even a deeper, more intense and more formidable character than the one just experienced, are the order of the day. The resolution therefore laid down seven principal points for emphasis in the current work of the Minority Movement; these are:

1. The development of all-embracing factory committees, which is of primary importance in the development of working class unity. The general council, or failing that, the local Trades Councils, should initiate a campaign for this object. The Factory Committees to be affiliated to the local Trades Councils.
2. The affiliation of the trade councils to the T. U. C.
3. The development of a centralized leadership for the trade union movement, for the granting of more power to the general council, and a systematic effort to change the present personnel of the general council.
4. The election of the general council by the rank and file on the basis of the rank and file of the unions in place of the present industrial groups of the general council electing their industrial group rep-

resentatives on to the general council.

5. The general council must promote amalgamation conferences between the unions in the various industries, disputed questions being referred to the general council for arbitration.

6. The revision of the rules of the various unions to ensure that 75 per cent of the delegates to the T. U. C. are rank and file workers working at the trade.

7. The development of the Co-operative—Trade Union Alliance in order to provide Commissariat facilities for workers during a strike.

International Unity.

Even more than on any other question, the conference demonstrated interest and enthusiasm on the question of International Unity. Dozens of delegates demanded the floor, and all of them who spoke emphasized the necessity of international unity in order to beat back the capitalist offensive. All of them mentioned, in terms of admiration and appreciation, the unprecedented aid of the Russian unions to the miners, and condemned the cowardly refusal of this aid by the general council. Always this subject aroused the conference to applause. The heart of each delegate seemed to be attuned most high to the question of international unity.

The conference heard greetings from other lands and from the Red International of Labor Unions. Amid profound enthusiasm the messages were read and the delegates from abroad addressed the conference.

A telegram from the executive bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions was read, which said:

"The R. I. L. U. sends warmest greetings to the representatives of the revolutionary workers of Great Britain who have come together with the object of consolidating the trade union movement and for a determined and victorious struggle against the capitalist offensive. The great events of the last few months have been striking proof of the correctness of those principles for whose defense your movement was formed. Necessity for new tactics, for a decided and organized struggle, and for new leaders capable of conducting for workers' cause has never been so evident as now. We are profoundly convinced your conference will do everything possible to liberate the British trade union movement from the traitors, renegades, and capitulators who are strangling its development, leading it from defeat to defeat. The problem of the hour for the Minority Movement is a problem of transforming its present mass influence into organizational power. The miners' strike remains the most important task of the labor movement, and above all of the labor movement of Great Britain. We do not doubt for one moment that your conference will employ all its efforts to secure victory for the miners.

"Long live victory for the miners!

"Long live the united fighting international trade unions!"

Comrade Hans Sturm, representing the Minority of the German Trade Unions, gave a message to the conference, in addition to a telegram of greetings from its secretary, Fritz Heckert. Comrade Herclot, representing

the C. G. T. U. of France, brought greetings from his organization, and told of the struggle for the embargo conducted against black coal, and of the 24-hour strike of the French miners. A representative of the Indian Workers' League, Dr. Bhat, greeted the conference in the name of the exploited colonial workers. A message was read from W. Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League of America.

Speaking for the executive bureau of the R. I. L. U., Earl Browder briefly addressed the conference.

Browder declared that:

"The Red International of Labor Unions, representing the revolutionary workers of the world, from the beginning, now, and in the future, has been and will be behind the miners with all its forces . . ."

Further he declared:

"Your problem is no longer only that of winning the majority; it is now above all that of organizing the power of that majority so that you can take control of the unions. The time has arrived when these principles for which you are fighting must be translated into deeds, must be translated into active policies, must be translated into organization; from being the policies of the unofficial movement, they must be put into effect as the official policy of the Trade Unions of Britain."

The Problem of Anti-Labor Legislation.

An important problem before the British movement is that of anti-labor legislation which is in force and proposed for further enactment by the Baldwin government. The conference reviewed this problem in detail, and formulated its standpoint toward the most important aspects. "The government," declared Tom Mann, the chairman, "is not against all trade unionism; it is only against that trade unionism which is strong enough and directed by those who are capable enough to achieve something of value to the workers." Particular attention was paid to the Emergency Powers Act (E. P. A.), the Sedition Laws, the Astbury decision, and the proposed restrictions on trade union procedure by the Baldwin government. The governmental proposals regarding the Civil Service were given special examination. "The attack on the Civil Service trade unions," said Tom Mann, "is very significant. In the general strike, railway clerical workers were out with the manual workers; this is essential for complete success. Solidarity with those who wield the pen and others who work is the object we aim at." It was pointed out that the proposed regulations were an attempt to prevent unity between clerical and manual workers, and an attempt to entrench thoroughly reactionary elements in the governmental service. The resolution concluded with the following paragraphs:

"The conference notes the statements of Mr. Churchill on behalf of the government re the trade union organizations of civil servants, particularly his references to (1) compulsory arbitration in the civil service; (2) the disaffiliation of civil service trade unions from the Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress.

"This conference declares that these measures are being taken with a view to strengthening the

capitalist state for attacks on the workers.

"The conference, therefore, calls: (1) For the release of all class war prisoners; (2) For the repeal of all anti-labor legislation; and (3) For the abandonment of the projected cabinet legislation on trade unions.

"The conference declares that the workers' first loyalty is to their class, without regard to the laws of the capitalist government, and pledges itself to the strengthening of the labor movement, in order that it may successfully resist the application of anti-working class laws while organizing to abolish capitalist governments and laws altogether.

"The conference, therefore, calls on the T. U. C. and the Labor Party to conduct a campaign preparing the labor movement to resist all anti-labor legislation, and pledges itself to do all in its power to ensure the success of this campaign.

Organization of the Minority Movement.

Due to the crowded agenda of the conference, the short time at its disposal, and lack of adequate preparation on the question, the problem of the organization of the Minority Movement did not receive the amount of attention deserved by its importance. But a beginning was made, and a sound foundation laid, by the adoption of a detailed resolution on the subject, from which the following extracts are taken:

"It must be understood that the Minority Movement is entering upon a new phase of its work. The initial period, when the dominant characteristic of its work was mass propaganda and the widest possible dissemination of ideological influence, has now given way to the second period, that of organizational crystallization of the wide influence won among the masses, and the exerting of this influence in determining the official leadership and policies of the trade unions.

"The historical event which marks the beginning of the second phase is the bankruptcy of the general council, the official leadership of the existing unions, and especially of the so-called left wing leaders. Before the working masses of Great Britain is now placed by the development of history the slogan of 'Change your leaders.' It is the function of the Minority Movement to transform this slogan from an aspiration into reality."

The resolution then proceeds to develop some of the practical sides of this problem. The leadership in the struggle for control of the unions, "must be representative of every section, of every group, that is actually ready to struggle against the policy of capitulation, of acceptance of wage-cuts and worsening of the living standard, represented by the present-day leadership of the British trade union movement. The slogans must be "A complete united front of all those ready to fight against the offensive of capital," and "An alternative leader against every union official who has failed the workers in the struggle." The resolution then points out that:

"The problem of driving out the present leadership involves: (a) The extension and broadening of the struggle which the Minority Movement is car-

rying on in order to change the constitutions, rules and regulations of the existing unions which ensure the permanency of the reactionary officialdom in the unions; (b) The careful study and continual popularization by the Minority Movement of those revolutionary militants who are the future potential leaders of the transformed unions."

There is then proposed the concrete methods of erecting the organizational structure of the Minority Movement in every unit from top to bottom of the trade unions. It concludes with the statement:

"Resolutions and good intentions are of no use whatever unless organized power is put behind them to actually carry them thru into life. Therefore the problem of the hour for the Minority Movement is the problem of the transformation of its present mass influence into organizational power."

The Growth of the Minority Movement.

The figures given at the beginning of this article, which show 802 delegates at the Third Annual Conference, representing 521 organizations, with 956,000 members, were carefully checked to prevent any duplications. The total membership included none of the membership of the separate Minority groups, but only of those trade unions which officially sent delegates. It must be borne in mind that only a part (205,000) of these are permanently affiliated to the Minority Movement and pay regular yearly fees on all their members; the larger number send delegates to the conference, paying only a nominal conference-fee, altho they support the main points of the Minority Movement program. All organizations paid the expenses of the delegates sent by them; it was for this reason, because at this time the unions have been drained of their money by the general strike and miners' lockout, that it was expected that the Third Annual Conference, just concluded, would show a falling off in the number of delegates present. This, however, did not materialize. In spite of all handicaps, the conference showed directly an unexpectedly large increase. In addition, 43 unions wrote letters to the conference, declaring that they were unable to send delegates on account of lack of finances, but supporting its program and wishing it success. These are not included in the figures given above. It is estimated that unions with fully 30 per cent more membership would have sent delegates if they had enough money in their treasuries.

Comparison of the figures of the Second Conference in August, 1925; the Special Conference in March, 1926, and the Third Conference just ended, give the following results:

	Aug. 1925	Mar. 1926	Aug. 1926
Total number of delegates....	683	883	802
Number of organizations.....	406	540	521
Membership represented	700,000	957,000	956,000

The healthy condition of the Minority Movement is shown not only by the steady growth noted above, but also by the character of the delegations, which come from all sections of the labor movement, and include the older as well as the younger generation, and women as well as men. In addition to the veteran chairman, Tom Mann, who has spent 45 of his 70 years as an active worker and leader in the British unions, fully half of the delegates were men and women who had been militant unionists before the war, including such well-known figures as Alex Gossip and others. That this was not a Communist conference was shown not only by these facts, but especially by the circumstance that only about 150 of the 802 delegates were members of the Communist Party.

Characteristic of the conference was the high degree of discipline displayed; for such a huge conference to complete an agenda of dozens of important items in two days' time was surely a remarkable performance, and reflects the specific trade union tradition of the British working class. This was also shown in the extremely practical and realistic character of the discussion of all questions before the conference.

Meeting just one week before the Trade Union Congress at Bournemouth, the decisions of the Minority Movement Conference, expressing the demands of the militant membership upon the leaders of the trade unions, have assumed great importance. Even the entire capitalist press has given it an unusual amount of attention and reported it at length. It is noteworthy that not a single one of these newspapers, however, mentioned a word about the delegates from abroad who attended its sessions; it was as though this were an instruction or an agreed policy. The *Daily Herald*, official organ of the T. U. C. and Labor Party, gave notice to the conference in a bitter editorial which repeated the charges of "disruption" and "Moscow dictation" long familiar from the practice of the leaders of the Continental trade unions and Social-Democracy.

The first great testing-time of the young revolutionary wing of the British trade unions has been passed, and has left it more firmly united, more clear in its program, and more grimly determined to battle onward to victory than had been expected by friends or enemy. It was a living demonstration of the truth of the motto upon the banner hanging in the conference hall, which accompanying a portrait of Lenin, carried the words:

**LENIN IS NO MORE. BUT THAT WHICH WAS
CREATED BY HIM IS INDESTRUCTIBLE AND
CONTINUES ON THE RIGHT LINES AND IN THE
RIGHT HANDS.**

American Don Quixotes and their Windmills

By Ellis Peterson.

THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL. Socio-political science versus revolutionary romanticism. New York City: S. L. P., 1926, 64 p. \$25.

The Socialist Labor Party has issued a pamphlet with the above title. It begins with the following pretentious phrase:

"The S. L. P. is the oldest and the only Marxian organization in the United States."

Let us say once and for all that the S. L. P. is not the oldest Marxian organization in this country, neither is it "the only"—because it no longer is Marxian at all. But it was once and just this fact, the degradation of an organization with a rich and glorious past, is the reason why we use the occasion to take up some of the vital questions touched upon in this pamphlet. Among others the following questions are treated: reformism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Russian revolution and the Communist International. And in all these questions the S. L. P. of America, "being placed on the heights of social and industrial development and equipped with the instruments of Marxian economics," is going to give all the world "the new inspiration needed." "The vanguard of the social revolution must come from America," and "we know that the direction of the future development of the revolutionary forces, revolutionary organization and revolutionary tactics is contained in the contributions to revolutionary Socialism given by Daniel De Leon of the S. L. P."

Let us see, how things are in reality.

The pamphlet is from its first to last syllable a vicious attack on the Communist International and especially on its American section—and nothing else. All the arguments employed by the European social-democrats and some of the most lurid arguments of the capitalists are to be found in this "arsenal" of the S. L. P.

Fighting Reformism.

"For years the S. L. P. has combatted the petty bourgeois reformers masquerading as socialists under the designation 'Socialist Party.' With equal emphasis the S. L. P. has combatted the anarcho-sindicalists known since 1908 as the I. W. W. And it is now combatting that absurd coterie styling itself the 'Workers Party,' otherwise known as the 'burlesque bolshevik' . . . The Workers Party is even more opportunistic than was the old S. P."

It is true that Daniel De Leon fought reformism in the American Labor movement, not only the S. P. brand and the anti-political syndicalism of many I. W. W. members, but even—and very strongly—the trade union bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. But admitting these historical merits, we must understand why it was that this

long fight could show no results. The question is: How did De Leon and the S. L. P. fight against reformism? In a very dogmatic and sectarian way, in such a way that the S. L. P. isolated itself from the labor movement, from the masses, and thus became a sect. The S. L. P. proves what Engels meant when he spoke about the uselessness of a

"theoretically correct platform, if it is unable to get into contact with the actual needs of the people."

And here enters the question of "immediate demands," the "missing link" of the S. L. P. development.

There are two methods of fighting for "immediate demands." The reformists saw in the realization of those demands the best method of rendering necessary the social revolution and the revolutionary struggle. They nursed the illusion that capitalist society can be "reformed" into a socialist one. That is an entirely anti-Marxian view as well as unrealistic. Marx and the Marxians knew that there always are revolutionizing changes taking place in capitalist society. And one of the forces making for these changes is the struggle of the workers against exploitation. While capitalist society is developing upwards these reforms make for progress. (The higher pay and shorter hours compel the capitalist to develop techniques and methods of production.) Does this mean that exploitation grows less? On the contrary, and here is the fundamental difference between the reformist and the Marxian views. We know—and experience proves it—that the development of the capitalist system (centralization, concentration, trusts) means a broader and sharper class-struggle. **Therefore** the Marxians have always been for "immediate demands." However, there has entered a new factor in the period of imperialism. It has always been necessary to compel the capitalists to yield reforms. But the intense international competition during the decay-period of capitalism makes it more and more difficult for the capitalists to yield the demands for the slightest reforms. They put up their centralized economic might and the forces of the state against the demands of the workers, even in cases, where the workers are fighting against worsening of their conditions (see the British situation!). Then the fight for immediate demands becomes a revolutionary struggle.

This simple fact is Greek to those self-complacent "Marxians" of the recent S. L. P. type. They are repeating De Leon's inaccurate theories from times past and find themselves lined up with people against whom De Leon fought his life long fight!

De Leon fought against reformism internationally. The S. L. P. today is helping the reformists, first thru a united front internationally with the reformists in at-

tacking the Communist International, second, thru lining up with Bernstein and company in their revision of Marxism!

Bernstein appeared with his revision of Marxism three years after the death of Engels. As one of his great arguments for revisionism Bernstein appealed to the foreword written by Engels to Marx's "The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850." This foreword was abbreviated by the Social-Democratic leaders in Germany, who saw to it that the original text of Engels' was not published. In this job Bernstein, W. Liebknecht and Kautsky cooperated.

After Engels' death Bernstein, using the abbreviated text of this foreword, declared that Engels had revised and modernized Marxism. Kautsky, who at that time still appeared as an orthodox Marxian, pointed out that Engels had consented to the publication of his abbreviated text not for reasons of principle, but only because of the impending "exception law" (anti-socialist law) in Berlin. Engels did this reluctantly and under strong protest, trusting that the German leaders would not misuse the distorted article. But just that happened. Bernstein falsified Engels' words.

But most astonishing is the fact that in 1924 comes the S. L. P. of America, the champion against all reformism, translates this abbreviated foreword by Engels, publishes it under the title of "The Revolutionary Act" and proclaims:

"Engels shows by facts and figures that the day of the barricade, of street corner revolution, of military action against the capitalist military forces, was a thing of the past already in the last half of the nineteenth century."

This shows, that the S. L. P. had learned nothing of the revolutionary struggles of 1905 in Russia, and of all Europe since 1917. Thru this "revolutionary" act the S. L. P. sided with Bernstein against the orthodox European Marxists. This is pure and simple revisionism, and so it came about, that "the only Marxist organization in the U. S." when it was going to give the workers of the world "the new inspiration needed" gave them nothing else than a counterfeit "Engels' quotation," and, based on that, a Marxism revised away from revolution. And this the S. L. P. recommends as the basis for tactics to be used in America today!

But what did Engels say about the changes in his original text and about the tactics formulated thru the falsification of his words? In a letter to Lafargue (April 3, 1895) he protests, first against the change, making him to recommend actions "a tout prix paisible et anti-violente," (peaceful and anti-violent at all costs). Then he goes on:

"these tactics I recommend only for Germany of today. In France, Belgium, Italy, Austria these tactics cannot be used as a whole, and even in Germany they already tomorrow can show themselves as inapplicable."

Here Engels denounces the tactics recommended for America today as obsolete in Germany already in the nineties! And 1924—the same year when S. L. P. published this pamphlet—Comrade Riazanov of the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow found the original handwrit-

ten foreword by Engels and published the omitted parts. And what does Engels say in these omitted parts? Just the opposite to what Bernstein and S. L. P. are claiming. (Readers of Workers' Monthly are referred to the article by Comrade Trachtenberg in the October, 1925 issue where the matter is fully handled.)

But there must be some reason, why the S. L. P. turned out to be worse than the reformists, i. e., revisionists. The reason is:

The S. L. P. has always preached the necessity of "civilized methods" in the class-struggle. It is still today, in militarist America, claiming the possibility of a peaceful social revolution thru an industrially organized proletariat "lockouting the bourgeoisie." This peaceful solution of the social question is not quite in accordance with the Marxian teachings, but why not use a falsified foreword by Engels "proving" one of the main doctrines of the S. L. P. Here the nature of the S. L. P. as a thoroly social-pacifist party is revealed.*

One of the arguments of the "revolutionary" S. L. P. for the possibility of the peaceful revolution in America is, that the American constitution gives the American people the legal right of revolution. What did the pure and simple reformists in Europe say? Was it not: Democracy, political freedom, removes the basis of the class-struggle. The "revolutionary" S. L. P. is using an old reformist argument!

We will take the question of violence in the class-struggle and of force in the revolution merely theoretically. We therefore turn to another document of the S. L. P. The central organ of this party, "The Weekly People" of February 22, 1919, contained a letter written by its editor and approved by the S. L. P. officially. This letter was addressed to Senator Overman (chairman of the Committee for investigating Bolshevik propaganda.) In it we find the following statement:

"We hold that in this country, at least, the Socialist Revolution can be accomplished peacefully and in an orderly manner, PROVIDING YOU, GENTLEMEN OF THE RULING CLASS, WILL ALLOW IT."

There you are! The "revolutionary," only Marxian organization in the U. S." is going to make a peaceful revolution, and begins it with begging on its knees to the "Gentlemen of the ruling class" to allow them to do so! Sancta simplicitas! In all the socialist literature of the worst reformist character there is nothing to be compared with this humiliating attitude of a "revolutionary" party!

Even De Leon himself was possessed by this superstitious belief in the possibility of a peaceful revolution in America. He died before the outbreak of the World War, so it is comprehensible that he with his unclear conception of imperialism could have made such a mistake. Let us take only one saying of his and contrast it with a statement by a bourgeois authority. Says Daniel De Leon:

"Let the political temperature rise to the point of danger . . . then your capitalist will quake

*If DeLeon had lived when this pamphlet was published by the S. L. P. he would have had more than reason to say with Marx: "I sowed dragons and the harvest gave me fleas."

in his stolen boots; he will not dare to fight; he will flee."

Now we quote the bourgeois authority: "The Wall Street Journal":

"We have a flabby public opinion which would wring its hands in anguish if we took the labor leader by the scruff of his neck, backed him up against a wall, and filled him with lead. Countries which consider themselves every bit as civilized as we do not hesitate about such matters for a moment."

The honest workers of the S. L. P. should put the following questions to their leaders:

1. Do the S. L. P. leaders really think that Wall Street will allow them to accomplish a real proletarian revolution peacefully?

2. If not, what are they doing in order to prepare the workers for the inevitable? (They admit that without preparation a revolutionary fight leads to a setback.)

And let them remember the words by Engels to Duehring, when he speaks about the "revolutionary role" of force:

"Force is the tool by means of which social development takes place and smashes petrified, antiquated political forms. Of that Herr Duehring (S. L. P. of today. E. P.) has no word to say. Only with sighs and groans does he (S. L. P. of today) admit the possibility that force may be necessary for the overthrow of the economic system of exploitation." And later Engels continues: "And this flabby, bloodless, and weak sort of preaching is set up in opposition to the most revolutionary party known in history."

As we see from the above Engels did not believe much in getting a license for a peaceful revolution from the "Gentlemen of the ruling class!" And he has only sarcasm for the Duehring S. L. P. platform that force may be necessary in the revolution.

Trade Unions.

The same negative criticism which we found characteristic of the S. L. P. on the political field, we find again when we look at its trade union activity. For more than thirty years the S. L. P. has been—as Engels said—"poohpoohing from without" in its fruitless endeavors to organize dual unions in America. It had its own industrial organization, the W. I. I. U., for a while, but the helpless sectarianism of S. L. P. killed even that body. Now it stands on the industrial field absolutely outside, isolated with its "poohpoohing from without."

De Leon, who was a great admirer of Lassalle, accepted the dogmatic standpoint of Lassalle on the trade union policy. And this Lassallian lack of understanding of the role of the trade unions was disastrous. Even in the question of the I. W. W., De Leon was mistaken. He was not able to follow the active section, the fighting proletarian section of that organization. He did not try to revolutionize it from within, taking part in its struggles, being active in a Marxian way. No, he isolated himself and his followers in the slowly disappearing inactive W. I. I. U. He did not understand what Engels wrote to the American revolutionists already in 1886, when Engels said, that it is an unavoidable evil

that at the beginning the program should be confused and extremely deficient, but

"the masses must have the opportunity and the time to develop themselves; and they only have this opportunity as soon as they have their own movement, no matter in what form, if only it be their movement in which they will be driven forward by their own mistakes and will grow wise thru injury to themselves."

It is the duty of the Marxists to be active among the masses everywhere where the masses are to be found, not to separate themselves from the masses.

Soviets and Industrial Unionism.

Here the pamphlet of the S. L. P. touches upon a point really worth consideration. That is the question of industrial organization. The pamphlet grossly exaggerates its importance. But it is not so much what the S. L. P. says today, that is of any interest. De Leon's theory about industrial unionism has a few points of value. Lenin saw this, when he (according to Ransome: Russia in 1919) said, that he had

"read in an English Socialist paper a comparison of his own theories with those of an American, Daniel De Leon. He had then borrowed some of De Leon's pamphlets from Reinstein . . . read them for the first time, and was amazed to see how far and how early De Leon had pursued the same train of thought as the Russians. His theory that representation should be by industries, not by areas, was already the germ of the Soviet system."

We do not know how exactly Mr. Ransome gives the thoughts of Lenin. In any case we can admit that De Leon was on the right path when he emphasized the role of the industrial organization, that is, the great class-organizations of the workers as the basis for the Commonwealth of workers. But his followers do not understand the idea of still broader mass organization of workers—the Soviets—and to the role of the trade unions in the transition period they never gave a thought. There is a very interesting document by the Comintern, which touches upon this point, as far as England is concerned, and we quote parts of it here. We refer to the theses of the C. I. on the British general strike.

"One of the most important lessons of the general strike in England consists in the conclusions on the question of the role of the trade unions in this country. The original feature of the situation does not merely consist in the fact that the overwhelming majority of the population is comprised of industrial workers, but also in the fact that the labor party is entirely based on the trade unions, the process of the masses towards the left has its direct reflection above all in the trade unions, and also the fact that the Communist Party is still young and numerically weak. The experience of the strike has clearly shown that the role of the trade unions in it was tremendous; the committees of action organized by the trade unions actually developed into district Soviets. The departments organized by the general council already resembled in their structure and functions the departments of the Petersburg Soviet in the period of the so-called 'dual power' . . . With the

victorious development of the strike it would indeed be the general council that would find itself in the role of a commander in chief and leading force. Comrade Lenin more than once said that the revolution in England might take different forms just because the trade unions are the main organizational basis of the British labor movement." Remember, this refers to England where the trade unions are much mightier than in America! It is the duty of the Communists in America to take

The Rakosi Trial

By John Kiss.

THE first question which confronts us in the Rakosi trial is this: what gave this affair such significance that it attracted the attention of the proletariat of the world and gave rise to an international movement to save Rakosi and his comrades? It has happened many times in many other countries that the bourgeoisie attempted or actually committed such outrages as the Horthy-Bethlen regime planned against Rakosi. The counter-revolutionary and fascist terror of other countries has not remained behind the Hungarian White Terror in this respect.

The fact that the dictatorship of the Hungarian proletariat followed the Russian proletarian revolution as the second station of the world-revolution gave prime significance to Hungarian revolutionary and counter-revolutionary affairs. In this dictatorship the revolution attacked the heart of Europe, while on the other hand it made it possible for the Russian revolution to overcome the counter-revolution. The proletarian revolution in Hungary kept in check all the forces of the European capitalist reaction for four months and by this fact the Russian proletariat, fighting against a thousand enemies, gained time to concentrate its forces. Neither the Russian, nor the entire world proletariat will forget this heroic self-sacrifice of the Hungarian proletariat.

After the downfall of the Hungarian dictatorship of the proletariat, it was Horthy who introduced the counter-revolutionary terror in Europe and since that time he has remained the master of capitalist brutality against the working class. He and his tools have destroyed the Communist Party, forced it into illegality, and for a while buried all the possibilities of the proletarian revolution. No one even dared to pronounce the words "Communism" or "proletarian revolution." Similar reaction followed in Finland, Poland, Bavaria—later in Bulgaria, Jugoslavia and Roumania.

The Horthys believed that they had buried the specter of Communism forever. But now after seven years of unspeakable terror Rakosi and his comrades, in the name of the oppressed Hungarian Communist Party, which the oppressors believed was dead once and for all, declared war on the "everlasting" counter-revolution. The accused became the accuser and there appeared before the Hungarian proletariat openly and with head erect the only true leader in its liberation, the Hun-

up this question and not to allow the S. L. P. to preach its social pacifist and reformist conception of industrial unionism as something revolutionary.*

(Concluded next month.)

*But at the same time the Communists must be careful that they do not make the mistake of Comrade Trotsky, when industrial unionism was discussed in Russia in the trade union discussion of 1921. Lenin corrected him at that time with the following parable: "The platform of Trotsky consists in the fact, that glass is an instrument for drinking, but his glass has no bottom."

garian Communist Party, and with it the hope and possibility of the new revolution.

This result was achieved not so much by the trial as by the increasing work which the Hungarian Communist Party did not interrupt for a moment, by which it organized and mobilized into one militant camp the best forces of the Hungarian working class. If Horthy was unable to prevent this by means of an endless series of crimes and brutality thru seven years, he will be able to do this even less after the trial.

Not by this trial but by their entire work, by their death-defying courage, by their organization and propaganda work have they succeeded in breaking the terror of the seven years of counter-revolution, so that Horthy and Co. did not dare to do, what they have always done so far—execute such a leader of the Communist Party as Comrade Rakosi.

The merit for breaking the front of the bourgeoisie belongs not only to Rakosi and his comrades but to the entire international proletariat. The international defense movement of the working class saved Rakosi last autumn from execution. The second great significant point of the Rakosi affair lies in the fact that it was a proof of the strength and solidarity of the entire international proletariat. With this affair it became possible to break the counter-revolutionary front in other countries, to win the free organization of the workers, and the possibility of the open legal propaganda of the Communist Parties. The importance of this affair for the future revolutionary struggles of the working class is inestimable. Thus all these taken together give to the Rakosi trial its international significance in spite of the fact that it occurred in a small country.

If we keep all this in mind, all the details of the Rakosi affair, beginning last fall, will become clearer and more intelligible in their national and international relations.

This is not the first time that Horthy has imprisoned groups of Communists in order to try to execute them. We mentioned above that the Hungarian Communist Party never ceased to carry on in spite of all the danger and the menace of death. The climax of the seven years' work was the return of Rakosi and his comrades from Russia, their incomparably brave work, their arrest and trial, which aroused world-wide interest. It

was a fight between the Communist Party, the revolutionary proletariat on the one side and the counter-revolution on the other—a fight in which the revolutionary proletariat gained the victory.

The Background of the Trial.

If we want to understand this trial fully we must take a glance at Horthy Hungary.

Small country with a population of seven and one half million (before the war, the country had twenty-one million (before the war, the country had twenty-one million people, mainly an agrarian country, its social machinery resembled that of czarist Russia. Even today we have a great many feudal remnants and before the war actually the feudal aristocracy was the ruling class, sharing its power with the developing industrial bourgeoisie which forced this division of domination by its continually increasing economic power. There were struggles for power between them already before the war. The proletarian revolution in 1919 united them for a while, a few years ago, however, in the form of "legitimatist" and "anti-legitimatist" movement, the struggle was started over again. (The former stand for the restoration of the kingdom; the latter for the republic). The feudal reaction fought for the kingdom while the industrial bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie preferred the capitalist "democratic" republic. It is more useful in maintaining illusions among the working class.

Besides these two main divisions there were other forces undermining the unity of the ruling class after the revolution. One of these forces was the fascist petty-bourgeoisie (a group of impoverished nobles, so-called gentry, army-officers, petty bureaucrats) who actually held the political power and played the role of the hangman in the hands of the ruling class. (Horthy became the regent and his fascist bands held the armed power in their hands).

To get rid of this unwanted third power, the representative of the feudal aristocracy, Bethlen, started operations years ago. He was unable, however, to obtain the whole-hearted support of industrial capital. This is the reason that he did not succeed in getting rid of Horthy last year, after the franc-counterfeiting scandal.

There was another force undermining the unity of the ruling classes. This power was the rich and middle peasantry. After they had overcome the proletarian revolution, the ruling classes succeeded in obtaining their support. Their leader was Stephen Szabo, who was ready to sell himself to anybody. After his death, however, they also began to leave the counter-revolution. The peasantry never were well organized (nor are they well organized in any country), but the wavering of their leader broke up whatever organization they did have. More and more they became the enemies of the Horthy-Bethlen regime, because they were forced to pay the expenses of the counter-revolutionary government.

These were the factors which weakened the seven years of counter-revolutionary united front on the one hand, and which slowly gave a little more freedom of movement for the working class and for the Communist Party working underground on the other.

The Hungarian Working Class.

Beside the one million three hundred thousand agricultural workers in Hungary there are six hundred thousand in the manufacturing class. The number of the organized workers which was once three hundred thousand has now diminished by two-thirds. Since the war the country has become more of a manufacturing nation and this raised the significance of the industrial worker.

This class of workers after the defeat of the dictatorship fell into terrible oppression. A great help to capitalists in this shameful work was the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, the treason of which stands alone even in the history of the international Social Democracy. It is sufficient to refer to the agreement recently exposed which they officially made with Bethlen. In this agreement they simply gave up the right to organize the agricultural workers, the state employees, and the railroad workers and agreed that they would not support the foreign propaganda against the Horthy terror. We can also remark that these Social Democrats denounced the Communists working underground and helped the police to get their hands on Comrade Rakosi and his companions.

It was the consequence of this and the ever worse condition of the Hungarian working class that, persecuted by the terror and betrayed by the Social Democrats, the Hungarian workers spontaneously began to grow more and more bitter and rebellious. It was then that the miners of Salgotarjan and vicinity, numbering about eight thousand, began a journey on foot toward Budapest to demand explanation and justice for this slavery of seven years. "Fire at us," said they, "but we cannot bear this without protest." Again the Social Democrats were those who ran for the police and the Horthy soldiers with whose help they dispersed the miners.

It is but natural that after such lessons the Hungarian workers turned away from the Social Democrats with hate and fixed their hopes secretly on the Communist Party which they felt and saw was still among them. Legally they had no right to gather around the Communist Party. But within the Social Democratic Party and in the trade unions there appeared a legal opposition. (In Hungary there was the strange situation that the trade union movement and political movement of the workers were identical for the reason that before the war the workers had no parliamentary representatives at all.)

This opposition gathering around Stephen Vargi (steel factory worker) and his comrades carried the movement to an open break when Vagi and his companions established the Hungarian Socialist Labor Party. This party became stronger and stronger and Horthy as well as the Social Democrats did everything in their power to annihilate it. Its members were persecuted, denounced as Communists, (which is a lie, of course), and at last, together with Comrade Rakosi and his companions, were arrested and brought before the court. In this way they wanted to do away with both revolutionary parties. But they did not succeed. Vagi and his companions bravely told them: Yes, they do fight for

the new liberation of the Hungarian workers but they do not belong to the Communist Party and are not members of the Third International.

Another factor revolutionizing the Hungarian workers is their terrible misery. Nowhere in Europe is there, perhaps, greater misery than in Hungary at the present time.

Seven years of the Hungarian counter revolution's orgies could only be continued at the expense of the down-trodden workers. It was the working class that paid the cost of the reign of terror.

Whereas in Warsaw, where the misery of the workers is also very great, a worker could, with a week's salary, buy 235.6 pounds of bread, an Austrian worker 239 pounds, a German worker 336 pounds, a Hungarian worker can only buy 135.6 pounds of bread.

The wages are unbelievably low. The average salary is 220,000 Hungarian crowns a week (\$3.00) and the best skilled worker does not make more than 480,000 crowns (\$6.50). And even these wages are frequently cut. In the steel factory of Diosgyor, which belongs to the state, a working day of 16 hours has just been introduced. It is left to the imagination of the reader how long the working day of the private capitalistic enterprises is.

The misery of the agricultural workers is even more terrible. The average salary of one of these workers is only about \$1.50 in the summer months. What will happen in the winter?

Besides this the unemployment is very great. According to the official statistics of the Council of Trade Unions, almost one-third of the organized members were unemployed (31,236 out of 100,000). In most of the industrial centers 50-75 per cent of the building workers are unemployed. Seventy-five per cent of the agricultural workers are unemployed, for instance, in one of the richest peasant cities of the great Hungarian plain, Kiskunfelegyhaza.

Because of this misery the number of suicides has enormously increased. In Budapest alone there are 15 to 20 attempts to commit suicide in one day.

The Hungarian workers would escape out of the country if they only knew where to go and if they had the means for such a journey.

So there is nothing to do but "live and die" there as the anthem of the Hungarian ruling class runs.

This situation drives the masses toward Vagi, but still more although secretly, toward the Communist Party. There is scarcely a day when they do not imprison men for uttering such thoughts: "I wish the Communist dictatorship would come back again."

This discontent and bitter protest of the workers add greatly to the dissolution of the counter-revolutionary regime. On the other hand, this is the power which with the help of the international proletarian movement, will win the right of organization for the Communist Party and continue the great work which Rakosi and his comrades have so bravely begun.

The Trial and the Sentence.

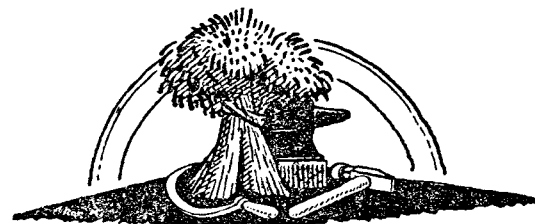
With the above background we can see clearly the importance and the consequences of the Rakosi trial.

Rakosi and his comrades, as conscious Communists, see the internal and external forces which gave them support during their trial.

They pointed out with incomparable bravery the crimes and baseness of the counter-revolution, the seven years of destruction; pointed out the conditions of the Hungarian working class; laid bare the contemptible treason of the Hungarian Social-Democracy and showed to the desperate masses the way leading out of this earthly hell.

They declared, despite the danger of death that awaited them, the reason why they had come home from Russia and for what goal they will work unceasingly. They bravely demanded a complete organizational and political freedom for this Communist movement and for the Communist Party.

Rakosi and the thirty accused Communists as well as Vagi and the twenty-eight accused members of the Socialist Labor Party behaved magnificently. Among the accused there were the revolutionary allies of the Communists, agricultural proletarians, a fact which adds special significance to this trial. These simple agricultural workers declared with the same clear-sightedness and revolutionary spirit that they would fight hand in hand with the industrial proletariat for the new revolution, and the second and final Hungarian Soviet Republic.



"The Story of Philosophy"

A Review of Will Durant's Book

THIS is a bad book in spite of the checkerboard of extravagant laudation from many eminent pens on the jacket. It is also a best seller . . .

"The most readable book of its kind ever written," "it reads like a novel," "it holds your interest from first to last"—these are typical characterizations of the book. And in fact, it has emerged a best seller in competition with the vast ocean of "summer reading" that periodically deluges the book market at this time. How a book of this nature can become a best seller we shall see later; for the present it may be noted that it has driven its competitors from the field with their own weapons. For this book is precisely of the "hammock consumption" variety, as much as any book of its nature can be. It is "light" in the worst sense of the term. A qualitative analysis of its components would yield: an atmosphere of general smartness, a desperate striving after the "clever" and the "catchy," sensational accounts of the lives of the philosophers, journalistic reviews of their work followed by smug self-satisfied "criticism" suffused with an air of finality, and a sedulous avoidance of anything deeper or more serious. This book neither popularizes nor humanizes philosophy; it vulgarizes and "sensationalizes" it.

* * *

THE book purports to be the "story of philosophy." But apparently Mr. Durant's idea of philosophy is anything dealt with by people called "philosophers." His few brief words on what philosophy is are simply an empty gesture with no serious content. And so, evidently for no better reason than that "philosophers" have discussed such matters—both ethics and esthetics are thrown in, in spite of the fact that both are social-psychological studies having no more to do with philosophy properly so-called than physics or biology. Of course, Mr. Durant is here not sinning alone but he is certainly a bad case. Even politics becomes philosophy with him! Why not economics or chemistry?

It is, of course, true that philosophers have at various times treated questions of ethics, esthetics or politics. But so also have many of them touched upon biology, astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, sociology and practically every other science. The content of philosophy is no static thing; it is the subject of a long and complicated evolution. At one time "philosophy" included practically all of human knowledge. Only when the various sciences began to crystallize out from the "mother liquor" of philosophy and assume an independent development did philosophy become possessed of a clear and well-defined form and a precise special content.

There is no mystery about philosophy—that is, unless

we choose to inject the mystery. How refreshing are Bukharin's direct words in contrast with the phrases of our author:

"Philosophy . . . is a meditation on the most abstract questions, a generalization of all knowledge, a science of sciences. When the sciences had not yet developed or been differentiated from each other, philosophy and religion (from which it had not yet parted company) also embraced purely scientific questions, including that fragmentary knowledge of nature and man that was available at the time. But even after the various sciences began to exist independently, philosophy still retained a field of its own, the common element of all the sciences and particularly, the subject of man's knowledge and of its relation to the world, etc. Philosophy must co-ordinate science in spite of the latter's manifold subdivision; must furnish a common framework for all the things that are known serving as a foundation to the total view of life (Weltauffassung). At the beginning of this book, we discussed the question of causality and teleology, which is not SPECIFICALLY a question of physics or political economy, or philology, or statistics, but a universal concern of all the sciences; a philosophical question; similar is the question of the relation between "mind" and "matter," in other words, "thought" and "being." The individual sciences do not give special attention to this question, but it concerns them all, as do also such questions as: do our senses correctly reflect the outer world? Does this world exist as such? What is truth? are there limits, or not, to our knowledge? etc. As each science classifies and systematizes the ideas connected within its domain, so philosophy continues to assemble and systematize our total knowledge from a single point of view, thus creating an orderly structure of the whole. Philosophy might therefore be said to occupy the highest place in the human spirit . . ." (Historical Materialism, pp. 180, 181.)

The twisted perspective of our author on the field of philosophy leads him to some inexcusable and even outrageous errors in proportion and judgment. He characterizes the book in the subtitle as "The Lives and Opinions of the Greater Philosophers." Of course, since there must be a selection it will naturally be along the lines of the author's philosophic predilections—but surely a certain objectivity must be maintained. But what do we find? Here are the pages devoted to the various "greater philosophers." Voltaire—58; Spinoza—57; Spencer—55; Schopenhauer—54; Nietzsche—52; Plato—51; Aristotle—49; Bacon—44; Kant—41; Bergson—20; Santayana—23; Bertrand Russell—12; William James—12; Dewey—10; From Aristotle to the Renaissance—10; Croce—10; Hegel—9. Who heads the list? Voltaire, who, brilliant ideologist of the militant French bourgeoisie tho he was, was no philosopher at all in the proper sense of the term. Who is at the foot of the list? Hegel, one of the few really great philosophers. And where is Leibnitz? Where is Descartes (half a page in the chapter on Spinoza!)? Is the period from Aristotle to the Renaissance (over 1500 years) really to be dismissed in

ten pages? Has the Platonic-Christian philosophy of the early middle ages or the later scholasticism no significance whatever in the history of human thought so as to merit not even a single page in the well-nigh six hundred of the book? These are pertinent questions.

But absolutely the limit in atrocity is reached in the treatment of Hegel. It is not enough that this great philosopher is given about nine pages as a "note" attached to the chapter on Kant, but insult must be added to injury: he is mocked and sneered at because, forsooth, Mr. Durant cannot understand him! That the author can make neither head nor tail of Hegel is clear enough; certainly his notion of the "dialectic movement" (p. 321) is proof of this. But while this ignorance may be a good reason for avoiding the subject it is no excuse for smart sneers at the "German fairy tales." He cites an outrageous quotation that speaks of the ideas of Hegel as "the height of audacity in serving up pure nonsense, in stringing together senseless and extravagant mazes of words, such as had previously been known only in madhouses . . . a monument to German stupidity" with only an "Is this fair?" to wash away his complicity. He retails the apocryphal anecdote that tells of Hegel's complaint that "only one man understands me and even he does not" and satisfies himself with a footnote to turn it into a joke. His account of Hegel's system and method is superficial and inaccurate and the whole matter is treated in a flippant and "smart" way that is revolting. This is "humanizing," this is "popularizing" philosophy!

* * *

BUT, after all, such matters are to a certain extent secondary. What interests us above all is: What is the writer's basic explanatory principle that organizes, systematizes, and gives meaning to the vast mass of isolated facts forming the content of the history of philosophy? The raw material of the history of philosophy consists of a vast number of "systems" and "doctrines," in themselves highly intricate and complex. How did these systems and doctrines arise, how shall we account for their internal structure and explain their development, how shall we estimate their role and the role of philosophy as a whole in the collective life-process and thought-process of humanity? These are some of the questions that a meaningful history of philosophy must answer.

Of course, it may conceivably be maintained that no such answers are required and that the questions themselves are improper if they imply some explanatory principles not already contained within the philosophic systems and doctrines themselves. It may be insisted upon that it is necessary "to understand philosophy in terms of itself." Such indeed seems to be the view more or less explicitly accepted by the bulk of "professional" philosophers who are so absorbed in the particular content of their specialty that they lose sight of its place in the totality of the human spirit.

But, as Plekhanoff (*Die Grundprobleme des Marxismus*, p. 71) has pointed out "a dissatisfaction has become noticeable with the current conception of the history of philosophy as the piling of one philosophic system upon another . . . Such an accumulation of systems in and for themselves explains very little." What is the concept that unifies and gives meaning to the whole?

Marxism supplies this concept and solves the problems in a brilliant way. Philosophy as a form of human ideology finds its roots "in the psychology of the epoch" (Plekhanoff, as above, p. 77), "in the social ideology, the general mental attitude prevailing in the given time and place" (Bukharin, as above, p. 181). This social ideology, this "social consciousness" is determined and conditioned by the "social being," by the conditions of social existence of man, by his social life-process. Philosophy is an element of the ideologic superstructure that arises out of and rests upon the socio-economic basis of society. The social relations within which man lives determine his "life and world-view" that expresses itself, among other forms, in philosophy. With a change of the basis there takes place a corresponding change in the ideologic superstructure, in philosophy. Thus, the dialectic movement of the social relations of mankind reflects itself in the development of philosophy.

But the social ideology in any given society is not uniform because the structure of society itself is not uniform. Economic development gives rise to class differentiation, to the segregation of men into various socio-economic groups (classes), each with its own position in the productive life-process of society, each carrying on its existence under its own particular set of conditions, and each therefore having its own special ideas, aims, interests, and outlook. As a result "the life and world-view peculiar to any particular epoch has no uniform character. It differs for the different classes and changes in accordance with the varying situation of these classes, their needs and their strivings." (Plekhanoff, as above, p. 71). Thus class differentiation and class antagonism is reflected in philosophy no less than in any other form of human ideology.

How fruitful these conceptions are in unravelling the tangled skein of the history of philosophy is shown by Bukharin's brief but suggestive sketch of the history of philosophic thought in his "*Historical Materialism*" (pp. 182-188). Unfortunately we can do no more here than refer the reader to these brilliant pages. There is more to be learned about the history of philosophy in these few paragraphs than in the six hundred pages of Mr. Durant's book.

Thus is order brought out of chaos and intelligibility and meaning given to what would otherwise be the "piling of one system upon the other." Does Mr. Durant, however, adopt this viewpoint and in this way put meaning into his story? No, for his liberal and delicate intellectual stomach the Marxist theory is too indigestible—it is probably "too narrow," "too one-sided," "too dogmatic" . . . Yet we must admit that our author is impartial: if he does not adopt the Marxian theory he

adopts no other. He is an eclectic of the purest water. A little piece here, a little piece there . . . stitched together . . . what a fine piece of work! Certainly not "too narrow," nor "too one-sided" . . . but rather flimsy! Mr. Durant evidently believes (as far as it is possible to determine what he does believe) that the history of philosophy must be explained by some concept outside of itself but what this concept is he seems to have no very definite or consistent idea. At one time, one thing—at another time, something else—as it seems to strike him! In Plato the social and political background seems to be uppermost and something like intelligibility is achieved. But with Schopenhauer his boarding house appears to be his determinative environment—"How should a man avoid pessimism who has lived all his life in a boarding house?" Perhaps this is one of Mr. Durant's "wise cracks" but it is as much of an explanation as he offers. Then again Auguste Comte's development of a "positivist religion" is traced to his love for Mme. de Vaux (p. 383). Sometimes no explanation whatever is vouchsafed—sometimes the explanation is very hard to classify because the fine smooth words hide a very tenuous content. But this is the price of eclecticism!

* * *

AND yet this book is a best seller! How shall we account for this phenomenon? Of course, something must be attributed to the excellent publicity work, extensive and very effective advertising and the modern methods of mass distribution. In the case of this book also the tinsel flash of smartness must be considered a factor. But after all, all these things are only secondary and do not touch the main problem.

The secret of the book lies open before us when we realize that it provides an easy road to the satisfaction of the deep strivings after the appearance of "culture" on the part of the "high brow" strata of the petty bourgeoisie, of the professionals, and of the "brain" workers. The war and post-war development—the decline of capitalism—has produced a profound disturbance in social and intellectual life and no one has been affected more obviously than the classes and strata just mentioned. The last fifteen years have witnessed the smashing of many gods, the washing away of many old landmarks, the dissipation of many treasured and rooted beliefs . . . The foundations are shaking, disintegrating . . . It is upon the petty bourgeoisie and the lower professionals who are not, like the leading strata of the bourgeoisie, fighting a titanic battle to maintain their domination, nor, like the proletariat, making the final great efforts to smash the old and bring in the new, that the weight of all this cultural disintegration, despair, and uncertainty falls. This book and the intellectual tendency it represents provide a most welcome haven for these spiritual orphans. It thus plays a role similar to the "psychology of despair, of profound skepticism, of pessimism, of a lack of confidence in the power of the intellect in general . . . (of) a return to mysticism, a seeking for the mysterious, an inclina-

tion toward the occult . . ." that Bukharin has noticed as characteristic of the period of imperialist decay (*Historical Materialism*, p. 187). The epoch of the decline of the Roman Empire, resembling in so many ways (but not in all!) our own times, offers us many analogies to both of these ideologic streams.

It is astounding how faithfully our book and the ideologic tendency of which it is a part satisfies the philosophic prejudices of the social strata to whom it caters. Its "philosophy" is a hodge-podge confused eclecticism masking the dread hatred of materialism and the profound sentimental attachment to some form of idealism that is so characteristic of the petty bourgeois spirit. Altho perhaps the author himself may not be aware of it, the book was especially written to destroy the specters of materialism and determinism* and to safely enthrone idealism, vitalism, and indeterminism ("free will"). And this is the root of its unconscious mass appeal. What Mr. Durant says of Bergson applies fundamentally to his own book. "Bergson soared to an early popularity because he had come to the defense of hopes which spring eternally in the human (i. e., in the petty bourgeois) breast. When people (i. e., the petty bourgeoisie and other strata closely allied) found they could believe in immortality and deity (and idealism, vitalism, and free will) without losing the respect of philosophy, they were pleased and grateful." (p. 506). Very true; and their gratitude has made "*The Story of Philosophy*" a best seller . . .

* * *

FOR the proletariat this book is distilled poison. To the proletariat philosophy is no mere interesting speculation; it is a basic world-outlook upon which is built a spiritual structure of uncompromising revolutionary struggle. And "only the materialist philosophy of Marx can show the proletariat the road to its emancipation from the spiritual slavery that has hitherto been the lot of all oppressed classes." (Lenin). The "militant materialism" of Marx and Lenin provides the working class with that firm and unshakable spiritual foundation that makes possible a heroic and conscious struggle, unceasing, unyielding, and undiscouraged, against the most powerful enemy ever faced by man. It is at once the theoretical equipment and the morale of the revolutionary proletariat. A book of the sort we are reviewing, with its eclecticism and sneering skepticism, above all with its bitter attack on materialism and its exaltation of idealism, is more dangerous to the working class than regiments of white guards. And, if philosophy is "a sec-

*Mr. Durant's abhorrence for materialism is perhaps the single consistent thing in the whole book. Wherever materialism is referred to it is always with undisguised antagonism. On page 317 he informs us that "after a century of struggle between the idealism of Kant and materialism . . . the victory seems to lie with Kant." On page 337 we find that "the most vital part of the first section (of Schopenhauer's book, "*The World as Will and Idea*,") is an attack on materialism." On page 406 we further learn that "perhaps the most significant paragraphs in these volumes (Spencer's "*The Principles of Psychology*") are those in which the materialist philosophy is abandoned." Page 489 speaks of Bergson as "the David destined to slay the Goliath of materialism." The same page makes us aware of "the three rheumatic joints of the materialist mechanism: between matter and life, between body and mind, and between determinism and choice," and presents us (quite along the lines of Bergson) with the following very intelligent objections to materialism and determinism: "If the present moment contains no living and creative choice and is totally and mechan-

tor of the class front" (Lenin), we must look upon this book and the tendency it represents as a real enemy, menacing the maintenance of our revolutionary theory and our revolutionary morale.

It is significant also that while determinism and materialism are the basic philosophic weapons of the proletariat in the armory of the class struggle, they are also the fundamental postulates for the whole structure of positive science and the two chief conditions for its continuous development. When the class interests of the bourgeoisie as a revolutionary class permitted them, nay compelled them, to seize upon materialism and determinism as weapons in the class struggle, they realized this fact and produced the golden age of science during which man's positive knowledge expanded to an extent hitherto undreamed of. But when the battle of the bourgeoisie had been won and it, in its turn, became

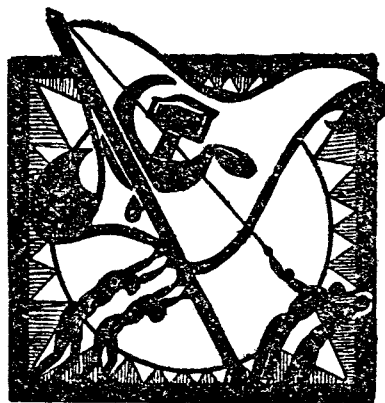
ically the product of the matter and motion of the moment before, then so was that moment . . . of the moment that preceded it. . . . and so on until we arrive to the primeval nebula as the . . . cause . . . of every line of Shakespeare's plays, and every suffering of his soul; so that the somber rhetoric of Hamlet and Othello, of Macbeth and Lear, . . . was written far off there in the distant skies and the distant aeons, by the structure and content of that legendary cloud . . . What mystery or miracle . . . could be half so incredible as this monstrous fatalistic myth, this nebula composing tragedies?" In the face of such crushing arguments we can only answer with Lenin (Materialism and Empirical Criticism): "It is really a pity that this splendid philosophy has not yet penetrated our theological seminaries!"

reactionary and interested in stemming the further development of society and thought, it repudiated its early materialism and sank deep into the swamp of idealism, vitalism, and indeterminism. But by this time the proletariat had come upon the scene as the revolutionary class and took materialism, enriched and transformed into dialectic materialism, as the basis of its class ideology. But the proletariat will not repeat the performance of the bourgeoisie. Its victory will lead, not to another cycle of reaction and revolution, but to the abolition of all classes, to the emancipation of all humanity and of all thought! Class interests will no longer interfere with the development of thought. Culture, instead of being the monopoly of a few, will become the possession of all and philosophy and science will bloom as never before. The future of the human spirit is part and parcel of the fate of the proletariat!

—Apex.

It would certainly be appreciated there."

To continue: On page 505 we learn,—we are growing tired of the monotony—that "that which is best in Bergson is his attack upon materialist mechanism." Twenty-four pages later Mr. Durant is "astounded" that "so subtle a thinker . . . as Santayana should tie to his neck the millstone of a philosophy (materialism) which after centuries of effort is as helpless as ever to explain the growth of a flower or the laughter of a child" (!) On page 551 we find that thru his materialism Santayana has "taken life out of the world"—hence his somberness! These are only explicit quotations; it is necessary to read the book carefully to appreciate how thoroughly soaked it thru and thru with a hatred and repulsion for materialism.



The Prospects of Yugoslavia

By Charles Novak.

THE end of the war found a new state in the Balkans—a state that had been conceived by the treaty of Trianon, and that received the name of "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians" (Jugoslavia).

Since its origin, October, 1918, the Yugoslavian state has been passing from one crisis to another so that the state of crisis can be considered as permanent. Of the 13,000,000 inhabitants of Yugoslavia, there are:

Serbiens	4,900,000
Croatians	3,100,000
Slovenians	950,000
Montenegrians	400,000
Bosnian Mohammedans	700,000
Macedonians	600,000
Albanians	450,000
Hungarians	500,000
Germans	600,000
Roumanians	350,000
Turkish and others	450,000

The creation of "one nation" out of this contradictory mixture of nationalities was, on the one hand, the culmination of a long struggle for national emancipation of these different groups and on the other hand, the final victory of the aspirations of the Serbian bourgeoisie for the creation of a greater Serbia under their hegemony. The long propagated "unification" of all the Serbs (the old Serbian kingdom, the Croats and Slovenians, former national minorities of Austro-Hungary) was performed after the war. The Serbian imperialist bourgeoisie utilized this opportunity and was careful to maintain the state power in its own hands. The unification announced on the first of December, 1918, was followed only four days later by the massacre of Zagreb (Croatia). This was the reply of the Serbian monarchists to the Republican strivings of the masses.

In order to understand the imperialist policy of the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie, it is necessary to consider several facts and particularly the absolute dependence of Yugoslavia upon foreign capital.

Yugoslavia is predominantly an agrarian country. The "emancipated" provinces of Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, and Voivodina, are to a certain extent industrial (coal, iron, zinc, chemical industry). These territories were formerly under the control of the Austria-Hungarian bourgeoisie. The former kingdom of Serbia, on the contrary, possessed no important industry, and was dependent for its needs in industrial products upon foreign imports.

As an independent state, Serbia was even before the

With this article we begin the publication of a series of general informative articles about European countries. These articles will appear at irregular intervals. They are designed to acquaint our readers with the true situation in post-war Europe. With facts and figures we aim to meet the contention that capitalism has finally and decisively re-established itself and has overcome or is overcoming completely the jolt of the World War. By these articles we will prove the relativity of capitalist stabilization in Europe and thereby the enormity of the crime of the Social Democrats. Their betrayal of the proletarian revolution in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, etc., has made possible this stabilization which, in spite of its relativity, is sufficient to cause immeasurable suffering, misery and persecution for the proletariat.

—The Editor of the Workers Monthly.

raw material and means of life.

war under the domination of French capital. A French monopoly controlled the railroads. Another one dominated the distribution of salt. During the imperialist world war, Serbia was completely delivered over to French and English capital, which supplied the necessary

A clear picture of the economic dependency of former Serbia and of the present Yugoslavia can be obtained by examining the following figures:

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF YUGOSLAVIA.

The debts of pre-war Serbia	1,700,000,000 dinars
The war debts of Serbia	16,500,000,000 dinars
The transferred proportion of the debt of Austria Hungary	1,300,000,000 dinars
Foreign loans	1,500,000,000 dinars
Domestic loans	5,100,000,000 dinars
Owing to the National Bank	4,100,000,000 dinars
Total	30,200,000,000 dinars

These figures are of course expressed in the old standard. According to the post-war exchange value of the dinar, the above sum must at least be doubled.

The chief creditors are France and England. The debt to France amounts to 19,800,000,000 dinars and the debt to England to 900,000,000 dinars. Herein lies the secret of the toading policy of the Yugoslavian government towards France.

These figures also show with what gigantic burdens the people are loaded. This public debt alone, aside from the regular budget, means a tremendous yearly tax burden for the inhabitants.

The Yugoslavian government is naturally compelled to fall in with the policy of the French imperialists so that the new state is really nothing more than a semi-colony of French imperialism. This makes it possible for us to understand the aggressive counter-revolutionary role of the government toward Soviet Russia and towards the exploited masses of Yugoslavia.

The state budget for the year 1926 amounted to over thirteen billion dinars. The money to cover this budget is obtained thru direct and indirect taxes, which again adds to the already great load of the poorer strata of the populace. The reactionary government uses this money to cover the expenses of its militarism and its police apparatus. Only 150,000 dinars are devoted to the support of the unemployed. This is a ridiculous sum when we consider that there are 300,000 permanent unemployed industrial workers. The budget does not include the liquidation of the foreign debts.

The state budget for the year 1926 shows a deficit

somewhat over one billion dinars—this will be the occasion for still greater burdens of taxation which the government will place on the backs of the people.

The balance of trade was for a time favorable. But according to the latest report of the Chamber of Commerce (1925-1926) it appears to have changed into an unfavorable one. Here are the figures:

Imports4,602,941,563 dinars
Exports4,506,486,074 dinars

This leaves a negative trade balance of 96,455,489 dinars.

These figures indicate that Yugoslavia is in the grip of a permanent economic crisis which is impossible for her to overcome. The Yugoslavian government of course attempts to unload the burden of this crisis upon the shoulders of the proletarian masses and the peasantry. But it cannot succeed completely in this endeavor because it is impossible to press more juice out of these exploited masses than there is in them. All endeavors of the government to raise the necessary sums to cover its budget place a burden upon the infantile industrial establishments and thus make their further development almost impossible. While the further economic existence of the Yugoslavian state depends entirely on its ability to make itself economically independent, yet its present day existence depends upon a policy of choking this development. Out of this vicious circle there is only one road and that is the road of the proletarian revolution.

The average rate of wages at the present time is about 30 dinar per day (about 50c).

The power of the Yugoslavian bourgeoisie rests upon a:

Standing army250,000
Police and gendarmerie.....110,000
Bureaucracy270,000
Total630,000

It is interesting to note that the formidable military forces of the new state are commanded by 106 active generals and 6 admirals. A further interesting fact is that out of the 106 generals, 104 are Serbians, only two being of other minority nationalities.

To understand the monstrosity of this military machine, we need only compare it with that of the former Austro-Hungarian empire. This old monarchy covered the territory of about 239,000 square miles with fifty million inhabitants. It had a standing army of 370,000 men including 80 generals. Yugoslavia today covers only about three-fifths of that territory (143,000 square miles) with less than one-third of the number of inhabitants (13,000,000). Yet its army comprises 250,000 men, which is two-thirds of the former Austro-Hungarian army, with 106 generals, which is 125 per cent. This makes one armed man for every thirty inhabitants, and counting in the bureaucracy it makes one state official, soldier or policeman for every twenty inhabitants.

This militarist policy of the Great Serbian bourgeoisie is both cause and result of its offensive against the workers and peasants. The 8-hour day, once guaranteed by law, has been completely abrogated. The rule now is the 12-hour day and even 14 hours are no exception. Parallel to the increase of the working day,

real wages have decreased and extensive unemployment is still further diminishing the earning capacity of the workers.

The government is carrying on a policy of smashing the trade unions in the most brutal way. There exists quite a formidable trade union organization in Yugoslavia, but unfortunately the reformist trade union bureaucracy is supported everywhere by, and is supporting everywhere, the police and the bourgeoisie to put obstacles in the way of an aggressive policy of struggle by the organized workers. They are also doing everything to prevent an effective unity of the trade union movement.

But in spite of that, the struggle for trade union unity as carried on by the independent trade unions is getting much response from the working masses. Even the workers organized in the reformist unions are listening favorably to the plea for trade union unity.

"The congress of the independent trade unions called for January 24-26 of this year, and to which representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam, of the Moscow Red International of Labor Unions and of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, were invited, was to have prepared the basis on which the united trade union movement of Yugoslavia was to build its defenses against the offensive of capital.

"The bourgeoisie, however, did not let the congress take place. A week before the congress was supposed to meet, it forced a brutal attack against the labor movement. It 'discovered,' as it has done more than once in the last few years, another 'Communist' conspiracy, some more 'Bolshevik agents and emissaries,' who were supposed to be preparing a revolution in Yugoslavia and the Balkans which the Yugoslavian government was now frustrating and thus saving the country."

Thru such attacks on the labor movement and thru the branding of the struggle of the working class against wage cuts and lengthening of hours, as "a Communist conspiracy" the Serbian bourgeoisie hopes to justify its reactionary attacks and to deprive the workers of all possibility of economic improvement.

According to latest reports, it is evident that the striving for unity of the working class is gaining more and more support in spite of the terror and of the sabotage of the social-democrats. A public discussion took place at Laibach upon the initiative of the Communists and was participated in by thousands of industrial workers. There it was shown that the mass of the workers (including those in the reformist unions), have taken a determined stand for unity. Because of the great pressure of the workers, the leaders of the Socialist party and of the reformist unions have been compelled to change their attitude. In a public declaration, very demagogically constructed, they have taken a stand for unity. This declaration of the reformists is all the more important in view of the fact that up to now they have bitterly fought every thought of unity.

At the same time, the class conscious workers of Laibach have a new paper, "Unity," which takes the place

of the workers' and peasants' paper, recently forbidden by the government.

The reactionary government has made every possible attempt to suppress the labor movement. A short time ago the mandates of the workers in the town council of Brod were annulled by the government.

Nevertheless, the workers stand by their Communist Party as is best shown by the latest municipal elections in Belgrade. For, while the Communists have made considerable gains, the Socialists have lost considerably and received mostly only the votes of petty bourgeois elements.

II. The Inner Political Situation.

The general characteristic of political life is absolute disintegration and disorientation. This is especially true of the petty bourgeois elements that compose the bulk of the population. The party groupings reflect the special interests of the bourgeoisie of the individual provinces, who are very clever in turning their class interests into a nationalist platform and thus gaining considerable support among the urban and the rural petty bourgeoisie.

Nevertheless, there are two chief tendencies struggling with each other—one representing the interests of the "victorious" Serbian bourgeoisie, the other the interests of the "emancipated" bourgeoisie of the provinces outside of Serbia. The Serbian bourgeoisie formulates its interests in terms of "strict state centralization" while the bourgeoisie of the other provinces formulate their interests in terms of "a constitution of autonomy." The chief basis for these struggles lies in the competition between the imperialist bourgeoisie in Serbia and the bourgeoisie of Croatia and Slovenia for the economic and the consequent political power.

The Serbian imperialist bourgeoisie, which completely dominates the state apparatus, carries on a policy of rendering impotent the entire Croatia and Slovenian industry and of enriching itself upon that account.

Pursuing this purpose they conceded the valuable seaport Trieste to Italy, thus choking the industrial development of the immediate kinterland, Croatia and Slovenia. At the same time they are directing all exports thru the port of Saloniki, which they hope to annex some day. They are also endeavoring to get the comparatively well developed chemical and iron industry of Croatia and Slovenia under closer and more direct control and influence. With the excuse that the nearness of the border endangers these industries they are preparing a transfer of these industries into Serbia proper. By this maneuver they hope to get financial control of these industries, strengthening their own hold over the economic life of the country and, at the same time, weakening the bourgeoisie of the "liberated territories."

We must also take into consideration another equally important factor and this is the question of taxation which now is so apportioned that the "emancipated" provinces pay the bulk of it.

The following table will make this clear:

Serbia and Montenegro pay 379,000,000 dinar, 87 per capita.
Bosnia-Herzegovina pay 241,000,000 dinar, 128 per capita.

Croatia pays 372,000,000 dinar, 137 per capita.
Slovenia pays 287,000,000 dinar, 272 per capita.
Voivodina pays 518,000,000 dinar, 375 per capita.

Thus the people of Voivodina pay a per capita 400 per cent higher than of the Serbians.

The credit of the National Bank is open only to the Serbian capitalists. In the year of 1924, credit extended to the Belgrade capitalists amounted to 40 per cent of the total. In the year 1925 it rose to over 50 per cent. While the credit of the Serbian capitalists keeps on increasing, the "emancipated" provinces are deprived of all credit.

The more this economic, financial and general governmental crisis is aggravated—a crisis that weighs heavily not only upon the toiling masses but also upon the petty bourgeoisie—the greater is the dissipation of the jingoist illusions of the petty bourgeoisie, and the more does nationalism lose its basis. The petty bourgeois parties that at one time were for the centralized constitution and always supported the reactionary white terrorist regime of the Serbian big bourgeoisie are beginning to rise against these policies and to demand that an understanding be reached by the bourgeoisie of all nationalities on the basis of the revision of the centralized constitution and concessions of autonomy to other national groups. But if nationalism is to give way to economic needs it will hit hardest of all these petty bourgeois parties which are built on the basis of national and provincial interests. Hence it follows that today in Yugoslavia there is not a single bourgeois party that is not in the deepest crisis.

It is beyond doubt that the court and the Serbian financial oligarchy consider this as the most favorable moment for them, especially in view of the coalition with the leader of the Croatia Peasant Party, Stefan Radic, who bought his liberty by his betrayal of the toiling masses. Nevertheless, every delay leads to a certain stabilization of the petty bourgeois parties, whose aims are emphatically supported by the autonomy-seeking bourgeoisie. The time has not yet come for the grouping of the entire Yugoslavian big bourgeoisie into a compact party in which all important questions will be solved in common. Serbian capital, supported by the court and defended by the army, has in spite of the extraordinarily severe financial and economic conditions in the country, not yet been brought to the point of making any sort of concessions to the bourgeoisie of the other provinces. Nevertheless, the idea of a united front of the entire big bourgeoisie is gaining greater and greater impetus. It is especially supported by the bourgeoisie of the minorities which see in it a realization of their aims, that is, not only the hegemony in their own provinces but also a leading role in the entire state.

It is logical that under such conditions, the government as well as the court, losing ever more its support in the people, should apply the most extreme terroristic means.

In spite of the fact that fascism has not developed to any large degree in Yugoslavia and has very little prospect of becoming an important political factor, yet it plays a certain role in the election campaigns. It stands

completely at the service of the ruling big bourgeoisie and, favored by the state organs, it succeeds in spite of its numerical weakness, in disrupting the meetings of the extreme opposition, in destroying their printing houses and in threatening the chief leaders of the opposition. This it accomplishes thru armed force, with bombs and revolvers.

Besides these fascist methods the government uses the law to the fullest extent. But the government does not hesitate to step outside the limits of all laws, conducting its campaigns of repression against the Communists and the Republicans, forbidding their meetings, confiscating their newspapers, persecuting and arresting their agitators. The putting out of a list of candidates for the elections, indeed, even the organization of a party in accordance with the law are interfered with.

But in spite of all these terrorist methods, the government cannot hope for very great success. The ruling Serbian bourgeoisie is even now making election compromises with all Right elements. These compromises will strengthen these most reactionary monarchist groups and will hasten their crystallization into a formidable party.

Should the Serbian bourgeoisie and the court fail to consummate this combination, then the only thing remaining will be to exclude, on the basis of the law for the defense of the state, any more powerful parliamentary group from parliament as has already been done with the Communists. Either of these two prospects is possible, but we must remember that at the present time in Yugoslavia there is no other more powerful organized power in the position to oppose with any degree of success the compact Serbian big bourgeoisie. These relations open up the perspective of more bitter reaction and a more fierce White Terror.

The struggle of the working class against the exploiting policy of the Yugoslavian bourgeoisie is taking on

ever sharper forms. The readiness for struggle of the laboring masses was made clear in the last campaign of persecution against the workers and the Communists. The working class opposed these persecutions without any panic, with determination and with great resistance. Under the pressure of mass sentiment, the oppositional bourgeois press—for the first time in the last five years—was forced to come out against the persecutions. (The conservative pro-government "obzor" of Zagreb even demanded the legalization of the Communist Party.)

But most sensitive of all is the government to the energetic action of the international proletariat. The detailed information and the press articles of the international Communist press as well as the protest demonstrations and the united action of the Red International of Labor Unions and of the International Red Aid have forced the government into a retreat. The government itself has to deny the rumors of assassinations, insurrections, etc., on the basis of which it had made many arrests and carried on persecutions.

In recent times the government has begun to indulge in individual arrests. The former Communist deputy, Kosta Novakovich, was recently arrested at the time when he was supposed to be present at an illegal congress of the Communist Party. The government attempts to use its arrests in order to organize a new anti-Communist campaign, and in this way to smash the unity movement of the working class. At the same time, however, the congress of the autonomous printers' union took a determined stand for the unity of the trade union movement, which is naturally a protest against the policy of the terrorist government and of the reformists.

Under such circumstances, it is naturally very hard for the workers to carry on their struggle but in spite of this the working class has maintained the spirit of struggle and is opposing the government with the greatest determination.



With Marx and Engels

A correct solution of the problems confronting the working class can be found only if these problems are not considered each separate and apart from the others but if they are understood as links in one continuous chain, the class struggle. Such an understanding can be supplied only by a comprehensive theory of the workers' struggles. This theory is the science of Marxism.

The "Workers Monthly" bases its claim of being a theoretical organ of Communism not upon scholastic treatises on abstract social science but upon a fundamental discussion of concrete problems. It endeavors to apply Marxian methods of analysis to important events and phenomena of the class struggle.

We know, however, that the intricacies of the class struggle present so many and varied problems that an effective functioning of the revolutionary movement is possible only if all of the revolutionists, the Communists, are able to apply Marxian analysis with Leninist precision and promptness. It is therefore necessary that every Communist study Marxism. In this study the knowledge of the writings of Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific Socialism, Communism, is indispensable.

Since comparatively little of the total writings of Marx and Engels are available in English the "Workers Monthly" hopes to perform a real service to its readers with the institution of the department "With Marx and Engels." This Department will be directed by Comrade Avrom Landy, a close student of the writings of Marx and Engels. The Department will publish articles, letters and quotations from Marx and Engels hitherto not available or hardly accessible in English.

The readers of the "Workers Monthly" will find a real treasury in these pages which will make this magazine a still more indispensable weapon of our Party.

The Editor of the "Workers Monthly"

On the Principle of Authority

By Frederick Engels

(1872-1873)

SOME time ago, a number of socialists began a veritable crusade against what they call the principle of authority. They believe it is sufficient to label this or that action as authoritarian to condemn it. So much mischief is done by this summary method that it

is necessary to examine the matter more closely. Authority, in the sense of the term in which it is here used, means: Submission of the will of another to our will. Thus, on the other hand, authority presupposes subordination. Now, insofar as these two words sound bad and the relationship expressed in these two words is disagreeable to the party that is subordinated, the question arises whether there is any means of doing away with this relationship, whether—under the given social conditions—we can create any other social state in which this authority would no longer have any place, in which it would consequently disappear. If we examine the economic, industrial and agrarian relations which form the basis of the present bourgeois society, we find that they have the tendency to replace the isolated action of one individual by the combined action of a

The following articles by Marx and Engels were originally written between 1872 and 1873. They were directed against the Italian Bakuninists who had charged the General Council of the Workingmen's International at London with carrying on a campaign of calumny and deception for the purpose of forcing its "authoritarian and Communist doctrine" upon the whole International. The articles were published in the anti-Bakuninist "Almanacco Repubblicano" for the year 1874, the literary supplement of "La Plebe" (The People), edited by Enrico Bignami since July 8, 1886. They were later reprinted in German with an introduction by D. Riazanov, at present director of the Marx-Engels Institute at Moscow, in the Neue Zeit for 1913-14.—A. L.

number of individuals. In place of the small work-shops of isolated producers, modern industry has set up the large factories and shops where hundreds of workers watch over complicated machines set in motion by steam; railroad trains have taken the place of carts

and carriages just as the steamboat has taken the place of the sail-and rowboat. Even agriculture gradually comes under the domination of the machine and steam which slowly but inexorably supplant the small peasants by the large capitalists who, with the help of wage workers, cultivate large latifundias.

Wherever it may be, the independent action of single individuals is supplanted by a combined action, by a cooperation of actions dependent upon one another. But he who says combined action also says organization. Now is it possible to have an organization without authority?

Let us assume that a social revolution has dethroned the capitalists whose authority is now directing the entire production and distribution of wealth. Let us assume, to completely adopt the standpoint of the Anti-Au-

thoritarions, that the earth and the means of production have become the collective property of the workers who use them. In that case, will authority disappear or will it merely change its form? Let us see.

Let us take as an example a cotton spinning-mill. In order that the cotton may be transformed into yarn, it must undergo at least six different consecutive operations which for the most part take place in different rooms. Besides, in order to set the machines in motion, an engineer is needed to superintend the steam engine, further, some mechanics for daily repairs and still many more non-qualified workers to move the products from one room to another, etc. All these workers, men, women and children, must begin and end their work at an hour that is determined by the authority of the steam which is little concerned about the autonomy of the individual. It is therefore necessary from the very beginning that the workers come to an understanding as to their working hours and as soon as these hours are fixed they must all submit without exception.

Then detailed questions arise in every room and at every moment concerning the method of production, the distribution of the material, etc., questions which, if a sudden cessation of production is not to be risked, must be solved immediately. If then, they are solved through the decision of a delegated person, directing a branch of work, or through the decision of a majority, the will of the individual must submit, that is, these questions are solved authoritatively. The automatic mechanism of a large factory is tyrannical in a much greater measure than are the small capitalists who exploit the workers. At least insofar as the working hours are concerned, one can write over the doors of these factories: *Lasciate ogni autonomia, voi ch' entrate* (Let those who enter relinquish all self-determination). When with the help of science and the gift of invention, man subordinates the powers of nature to himself, they avenge themselves by subordinating him who exploits them to a veritable despotism independent of social relationships. To do away with authority in large industry would mean to do away with industry itself, to destroy the steam spinning-mill to return to the distaff.

Let us take another example, a railroad. Here the co-operation of a countless number of people is absolutely necessary, a co-operation which must take place at definitely appointed hours, if a great misfortune is to be avoided. Here the first condition of the entire undertaking is a dominating will which decides upon all subordinate questions and it is immaterial whether this will is represented by a delegated person or by a committee which is elected to carry out the decisions of the majority of those interested. In both cases we are concerned with an authority. Furthermore, what would happen to the first train if one were to do away with the authority of the railroad officials over the travelers?

But nowhere is the necessity of authority, and of an absolute authority, so apparent as on a ship on the high seas. There, in the moment of danger, the lives of all depend upon the absolute and momentary submission of everyone to the will of an individual.

Whenever I confront the most rabid Anti-Authoritarian with these arguments, he can only give the follow-

ing answer: Ah! That is true, but here it is not a question of the authority which we confer upon the delegated individual, but of a commission. These people believe they can change a thing by changing its name. Thus these profound thinkers make merry over the entire world.

Hence we have seen that on the one hand a certain authority, delegated no matter by whom, and on the other, a certain subordination are things which force themselves upon us, independently of the social organization, together with the material conditions under which our goods are produced and circulated.

In addition, we have seen that the material conditions of production and circulation inevitably submit more and more to the influence of large industry and large agriculture, that thus the sphere of this authority is more and more extended too. It is therefore senseless to consider the principle of authority as absolutely bad and the principle of autonomy as absolutely good. Authority and autonomy are relative concepts and the sphere of their validity changes with the different phases of social development.

Had the autonomists been satisfied to say that the social organization of the future will permit authority only within those limits which the productive relations inevitably dictate, then one would have been able to come to an understanding with them; but they are blind to all facts that make authority necessary and passionately fight against the word.

Why do not the Anti-Authoritarians limit themselves to shouting against political authority, against the state? All socialists are agreed that the state and together with it political authority will disappear as a result of the future social revolution; that is, that public functions will lose their political character and will be transformed into simple administrative functions concerned with social interests. But the Anti-Authoritarians demand that the political state should be abolished at one blow, even before those social relations which gave birth to it are themselves abolished. They demand that the first act of the Social Revolution shall be the abolition of authority.

These gentlemen, have they ever seen a revolution? Revolution is certainly the most authoritative thing possible, an act in which part of the population forces its will on the other part by means of rifles, bayonets, cannon, all these very authoritative means. And the victorious party is compelled to maintain its supremacy by means of the fear which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. And had the Paris Commune not made use of the authority of an armed people against the bourgeoisie, would it have lasted longer than a single day? May we not rather censure it for not having made sufficient use of this authority? And so: either—or: Either the Anti-Authoritarians themselves do not know what they are talking about, in which case they are merely creating confusion, or they do know what they are talking about, in which case they are betraying the cause of the proletariat. In either case they serve merely the reaction.

On Political Indifference

By Karl Marx

(Jan., 1873).

THE working class must form no political party; under no pretext must it undertake political action, because to lead the struggle against the state would mean to recognize the state and that is contradicting the eternal principles! The workers must conduct no strikes, for to conduct a struggle in order to force an increase in wages or to oppose a decrease would mean to recognize the system of wage-labor and that is in contradiction to the eternal principles of the emancipation of the working class!

When, in their political struggle against the bourgeois state, the workers unite in order to obtain concessions, then they are concluding a compromise and that is contradicting the eternal principles! Hence, every political movement, such as the English and American workers have the bad habit of undertaking, must be condemned. The workers should not squander their powers in order to achieve a legal limitation of the working day, for that would mean to conclude a compromise with the entrepreneurs who in some cases would be able to skin the workers only ten or twelve hours instead of fourteen and sixteen. Similarly, they must not try to achieve the legal prohibition of factory work for girls under ten years of age, for by this means, the exploitation of boys under ten years of age is not yet done away with. Again, it would mean to conclude a new compromise and that would have tainted the purity of the eternal principles!

Still less must the workers demand that, as is the case in the United States, the state, whose budget rests upon the exploitation of the working class, be obliged to grant the workers' children elementary education; for elementary education is not yet universal education. It is better that the men and women workers be unable to read, write and figure than that they receive their instruction from a teacher in the state school. It is far better that ignorance and sixteen hours of daily labor render the working class stupid than that the eternal principles be broken.

When the political struggle of the working class assumes a revolutionary form, when in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie they set up their own revolutionary dictatorship, than they commit the frightful crime of insulting the principles; for by satisfying their lamentable, profane daily needs, by breaking the resistance of the bourgeoisie, they give to the state a revolutionary and transitory form instead of laying down their arms and abolishing the state. The workers must organize no trade unions for that would mean to perpetuate the social division of labor as it exists in bourgeois society. For after all, this division of labor which divides the workers is really the basis of their slavery.

In a word, the workers should fold their arms and not squander their time on political and economic move-

ments. All these movements can bring them nothing more than immediate results. As really religious people, scorn their daily needs, they must cry, full of faith: "Crucified be our class, may our race perish, if only the eternal principles remain untainted!" Like pious Christians, they must believe the words of the priests, scorn the blessings of this earth and only think of winning paradise. Read, instead of paradise, social liquidation which some fine day is to be effected in some corner of the world—nobody knows how and by whom it will be effected—and the deception is all the same.*

In expectation of this famous social liquidation, the working class, like a well-bred flock of sheep, must conduct itself respectably, leave the government in peace, fear the police, respect the laws, and offer itself without complaint as cannon-fodder.

In their daily life, the workers must remain the most obedient servants of the state; internally, however, they must protest most energetically against its existence and manifest their profound theoretical contempt for it by buying and reading pamphlets on the abolition of the state; they must beware of offering any other resistance to the capitalistic order than declamations on the society of the future in which this hated order will disappear.

No one will deny that, had the apostles of political abstinence expressed themselves so clearly, the working class would have sent them to the devil at once and would only have taken it as an insult on the part of a few doctrinaire bourgeois and ruined Junkers who are so stupid or so clever as to deny them every real means of struggle because all these means of struggle must be seized in present-day society and because the fatal conditions of this struggle have the misfortune of not conforming to the idealistic phantasies which our doctors of social science have set forth as goddesses under the name of **Freedom, Autonomy, Anarchy**. However, the movement of the working class is now so strong that these philanthropic sectarians have not the courage to repeat the same **great truths** concerning the economic struggle that they incessantly proclaim in the political sphere. They are too cowardly to also apply these truths to strikes, coalitions, trade unions, to the laws on woman and child labor, on the regulation of the working day, etc.

*Marx is here referring to a resolution passed at the Rimini Conference (Aug. 1872) where the Italian Federation of the International Workingmen's Association was constituted. It must be remembered that this was the period of the Marx-Bakunin struggle in the International and that Italy was a Bakunin stronghold. In this resolution, the Conference "proudly declared before all the workers of the world" that it "does away with all solidarity between itself and the London General Council which has used the most unworthy means of calumny and deception for the sole purpose of forcing its special authoritarian-communistic doctrine." (According to Riazanov.)—A. L.

Now let us see to what extent they can appeal to old traditions, to shame, to honesty, to eternal principles.

The first socialists (Fourier, Owen, St. Simon, etc.) saw themselves compelled—since social relations were not yet sufficiently developed to make the constituting of the working class as a political party possible—to confine themselves to the portrayal of the model society of the future and hence to condemn all attempts such as strikes, coalitions, political action undertaken by workers in order to somewhat improve their condition. But if we have no right to disown these patriarchs of socialism, just as little as the modern chemists to disown their ancestors, the alchemists, we must still beware of falling back into the old mistakes; for, repeated by us now, they would be unpardonable.

In spite of that, much later—in the year 1839, when the political and economic struggle of the working class in England had already assumed a strongly marked character—Bray, a pupil of Owen and one of those who had discovered Mutualism long before Proudhon, published a book: *Labor's Wrongs and Labor's Remedy*.

In a chapter on the ineffectiveness of all means of deliverance to be attained thru the present struggle, he offers a bitter criticism of all economic as well as of the political movements of the English working class. He condemns the political movement, the strike, the shortening of the working day, the regulation of the factory work of women and children, because all these, he believes, only chain the workers to the present condition of society and sharpen its contradictions even more instead of leading them out of it.

And now we come to the Oracle of our doctors of social science, to Proudhon. Altho the master expressed himself energetically against all economic movements (coalitions, strikes, etc.), which stood in contradiction to the emancipating theories of his Mutualism, he still furthered the political struggle of the working class thru his writings and his personal participation; and his pupils did not dare to come out openly against this movement. Already in the year 1847, when the great work of the master, the "Philosophy of Poverty" or "The Contradictions of Economics" appeared, I refuted all of his sophisms against the labor movement. But in the year 1864, after the *Loi Ollivier* which, even if in a very limited measure, granted the French workers the right of coalition, Proudhon returns to the same theme in a work which was published a few days after his death—"The Political Capacity of the Working Class."

The attacks of the master pleased the bourgeoisie so much that the "Times," on the occasion of the great Tailors' Strike in London in the year 1866, conferred upon Proudhon the honor of translating it and condemning the strikers with his own words. We here give a few examples:

The miners in Rive de Gier had gone out on strike and the soldiers hastened thither to knock reason into them.

"The authority which had the miners of Rive de Gier shot down, found itself in an unfortunate situation.

But it acted like the old Brutus who, in the conflict between his emotions as father and his duty as consul, was obliged to sacrifice his children in order to save the republic. Brutus did not hesitate and posterity did not dare to condemn him on that account."

No worker will recall a bourgeois ever hesitating to sacrifice his workers in order to save his interests. My, what Brutuses the bourgeois are!

"No, there is just as little right to coalition as there is a right to extortion, to swindling and theft, just as little as there is a right to incest or adultery."

It must be said that there is certainly a right to stupidity.

But what are these eternal principles in whose name the master hurls his abracadabral-anathemas?

Eternal Principle No. 1: "The level of wages determines the price of commodities."

Even those who have not the slightest notion of political economy and do not know that the great bourgeois economist Ricardo, in his work: "Principles of Political Economy" which appeared in the year 1817, has once for all refuted this traditional, false doctrine, are still acquainted with the significant fact of English industry which is able to sell its commodities at a lower price than any other country despite the fact that wages in England are relatively higher than in any other country of Europe.

Eternal Principle No. 2: "The law that permits coalitions is entirely anti-juridical, anti-economical; it contradicts every society and every order." In a word, "it contradicts the economic right of free competition." Were the master less nationally limited, he would have asked himself how it could happen that even forty years ago a law had been promulgated in England which contradicts the economic right of free competition to just such an extent, why this law, to the extent that industry develops and together with it free competition "which so contradicts every society and every order," forces itself upon all bourgeois states like an iron necessity. He perhaps would have discovered that this law ("Droit" with a big D) is only to be found in economic text books written by ignorant brothers of bourgeois political economy, in the same textbooks which also contain pearls like the following: "Property is the fruit of labor. . . of others, they forget to add.

Eternal Principle No. 3: "Thus, under the pretext of raising the working class out of its so-called degradation, they will begin with the wholesale denunciation of an entire class of citizens; the class of masters, of entrepreneurs, of factory owners and citizens. They will call upon the democracy of the handworkers to scorn and hate those fearful and unseizable conspirators of the middle class. They will prefer the struggle in trade and industry to legal pressure, the class struggle to the state police."

In order to keep the working class from emerging from its social degradation, the master condemns coalitions which the working class, as a hostile class, opposes to the respectable category of factory owners, entrepreneurs, bourgeois who, like Proudhon, certainly prefer

the state police to the class conflict. In order to free this respectable class from every inconvenience, the good Proudhon recommends to the workers, until their entrance into mutualistic society, freedom or competition which despite their great inconvenience still form "our sole guarantee."

The master preached indifference in the economic sphere in order to secure freedom or competition, our sole guarantee; the pupils preach indifference in the political sphere in order to secure bourgeois freedom,

their sole guarantee. If the first Christians, who also preached political indifference, used the strong arm of an emperor in order to transform themselves from oppressed into oppressors, the modern apostles of political indifference do not at all believe that their eternal principles enjoin them to abstain from worldly pleasures and fleeting privileges of bourgeois society. However that may be, we must say that they bear with a stoicism worthy of the Christian martyrs the fourteen or sixteen hours of work which weigh upon the factory workers.

Felix Dzershinsky is Dead

By N. Bukharin

YESTERDAY our Comrade Dzershinsky passed away. He was consumed by his last flaming speech, over everything he had poured out the fire of his stormy soul and, consumed in this flame, he passed away forever.

How full of life he stands on the platform! Simple, energetic, a perfectly tuned instrument. His speech is not a speech but a cry of the intelligence and of the heart, a cry of frenzied will and creative passion. Every figure re-echoes with this passion. Every word is a sharp arrow which penetrates the minds of the comrades. All feel: This is a man who is wholly and en-

tirely devoted to the cause. For himself, he does not exist. He does not gaze at himself in the mirror of history, just as he probably never gazed at himself in an ordinary mirror. He flung himself into the work. And this work, its needs, its sufferings, its wounds, its difficulties, emitted a penetrating cry, convincing, calling for help, insistent, demanding . . .

A strange flush plays over his cheeks, suddenly appearing, now disappearing. His eyes shine feverishly, burning with inner fire, and at the same time suffering so much. The austere and energetic countenance of a revolutionary fighter devoted right up to the end, to the grave (the countenance of a fanatic the philistines would say). A burning speech, flaming gestures, powerful outburst of the will . . . But what ails him? His hands grip painfully at this heart, as if they would tear out a stabbing pain. And suddenly his voice, which re-

The death of Comrade Dzershinski has taken from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and from our Communist International one of those rare characters who merge their individuality completely and unreservedly into the movement for the emancipation of the workingclass. Although possessed of a very strong personality this personality did not subject the movement to itself or dominate it with its peculiarities. On the contrary, it gave type to the movement. It produced the highest type of a revolutionist: the fighting principle of revolution itself strengthened by the ability, energy and devotion of an extraordinary man.

The name of Felix Dzershinski is connected with the most desperate struggle of the proletarian revolution in Russia for its existence. He was organizer and chairman of the *Vetcheka*, the "All Russian Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-revolution." The efficiency and revolutionary promptness of the work of this organization helped to save the revolution and thus has earned for itself and its chairman the undying hatred of all actual and potential counter-revolutionists.

The counter-revolutionists, from the big capitalists down to their lackeys, the Social Democrats, control the bulk of the press. The press is the manufacturer of public opinion. It is no wonder, therefore, that the picture of Dzershinsky is completely distorted in the eyes of millions.

We feel it our duty to help in freeing his memory from the froth of lies with which his and our enemies have enveloped it. Therefore, we give space in this issue to Comrade Bukharin's article on Dzershinsky and to his own short autobiography. They have reached us too late for the last issue. But the duty of comradeship does not fall under any laws of limitation.

—Editor of the *Workers' Monthly*.

sounded so passionately and exhaltedly, sinks to a half whisper. Small drops of sweat stand out on his forehead, run down in small streams. "But that is always the case with him," one reassures oneself, as one observes with painful uneasiness the beloved, faithful comrade. But an inner voice says ominously: "Doomed, lost." And a wild pain sweeps over us . . .

With a gloomy foreboding I left the sessions of the Plenum yesterday immediately after the speech of Felix Dzershinsky. I was told already that he had been taken ill. It was desired not to disturb him as absolute calm was necessary. But the fatal foreboding grew more and more . . . And suddenly, a telephone call: "Dzershinsky is dead!"

"Dzershinsky dead!" Did you, friends and comrades, know this man? We had many heroes, and there are still many powerful, steel-hard people in our "iron cohort." But Dzershinsky was unique in his way, and we no longer have his like. A real burning lava of the revolution; no ordinary human blood flowed in his veins. It is strange to imagine Dzershinsky asleep: almost impossible to conceive of his being dead. For he he was a real fire of the revolution, lighting up everything like a torch, untamable like a tornado, burning and consuming like a powerful passion. Who ever saw Dzershinsky weary? Who ever saw him inactive? These questions had no meaning for Dzershinsky. For he, so it seemed, worked, fought, glowed without pause, knowing neither rest nor repose. This was his nature. "When

I work, I work with all my might," he said in his last speech. And his whole life was one such work . . .

Revolution means sacrifice. And the revolution had taken full and complete possession of Dzershinsky. With long years of imprisonment behind him, Felix, freed from his fetters, flung himself into the turbulent stream of the great year 1917. We all remember this threatening revolutionary fighter at that time. Pitiless against the enemy, always at his post, Dzershinsky completed the work, whilst he repelled with a firm hand all the attacks of the enemy. Sleepless night, constant restlessness, continually clenched, dry, powerful hand. Eternal vigilance, enormous responsibility. And at the same time absolute freedom from any posing, even of historical posing. Never at any time did Dzershinsky play the part of a Danton or Marat. He was simple, as simple as it is rarely given to anybody to be. He always did what the party ordered him to do—the party, which to him was dearer than anything in the world and for which he has lived and for which he has died. And, therefore, Dzershinsky was and remains a knight without fear and without reproach, a knight of Communism, who will never be forgotten.

Both in the Cheka as well as in the Transport Commissariat, in the economic work, as well as in the C. C. of the party and among the masses, Dzershinsky was known to be incorruptible, bold, inflexible, crystal-pure, straight and open. He always went about with open visor. He always spoke the truth and was strict with himself, as well as with others, when it was necessary to be strict. Not infrequently he said the truth in a way nobody but he could say it. And he had a complete right to do this. He had won this right by his whole life, by the life of a true fighter of the revolution, to whom the revolution was everything: air and light, warmth and love, and life itself.

An infinite and boundless belief in the creative forces

of the proletarian masses drove Dzershinsky forward. It filled him completely. It had taken complete possession of him. Moulded out of one piece, Dzershinsky pursued his way with extraordinary natural simplicity. It was for this reason that he enjoyed such an authority; it was this that made his personality so charming, and rendered him so beloved. A quite extraordinary honesty towards the cause was combined in him with an enormous fullness of real human sympathy for humanity: this severe chairman of the Cheka was, in fact, a charming human personality, a delightful comrade to everybody who trod the path of the revolution.

Not so long ago Comrade Dzershinsky had a "holiday." This "holiday" consisted in his spending day and night investigating the position of the metal works of the South. From this "holiday" Dzershinsky returned more ill than before. Nobody felt our shortcomings so keenly, with such inward pain, with such uneasiness as this fighter. He suffered literally on account of every failure, no matter how small. With each of his steps he refuted the notorious "popular wisdom," according to which everybody considers his own interests first. The care for the community, for the great and the small, gnawed at him uninterruptedly, and at the same time compelled him to expend all his forces right up to the end, to a sort of frantic over-exertion. As Dzershinsky performed every piece of work with the greatest conscientiousness, he forgot himself entirely. And he burned like a torch which lights the way to the great future of humanity.

This preeminent man lived and died for our party, for its unity, for the dictatorship of our class. The chief trust he leaves behind us: **Unity, united work, creative deed, struggle.** It will be realized, and the victory will be complete. This thought is bound up with the unforgettable figure of our dear comrade. **Farewell, brother! Farewell, our true fighter!**

Autobiographical Sketch of the Career of Comrade Dzershinsky

I WAS born in the year 1877 and attended the gymnasium at Vilna. In the year 1894, when I was in the seventh class of the gymnasium, I joined the Social-democratic self-education circle. In 1895 I became a member of the Lithuanian Social-democracy and devoted myself to the study of Marxism; I was also a leader of study circles of artisans and factory apprentices. Here, in the year 1895, I received the nickname of "Yazek." In 1896 I voluntarily left the gymnasium in the conviction that belief must be vitalized by action and that it was necessary to penetrate further into the masses and learn along with them. In 1896 I asked the comrades to

send me to do work among the masses and not to limit me to the circles. I became an agitator and succeeded in penetrating strata hitherto completely untouched—in the evening gatherings and in the saloons where the workers would congregate.

In 1897 the party sent me as agitator and organizer to Kovno—an industrial city in which there was at that time no Social-democratic organization and in which the organization of the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Party) had just expired. Here it became my task to penetrate deeply into the masses of the factory workers and to become a witness of the most unheard-of poverty and exploita-

tion, especially among the working women. At that time I learned from practice how to organize strike movements.

In the second half of the same year I was arrested on the street thru the information of a young worker who was corrupted by a promise of ten rubles on the part of the police. Since I did not want to give the police the opportunity of finding my residence I gave my name as Shebrovsky. In 1898 I was sentenced to three years of exile to the province of Vyatka. First, I was sent to Nolinsk and then, as a result of my disobedient conduct and some trouble with the police as well as because I went to work in a factory as a cigarette filler, I was sent 500 kilometers further north to the village of Kaigorodsk. In 1899 I escaped by means of a boat because I couldn't stand it any longer. I returned to Vilna at a time when the Lithuanian Social-democratic Party was negotiating with the P. P. S. about a coalition. I was the strongest enemy of nationalism and considered it the greatest fault of the Lithuanian Social-democracy that it had not (in the year 1898 while I was in prison) joined the united Russian Social-democratic Labor Party as I had advised in the letters written from prison to the leader of the Lithuanian Social-democracy, Dr. Domashevitch. When I returned to Moscow the old comrades were already in exile and the leadership was in the hands of the student youth. I was not allowed to go to the workers but was dispatched out of the country. For this purpose I went along with some smugglers who brought me to the border. On this trip I made the acquaintance of a young fellow who supplied me with a passport in the next town. I then rode to the nearest railroad station, took a ticket and went to Warsaw where I knew the address of a Bundist. In Warsaw at that time there was no Social-democratic organization, only the P. P. S. and the Bund. The Social-democratic Party had been liquidated there. I succeeded very quickly in getting contact with the workers and in re-establishing our organization. This I accomplished in splitting off from the P. P. S., first the shoemakers and then whole groups of cabinet makers, metal workers, tanners and bakers. There began a desperate struggle against the P. P. S., always with success for us in spite of the fact that we had neither means nor literature, nor intelligent forces. At that time the workers gave me the nickname of "Astronomer" and "Frank."

In February, 1900, I was arrested at a meeting and sent, first to Pavillion No. 10 of the Warsaw Citadel and later in the Sedletz prison. In 1902 I was banished to East Siberia for five years. On the way to Vilyuisk I made my escape—in the summer of the same year—

on a boat, along with the Social Revolutionary, Sladkowitz. This time I reached the border and members of the Bund with whom I was acquainted brought me across. Immediately after my arrival in Berlin, our party conference—of the Social-democracy of Poland and Lithuania—was called and it was decided to issue the "Red Flag." I was sent to Cracow to organize the connections and to support the party from that side of the border. From that time on I was called Josef. Until January, 1905, I devoted myself from time to time to illegal work in Russian Poland. In January I moved and worked as a member of the central committee of the Social-democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania. In July I was arrested at a meeting outside the city but was released thru the October amnesty.

In 1906 I was a delegate to the Unification Party Congress at Stockholm. I became a member of the central committee of the Russian Social-democratic Labor Party as representative of the Social-democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania. From August to October I worked in Petersburg. Towards the end of 1906 I was arrested in Warsaw and was released on bail.

In April, 1908, I was again arrested. I was tried twice—once for the old and again for the new offense and was condemned to exile twice. Towards the end of 1909 I was sent to Tassejevka. After I had spent seven days there I escaped and left the country thru Warsaw. I again settled down in Cracow and visited Russian Poland from there.

In 1912, I returned to Warsaw, was arrested the first of September, and, because of my escape from exile, was sentenced to three years katorga (hard labor). In 1914, after the outbreak of the war, I was taken to Orel where I finished up my three years. I then came to Moscow where in 1916 my party work of the years 1910 to 1912 brought me six more years of katorga. The February revolution freed me from the Central Moscow prison. Until August I worked in Moscow and was sent as delegate by the Moscow comrades in August to the party congress and there elected to the central committees. I continued my work in Petrograd.

I participated in the October revolution as member of the Revolutionary Military Committee. After its liquidation I was given the task of organizing the organ for the struggle against the counter-revolution—the Extraordinary Commission—Cheka—(December 7, 1917)—and was selected as chairman of this organization.

After my appointment as People's Commissar for Internal Affairs I was appointed, April 14, 1921, as People's Commissar of Transportation.

REVIEWS

Supernaturalism on Trial

By C. E. Ruthenberg

MY HERESY. By Bishop William Montgomery Brown pp. 274. Published by The John Day Company, New York City. For sale by The DAILY WORKER Publishing Co., Chicago. Price \$2.00.

THIS book by Bishop Brown contains the severest condemnation of supernaturalism and the Church that could be written. Not because Bishop Brown uses sharp or condemnatory language. Quite the contrary, Bishop Brown writes in a gentle and forgiving spirit. This becomes, however, the sharpest satire when the facts he presents are in one's mind. It is in the circumstances of Bishop Brown's story, in the test of supernaturalism in application and the methods of the Church in action that the bankruptcy of supernaturalism and the hypocrisy of the Church are exposed.

The story of the book is the intellectual history of Bishop Brown. This history throws much light on the question, why in this age of science, which has relegated to the scrap heap, every contention of supernatural religion—its personal God, who atoned for our sins, its history, its geography, its astronomy—there are still sincere men and women who believe these tales which come to us out of the childhood of the race.

Bishop Brown was a sincere believer until he was fifty-five years old. How could this happen? Bill Brown, the Civil War orphan, was bound out to an Ohio farmer at a tender age. His school years consisted more of hard work on the farm than a study of books. Rescued from his bondage by poor house officials he came into a more favorable environment and after some adventures as a coachman in Omaha where at the same time he secured an elementary education, the opportunity came to study for the Episcopal ministry. The next thirty years of his life were spent as a missionary, archdeacon and bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

From the story as told by Bishop Brown it appears that he was a believer in supernaturalism thru all these years because it was taught to him as a child, because in the education which he received there was no other interpretation of the universe than the fables contained in the bible, and because his years of maturity were spent in the environment of the Church.

At the age of fifty-five Bishop Brown discovered Darwin. What he has to say about this discovery is worth quoting:

"I began to read the 'Origin of Species' . . .

"The Darwin I had preached against was an impudent upstart who had defied the scholarship of the world by setting up his own little impious and atheistic theory. . .

"What had Darwin to offer us? That was the question that almost always landed exactly where I had wanted it to land. The answer, obviously, was nothing. On the other hand I was offering a home in the sky to whomsoever would believe what I had told him to believe; and my promissory note to that effect was endorsed by all the clergymen of our church, and by all the saints and Apostles, and by the very Son of the Person who made and was now absolute owner of that sky.

"Naturally I thought that would fix Darwin.

"But the Darwin I had at last got around to read did not seem to be so easily fixed. This Darwin was not seemingly concerned with making converts. He was just noticing things—living things—and watching how they acted. If any one were curious as to what he had noticed, he was quite willing to tell; but if any one were not curious, he had no criticism to make. Furthermore, if some one had noticed something that he had missed, or if his notes were incorrect in any way he would be awfully obliged if corrections would be made."

The result of his reading of Darwin Bishop Brown describes thus:

"The world that I had lived in up to that moment just disappeared. It did not merely fall into ruins. It collapsed, without leaving any ruins. I shut my eyes and groped about me for the old familiar darkness, but the darkness was not there. It had popped into nothingness, as darkness is likely to do when light is turned on suddenly."

The next stage in the intellectual history of Bishop Brown grew out of his attitude toward the World War. He was opposed to the war. In groping about for an explanation of the war and why the Church would not take a stand against it he found the literature of Socialism. He says:

"I read 'Capital' by Karl Marx, a book and a writer of whom I had never heard before.

"That was another revelation. It was as important a revelation in its way as the revelation of Darwin. It gave me my first clear view of human society. I do not mean by that that it left nothing to learn, but it left my individualism about where Darwin had left my heaven and my hell."

Most men, having reached Bishop Brown's age and position in life would have remained silent about these new discoveries. Thousands in and out of the Church do that. They continue servants of the supernaturalism and of capitalist society, knowing that the one is based upon ignorance and the other upon a social system which continues in existence because of the power of the class which profits from it to mold the minds of those whom it exploits.

Bishop Brown had the courage to announce to the world the new view of life and our social system which he had discovered. He did this thru his book "Communism and Christianity." He became as ardent an apostle of Darwin and Marx as he had been of super-

naturalism as contained in the creed of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

This was the unforgivable sin in the eyes of the Church, and we might add, in the eyes of the pillars of capitalist society. He was brought to trial by the Church for heresy, the charge being based upon the views expressed in "Communism and Christianity," on the cover of which he had printed "Banish God from the sky and capitalism from the earth." The history of this trial thru its various stages of the hearings in his case, the proceedings before the court of appeals of the Church and finally in the House of Bishops, of which Bishop Brown was a member, is an exposure of hypocrisy on the part of his judges and the Church they represent which will destroy any shred of respect for the Church as an institution or any belief in supernaturalism which the reader of this book may have left in his mind.

Bishop Brown's heresy was a difficult problem for the Church because of the manner in which he had assimilated his new beliefs. After thirty years of acceptance of a religious creed, and preaching of that creed, it would be a difficult thing, indeed, to root out of the mind all the old forms of expression and ceremonies. Bishop Brown solved this problem for himself by giving his old, supernatural ideas and forms of expression a new content. He discarded all supernaturalism but expressed his new convictions about life and our social system in the language of the Church.

Thus Bishop Brown could say to those who accused him of heresy:

"I believe in God . . . the Father Almighty . . . Maker of Heaven and earth.

"Not, indeed, a designer, manufacturer and manager, as the minds which codified the Creeds, conceived their anthropomorphic God to be. Because of the revelations of science, which were denied to them, my god, devil, heaven, hell world are infinitely more complex than theirs and the symbol 'Maker' must be applied to the greatest among all divine trinities: Matter, the Father, Force, the Son; and Motion, the Spirit—the creator, sustainer and governor of the world with all that in it is, physical and psychical.

"I believe in Jesus, not less than the literalists, whether Modernists or Fundamentalists, but more. Jesus, to me, is more than a historical character and more than a second term in an ancient theological equation. Whatever this Court does, it cannot strip me of my uplifting belief in Jesus. I see Jesus the Man of Sorrows—ever Man of Sorrows from the first dawn of human intelligence and oppression; and who, in every instance was vilified and punished and put to death."

This expression of the discoveries of science in regard to the universe and oppression of the exploited class in our social system in the terms of the Church creed, is unnecessary to those in whose minds the formulas of supernaturalism have not been deeply imbedded by long years of use. They can cast aside the terms and forms of the Church creed together with its supernaturalism and couch their views of the universe and society based upon class rule and exploitation in the language of science, thus more surely rooting out superstition and supernaturalism.

Bishop Brown's symbolism in his confession of faith made the job of defining his heresy a hard one for his judges. There are many gradations in the Church today of those who accept the statements of the creeds and bible. For some, one thing is symbolical and for others another. His judges faced the question of declaring that all of the creeds and the bible must be accepted literally,

or of defining what was to be accepted literally and what symbolically. To accept Bishop Brown's view that all of the creeds can only be accepted symbolically was to sweep away the foundations of supernaturalism. But what is to be accepted symbolically and what literally?

His Church judges solved the problems, or rather attempted to extricate themselves from the dilemma, by condemning Bishop Brown and expelling him from the House of Bishops, without defining in what his heresy consisted. Thus the holy bishops followed a method not dissimilar from that of the United States supreme court, which is able to uphold the conviction of social heretics without defining the nature of their "crime."

Bishop Brown's book will do much to open the minds of those who still accept the doctrines of supernaturalism. It will help to destroy illusions about the sacredness and holiness of the pillars of the Church, in this case represented by a House of Bishops. It reveals a man whose honesty and courage will win the admiration and respect of his readers.



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Pepper on the British General Strike

THE GENERAL STRIKE AND THE GENERAL BETRAYAL, by John Pepper, Daily Worker Publishing Company, Chicago. 100 pages. 25 cents.

THE importance of a study of the British General Strike and its lessons for the labor movement of America and of the entire world cannot be overemphasized. It is especially important to the American working class. Because of certain similarities in the development of Britain and America, because of the inheritance of certain common traditions and institutions, a single language, etc., the development and experiences of the British working class have always had a profound influence upon the workers of the United States.

Among the outstanding problems of our party in America are the developing of a political consciousness in the American working class and the struggle with the class collaboration tendencies that exist in America. In both these matters the British experiences present a closer parallel than can be found anywhere else in the world. The United States is today assuming the position of the world's workshop and clearing house so long held by Great Britain, and allowing for the differences of the epoch of finance imperialism and decaying capitalism, like causes are producing like results.

From an aristocracy of labor, pro-capitalist and conservative, adhering to capitalist political parties, believing in the eternity of capitalism and the British empire, imperialistic and thoroughly corrupted by the philosophy and practices of class collaboration, the British working class has developed through "new unionism" (the organization of the unskilled), a labor party, and pacifism, to the great general strike, towards a mass Communist party and the proletarian revolution. The American working class has to tread a somewhat similar path (altho under the different conditions of the epoch of declining capitalism) and more than any other workingclass it can and must learn from the experiences of the British workers.

The coal crisis which precipitated the general strike is a crisis which strongly affects the United States. In part an effect of the Dawes plan, in part a result of world conditions (electrification, post-war economy, etc.) and in part a special British phenomenon, it has its counterpart in a crisis in the American coal industry the resolution of which will in large measure determine the fate of the American labor movement for the immediate future period.

Finally, and most important, the British general strike was a general strike. As such, its study, as Pepper rightly says, "will constitute a veritable higher education in revolutionary strategy and tactics for the entire labor movement." The question of the possibility, nature and significance of a General Strike, first put on the order of business by the growth of modern industry and transportation, discussed theoretically by left and

right and by socialists and syndicalists a generation ago, has a greatly enriched content for study in this great strike. By reason of its duration, of the masses involved, of the industrially advanced country in which it occurred, by reason of the fact that it was an organized effort of organized unions and not a spontaneous unorganized mass strike, by reason of its economic origin, by reason of its effect upon world economy, it presents a new and more important phenomenon than previous general strikes. It is of such great importance to the world's working class that it may be ranked with such outstanding events as the Paris Commune and the Revolution of 1905 in Russia as objects of study and sources of lessons in strategy and tactics.

Pepper's pamphlet is only 100 pages long, yet in these one hundred pages all of these matters are brilliantly sketched. The pamphlet has a sweep and a movement to it that makes the events of the general strike unroll like a gigantic drama, but a drama watched by a knowing spectator who is not only deeply moved but is capable of drawing big lessons as well. The author has succeeded remarkably in portraying the event in all its complexity with all its background and implications without robbing it of any of its dramatic vividness. Marxian studies of historic events are somehow expected to be dry but this pamphlet is no more "dry" than "The Paris Commune" or the "Eighteenth Brumaire." It is a booklet that every worker can read and it should be the business of our party to put it in the hands of every workingman in the United States, and above all of every trade unionist. I would like to see it taken up in study circles and trade union fractions and classes all over the country. In the words of the author, "The mere fact of the general strike enriches the arsenal of the working class of the West European and American industrial countries," and of this arsenal and American working class must avail itself.

—Bert Wolfe.

"THE SPOKESMAN'S SECRETARY," Being the Letters of Mame to Mom" by Upton Sinclair; published by the author in Pasadena, Cal. Price, \$1.25.

"It is uproarious," I was assured. Well, I enjoy a hearty laugh and was willing to grab the opportunity to get one. Thus I started out reading the "Spokesman's Secretary" with great expectations. My expectations, however, were not realized—I missed the laugh. But in spite of that I did finish the book with a feeling of immense satisfaction. I started out to find uproarious humor. I found bitter satire; a satire on the spokesman, a satire on the American people; a satire on some of our "sacred" American institutions; a satire the more bitter because the picture runs true to reality. The caricature strokes of the artist do not produce the satirical effect by exaggerating any of the lines of the picture; they effect it produced by simply bringing out into clear relief the ridiculous reality.

The "Spokesman's Secretary" is a work like Gogol's "Inspector General." If our liberal friends who will undoubtedly read it with pleasure would really understand

it they would weep and not laugh.

We revolutionists have no reason to weep. We can genuinely enjoy the book. We enjoy the satire and hope that its acid will burn holes into the seemingly impenetrable hide of democratic illusions of Mr. American People. Such holes may admit a little whiff of the storm of the class struggle raging without. That may teach him that as "people" he is fooled by a Punch and Judy show of White House and other democratic institutions. He will learn that this show is nothing but a cover for a con game with the "dear people" as the victims. He will learn that as a people he is a helpless victim while as a class, as a proletariat, he can relegate that show with its marionettes of Spokesmen, Spokesmen's Secretaries, Senators Buttles and Granddaddies' Prows to the scrapheap, making room for an edifice of political rule of the working class.

The "Spokesman's Secretary" deserves a circulation of millions in the United States. The author, intentionally or not, has produced a textbook on democracy, as an antidote for grown-ups to the poisonous trash fed to them in the school textbooks on "our Government."

—M. B.

"THE MIND OF THE NEGRO AS REFLECTED IN LETTERS WRITTEN DURING THE CRISIS, 1800-1860."
By Carter G. Woodson. The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Washington, D. C.

DR. WOODSON'S book helps us to answer the question: What were the Negroes of the United States, both slave and free, doing and thinking during the slavery struggle? Of what white leaders on both sides of the conflict were accomplishing, we have abundant evidence. We know very little of the work of the Negroes themselves. This collection of letters helps to pave the way for a more thoro study of this neglected field.

There were about three million slaves in the United States at the beginning of the Civil War. There were also a large number of free Negroes. The United States census of 1860 shows a total of 488,070 free Negroes in the country. Of these, a little more than half were in the Northern and Northwestern states.¹ Since the im-

1) See the concise table in C. G. Woodson's "A Century of Negro Migration."

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Workers' International Relief Feeding Miners' Children

BRITISH MINERS' APPEAL

The General Council of the Trade Union Congress and the Miners' Federation have issued a joint manifesto, in which they say:

"Actual starvation has invaded the miners' homes. The women and children are suffering through the action of the Poorlaw authorities, with the connivance of the government, in cutting down the scale of relief and through the curtailment of school meals. In trying to bring the miners into subjection the government has not scrupled to endeavor to check the generous impulses of the public in voluntarily subscribing to the relief funds by which the worst consequences of the tragedy in the coal fields have been partially alleviated.

The WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL RELIEF OF ENGLAND, the sister organization of the INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' AID OF AMERICA, in a cablegram, urges immediate assistance in the famine relief work among the miners' children in the starvation districts of CHOPWELL, BIRTLLEY, STANLEY, HIGHSPEN and BLAYTON where they are distributing 50,000 food packages weekly. We must aid them in this splendid work. It takes only fifty cents to make up one package of wholesome food.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' AID.
National Office, 1553 W. Madison St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Please find enclosed \$..... for packages of food for the children of the British miners in the famine districts. I will try and send you a weekly contribution of \$.....

SIGNED

ADDRESS

CITY AND STATE

mense majority of the letters in Dr. Woodson's book are from free Negroes, it is important for us to know something of the condition of this group.

Where did these free Negroes come from? There were, first, the Negroes who had been freed by legislative enactment in those states whose industrial and commercial character made slavery unprofitable. Vermont abolished slavery in 1777, Massachusetts in 1780; gradual emancipation acts were passed by Pennsylvania in 1780, by Rhode Island and Connecticut in 1784, by New York in 1799, and by New Jersey in 1804. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 forbade slavery in that territory, out of which Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin were later carved. Then there were the slaves who escaped to free territory with the help of free colored and white sympathizers. So numerous was this class that certain routes became recognized as safe paths for them to travel, and the semi-organized group of people who were stationed along the way were known as workers on the Underground Railroad. It is estimated that in a period of fifty years, 50,000 slaves escaped in this way.¹ (Many of these went to Canada). There was, further, a small group of those who had managed to buy themselves free, by "hiring out their time," and saving what they could out of their wages, after paying their masters for board, clothing, tools, and a certain number of dollars besides. Last, there were the descendants of slaves manumitted in the South before 1800—that is, before slavery was as profitable as it became later on. With the industrialization of the North, the invention of the steam engine, spinning jenny, machinery for working iron and wood, sewing machinery, the mushroom growth of cotton and woolen mills, the use of bituminous coal and water power—the demand for raw cotton enormously increased in England and in the North. The invention of the cotton gin enabled the South to prepare immense quantities of cotton for the market. Beginning with the early part of the nineteenth century, the South began to pay less attention to what had been her staple crops—wheat, tobacco, indigo and rice—and to devote more and more of her land to cotton culture.¹ With this, the voluntary emancipation of slaves on a large scale came to an end, altho individual masters continued to emancipate favorite slaves, and slaves who were their own children. The children of a manumitted slave, born after the mother's emancipation, were legally free.

The condition of the free Negro in any part of the United States was far from enviable. In very few states, even in the North, was he allowed the right of suffrage. New Jersey took away the ballot from the Negro citizen in 1807, Connecticut in 1814, Pennsylvania in 1838, and New York demanded of them an unusually high property qualification.¹ Laws were passed in almost every state, limiting the freedom of free Negroes, or even prohibiting their residence in the state. (This was especially true of the South, where the presence of the free Negro was recognized as a source of discontent among the slaves.) Maryland passed a law making a free Negro liable to a fine of \$50 for every week he remained in the state. The Virginia legislature decreed

1) A. B. Hart, "Slavery and Abolition."

that every slave who was freed must leave the state within a year, or be again made a slave. In North Carolina, free Negroes were not allowed to trade, buy or sell, out of the city in which they resided. The Louisiana law said that "Free people of color ought never to insult or strike white people nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites, but, on the contrary, they ought to yield to them on every occasion, and never speak or answer them but with respect, under the penalty of imprisonment according to the nature of the case." In Florida, insolvent debtors, if black, could be sold for the benefit of creditors. The "Black Laws" of Ohio were particularly bitter against the free Negro. The laws of this state forbade the instruction of Negroes, forbade a colored man to give evidence in any court against a white man, and kept Negroes from employment by decreeing that any man who employed a Negro for one hour became liable for his support thru life. In the slave states, no black man was allowed to enter a court of justice as a witness against a white man. Nowhere could a Negro serve on a jury. In 1853, William Jay, writing of the condition of the free Negro, said: ". . . they suffer every form of oppression which the laws can inflict upon persons not actually slaves."¹

The labor aristocracy of this period was extremely hostile to the employment of Negroes as skilled workers. Frederick Douglass tells us how in 1836 he obtained work as apprentice in a Baltimore shipyard, thus causing the carpenters to start a riot. In 1838, he tried to get work as a calker in New Bedford, with much the same result.² This condition was universal in the North, so that the overwhelming majority of free Negroes there were unable to enter trades, and found employment only as unskilled workers. In the South, the free Negroes were usually either unskilled workers, small farmers, or mechanics (blacksmiths, carpenters, bricklayers, etc.)

Besides the legal disabilities, the free Negro suffered every day from a thousand petty discriminations. The letters in Dr. Woodson's book abound with evidence on this point. Frederick Douglass, the fugitive slave who became a brilliant anti-slavery orator and writer, complains time and again that he was not allowed to enter a restaurant, or get a cabin on a boat, or enter museums and libraries. Another colored man, a resident of New York, complained that he was forced to walk to and from work, as he was not permitted to board the cars. The phrase, "We don't allow 'niggers' in here," could be heard everywhere.

The laws restricting the education of Negroes, both slave and free, were particularly stringent after the beginning of the larger and more successful slave revolts (the insurrection of Gabriel in Virginia in 1800, the insurrection in South Carolina in the same year, the insurrection plot in Camden in 1816, the plot of Denmark Vesey in Charleston in 1822, and the insurrection of Nat Turner and his group in 1831.) The law of South Caro-

1) For contemporary discussion of the condition of the free Negro before the Civil War, see "Condition of the Free People of Color in the United States," by W. Jay; "An Inquiry into the Character and Tendency of the American Colonization and American Anti-Slavery Society," by W. Jay; and "Views of the American Colonization Society," by G. B. Stebbins.

2) Frederick Douglass, "My Bondage and My Freedom."

lina made the assembly of free Negroes "in a confined or secret place for the purpose of mental instruction" an unlawful assembly, carrying a penalty of twenty lashes for each free Negro who attended. In Savannah, any person who taught a free Negro to read or write incurred a penalty of thirty dollars. The Georgia law decreed a fine of \$500 for a white man who instructed a Negro, and a fine and whipping for a free Negro who taught another. By the Virginia law, free Negroes who assembled to learn to read or write were to have twenty stripes. For a second offense of instructing a free Negro in a Sunday school, the Louisiana law decreed death.¹ In very few Northern cities did colored children receive schooling with the white, and many northern states passed laws to prohibit or hinder the education of colored people. Nevertheless, many Negroes, and even many slaves, learned secretly from white companions, or from freemen, or from parents or grandparents who had been taught by missionaries and local priests, or by their own masters, before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Dr. Woodson himself says that "it is safe to say that ten per cent of the adult Negroes had the rudiments of education in 1860, but the proportion was much less than . . . about 1825."²

Large numbers of Negroes, and among these many fugitive slaves, were active and brilliant workers in the Abolition movement, Frederick Douglass, Nathaniel Paul, William C. Nell, William Wells Brown, and others whose letters appear in Dr. Woodson's collection, are only a few of many. The voice of Negro orators was heard from thousands of anti-slavery platforms. Dozens of Negro newspapers spoke for their people. "The North Star," later called simply "Frederick Douglass' Paper," "The Ram's Horn," "The Mystery," "The National Watchman," "The Elevator," "The Struggler," and many others, all under Negro editorship, found support among both Negro and white friends of anti-slavery.

Probably the most valuable part of Dr. Woodson's book are the hundred or more pages of letters by Frederick Douglass. The reader will find frequent references to the quarrel of Douglass with the Garrisonian abolitionists, and it would be well to clear up this point here. The orthodox Garrisonian believed in the doctrine of non-resistance and moral suasion (!), believed that slavery could be abolished by disdaining the slave-holder. They said that the Constitution recognized slavery, and from this (correct) premise, they drew the conclusion that the free states must dissolve the union, and refuse to recognize the slave states. The slogan of this doctrine—popularly known as "disunionism"—was "No union with slave-holders!" The disunionists believed in refusing to "participate" in the conduct of the federal government, and in abstention from the vote and from all kinds of political action.³

Douglass at first was inclined to agree with the Garrisonians, as his early letters and speeches plainly show. But about 1850, he began to realize, as he himself said, that this doctrine, "carried out," "dissolves the Union,

1) See William Jay and G. B. Stebbins, as above.

2) C. G. Woodson, "The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861."

3) A. B. Hart, "Slavery and Abolition."

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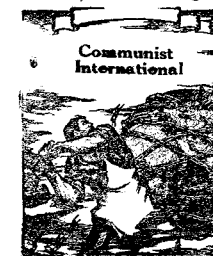
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and leaves the slaves and their masters to fight their own battles, in their own way." In a speech made in 1860, he said: "I am for . . . drawing the bond of the Union more closely and bringing the slave States more completely under the power of the free states." This policy he advocated in his paper, ("Frederick Douglass's Paper.")¹

The condition of the slaves during this period we need not dwell on. Much has been written about it, and a glance at the slave code of any of the southern states will convince anyone of the inhuman brutality of the system.

About one-third of the letters in the collection are addressed to the American Colonization Society. This organization, which was launched in 1817, had for its object the deportation of free Negroes from the United States and their colonization in Liberia. As may be imagined, this plan appealed to slaveholders, (who know that free Negroes were a menace to slavery) as well as to soft-headed philanthropists and incurably prejudiced whites. The Society's first president, Judge Bushrod Washington, of Virginia, was a slave-holder. Its second president, Mr. Carroll, left at his death one thousand slaves, and Mr. Madison, another president, left one hundred. The Society received generous gifts from slave-state legislatures, \$200,000 from Maryland, \$30,000 a year for five years from Virginia, and so on.² The Society declared, even in its official organs, that the Negro was incapable of rising in the United States; that he was "inferior" in every respect. "An anomalous race of beings, the most depraved upon earth."³ "The most abandoned race on earth,"⁴ "ignorant, degraded, mentally diseased."⁵ "Useless and pernicious, if not . . . dangerous,"⁶ were some of the phrases used by the Society to describe the free Negroes. "America is the white man's home: God has so ordered it,"⁷ "The African in this country belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society; and from that station he cannot rise, be his talents what they may"⁸—these were the hopes held out to the Negro by the American Colonization Society. The Society unconditionally condemned abolition, and admitted—actually boasted—that the deportation of the free Negroes tended to secure slave property. "Colonization of the free people of color, will render the slave who remains in America more obedient, more faithful, more honest, and consequently more useful to his master."⁹ "The tendency of the scheme, and one of its objects, is to secure slave holders."¹⁰ If space permitted, we could give scores of quotations to the same effect. To the soft-headed philanthropist, the Society spoke of the missionary work which the American

Negro could do in Africa. The free Negro was told that the Society hoped for the abolition of slavery—altho this, of course, was to be the work of "the slow and gradual operation of centuries"¹—and that he would find comfort in Africa.

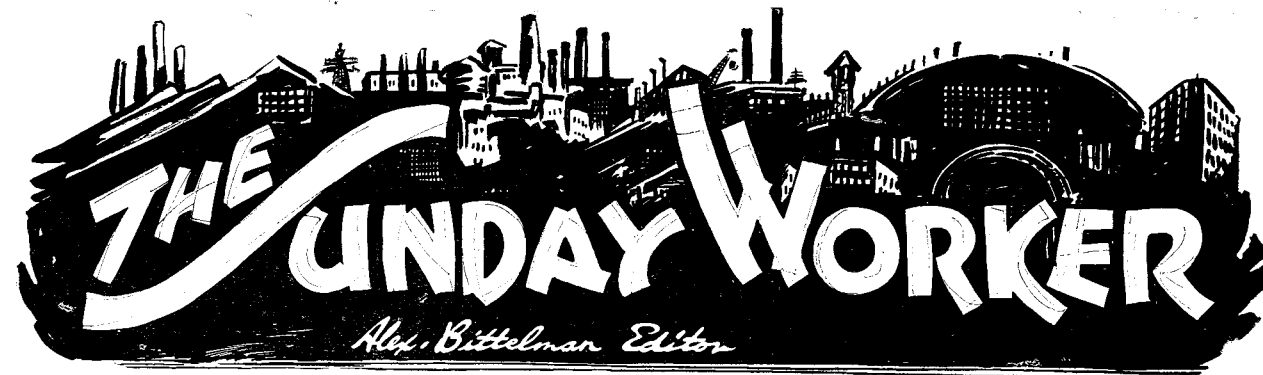
It is pleasant to know that relatively few of the more politically conscious Negroes were taken in by this scheme. The Southern Negro, freed on condition of his emigration to Africa, and other Negroes in the South, not easily reached by abolition propaganda, as well as a few Northern Negroes who were disgusted with the race prejudice they found on every hand, favored the Society. The overwhelming majority of the Northern Negroes denounced it roundly. Meetings of Negroes in many cities passed resolutions against it: "Resolved that we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population of this country . . ." ² "Resolved, that we believe the primary, secondary and ultimate object of the American Colonization Society is the exportation of the free people of color from the United States and thereby to render slave property more secure and valuable. We do therefore condemn unconditionally the society and its advocates."³ "We recognize in it the most intense hatred of the colored race, clad in the garb of pretended philanthropy."⁴ The collection of letters, while it contains opinions of a few intelligent freemen, disgusted with the prevailing inequality, that the Negro could never be free in America and must go elsewhere, tells more of the difficulties of persuading Negroes to emigrate. "It must be well-known to you how deep the prejudices of the most of our free color people is against any thing that the Colonization Society has anything to do with or any control over," says one writer. This prejudice was due partly to the belief that the climate and living conditions in Africa were bad, and largely to a determination to stay in America and fight for the acquisition of all rights granted to white men. According to the figures of the Society itself, it had succeeded by 1852 in colonizing only 7,836 people.⁵

We have been able to touch briefly on only the most important points concerning the Negro of this period, and on these points, to give only a little of the evidence available. We have said nothing of the frequent race riots in the North, nor of the church in its relation to slavery, nor of the relation of the Negro to the church. Dr. Woodson's book suggests a hundred fields of profitable study. The questions of the relation of black and white labor during this period, and of the development of the anti-slavery movement in all its phases, are probably the two most important questions for the workers of today.

—Edith Block.

1) Frederic May Holland, "Frederick Douglass."
 2) G. B. Stebbins, as above.
 3) African Repository, VII, 230. Quoted by W. Jay, "An Inquiry, etc."
 4) Address before the Lynchburg Col. Society. Quoted by W. Jay.
 5) Editorial, Af. Rep., I, 68. Quoted by W. Jay.
 6) Henry Clay, Meeting to organize American Col. Soc., 1816. Quoted by Stebbins.
 7) Letter of J. B. Latrobe in reply to Victor Hugo's letter to Mrs. Chapman of July 6, 1851. Quoted by Stebbins.
 8) Af. Rep., 230, 246. Quoted by Stebbins.
 9) Second Report Am. Col. Soc. Quoted by W. Jay, "An Inquiry, etc."
 10) Address of a Virginia Col. Soc., Af. Rep. IV, 274. Quoted by W. Jay.

1) Af. Rep. I, p. 217. Quoted by W. Jay.
 2) Resolution passed in Philadelphia, Jan. 1817. Quoted by Stebbins.
 3) Resolution passed by state convention of colored people of Ohio in Cincinnati, Jan. 14, 1852. Quoted by Stebbins.
 4) Resolution passed at Syracuse, N. Y., March 18, 1853. Quoted by Stebbins.
 5) See C. G. Woodson, "A Century of Negro Migration."



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