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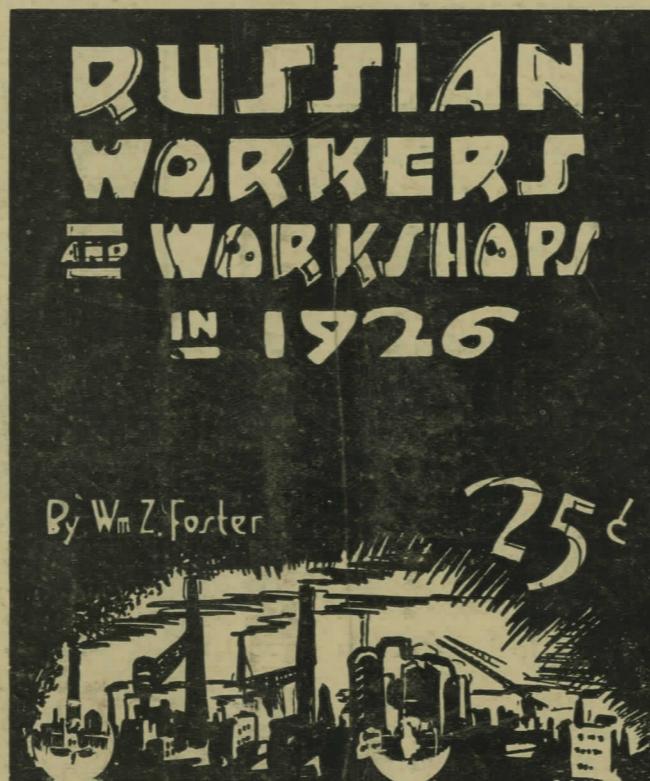
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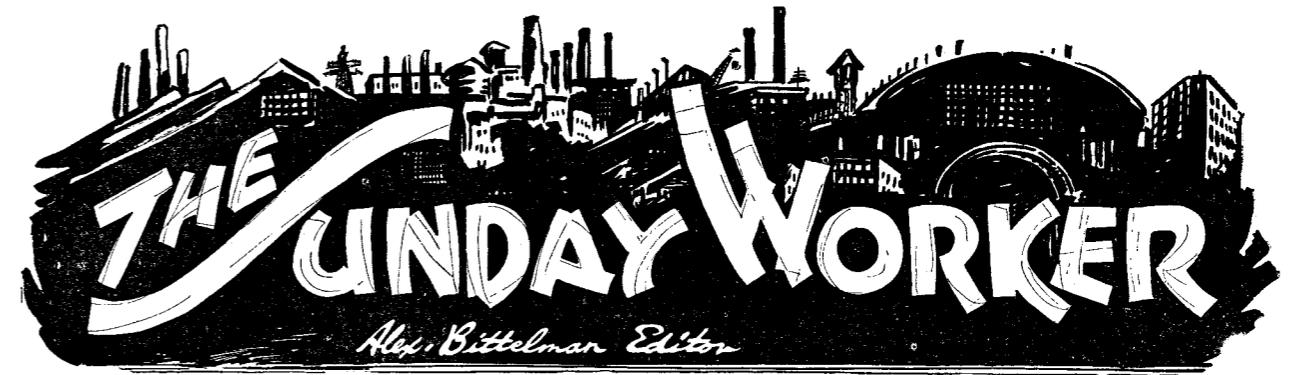
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No. 13.

What is the Election About?

By C. E. Ruthenberg

WE will elect this year the whole membership of the House of Representatives, one-third of the Senate, and the governors and state legislatures of a large number of states. With the one exception of the State of Minnesota the election will decide whether the candidates of the Republican Party or those of the Democratic Party shall be elected to office and hold the political power which goes with these offices.

Fifty million voters will be asked to go to the ballot boxes and cast their votes. To induce them to give their support to candidates of one or the other of the two major parties thousands of speeches will be made, tens of thousands of newspaper articles will be written, millions of leaflets and pamphlets will be distributed, and tens of millions of dollars will be expended.

With such an expenditure of vocal power, paper and dollars one would expect to find a burning issue, or issues, upon which the Republican and Democratic Party are divided and which the voters will decide by electing the candidates of one or the other party. Are there such issues which divide the two old parties? Are there two programs, respectively supported by the Republican and Democratic Party?

The Issue of "Prosperity."

President Coolidge and his spokesmen have announced that the big issue is "prosperity." "Prosperity" is a generalization which has been used before in our elections, particularly as a bait for the workers. It gets us down to the economic basis of politics—that is, that in the elections are involved struggles for political power

and that the control of political power is a mighty weapon in advancing the class or group interests of the various economic groupings in our country.

In order to make a case for the Republican Party as the beneficent creator of "prosperity," not for one class or group, but for the country as a whole, it would be essential that the Republican Party present the program of economic measures thru which this "prosperity" was

brought into existence and is being maintained. No such program is being presented to the voters for their support. Neither does the Democratic Party present such a program. With the exception of slight differences of viewpoint as to how high the tariff should be on certain goods imported into this country, which difference has not assumed such importance in this election that it can be said that this is the issue on which the battle is being fought, there are no opposing programs of economic policy before the electors.

We know, too, that the question of general "prosperity"—that is an economic situation in which the machinery of production is working somewhere near to capacity and the workers, with the exception of the few million who are unemployed

even in the best times, have the opportunity to work and earn such a living as capitalism grants them, is not dependent upon whether the Republican or Democratic Party is in power and upon their respective economic policies. The worst economic crisis of the last decade, with its "hard times" for the workers, took place in 1921, under the Republican Harding administration. The depression of 1914, which threw millions



—McCutcheon in the Chicago Tribune



LENIN

of workers out of jobs, took place under the Democratic Wilson administration. The Roosevelt, Republican administration of 1907 had its panic and 1893 found the Cleveland Democratic administration in power

The question whether production goes on at a normal pace or the factories are working part time or are closed is determined by more fundamental economic factors that the programs of the Republican or Democratic Party. The policies enacted into law by these parties does determine whether one group within the capitalist class or another shall be in a more favorable position to make profits in time of "prosperity" or during "hard times," but not the question whether a particular period shall be a period of "prosperity" or of "hard times." That is determined by deeper economic factors within the capitalist system within this country and in the world at large.

Therefore, President Coolidge and the Republican Party's effort to make "prosperity" the issue must be considered as an attempt to capitalize something which the Republican Party can no more claim as its achievement than the Democratic Party could claim the wartime prosperity as something which it created.

If we reject "prosperity" as the possible basic issue on which the election fight is being carried on by the Republican and Democratic Party, because neither offers an economic program which can be considered as a decisive factor in determining whether industry shall operate at capacity or near capacity or shall be reduced to fifty or sixty per cent of capacity, and turn to the other questions which are being raised, we will find that there is no division along party lines on these issues.

The World Court Issue.

Take the question of international policies as involved in the attitude toward the war debts and the World Court. The votes on these questions in the Congress cut across party lines. There was a majority in the Senate made up of Republican and Democrats who voted for our entry into the World Court and a minority made up of Republicans and Democrats who voted against. The ratification of the various agreements for the payment of the war debts had majority and minority similarly made up for and against.

In the election campaign we find the Republican candidate for Senator in Illinois, Frank L. Smith, determinedly opposing affiliation with the World Court, as is the Republican candidate for Senator in Oklahoma, J. W.

Harrold. In New York state James W. Wadsworth, the candidate for United States Senate, voted for entry into the World Court, as did Senator Butler, the candidate for U. S. Senate in Massachusetts. In New York state the Robert W. Wagner, the Democratic candidate for United States Senate, together with Governor "Al" Smith, are for the World Court, while in Illinois the Democratic candidate for the United States Senate, George E. Brennan, is opposed to our entry into the World Court. The same division runs through the twenty-eight states which will elect United States Senators this year. There are Republican and Democratic candidates on both sides of the question.

The struggle over our entry into the World Court is a fight between finance capital as represented by the international banking houses and industrial capital.

The international bankers want the United States in the World Court as an instrument to protect their international investments. The capitalists who are primarily interested in industrial production here are opposed to the World Court. Their interests are not involved and hence they are opposed to "European entanglements."

The fact that the Republican and Democratic Party are both divided on this question in this election is the clearest sort of evidence that both parties are dominated by the capitalists and that there are representatives of both groups of capitalists involved in this fight in each of these parties.

Farm Relief and Prohibition
If we turn to the question of relief for the farmers, or prohibition, both of which are major issues of the election campaign, we find the same anomalous situation.

There are states where the Republican candidates are for farm relief as represented by the McNary-Haugen bill, notably Brookhart in Iowa, and other states where the Republicans are opposed. The Democrats are similarly divided. We have Republican "dry" candidates and Republican "wet" candidates, and Democrat "dry" candidates and Democratic "wet" candidates.

The McNary-Haugen bill, while supported by the masses of exploited farmers seeking relief from unbearable conditions, is essentially a petty bourgeoisie attack upon big capital. The 18th amendment and Volstead Act, had behind them the big capitalists who wanted more efficient workers. Unquestionably there are among the supporters of these measures earnest opponents of the use of alcohol because of the evils resulting therefrom, who believe that these evils can be eliminated by prohibition, but the main driving force came from the



—McCutcheon in the Chicago Tribune.

capitalists intent upon serving their own economic interests. The exposure of the source of the Anti-Saloon League funds in the Pennsylvania "slush fund" investigation gave proof of that.

No Issues on Party Lines.

Thus we find that on all the major issues in this election there is no division on party lines between Republicans and Democrats. There are Republican and Democrats on both sides of each question. There are within the Republican Party finance capitalists, industrial capitalists and petty bourgeoisie. The same is true of the Democratic Party. These groups struggle for control of the party with varying results and the consequences that in different states these parties have different policies.

The *Chicago Tribune* brings out this situation clearly in commenting on the fact that President Coolidge decided not to take part in the congressional campaign. It declares that in eighteen out of twenty-eight states the president could not consistently endorse the candidates for United States Senate, because they are opposed to his policies. Explaining this situation, it says:

"Our party system divides the nation into two or at most three large groupings. Within these groupings there must be many shades of opinion. There are radical and conservative Democrats and Republicans. Some Democrats belong to the urban wing of the party and some to the agrarian wing, and the same division runs thru the Republican Party. Our political theory permits a man to run as a Republican though he has little in common with many other Republicans. The differences are ironed out within the party after election rather than before."

The last sentence of this quotation is a way of saying that the elections do not mean anything. After the election all those elected get their orders from the dominant capitalists and carry them out.

The *Tribune*, however, has missed one factor in the situation. That is the primary election. Unquestionably, one of the conditions which has created the situation of which we have an example in this election campaign, that the Republican and Democratic Party are not divided on issues representing the group economic interests of section of the capitalist class and the petty bourgeoisie, is the fact that these issues are fought out in the primary election. The primary election makes possible the existence of what are really parties within the two old parties. This is clearly illustrated in the farm bloc in congress. The members of this bloc succeeded in winning primary nominations from the Republican and Democratic parties, but in congress these Republicans and Democrats combine on the basis of the economic interests they represent and form a bloc.

Without the primary law it is questionable whether the Republican and Democratic Parties, as now constituted, would hold together. The clashing economic group-

ings within them would lead to splits and the formation of new parties. With the sharpening of the struggle between these groups this will become inevitable in spite of the primary. Already in Illinois and New York there are "independent" candidates for the U. S. Senate.

The Workers and the Elections.

The issues on which the two old parties are fighting in this election campaign and the economic groups behind these issues, illustrates glaringly how little part the workers of this country have in the political struggles of the country. The masses of workers still divide on issues over which the groups within the capitalist parties fight, but do not unite in support of an economic program which represents their class interests as against the interests of all the groups within the capitalist parties.

The election campaign, however, again shows a forward movement toward a class party of workers. The **Workers (Communist) Party** raised the slogan of a United Labor Ticket early in the campaign. In a number of states and localities there are again movements to unite the workers thru the formation of a labor party, or in the agricultural states a farmer-labor party thru alliance with the farmers, upon a program representing the interests of these two exploited classes.

In Minnesota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington the farmer-labor parties are challenging the rule of the two capitalist parties. In Minnesota the petty bourgeoisie politicians who have played a big role in the Farmer-Labor Party heretofore are leading a movement back to the Democratic Party, which is likely to result in clearing the farmer-labor party of these elements and in helping to hasten its development as a party representing the class interests of the workers and farmers.

In Ohio a Farmer-Labor Party has been organized in Allen County and a Labor Party in Southeastern Ohio. In Massachusetts a committee for the formation of a Labor Party was established by a convention of trade union delegates and representatives of the **Workers (Communist) Party and Socialist Party**. In Buffalo the movement for the labor party has taken new life. In upper Michigan Farmer-Labor parties have been formed in two counties. In Pennsylvania the existing Labor Party leaders sold out first to the Republican and then to the Democratic machine, but in three counties of the western section of the state new movements for the formation of a party that will fight on class lines have developed.

The crystallization of this movement on a nation-wide scale is the task before the working class movement. Until this movement results in the formation of a Labor Party, which will ally itself with the farmers in a struggle against capitalist parties, labor's part in the election will remain that of the tail to the kite of the capitalist parties, fighting the battles of various capitalist groups and petty bourgeoisie, but not fighting the battles of the workers against the capitalists.

Nine Years of Revolution

By Max Bedacht

THE Russian workers' revolution is nine years old this month. These nine years represent years of life, of struggle, of sacrifice and, finally, of victory and of achievements.

The first news of the victory of the Russian proletariat was greeted with a contemptuous smile by international capitalism. "It is a mere adventure," they declared. And the short life of the Bolshevik triumphs were to prove their adventurous character.

The bourgeoisie was serious in its predictions. It believed in them. They were not merely children of good wishes. The bourgeois conviction of their own fitness for political rulership is only outdone by their parallel conviction that the workers are thoroughly unfit to rule. How could these "hands" whom they ordered around in their shops and factories dare reach out for the power of government? What preposterous aspirations! How could these "hands" challenge the right and the qualification of the bourgeoisie to govern the world? The revolution must fail because it is the God-ordained prerogative of the bourgeoisie to rule and it is the eternal duty of the workers to obey.

But the prerogatives of the bourgeoisie did not seem to be a strong enough power to defeat the Bolsheviks. So the bourgeoisie decided to fight. While it is a strong believer in God and his supreme rulership over the universe, yet it refused to rely upon God to get back political power for its Russian brethren. Instead of having God's will done, it set up as its slogan the maxim of the cheating gamblers: "Corrigez la fortune."

The capitalists of the United States were represented in those days by Woodrow Wilson of 14-point fame. He was capitalist hypocrisy personified. While the sword of the imperialist dictatorship of the American bourgeoisie was dripping with the blood of the world war, the mouth of its spokesman was dripping with sanctimonious words about righteousness, freedom, self-determination, and open and above-board diplomacy. But when the Bolsheviks played open diplomacy and exposed the secret pacts of the capitalist nations, the sanctimonious sermons for open diplomacy turned into howling accusations of "treason against Allies" hurled against the practice of open diplomacy. And when the Russian people determined for themselves that it would no longer stand for the bloody regime of a murderous czar or of exploiting capitalism, then the preacher of self-determination wished perdition down upon the heads of the "self-determiners."

In 1905, the Russian exploited and oppressed masses warned international capitalism thru the mouth of the

Bolsheviks that any monies lent to the czar to enable him to continue his rule of blood and gallows would not be paid back by the people of Russia after the overthrow of the czar. The money lenders did not listen. First, because their money needed a market; second, a blood-czar needed the money badly and, therefore, could be forced to accept terms very profitable to the lenders; and, third, because the money lenders were of the class of the czar. They, like him, were God-ordained to rule. They laughed at the idea of the masses ever succeeding in taking power.

However, in November, 1917, the masses did take over the power. And promptly they declared, again thru the mouth of the Bolsheviks, that the debts contracted by the czar were not contracted in the name and interest of the Russian people, but for the purpose of continuing the oppression of the Russian people under the iron heel of czarism and capitalism. Therefore, these debts were repudiated.

Then our preacher of righteousness threw off completely his mask of saintliness. The Russian people were declared outside of the pale of civilized nations. A civilized nation, without the slightest shudder, can watch the life of its children ground into profits by child-exploiting capitalists. It can, without developing moral indignation, see the health and life of its working class women and mothers worn away in the daily grind of underpaid factory work. It can see its sons slaughtered on the battle fields by the million for the profits of its Morgans, its Stinneses, its Loucheurs, without even permitting a protest against such slaughter. All of these things are part of the daily life of a "civilized" nation. But when a people rises, when it declares that the debts on its shoulders were contracted to forge the chains which it had just thrown off and that, therefore, it would refuse to pay these debts, then civilization is outraged. Such a people is declared outside of the pale of civilized nations.

Capitalism attempted to revive the papal interdict of old; it put its curse upon a whole nation. But capitalism knew, and, if it did not know, it soon learned, that, unlike Emperor Henry V., the Russian people would not go to Canossa. Therefore, it did not rely on its interdict but it mobilized more substantial forces against the Russian revolution. The "diplomatic" representatives of the "civilized" nations who were located in Russia organized and paid for the bombing of bridges, railroads, buildings, etc. They armed and organized mercenaries and began a war of extermination against revolutionary Russia. Civilization determined to glory in its most legitimate, most saintly and most glorious

deeds of war, and in its train of murder, rape and destruction against the Russian people.

Thus it came about that the apostle of open diplomacy, Woodrow Wilson, entered into a secret pact with the capitalist governments of England, France, Japan, etc., to land troops in Russia. Thus it came about that the saintly defender of the democratic constitution of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, organized and carried on war against the people of Russia in violation of the constitution which reserves for congress the right to declare war.

The capitalist saints of democracy tried to blind the world to their dastardly attacks on revolutionary Russia by hypocritical propaganda. They, who dreaded and condemned the unity of the Russian people in arms, demanded a proof of this unity at a ballot box. At home, where they strangled every manifestation of democracy, our capitalists maintained their halo of "defenders of democracy" by carrying on a war against "undemocratic Bolshevik Russia." And in Russia where they supported every agency of the overthrown autocracy, they maintained their reputation as "defenders of democracy" on the strength of the myth of a flourishing democracy at home. The presence of a rule of democracy was declared sacred everywhere—except where the "defenders of democracy" and their rule were present themselves.

World capitalism predicted the early downfall of Bolshevik rule in Russia. But the gods seemed to conspire against their prophets. That is why the prophets raised armies to proceed with fire and sword, attempting to make good their prophecies.

But the imperialist crusaders for democracy were taught a lesson. They saw their unity of capitalism, of counter-revolution, confronted by the unity of the Russian people for their revolution. **The Russian people may not have voted together for their revolution; but they fought together for it; they hungered together for it; they suffered cold and privation together for it; and they conquered together for it.** On the roche de bronc of the revolutionary unity of the Russian people, the counter-revolutionary ship of allied international capitalism was smashed to pieces; the revolution emerged victorious.

International capitalism with its mercenaries of democratic and social-democratic statesmen, writers and demagogues, was not satisfied with this outcome. It had lost its war of arms. So it started a war of villification and lies. The revolutionary people of Russia had bled, had hungered and suffered; but international capitalism shouted about the sufferings of the counter-revolutionists. International capital had attacked the revolution with the terror of poison, dagger, dynamite and gun; but it shrieked murder because it had been answered with the red terror. International capitalism and, above all, American capitalism suppresses every manifestation of democracy at home. Free speech is punished with penitentiary or even lynching, free press is strangled to death by a postoffice censorship; "as-

sembling with" is declared a crime, punishable by years of imprisonment. But these dictators at home howl for democracy—in Russia.

But all of this propaganda was not considered sufficient. The capitalists after years of blockade from without and systematic sabotage from within Russia had succeeded in reducing the productive power of the country to almost zero. But they pointed to their handiwork as an example of the failure of a workers' government. Evidence against the Soviet Republic was manufactured. Counterfeiting laboratories were established for this purpose in Riga, in Berlin, in Bucharest, etc. From the infamous Sisson documents to the equally notorious Zinoviev letter there is one continuous line of lies and falsifications. No pool of lies was too deep or too odoriferous for international capitalism to wade in and pump out a flood of calumnies against the workers' republic of Russia.

However, all of this was of no avail. The revolution lived and was victorious. It did more than live. While meeting the onslaught of international capitalism on all fields, while fighting and destroying the old order and its remnants, it also carried on an uninterrupted effort of constructing a new society. The Communist reconstruction was undertaken by the revolutionary workers of Russia with the same vigor, the same devotion, and the same success as the struggle against the old order.

As a result, on its ninth anniversary the Russian revolution can look back upon nine years of unprecedented achievements. All palaver of the "defenders of democracy" cannot obscure the working class democracy established by the Russian revolution. The capitalists have no reason to like this democracy, to be sure. The workers have all reasons to love it. The rule of the capitalist class has established the principle that every one who has is a good citizen. The proletarian rule in Russia, on the other hand, enforces the principle that everyone who does is a good citizen. Under capitalist democracy the power belongs to the Morgans, Dohenys and Insulls who can buy laws and favors from the government by fat campaign contributions and by corrupting officials. Under the proletarian dictatorship in Russia the power belongs to the workers who keep society going by their toil.

The other day, the son of the millionaire president of Sears, Roebuck Company declared, upon his return from Russia, that it had depressed him deeply to see how the youth of Russia is being inoculated so early in life with the poison of Marxism. Really, the defense of democracy produces curious flowers. Democracy is presumably self-government of the people. But self-government presupposes a people fully educated to their needs, their problems, and the methods of solution of their problems thru government. Capitalist state education does not provide this knowledge. On the contrary, it exerts all efforts to withhold it from its youth. And if a teacher here and there or now and then dares to let his better judgment override the capitalist dictator-

ship in education his teacher's certificate is not worth the paper it is written on.

The proletarian dictatorship in Russia accepts the principle that self-government (democracy) of the workers is possible only with a politically well-educated working class. Therefore, it provides this education. It builds the solid foundation of self-government by teaching its youth the elements of political science. But the very moment that a capitalist "defender of democracy" comes in contact with such a real measure of democracy, he becomes deeply depressed and sighs: "Oh God! oh God! Where is this world going to, anyhow?"

But then our own capitalist democracy has all reasons to complain of the proletarian democracy in Russia. When one of our own thieving "defenders of democracy" is caught with his loot a la Harry Daugherty he merely raises the cry: "Down with the reds!" "No recognition of the Russian dictatorship!"—and instead of being sent to the penitentiary he is hailed as a pillar of constitutional government and is raised to the position of a minister of state. If we contrast this with the rough treatment a corrupt official receives at the hands of the proletarian democracy in Russia we can appreciate the "deep depression" our "democratic" capitalists feel.

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, after listening to a speech by Mr. Sherwood Eddy exposing the "false and second-handed propaganda" against the Soviet Union, declared: "We are glad to have some of our impressions about dictatorship in Russia confirmed." All Mr. Green could hear out of Mr. Eddy's speech was that the liberties of speech and press are abridged in Russia. And so they are, indeed. Just like in Mr. Green's own United States. Yet, Mr. Green's regrets do him no honor. There are in the prisons of the United States, and at the very doors of these prisons about to be pushed in, scores of men and women whose only crime is that they took seriously the constitution and that they exercised the right of free speech, free press, free assemblage, or free association. When and where has Mr. Green ever raised his voice against these abridgements of constitutional rights in America? When and where has he ever condemned the criminal syndicalist laws? When and where has he joined in a move to free the victims of the infamous Busick injunction in California? When and where has Mr. Green ever voiced his indignation against the complete abolition of all constitutional rights of the working Negro masses in the United States?

Yes, the workers' democracy in Russia does abridge the rights of free speech, press, etc. And on its ninth anniversary, the Soviet Union can be as proud of this achievement as of any of its accomplishments in the field of economic reconstruction. The right of free speech is the right of the ruling class and of the ruling class only. It is the right of the capitalist class in America. It is the right of the working class in Russia. Capitalist America prevents or punishes speech against capitalism. And Mr. Green acquiesces in this abridgement of freedom. Proletarian Russia prevents and punishes speech against the workers' rule. And we glory in this abridgement of freedom. It is an achievement of revolution. The revolution has freed the tongues of those hitherto oppressed and has tied the tongues of their former oppressors. After centuries of grave-yard silence in Russia, the revolution has won for the millions of toilers the right to be heard. All the cries of the Morgans and the Greens about the absence of liberties in the Soviet Union are answered by the experiences of the American workers in democratic United States. Every injunction against strikers, every police club against pickets, every prison sentence against class war fighters shouts this experience with unmistakable clearness into the ears of the American proletariat:

"Workers! You can have no freedom until you fight for it. But your right to be free means the end of the right of your capitalist masters to coin money out of you. With the attainment of your freedom will begin the wailings of your present day masters against the abridgement of their freedom. Workers! You must choose! What shall it be? The capitalists' freedom and your continued enslavement—or your freedom and the capitalists' suppression?"

Every breath of the Russian revolution is a breath of life of the working class of the world. Every step forward of the Russian revolution is a victory for the working class of the world. Every experience of the Russian revolution is a lesson to the working class of the world. And the nine years of life of the Russian revolution are a monument to the future hopes and aspirations of the working class of the world.

The Russian revolution lived nine years. It will live to the complete accomplishment of its task. It will live under the vigilance of the Russian workers and of the workers of the world. It will live as the guide of the workers of the world. It will live as the fore-runner and the example of a revolution of the working class of the world.

American Dox Quixotes and their Windmills

By Ellis Peterson

(Concluded from last issue.)

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

FOR years the Socialist Labor Party has been attacking the theory of Marx and Lenin about the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this pamphlet of the Socialist Labor Party we find the following statement on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat:

"Imagine what it means to come to America and urge upon the American working class the need of establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat! To advocate such a thing takes either a consummate and hopeless fool or a designing knave; no sane revolutionary Socialist can give that sort of thing countenance for the fraction of a second."

The teacher and the leader of the Socialist Labor Party, Daniel De Leon, in 1905 in his address for the I. W. W. convention, said that the political organization of the working class had to be dissolved the minute after its triumph, and his followers have time and again stated that the political state will disappear at the moment when the working class seizes power. But later De Leon made a clear statement in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That was in an article in the Daily People, March 17, 1907. In a letter to Bracke, which De Leon quoted, Marx had said:

"Between the capitalist and the Communist system of society there is a period of revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, the state institution of which cannot be anything else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

We very much regret that we have found no Chicago library with a copy of the Daily People at hand. We are therefore compelled to use the Swedish text from the Swedish Socialist Labor Party paper "Arbetaren," published in New York, where this article of De Leon was printed twice, and likewise the Swedish paper, "Folket," where it was published March 12, 1921. We quote from the Socialist Labor Party paper, Arbetaren:

"Marx visar klart, att proletariatet måste organisera sig politiskt, så att det kan kontrollera övergångsstaten och införa socialismen."
Retranslated:

"Marx clearly shows (proves) that the proletariat must organize politically, so that it can control the transition state and introduce socialism."

So it seems that even De Leon is one of those "consummate and hopeless fools" and "designing knaves," who advocate the dictatorship of the proletariat. He shares this honor humbly with Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Let us now, for the benefit of the "only Marxian organization," quote the Marxist Engels, from his foreword to Marx's book, "The Civil War in France," on the Paris Commune:

"The German petty bourgeois (read the American Socialist Labor Party—EP.) has again been soundly terrified by the words: The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well, gentlemen, if you wish to know, what this dictatorship looks like, look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat."

These words are missing in the American edition of Marx's book. The American petty bourgeois socialist was terrified by Engels "advocating such a thing" and left it out. And so in the files of the Socialist Labor Party we will find among the knaves, etc., even old Engels! If more quotations are wanted on this matter, we advise the Socialist Labor Party to turn to Marx', Engels' and Lenin's writings. There are plenty of them.

The Russian Revolution.

The Socialist Labor Party "recognized" the Russian revolution. Both de facto and de jure. The bolshevik revolution is too hard a fact to be simply denied out of existence. But even on this question the Socialist Labor Party shows a great deal of hypocrisy. The Russian revolution as a fact is recognized, alas—a "premature revolution"—but successful anyhow! If the bolsheviks had been real Marxians they would have waited and "made" no revolution before the industrially more developed America had had its "peaceful revolution" made by the Socialist Labor Party. But the bolsheviks, being no "real Marxians," couldn't wait—and so the Russian revolution came "prematurely" and against the theories of the Socialist Labor Party. That's an outrage—and here we find the reason for the howling of the Socialist Labor Party.

All the lessons of the great Russian revolution, all its experiences for labor movements of other countries, all the international results and gains of this tremendous struggle of the Russian workers and peasants are as nothing to the Socialist Labor Party. They are not in accordance with the dogmas of the Socialist Labor Party. And consequently Leninism and modern Communism are fought to the utmost. The greatest international achievement of the Russian revolution, embodied in the Communist International, are viciously attacked. And the Russian party, the leader of this revolution, is most positively misunderstood by the Socialist Labor Party. All the lies of the bourgeois press about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are eagerly reprinted and distributed by the Socialist Labor Party.

The Trotsky debate and the present factional fight have been purposely interpreted in a pure counter-revolutionary sense, with no understanding of the great tasks that face the leaders of such a tremendous social upheaval and with no understanding of the ideological struggle that is an outcome of the great economical changes taking place in a vast agrarian country like Russia, where industrialization is advancing under socialist leadership.

The Communist International.

The Socialist Labor Party is no international party. Its "internationalism" manifests itself in the following statement:

"The working class of America is quite capable of accomplishing its emancipation without aid from the outside."

And in accordance with this excellent Socialist Labor Party thesis, "the only Marxian organization" isolates its members internationally and refuses to belong to any international. This thesis is absolutely opposed to the first and most elementary slogan of Marx: "Workers of the world, unite!"

When we come to the question: Comintern or the Second International, the Socialist Labor Party proudly claims that it is fighting reformism! But never have we seen the Socialist Labor Party mobilize a hundredth of the energy with which it is fighting the revolutionary Comintern to fight the reformist Second International.

When this Socialist party speaks of the Communist International it addresses it as a Russian institution. It has never occurred to the leading clique of the Socialist Labor Party that the Comintern is an international organization, is ruled by international world congresses and between them by an Executive Committee with representatives from at least some twenty different countries. Or if it has occurred to the Socialist Labor Party it has been filed as "not for publication."

The "21 points" of the Communist International are the main source of Socialist Labor Party's hatred of the Comintern. These points were adopted to hinder the entrance of opportunist elements into the Communist International. And as far as the Socialist Labor Party is concerned the 21 points were a perfect hit. It is very interesting to note that the Socialist Labor Party never quotes anything from the resolutions, theses, or program of the Communist International. Not even a single one of the 21 points is quoted, because, if the real text would be presented to the Socialist Labor Party workers, the leading clique could not continue its dirty work of misinformation about the Communist International. Everything said by the Socialist Labor Party about the Communist International is distortion and true "American" falsifications of Communism. In this way the Socialist Labor Party draws a caricature of the 21 points and then pounces upon this caricature as revolutionary romanticism and triumphantly declares: "The Communist International is only a circus stunt and Zinoviev is a clown!" Such methods need not be given their real name here.

Here are some of these distortions.

1. The Socialist Labor Party claims that the 21 points contained—

"among other things, such precepts as secret political organization, side by side with open political organization, **THE FORMER TO CONTROL THE LATTER.**"

This is a lie. Point 3 says:

"The Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois legality. It is their duty everywhere to organize a parallel organization apparatus, which in the decisive moment will ASSIST the party to fulfill its duty to the revolution. In such countries where the Communists . . . cannot do all their work legally a combination of the legal and illegal activities is absolutely necessary."

Here nothing is said about which organization shall control the other. That depends upon the conditions in the particular countries. But the Socialist Labor Party needs this lie in order to be able to cry out: "Look, this Communist Party of America is not an independent party, it is under the guidance of 'irresponsible,' secret, unknown, etc., leaders!"

The second lie is contained in the following political phantasy:

". . . a mandatory obligation to carry revolutionary propaganda among the troops, plus a lot of other stuff that aimed at the creation of a military organization of the labor movement with the ultimate end in view to smash up things in general and to tell the enemy all about it beforehand."

Then the Socialist Labor Party points out how the Communist International policy has gone bankrupt, because "we see no signs of a Red Communist army!" The Socialist Labor Party tries to give the impression that the Communist International demands propaganda and incitement to mutiny, at once and always, in the bourgeois army, with no consideration of the prevailing conditions. And how about that "Red Communist army" of the Communist International in capitalist America? This army has never existed outside of the Socialist Labor Party's crooked imagination. The Socialist Labor Party will never be able to produce a single statement by the Communist International where such a policy is advocated. The anti-militarist propaganda and work of the Communists is in every country strongly opposed to all ultra-leftist, "putschist" tendencies. But all anti-militarist work, except of the bourgeois pacifist type, is disavowed by the Socialist Labor Party.

The polemics of the Socialist Labor Party against the Communist International consists mostly in calling names. Listen to this tirade addressed to the Russian and the Communist International leaders:

"You know less than nothing of American industrial conditions under which we have to work and organize . . . in matters that concern the labor movement abroad, America in particular, you are babes in the wood."

There is logic in this! The Socialist Labor Party leaders know that they know less than nothing about the movement in Russia, Europe and other parts of the world. Consequently, they believe that the leading Russian comrades know nothing about America and its labor movement. They forget that the Communist International is an international organization, that it has members from America, that many of its Russian and other leaders have been for years working in America, etc.

But still the Communist International has much to learn about America. Nobody has pointed that out more frankly than the Communist International and its leaders themselves. But that the social-pacifists in the Socialist Labor Party of today have anything to teach us we most emphatically deny.

It is impossible to take up all the silly attacks of the Socialist Labor Party against the Communist International. But one more quotation illustrating this party's failure to grasp the international standpoint. The Socialist Labor Party asks most naively:

"Why is it that Russian Soviet Government tolerates the peculiar, circus stunt antics of what is known as the Third International?"

The Socialist Labor Party points out that the bourgeoisie would willingly assist in the industrial upbuilding of Russia—if only the Communist International was liquidated. Again we hear the voice of the reformist, who does not understand that the proletarian revolution is international, and that the Russian comrades, in building up socialism, need the assistance first of all from the revolutionary vanguard and organized workers of other countries.

The Socialist Labor Party will never understand the international revolutionary movement because it never has been able to grasp the international lessons of the Russian revolution. It never will understand why Marx profited so much from the lessons of the class struggles in France and Germany in 1848, or from the Paris Commune. Their understanding of the help that the Russian revolution may give to comrades in other countries is contained in the following words:

"That proletarian revolutions can be artificially created from Moscow and that every such and all revolutionary activities in any country must be ordered, dominated and regulated in every detail from Moscow by means of organizations set up and financed from the same place."

These words give the Socialist Labor Party interpretation of the work of the Comintern. There is not a single word in this statement which has not been repudiated with the utmost positiveness by the Communist International. Every sentence in this quotation is anti-Leninist. And the whole activity of the Communist International is contrary to this distortion. But in spite of this the Socialist Labor Party declares:

The Communists believe "that revolutions can be pulled up by the hair whether they want to come or not, regardless of economic development and political constellations. . . ."

And again, not a single fact to prove this statement, not even half a word of a quotation! Such statements cannot be proved, because they are stupid lies. The Socialist Labor Party has been forced to use the old and threadbare capitalist method of knocking down your own straw man.

No wonder that the Socialist Labor Party is pessimistic and sees only chaos in the international labor movement! It can see nothing of the rallying of all revolutionary workers—yes, even the members of the social-democratic parties—around the ever more popular Soviet Union. Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make blind.

Political Perversion.

Illustrative of the perverted ideology of the Socialist Labor Party leaders are the accusations against the Workers' Communist Party because the CAPITALISTS HAVE SENT STOOHPIGEONS AND PROVOCATEURS into its organizations. With this they intend to prove the immoral and provocative character of the Workers' Party. Every sane, logical mind would understand that this is proving the immoral and provocative nature of those who send these provocateurs.

The Russian revolutionary organizations—especially the left wing—were swarmed with provocateurs and spies. But never did the Social-democrats at that time dare to accuse the Russian revolutionists because of that fact. But at that time the Social-democratic parties had not yet developed to where they are today. The Socialist Labor Party is making fine headway and it will soon be necessary to give the real interpretation to its initials: S. L. P.—the Social Lackey Party.

The Revolutionary Movement in America.

Under the pretentious heading: "Facts about American Working class," the Socialist Labor Party pamphlet comes with the following generalization:

"The American working class, the genuine American or Americanized proletariat, in numerous respects is **THE MOST INTELLIGENT IN THE WORLD.**"

And a few lines further down—in contradiction to this—it is claimed—again in the same stupid generalizing way—that the "most intelligent American working class"

"still retains faith in American opportunity and American political democracy and believes that further progress is possible and can be gotten for this generation and future generations under the system which has made past achievements possible."

We do not doubt the intelligence of the American working class. It has at least shown it by keeping away from the Socialist Labor Party. And it has very often shown intelligence in fighting. We underscore the criticism that the American workers still believe in American democracy. But we are absolutely against such cheap generalizations as quoted above. There is a difference—not to be overlooked—between the aristocracy of labor in America and the workers with low wages, long hours and rotten conditions (often worse than in many European countries). And the most valuable sign of intelligence of the working class—class consciousness

—is lacking in America among large strata of the workers—yes, indeed, even in the organized labor movement of America.

But listen to the S. L. P. program of action:

"Little or nothing can be done to organize the American mass of workers until conditions have ripened. In the meantime, we can ONLY AGITATE, show up conditions as they are ripening, call attention to facts as they culminate, and maintain a nucleus of a sound organization ready for future emergency. In other words, sow the seeds of revolutionary Socialism and bide the time of the harvest."

Do you recognize the voice. The arms of Esau, but the voice of Jacob! The voice of the opportunist, the Menshevik, the Social-pacifist, who is afraid of taking part in the class struggle. It is the pure and simple passivity of intellectual Fabianism. And this party with such a platform lays claim to being the vanguard of the revolutionary movement of the world! If the "gentlemen of the ruling class allow," these gentlemen who, according to the same Socialist Labor Party pamphlet, are

"holding the reins of its working class so taut that there is absolutely no chance for rearing or balking."

And please remember! This is supposed to be "the new inspiration needed" in stirring the workers. A splendid method of inspiring the workers by telling them that the whole class struggle is in vain!

In contradiction to this Socialist Labor Party passivity the Communists in America look for all the revolutionizing factors and use them to revolutionize the workers, not only thru agitation and propaganda, but first of all thru taking an active part in the every day class struggle in America. The Socialist Labor Party is sending out manifestos against strikes as a weapon for the workers, while the Communists are leading many important strikes and taking active part in every one of them. And the Socialist Labor Party is keeping away, isolated from the American labor movement, while the Communist Party is trying to get into every one of its branches, yes, more than that, trying to broaden it, to intensify it, to create new and more effective organizations, to break down the reactionary leadership of the present organizations, to lead the real proletarian masses into the organizations of the labor aristocracy and thus transform

even the A. F. of L. into a machine for the revolutionary class struggle.

But the Socialist Labor Party contends that "that the chief occupation of the Workers' Party has been to play the game of majority and minority, in which the minority becomes the majority and vice versa. . . ."

This is true; the Workers' Communist Party has gone thru many crises in its struggle against reformist traditions of the past, left over from the earlier non-communist period. Traditions from the Socialist Party, International Workers of the World, and even from the Socialist Labor Party. But every crisis has taught the Workers' Communist Party something, has carried it forward on its revolutionary way, has contributed to its health and not to its death, has drawn it closer to real revolutionary work among the American masses, has "Americanized" it in a proletarian sense of the word.

But the Socialist Labor Party! Since America's entry into the world war every year has seen De Leon's party drifting further away from its revolutionary path, sinking deeper and deeper into the reformist morass, until it now is nearly drowned in anti-Marxian revisionism and yellow social-pacifism. That is the real difference between the Socialist Labor Party and the Workers' Communist Party.

Only in the way in which the American section of the Communist International is now working, only in such a way can the American vanguard of the revolutionary movement fight—agitating, propagating and organizing for the class struggle of today and tomorrow. Taking part in every fight in which workers struggle for better conditions, attacking the fake leaders, broadening the movement, organizing larger and larger masses for the struggle, preparing the masses for the ultimate fight in every way, and building up the real leading vanguard of the American social revolution, a vanguard which still has much to learn, and, like every revolutionary body, is learning thru its own mistakes, a vanguard which thru its theory and practice has shown and in the future will continue to show that it is always to be found where the interests of the workers are at stake—found there fighting and leading and able to fight and lead in such a way that victory will be for us, the workers, not only of America but of all the world.

The Rubber Industry—Infant Prodigy

By I. Amter

THE rubber industry is a billion-dollar industry. One does not grasp the importance of it until one envisages the fact that there are four tires to every motor car, more than 25,000,000 cars in use the world over, and nearly 20,000,000 in the United States. Eighty million tires that must be renewed every year or so. This is not the limit of the rubber tire industry, for as the use of motor cars increases, in quadruple proportion grows the need of tires.

Motor transportation is driving the short line railroads out of existence by the sharp competition that they are offering. Interurban railways are being abandoned for motor buses, thus increasing the need of rubber tires. The rubber tire industry thus becomes one of the prime industries of the country, being an essential in automobile and motor bus transportation—for passengers and merchandise.

Rubber is becoming one of the articles of commerce that will lead to war. The fixing of the rubber supply by British rubber growers, thereby artificially raising the price of rubber from approximately 40 cents to \$1.20 a pound, and the ensuing threats of Secretary of Commerce Hoover that retaliatory measures might be applied against Great Britain, made American rubber manufacturers realize their dependence on foreign rubber growers and the necessity of securing supplies "under the American flag," where they would be free from foreign purveyors. This led to the establishment of rubber plantations by a few rubber concerns of the United States, but the supply thus obtained is only a small portion of what is consumed in the United States. Nine hundred million pounds or 450,000 tons of rubber are needed every year for American industry. The largest part of this is supplied by British and Dutch growers, thus placing the American manufacturers at the mercy of their British fellow-capitalists.

What was more natural, therefore, than that big American rubber manufacturers should seek fields where they could grow rubber unmolested?

Harvey Firestone, son of the Akron rubber tire manufacturer, toured Liberia and found a suitable site for a big rubber plantation—a million acres in extent. Mr. Firestone was exultant when confronted with the huge possibilities of Liberia. Only one thing stood in the way—and that was that President King of Liberia refused to grant the concession. The ways of manufacturers are queer—but those of governments are less queer. Mr. King was promised a loan of \$5,000,000 and the objections that he harbored to granting the concessions disappeared.

Not alone one million acres are waiting for the growing rubber trees. An abundance of native labor may be obtained. Altho Marcus Garvey had regarded Liberia

as the haven of the American Negro—which President King rejected—Mr. Firestone decided that American Negroes were not wanted or needed in Liberia. Yes, Liberia was established by emancipated American Negro slaves, but its doors are now closed to them. Firestone would not be able to use American Negroes who have been "emancipated" and have learned what emancipation in the United States means, viz., segregation, discrimination, jim-crowing and lynching—in the North as well as in the South—an established tradition in the South, a growing custom in the North, in keeping with the increasing spirit and "knowledge" of the superiority of the white race and particularly of the "Nordic." Such Negroes in the Liberian republic—which is nothing but a colony—would not improve their condition. On the contrary, it would be decidedly lowered and would only stir up the natives to dissatisfaction.

Firestone further will not need American Negroes. The natives of Africa can do the work of growing rubber as well if not better than American Negroes—and they can do it far cheaper. There is a plentiful supply of cheap native labor in the hinterland of Liberia. Poor peasants living on their little farms can easily have a hut or dog tax imposed on them, and in default of payment of the tax—which will be seen to—will be herded on to the plantations. Chiefs of the tribes will readily consent to the attractive seduction of so-and-so much per head, and tens of thousands of native youths will be driven in long columns to the plantations. This has been the practice in South and Central Africa—a well recognized and "approved" method. One step in the emancipation of American manufacturers from the rubber monopoly of Great Britain!

But even that is not enough. Far in the East, lie the fertile fields of the Philippines, well adapted to the growth of rubber. But the Filipinos have been stubborn. They have enacted laws making it unlawful to lease to any foreigner more than 2500 acres of land. This is not the day of small industry—and particularly not an industry producing sixty millions of tires every year. It is neither practical nor economical—and the American business man regards everything from that point of view. Economy means bigger profits—and American manufacturers are not producing commodities for the sake of supplying human needs. They are in business for profits, and profits today depend on economical management and sure control.

What was to be done? Governor-General Wood is not popular in the Philippines. He is a man of war, and altho the Philippines are not a war colony of the United States, but have a government of their own, subject to the control of the American government, the Filipinos have considered that the Islands are a buttress of

American imperialism in the East.

What is to be done in the Philippines? American industry requires raw material—rubber, iron, tobacco, sugar. Large quantities are produced or can be produced in these fertile isles. If the Filipinos are recalcitrant, they must be forced to yield to modern exigencies. Carmi Thompson, Republican henchman of Mr. Coolidge, and good friend of the rubber manufacturers of Akron, was suddenly despatched to the Philippines to make a "tour of investigation" and to report to Mr. Coolidge. Mr. Thompson did not wait for his return to the United States, but found after "thoro investigation" that the Mandanaro Islands, inhabited by the Moros, are excellently adapted to the growth of rubber, the people are industrious and the possibility of supplying a large part of crude rubber from the islands is phenomenal. But the Philippine laws stand in the way—and the Filipinos demand independence. The Moros are Mohammedans, the Filipinos are Christians. Moro leaders are instigated to state that they wish separation from their Christian taskmasters, the Filipinos, and desire the tutelage of those other Christians, the Americans. Rubber will be grown in the Mandanaro Islands, whether by separation from the Philippines, or by granting a new status to the Philippines. **Rubber comes first!**

American chemists have not been slow in evolving substitutes for natural rubber. Synthetic rubber and the growth of the guayule shrubs are said to be able to furnish a large part of American needs. The guayule shrub may be cultivated in the United States. Vast plantations will be established in California and cheap labor will be exploited. For hand labor 600,000 workers will be necessary, but if machine operation is installed only 40,000 workers will be required. A wonderful vista for American tire manufacturers! An endless supply of crude rubber!

The rubber industry is a youthful industry and yet today is one of the most highly developed. This is due to the fact that it arose during the period of the highly complicated machine and immediately became the subject of the modern productive process. Developing concomitantly with the automobile—the production of rubber mechanical goods, rubber shoes, boots, etc., plays but a minor part in the industry—since 1914 the rubber tire industry has passed thru the following evolution, the figures being compiled from U. S. census reports:

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RUBBER INDUSTRY.

	1914	1919	1921	1923	1925
Number wage earners	62,257	160,842	68,872	86,939	67,417
Unit of wages	\$ 705	\$ 1,441	\$ 1,555	\$ 1,605	\$ 1,487
Cost of materials	\$126,111,673	\$256,686,309	\$291,544,377	\$364,585,403	\$455,494,706
Value of products	\$223,610,784	\$987,088,045	\$496,123,335	\$643,336,253	\$768,391,932
Value added by manufacture.....	\$ 97,499,111	\$461,401,736	\$204,568,958	\$278,750,850	\$312,879,226

These figures are enlightening. They indicate that after the boom year 1919, there was a decided slump, with a following steady increase in production from 1921 to 1925. Wages, on the other hand, rose from 1921 to 1923, and then made a big drop to below 1921. Thus in 1925, we find the following comparison with the figures of 1914:

INCREASE 1914-1925.	Per cent
Wage earners	8.3

Unit of wages.....	110.9
Cost of materials.....	261.2
Value of products.....	224.4
Value added by manufacture.....	220.9

Eight per cent more workers added 220 per cent to the value of the products by manufacture, for wages amounting to 110 per cent more per man. Other figures for the years 1923 and 1925, compiled by the U. S. Department of Commerce and recently published, differ somewhat from the above, and are illuminating:

UNITED STATES TIRE AND TUBE INDUSTRY.

	1923	1925
Number of establishments.....	160	126
Wage earners (average number)	73,963	81,670
Unit of wages.....	\$1,468	\$1,477
Cost of materials.....	\$365,165,016	\$559,939,811
Value of products.....	\$644,193,697	\$925,032,833
Value added by manufacture	\$279,028,681	\$365,093,022
Horsepower	370,551	403,227

A glance at these figures will reveal the tremendous concentration that has taken place in the rubber tire industry in the two years. The number of establishments has diminished from 160 to 126, while the number of workers per plant has increased from 462 to 669—nearly 45 per cent. Cost of materials increased nearly \$195,000,000—53.3 per cent, the value of the products increased nearly \$281,000,000—43.6 per cent, value added by manufacture increased \$86,000,000—30.8 per cent, horsepower increased 33,3000. The unit of wages, on the other hand, grew only \$9—or only 61-100 of 1 per cent.

The state of Ohio contains 44 of the 126 establishments, and of these 11 are in the city of Akron. The Akron rubber tire factories turn out 52 per cent of the entire production of tires in the United States. In 1925, 335,873 long tons of crude rubber were consumed in the United States, and of these Ohio consumed 195,152 long tons. The figures for Ohio corresponding with the above are as follows:

	1923	1925
Number of establishments	53	44
Wage earners	42,476	50,350
Unit of wages.....	\$1,584	\$1,519
Cost of materials.....	\$217,184,851	\$330,554,798
Value of products.....	\$391,316,559	\$556,262,424
Horsepower	192,895	219,341

An increase of 18.5 per cent in the number of workers employed, 52.2 per cent in the cost of materials, 42.2 per cent in the value of the products, 13.7 per cent in the horsepower in use—more than 50 per cent of the horsepower used in the whole industry, and an increase of 26,446 out of the increase of 32,676 horsepower for the entire country. At the same time, wages declined \$65, or 4.1 per cent.

Akron, the capital of the rubber industry, reveals the following figures for 1925:

Number of establishments.....	11
Wage earners	43,391
Unit of wages.....	\$1,531.44
Cost of materials.....	\$282,464,965
Value of products.....	\$480,330,347

In 11 establishments, an average of 3,945 workers were employed in each—or nearly five times as many as in the entire country, contributing 52 per cent of the tire output. In two establishments, the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, and the Goodrich Tire and Rubber Company, 30,000 workers are employed, or nearly 70 per cent of the total in the city of Akron, 36.7 per cent in the entire industry. With this fact, Akron becomes the rubber center of the country and of the world—and these two establishments are the determining factor in the international rubber tire industry. The remainder of the production is distributed in New Jersey, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts and practically in every part of the country.

Out of the 335,873 tons of crude rubber, the tons of reclaimed rubber and of guayule rubber, 58,784,073 and 77,387,836 inner tubes were manufactured in 1925. The big companies have branches in other countries, and small establishments in different parts of the United States. Millions of casings, inner tubes as well as rubber boots, shoes, heels and millions of pounds of rubber belting, hose, water bottles, electrical hard-rubber goods, etc., as well as scrap rubber, are exported to every part of the world.

The companies maintain a large force of salesmen, elaborate laboratories, efficiency experts, they have training schools and all the machinery in order to extract the last ounce of value from the labor of the workers.

The rubber tire industry is second to none in its "modernity," and every week or month witnesses an innovation. The rubber companies have their own fabric plants, their own mines, some of them their own plantations—the rubber industry had few if any heritages to divest itself of. It sprang into the world—a modern industrial giant, developing ever more power.

As such, it must not be presumed that the companies are independent. The stock of these rubber companies is on the market, and the bankers of New York, recognizing the profitableness of the industry, have not hesitated to invest in them and hold control over them. Thus, the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company is controlled by Dillon, Reed Company, the bankers of New York, whose investment in and control over the Dodge Motor Car Company, whose buying of stock in German steel and coal concerns, and effecting of loans to German municipalities and industrial establishments, have fixed the name of this banking house in the history of modern financial control.

Hundreds of millions of dollars are invested in the rubber tire industry of Akron and the rest of the country, turning out a billion dollars' worth of products and earning scores of millions of dollars in profits every year. This is an infant prodigy—this rubber industry—and most lucrative for the investors.



Can They Ever Learn?

By John M. Brown

UNDER the above caption we find the following editorial in the September issue of the "Industrial Pioneer":

"The other day the writer was told that when the I. W. W. engages in free speech fights it leaves the economic path and takes to political highways. It is timely to check such confusion. When the I. W. W. fights for free speech it is fighting for the opportunity to get its message to the workers. The I. W. W. message is economic, not political. In a strike a worker may have to defend himself with a club against scabs, but he is still a unionist and not a slugger. We need free speech in our economic program, and when we fight for it such struggle is part of our industrial union activity and cannot be characterized as political. It should also be remembered that in our free speech fights the I. W. W. was not battling for free speech for the Salvation Army or the Y. M. Q. B.'s. There is nothing abstract about this matter so far as our organization is concerned. Free speech is a necessity to revolutionary industrial union propaganda. Fighting to obtain or maintain it is part of our economic course."

Were it not such a serious matter for the emancipation struggle of the working class, it would be really amusing to watch the anxiety with which some workers try to avoid political action. And when they are forced into it by the inexorable laws of the class struggle then they are equally anxious to tell the world that they are "not guilty," that their political action was really and truly only part of their economic struggle. "If we fight for free speech," they tell us, "we do not fight for it as an end in itself, but as a weapon for our economic emancipation."

If it helps to come to an understanding on this point, we can assure our anarcho-syndicalist opponents that we do not fight for political power as an end in itself, but that we consider political power the indispensable weapon in our struggle for emancipation.

Society is divided into classes. The working class and the capitalist class are lined up against each other in irreconcilable opposition. This opposition manifests itself in the class struggle, sometimes more, sometimes less intensive.

What weapons do the contending classes possess? Organization, first of all. Organization supplies an army to the contending forces and gives system and clarity to the struggle.

But the armies must have weapons. The economic organizations of the workers have strike, boycott, etc. The economic power of the capitalists lies in the own-

ership and the complete control of the workshops, factories and mines. By striking the workers can stop the flow of profits for the capitalist. The capitalist, however, by privately owning all means of production, can stop the flow of food for the workers. It is evident, therefore, that the strike cannot be an all-defeating weapon. The problem turns to be one of not merely defeating the capitalists in the immediate object of the struggle, but of taking away the most formidable weapon from the capitalists by abolishing private ownership of the means of production.

Well, say our anarcho-syndicalist opponents, we will simply take the means of production away from the capitalists by taking possession of them ourselves. Simple, is it not? Altogether too simple, unfortunately.

The economic organization of the workers meets with the resistance of more than the economic power of the capitalists. In all of its struggles the proletariat meets the political power of the opposing class.

First, the workers must be propagandized. To be able to do that freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and of organization are indispensable. To get these a struggle is necessary, a political struggle. No matter what the ultimate aim is, the struggle is a political one. It is for the establishment of political privileges. It is against the political structure of the state. It is political in the immediate aim as well as in its immediate character.

We can never for a minute assume that the struggle for all of these liberties can succeed under capitalism and without applying "political" action. What then? The masses are ready to take possession of the means of production. But there are laws against that. Well, we can overlook the laws. But there is something that cannot be overlooked. There is the military and the police power of the state, well organized, excellently armed. The lawmaker, the judge, the policeman, the soldier, in short every office and every officer of the state turns out to be a bulwark of private ownership of the means of production by the capitalists.

If we want to emancipate ourselves from the shackles that private property of the means of production put upon us we must storm this bulwark. We must conquer this formidable machine, the state power, and must turn it from a bulwark for the capitalists and for private property into an instrument of the workers against the capitalists and against private property.

Our anarcho-syndicalist opponents say: "Why bother with the state? The state is the incarnation of badness. It is an instrument of oppression and suppression. We are in principle opposed to it. Therefore, why soil our hands with politics? Let us leave the state alone."

They even try to practice what they preach. By abstaining from political action, they attempt to leave it alone. But unfortunately it does not leave them alone. It haunts them. It oppresses them. It suppresses them. It forces them to take notice of it—but all of no avail. These anti-political actionists never seem to learn.

We do not question that the state is an instrument of oppression and suppression and that it is bad. On the contrary. We deal with it just because it oppresses us and fights us. It is not "bad in principle." A society which is divided into classes with irreconcilable interests needs a state power. It is this necessity that produced the state. The state is the power which maintains the interests of one class as predominant against the interests of all other classes in society. Otherwise organized society would be impossible and instead chaos would reign as long as class divisions exist in society.

At present the interests of the capitalist class are predominant in society. The state is a capitalist state.

If we workers want to make the interests of our class predominant we must get possession of this state. Only by this conquest can we transform ourselves from the oppressed into the ruling, yes, the oppressing class. The state is only bad for us as long as it is against us, as long as it remains the capitalist state. The state will be good for us the minute we make out of it a workers' state.

Even the perturbed conscience of the "opponents in principle" to the state can find consolation. In the revolution they may close their eyes to the awful presence when the terrible workers' state will suppress the "poor" capitalists, and look with hope into the future, in which the capitalist class is completely abolished. With the classes disappearing the hitherto indispensable instrument of suppression, the state, will have nothing left to suppress. Then our shivering "opponents in principle" to the state may open their eyes and rejoice, because by then the objectionable state will have removed itself from their eyes.

But our objectors must beware. "The state" has no tendency to commit suicide. Only the proletarian state has. The capitalist state will never commit suicide. On the contrary, its tendency is to perpetuate itself. It must be removed against its will. And the "objection in principle" stands in the way of its removal. So instead of getting rid of the state, the "objectors" merely help to preserve it. Unlike Mephisto our "objectors" become part of that force which desires only the good but always accomplishes the bad.

But all that is leading us too far away from our non-political free speech fights. These free speech fights, our anarcho-syndicalist opponents maintain, are not political action because "We are merely fighting to get our message before the workers." There is nothing abstract about it, they assure us. But neither is there the least abstract in our fight for state power. It is abstract to fight the state in principle because "the state" is an abstraction. Free from all abstraction, however, is every fight against the capitalist state. The capitalist state is far from being an abstraction. Any police club in a free speech fight or a strike, can convince our anarcho-syndicalist opponents of that.

When the workers fight the capitalists and the state power is continually hitting the workers over their heads with all of the very formidable weapons at its command it will not help the workers the least bit to be opposed to the state power in principle. What is needed is to fight back. The workers either recognize the state as a belligerent power on the side of the capitalist in the class war and organize to conquer this power, or it will conquer the workers for its ally and master, the capitalist class.

The only instrument of the workers to conquer the state is political action under the leadership of a revolutionary political party. We submit this to our anarcho-syndicalist opponents for consideration. And meanwhile we wait, and cogitate: "Can they ever learn?"



The Steel-Making Minerals and Imperialism

By Will Herberg

"The metallurgical industry . . . now plays the role of the most important leading industry in the economic life of all first class industrial countries—the role, so to speak, of the central industrial star, around which, like planets around the sun, there revolve the other important branches of the capitalist economy of the largest states

"Our century may quite rightly be called the IRON century and metallurgy must be called the queen of industry."

—Pavlovitch, Foundations of Imperialist Policy.

THAT iron is the very basis of the modern world economy is a well-known fact; it must not be forgotten. However, that our "iron age" rests not upon iron but upon steel. It is steel that forms the material basis of the latest stage of capitalism.

The Ferro-Alloys.

Now there is one remarkable fact about steel, which, considering the surpassing importance of the metal in modern life, it is surprising is not more widely known. To produce steel iron and carbon are not all that is needed; there are certain little-known minerals that are absolutely essential for the process. These steel-making minerals, technically known as the ferro-alloys, as just as essential as the iron itself. Why? Because, as Professor Howe explains (article: Iron and Steel, Encyc. Britan. XI edition):

"The general order of merit of a given variety of specimen of iron or steel may be measured by the degree to which it combines strength and hardness with ductility. These two classes of properties tend to exclude each other, for, as a general rule, whatever tends to make iron and steel hard and strong tends to make it correspondingly brittle and hence liable to break treacherously, especially under shock."

But steels made with the ferro-alloys "form an important exception to this rule in being at once very hard and strong and very ductile." These little-known minerals make it possible, in other words, to produce steels that can bear the strain of modern industry.

The Politics of the Ferro-Alloys.

The ferro-alloys—manganese, chrome, nickel, tungsten are the most prominent—are of great importance not only in world economics but also in world politics. For it must be remembered that the politics of imperialism are dictated, to a great measure, by the requirements of metallurgy, 1 and these little-known minerals are among the essential elements of modern metallurgical industry.

The Distribution of the Ferro-Alloys.

The chief significance of the ferro-alloys for imperialist

(1) Pavlovitch, Foundations of Imperialist Policy, p. 120. "The metallurgical industry plays a colossal role in the foreign policy of the modern states."

politics lies in their distribution and location. "It cannot be repeated too often," as Spurr remarks, "that each of the metals and useful minerals occurs chiefly in certain spots or restricted areas of the earth's surface and, in this regard, each metal is a law unto itself." Now, it happens that the specific distributions of the various important steel-making minerals (in relation to the location of iron and coal as well as to political boundaries) is of such a character as to make them of primary importance in the world politics of imperialism.

Let us consider briefly the various ferro-alloys and their distribution.

Manganese. "Manganese steel . . . is of very great ductility accompanied by great hardness." "For the production of good steel in adequate quantities manganese is indispensable," and so altho less than one per cent by weight of steel is manganese over 95 per cent of all manganese is used in steel making. Manganese is pretty widely distributed over the earth's surface, but in commercially sufficient quantities is found only in certain parts of the world, particularly in India, Brazil and Russia, with the possibility of a new source in some parts of Africa. 2 American, British, French, German production is ordinarily negligible.

Nickel. "Nickel steel . . . combines very great tensile strength and hardness, with a very high limit of elasticity, with great ductility. Its combination of ductility with strength and hardening power has given it very extended use for armor of war vessels." Nickel is more better known than manganese, but, strangely enough, nearly 85 per cent of the world's nickel supply comes from one single locality—Ontario, Canada—and much of the rest from Australia and New Caledonia. 3 The production of the rest of the world is practically negligible.

Tungsten. Tungsten steel is used largely for magnets, but particularly for high-speed machine tools. "In 1918 92 per cent of the world's tungsten came from the countries bordering the Pacific—61 per cent from the western side: Asia, Australia and Oceania, and 31 per cent from North and South America." 4 As for the rest, the Iberian Peninsula produces about 4 per cent, and the rest is scattered. The single most important tungsten-producing country is China. "Chinese ore dominated the market during the year, both in the United States and Europe." 5

(2) Mineral Resources of the United States, 1920. Part I—Metals. Published by the Department of the Interior, p. 277.

(3) Mineral Resources, etc., pp. 405-406.

(4) J. E. Spurr, as above.

(5) Mineral Resources, etc., p. 411.

Chrome. "Chrome steel . . . (is) made to resist great wear and violent stresses, such as those imposed upon armor plate, automobile springs and bearings, and jaws of rock crushers." Most of the so-called "stainless steel" is also chrome steel. "In 1921 Rhodesia furnished about 36 per cent of the world production (of chromite), India 28 per cent, and New Caledonia 23 per cent, other sources being scattered and small." 6

Vanadium. "Vanadium . . . increases the resistance (of steel) to shock and to oft-repeated stress." "More than half of the world's vanadium supply comes from Peru," 7 while the rest comes from the United States and southwest Africa.

Ferro-Alloys and Backward Countries.

IF we examine the scanty data given above as to the distribution of the steel-making minerals, one thing appears particularly striking: that, in general, these minerals, so absolutely essential to steel making, are not found to any appreciable degree in the chief steel-producing countries, or in those countries that have abundant and easily accessible supplies of iron and coal, the main elements in the manufacture of steel. America, Germany, Great Britain, France, Belgium—these are the chief steel-manufacturing countries of the world. "Two iron ore fields—the Lake Superior region in the United States and the Lorraine region of the Franco-German border region—have for years produced more than half of the world's supply." 8 But the ferro-alloys, equally necessary for the manufacture of good steel, are not to be found in these great industrial countries. On the contrary, these minor minerals are to be found in the "backward," undeveloped countries, in the colonies and the semi-colonies or in countries of a similar status—India, Brazil, Canada, New Caledonia, Australia, Peru, China and Asia and Africa generally.

Mineral Problems Are World Problems.

This is of profound significance—the fact that the great modern imperialist steel-producing nations can only get their ferro-alloys from the "backward," undeveloped parts of the earth! It brings out more clearly than ever the oft-repeated fact that "mineral problems are world problems."

The Basic Contradiction of Imperialism.

Considered from the viewpoint of rational economy, it is apparent from the above facts that, at the present stage of economic development, the whole world forms a single economic unity—not simply a commercial unity bound together by the world market, but an actual producing unit united by the demands of modern industrial technique. Were, therefore, the world economy organized on a conscious, planned, rational basis the disparity of distribution of the various mineral components of steel would be no more than an interesting and important technical fact. But, under the rule of capitalism, world

(6) J. E. Spurr, as above.

(7) Mineral Resources, etc., p. 415.

(8) J. E. Spurr, as above.

economy is not organized on a conscious, rational basis; the capitalist economy is an anarchistic economy and is "organized" thru the fierce and frequently bloody competition of national trust monopolies and international groupments. The "backward," undeveloped territories, so important industrially, can under capitalism be integrated into the scheme of world economy only thru the made race for colonies that is so characteristic of imperialism—and then, of course, integrated imperfectly and at a great loss of productive forces. Thus capitalism stands most grossly in the way of the development of the forces of production, in the way of the unification and consolidation of the entire world as a producing mechanism.

Bourgeois Solutions—"Anglo-American Understandings."

This basic contradiction of imperialism—the unity of the world from the point of view of the organization of the productive forces as opposed to the fierce competition of national monopolistic groups for spheres of capital investment and sources of raw material—manifests itself under a thousand forms every day, but nowhere is it clearer than in the question of the production of steel, as we have analyzed it above. The bourgeois specialists have recognized this and has attempted to solve the contradiction within the limits of capitalism. Here is what Joseph Edward Spurr, editor of the *Engineering and Mining Journal-Press*, writes in *Foreign Affairs* (July, 1926):

"There is a tendency, when steel making nationals do not find a supply of the necessary ferro-alloy minerals in their own country, to acquire mines abroad, and thus insure a fixed and steady supply, which will be interrupted only in case of war so violent as to disrupt ocean traffic. Thus the vanadium deposits of Peru, the manganese deposits of Russia, the nickel deposits of Canada, and chrome deposits of Cuba have become controlled by American companies. In its importance to national industry, this form of commercial control is secondary only to that of political control; but peaceful relations not only with the foreign countries directly involved, but with those patrolling the seas, are necessary for its permanent efficacy.

"The great desideratum of universal peace finds here one of its most practical arguments. But in the meanwhile, it is of interest to note that the mining conducted by the Anglo-Saxon nations—the United States and the British Empire—produces the bulk of the world's mineral supplies . . . These two Anglo-Saxon nations also have the power to keep open the lanes of ocean commerce.

"Here is one of the strong practical arguments in favor of an Anglo-American understanding, at least as to the free development and trade movement of mineral supplies thruout all the earth; and it might form the beginning of a much stronger economic league embracing other nations . . . Only arrangements based upon common economic interest and mutual material helpfulness will prove stable."

It is obvious, however, that any such solution is a mere utopia. Mr. Spurr seems to realize it himself, for he successively contracts his field of international peace under imperialist capitalism, first, from "universal peace" to "in the meanwhile . . . an Anglo-American understanding," and then again to "an Anglo-American understanding, at least as to the free development and trade movement of mineral supplies thruout all the earth." Even supposing this "Anglo-American understanding" were possible, what would it be but the erection of a super-bloc of monopolies for the struggle against other

(Continued on page 600)

Twenty-Five Years of the International Trade Union Movement

By A. Lyss

ON the twenty-first of August, 1901, there was held at Copenhagen a conference of the secretaries of the trade union centers of a number of countries. At this conference an "International Secretariat" was elected and it was decided regularly to convene conferences of the representatives of the various national trade union organizations. Up to 1913 eight such conferences had been called, one and later of two years apart.

But the year 1901 was only formally the date of the formation of the international trade union center. Attempts to consolidate the trade unions and labor organizations had already been made before the Copenhagen conference. The First International organized in 1866 and baptized by Karl Marx saw the trade unions and their international unification as one of the most important tasks of the labor movement. In the resolution of the First Congress referring to this question we find: "If the trade unions are necessary for the everyday struggle between labor and capital, they are all the more necessary as an organizational means for the overthrow of the wages system and the rule of capital." Concerning the necessity for the international solidarity of the working class it is said further: "Hitherto all the great aims of the working class have been shattered thru the insufficient solidarity of the workers of the various branches of industry in the same country and thru the lack of unity of the working classes of the various countries. The emancipation of the workers is no local or national problem but it is a problem involving all countries."

Accordingly, therefore, the First International, thirty-five years before the Copenhagen conference established quite clearly and unequivocally the class character of the trade union movement and the necessity for the international consolidation of the working class.

* * *

FROM the first congress of the International to the present day the history of the international socialist movement has been a struggle between Marxism on the one hand and anarchism and reformism on the other. This struggle greatly furthered the international trade union movement and helped it assume definite form, ideologically and organizationally.

Up to 1872 (Hague Congress) the struggle was against Bakuninism; it ended with the expulsion of Bakunin and his adherents from the First International—which of course, strengthened the socialist wing thru restricting the influence of the Bakuninists to a few industrially backward Latin countries of Europe. But the final ide-

ological and organizational separation of the two wings of the labor movement was not accomplished until the Zurich (1893) and London (1896) Congresses of the Second International. 1

After the collapse of the First International and the organization of the Second a number of international conferences took place in which the trade unions eagerly participated. At the conference in Paris in 1883 there were present the representatives of the English trade unions while the conference called by the Paris trade unions on the occasion of the "First International Industrial Exposition" was attended by delegates of the English and French trade unions as well as by the representatives of the workers' parties.

This period was signalized by the sharp three-sided struggle between the "Possibilists," the English trade unions who were quite satisfied with a few crumbs, and the socialist wing of the labor movement.

The result of this struggle was that the English decided to break with the revolutionary wing which found its chief support in the political parties. The English Trade Union Congress at Southsea (September 11, 1887) instructed its parliamentary committee to call a conference for the next year from which the political leaders would be excluded so that the conference would be made up only of delegates elected by the trade union membership and sent at their expense.

The congress of 1888 was, therefore, actually the first attempt (after the conferences of 1883 and 1886 at which, as we have said, representatives of trade unions participated) at an international consolidation of the trade unions. When the question of international unity was considered the English (trade unionists) proposed to create an organization of a purely trade union char-

(1) Space does not permit us to examine the positive side of Bakuninism and anarchism, which have played a prominent role in the history of the labor movement, particularly in the history of the trade union movement (revolutionary syndicalism).

Revolutionary anarcho-syndicalism of the later period (end of the 19 century and pre-war time) was a healthy reaction against reformism. The theoretically incorrect doctrines (the rejection of the political struggle, of the state and the proletarian dictatorship during the transition period) were made up for by the revolutionary protest against reformism, by the issuing of general class slogans, by an actual mass struggle for the eight hour day, etc. The most valuable element of the anarcho-syndicalism of this period, its element of struggle, was later taken over by the revolutionary Marxist wing of the labor movement. During war and post-war times anarcho-syndicalism degenerated almost completely into opportunism. International reformism is in no position to fight against the excesses manifested by this particular form of reformism in a number of Latin countries of Europe and America. This task falls to the revolutionary wing of the international labor movement, the wing that has broken with reformism in all its forms and varieties.

acter. From the English point of view this signified a strict separation from the general political tasks of the labor movement and the turning aside of the trade union movement into the strictly practical channels of English trade unionism. Since the socialists were in a majority at this congress the English failed to carry thru their proposal. But the ultra-lefts (the French) also suffered a defeat. Their proposal to fight for an eight-hour day by means of general strike was also defeated.

The next international trade union congress was called for 1889. But since the struggle between the Marxists and the Possibilists had already reached the climax, there took place—in spite of a preliminary conference—two parallel congresses of Marxists and of Possibilists, with the English trade unions attending the latter.

In 1896 the Second International called an "International Labor and Trade Union Congress" for London. Among the 475 delegates to this congress 185 were representatives of the English trade unions. The congress was characterized by a unity of the political and trade union struggle of the working class that did not please the English trade unions very much.

After a number of other attempts to organize the trade unions internationally, the corner stone was finally laid in 1901 thru the creation of an "International Secretariat" of trade unions, with Karl Legien, the chairman of the German Trades Union Federation, as secretary, a position he maintained until 1919. We must remember, however, that the beginnings of international trade union organization go back much further and that, to a certain extent, 1901 was only formally a beginning.

The period up to 1901 is divided into two parts. The years from 1866 to 1901 are characterized by the recognition of the unity of the political and the trade union struggle. The first portion of this period—up to the founding of the Second International (1889)—was marked by a passionate ideological struggle for the crystallization of the class aims of the labor movement, by the struggle of revolutionary Marxism against Bakuninism and Anarchism and against the right wing—the reformists, the possibilists, the trade unionists.

The second part of this period already begins to bear within itself—almost from the time of the founding of the Second International—seeds of opportunism and compromise that came to expression, on the one hand, in the concessions to its own right wing (Paris Congress in 1900 approves the entrance of French socialist in the bourgeois government) and, on the other, in its impotence in the face of the saber-shaking Imperialism (lack of a concrete program in the matter of the struggle against war, for example).

Of course the struggle of political tendencies did not remain without influence on the trade unions. Whereas in the period of the First International, including the congress in 1888, the English trade union methods—compromising trade unionism—found no favor among the majority of the representatives of socialist and trade union organizations, in the time of the Second Interna-

tional, however, the trade union movement of many countries, England, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Scandinavia, began to approach closer and closer to opportunism.

* * *

IN the twenty years between 1890 and 1910 Imperialism flourished as never before—and ended in the World War. For a number of European states (especially for Germany since the 90's) this period was a time of quick economic advance. Capitalism developed the technical and economic possibilities to the limit—and gave a number of concessions to the workers. The situation of the working class in this period—particularly in Germany, which was now in the front rank—was marked by the possibility for better conditions of labor, better wages, and an organizational strengthening of the trade unions.

The growth in membership of the class trade unions affiliated to the "International Secretariat" from 1904 to 1914 is shown in the following table:

1904	2,477,000
1905	2,949,000
1906	3,665,000
1907	4,097,000
1908	4,238,000
1909	5,808,000
1910	6,119,000
1911	6,900,000
1912	7,383,000
1913	7,702,000

The total number of organized workers in 30 countries amounted (according to the figures supplied by the International Labor Office) in 1906, to 9,534,000; in 1913, to 16,152,000.

In comparison with the former decade the tempo of growth of the trade unions increased considerably.

The following table gives us some data on the increase of wages (the average wage for the period of 1901 to 1910 is taken as 100.- 2

	Germany	England	France	Italy	United States
1891	79	93	88	82
1901	96	100	101	91	82
1913	125	107	113	129	119

According to the same figures for the period of 1906 to 1913 the real wages are only a trifle lower in England and France.

The general rise in nominal wages, particularly in the last decade of the nineteenth century, is remarkable because the real wages rose at the same time, beginning to sink gradually only in the first decade of the twentieth century.

This situation put its mark upon the policy and activity of the trade unions. Compare the strike wave of 1917-1926 with the strike movements of 1890 to 1917 or indeed with the first fifteen years of the 20th century (1900-1914). We must admit that, with the exception of Russia (1905-1907) and isolated spontaneous risings in the last years before the war (Russia 1912-1914, England 1911-1912), the number of strike is relatively insignificant, the curve of strikes continued without any serious disturbance, the number of participants in strikes showed no great variations. At any rate, there certainly can be no comparison between the period before 1917 and the stormy strike wave during the post-war years.

(2) Voitinsky, Die Welt in Zahlen.

It is, of course, true that strikes are not the only criterion of the intensity of the struggle of the working-class; yet strikes have always been and remain the most powerful weapon of the trade unions for the crystallization of the class position of the workers and for their economic struggle against capitalism. The ebb in the strike wave towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century (except for a few countries) can be explained thru the fact that capitalism, in its period of upward development, was able to concede higher wages to the workers. It was precisely at this time that there arose the notorious theory, created primarily by the German reformists, that the working class must adjust its class policy to the boom and crisis periods of capitalism. In the time of economic advance increased economic demands must be put forward; in the period of crisis we must necessarily agree to a lowering of wages and to a worsening of the other conditions of labor. Thus was laid the basis for the class collaboration and class peace which characterize modern reformism in the trade unions.

Such were the economic conditions of the period in which the international center of the trade union movement was formed and began to develop. The dominating role of the Germans in forming and in leading the international trade union center until 1913 was determined by historic conditions (active participation of the Germans in the struggle for the Socialist International) as well as by the economic advance of Germany which had considerable influence on the trade unions and placed them in the front rank in regard to organization and to improved conditions of labor.

At the end of the 90's of the last century the French labor movement had not yet recovered from the consequences of the France-Prussian war and from the defeat of the proletariat thru the overthrow of the Paris Commune.

Again, England's position of monopoly was beginning to be undermined in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by the competition of new countries, particularly Germany. In the English working class a certain fermentation began to manifest itself which, tho not strong enough to exercise a revolutionary influence upon the international center, was yet in a position to change the conservative orientation of the trade unions in England itself.

Germany, towards the end of the 90's and the beginning of the new century, was marked by the victory of reformism over the left minority. This victory had great influence upon the policy of the trade unions and soon the right leaders began to exercise pressure upon the party.

* * *

IN the thirteen years up to the world war the International Secretariat (renamed, in 1913 at the Zurich conference, "The International Federation of Trade Unions") did not succeed in becoming a real fighting union of the international trade union movement. In fact the International Secretariat did not really attempt an actual militant consolidation of the trade unions. Its tasks, as laid down in a number of conferences, con-

sisted chiefly in information, in the organization of "uniform statistics," in mutual aid, etc. The international conferences declined to investigate "theoretical and other tendencies or the tactics of the trade union movements of the individual countries."

Already before the war this conservative leading center was opposed by revolutionary minorities in many countries. In Germany the minority was allied with the Marxist minority of the Socialist-Democratic Party. In France, there arose within the C. G. T. that was steadily going to the right a revolutionary-syndicalist minority leaning ideologically in a Marxist direction, etc.

The World War and the collapse of the Second International that followed tore the frail ties uniting the international trade union movement. With the outbreak of the war not only did the center of the world trade union movement cease to exist but it also became clear that this center and the organizations affiliated to it possessed no international ideology and quite cheerfully placed themselves at the disposal of the national interests of their particular countries.

The world war smashed the contemplative "informational" existence of the reformist international center; at the same time, however, it showed the working class of the whole world what a trade union international should not be. In the revolutionary centers of the various countries it awoke the latent strivings for greater activity and greater consolidation.

Then began the period of attempts to create a real international of trade unions which culminated in the formation of the **Red International of Labor Unions** after the Russian revolution.

The revolutionary wing of the international trade union movement finds its support in the historical traditions of the First International and in that clear recognition of the class position and the class aims of the trade unions which characterizes Marx and his followers, the Communists, and separates them from the epigones and falsifiers of Marxism, the reformists of all varieties.

After a number of fruitless conferences in the years 1915, 1916 and 1917, where it proved impossible to reconcile the national antagonisms of the trade unionists of the Entente and of the Central Powers, there was finally created, in 1919, a new center, the so-called **Amsterdam International**.

The period of 1919 to 1921, immediately following the organization of the Amsterdam International, was characterized by a mass influx of workers into the trade unions. Whereas, in 1913, the International Secretariat included about seven million organized workers, in 1920 the membership of the unions affiliated to the Amsterdam International already amounted to 28 million. This influx of members into the trade unions, the gigantic growth of the strike movement in the United States, England, Germany, France, Italy (where, in 1919, over 10 million workers all around participated in strikes) created favorable conditions for the development of the trade union movement. In view of the mass influx of workers into the trade unions, of the development of

the strike wave, and of the revolution in Russia and Germany, the bourgeoisie was forced to make a number of concessions on the political field (universal suffrage in a large number of countries) and in social legislation (introduction of the eight-hour day). These concessions were to be a dike against the revolutionary flood. And indeed, these concessions, obtained thru the pressure of the workers, strengthened the faith of the masses in the reformist trade unions and consequently also strengthened the Amsterdam International.

When the revolutionary tide began to ebb the real aspect of the Amsterdam International became clear.

The Amsterdam International did indeed advance from the pre-war functions of "information" to "activity"; but this activity was exclusively directed against the class interests of the working class.

The history of the Amsterdam International lies open before us. We know its position and its attitude on all important questions of world politics and of the labor movement; we know its friendly attitude towards the Versailles Treaty, towards the reparation system and the Dawes' Plan, its impotence in the struggle against the occupation of the Ruhr, against the danger of new wars, against Fascism and the offensive of capital. Well known also is its antagonistic attitude towards the Russian revolution and towards the idea of the unity of the trade union movement.

The policy of the Amsterdam International—the main features of which could already be seen in the right wing of the labor movement even before the Copenhagen conference—the policy of class peace, of class-collaboration, considerably helped the bourgeoisie in its first offensive of the post-war period. This offensive of capital upon the ebb of the revolutionary wave still continues today; the working class is still compelled to fight to maintain its most important gains.

To the degree that the masses free themselves from reformist illusions does the revolutionary wing of the international trade union movement—within or without Amsterdam—grow and develop.

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UPON the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the trade union movement the Amsterdam International has organized a propaganda week under the slogan: "**Back into the trade unions! Fight for the international eight-hour day!**"

Unless there is some change in the policy of the Amsterdam International these slogans are useless. For is not the policy of the reformist bureaucrats and of Amsterdam the immediate cause for the exodus of the workers from the trade unions? Is it not their fault that about ten million members (of the 23 million of 1919 only 16 million remain) have been lost to the trade unions? Was it not the leaders of the reformist trade unions that organized the mass expulsions of members of the revolutionary wing in the trade unions of Germany, France, America, and other countries?

Fight for the eight-hour day! Do not these same people in the camp of Amsterdam, who today issue this

slogan, bear the blame for the loss of the eight-hour day? This is seen clearly in Germany. The social-democratic Reichstag fraction, including the trade union deputies, voted on December 4, 1923, for the Empowering Law which gave the government and the employers a free hand in the regulation of the hours of labor. This Empowering Law made it possible for the government to issue the well-known decree of December 21, 1923, permitting the employer to smash the eight-hour day in Germany without any consideration.

What has happened to Germany has been repeated in one form or another in many other countries, thanks to the passivity or the direct treason of the leaders of the Amsterdam tendency. Only a short time ago we saw the betrayal of the mine workers by the general council in the general strike of May, 1926, which was also carried on under the slogan of maintaining the shorter work-day (seven-hour day for the miners).

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EXAMINING the last quarter century we can say that the Amsterdam International has proved itself to be not an organ of struggle but an organization of shameful collaboration with capital, an organization that does not lead the trade unions against the capitalist system but rather serves to protect that system.

The flourishing period of capitalism and of imperialism gave the Amsterdam International the appearance of power and strengthened the illusory belief of the laboring masses in the possibility of a peaceable settlement of social problems. But the advancing decay of capitalism in the present period is destroying the trust of the working class in Amsterdam. It is only due to the revolutionary wing, which, in spite of all the splitting attempts of the reformists continuing unto this day, is fighting for the unity of the world trade union movement, that the Amsterdam International still maintains itself as an organizational whole. Amsterdam certainly has no claim to being the only representative and the only leader of the international trade union movement. Only when the workers will succeed in uniting both of the existing international centers, Amsterdam and the R. I. L. U., as well as the trade unions remaining outside of any international organization, into one single world center will there be created a leading fighting organ of the trade union movement.

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary, in the epoch of intensified class struggle, in the period of the gigantic battles of the English proletariat, the international trade union movement must formulate as its immediate tasks:

1. **Class struggle against capital until victory! Overthrow of the capitalist system!**
2. **Struggle against every form of class collaboration!**
3. **Uncompromising struggle against opportunism, against reformism of all varieties!**
4. **For the unity of the international trade union movement!**

5. BACK INTO THE TRADE UNIONS! IN DEFENSE OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEMANDS OF THE WORKING CLASS!

In the trade unions—bitter struggle against any distortion of their class character.

Only by following in the glorious tradition of the First International whose teachings have already led to the victory of the Russian proletariat and will lead to the triumph of the world proletariat when will the international trade union movement realize these slogans.

The Steel-Making Minerals

(Continued from page 595)

imperialist powers and for the exploitation and oppression of the toiling masses of the "backward" countries. But even this limited "Anglo-American understanding" is too preposterous for words. The rubber situation ought to show Mr. Spurr the possibilities of such an "understanding." What will the understanding be about? About the control of the nickel resources of Canada, tungsten resources of China, the vanadium supply of

Peru, or the chrome deposits of Cuba? These are precisely the battlefields of British and American capital and to talk of an "understanding," even temporary and insecure, in the present international situation, is absurd. Imperialism permits of no understandings; imperialism means bitter competitive struggle, and war is but the continuation of the same struggle with other weapons.

The Proletarian Revolution.

The basic contradiction of imperialism can only be solved thru the destruction of imperialism, thru the supplanting of capitalist anarchy by a consciously planned and rational economy on a world scale, thru the proletarian revolution. Then and then only will it be possible to integrate the undeveloped regions of the earth into the unified system of world economy without the destruction of productive forces without the exploitation and oppression of the masses, without the butchery of millions. Then only will a really unified world economy be possible. This is the moral of the story of the steel-making minerals.



The Socialist Party and Its "Principles"

By J. Mindel

THE Socialist Party of the United States upon its organization laid strong claims of being a working class party, a political party of the workers based upon the Marxian theory of the class struggle.

How true are these claims now? Have they any real basis at the present time? Do the recent decisions and activities of the Socialist Party in any way substantiate its old claims? An examination of the organization, activities and recent decisions of this party will prove that any present claims of the Socialist Party to being a party of the working class are without foundation.

In addition to its organizational demoralization the Socialist Party is completely demoralized ideologically. Ask the Socialist Party where it stands on this or that important question of the day and you will find that Victor Berger has one opinion, Hilquit another, and the party as a whole has no stand at all.

The leaders of the Socialist Party have each and every one of them their individual conception of the problems confronting the American workers and of their solution. The party itself cannot find a common language and a collective solution for most important problems of a national or international character. Conventions of the party are adjourned without having taken a stand on the most vital and imperative questions of the hour. For example, the last national convention evaded the question of prohibition and voted to "study" the League of Nations. The Socialists proudly point to their unity and to the peacefulness of their gatherings. But this peace is the result of impotence—the peace of the graveyard; quiet secured not only at the cost of vitality, but even at that of life itself.

Why the S. P. Split.

The mass of the membership of the Socialist Party was always more class conscious than its leadership. Dramatic manifestations of this difference were exhibited in 1919.

In its train of ruin and devastation the World War also brought glory—glory to the working class. The working class not only swept the remnants of feudalism into the discard in most European countries but even challenged the power of capitalism; it declared war on the capitalist state and won at least one glorious victory. It completely defeated the capitalist class of Russia.

The crowning glory of this victory was the establishment of a Soviet Government in Russia. In the Soviet Union the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Russia, is forging the life of a new society, of Communism.

The Russian Revolution was not the only serious rebellion of the workers. For a moment a victorious prole-

tariat raised its banner in Hungary and in Bavaria—even in Germany, where, for a short while, not only was the monarchy swept away, but the whole bourgeois parliament with its ministers of state came to a crash. But the social-democratic leaders in those countries betrayed the revolution into the hands of the capitalists. This greatest betrayal in history of a class by its leaders opened the eyes of the revolutionists in the American Socialist Party to the dangers of reformism within its ranks. Consequently, the membership demanded a revision of the program and a change in leadership. The National Executive Committee, headed by Berger and Hilquit, determined to flout the will of the membership—and when they were ousted from leadership by an election they decided to expel the revolutionists from the party, though these revolutionists were the overwhelming majority of the party.

In the year of 1919 the Socialist Party had 104,822 members; in 1920, after the expulsions, 26,776; in 1923, 12,000; and in 1926 only 10,000 members. This last number is taken from O'Neal's article in Current History August, 1925. But even this number is padded.

Numerically small parties are not always weak parties. Revolutionary working class parties are very often weakened by the onslaught of the enemy. Russia under the Czar, Germany under Bismark's exception laws, had numerically weak proletarian revolutionary parties. Nevertheless they emerged strong and powerful.

What a Marxian Party Should Be.

The Socialist Party still claims to be a Marxian Party. Marx himself formulated the requirements of a revolutionary proletarian party. He declares that:

"The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand practically the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement!"

We do not want to be too hard on the gentlemen of the Socialist Party and demand resoluteness of them, but we must insist on theoretical clarity at least.

The capitalist world is living thru the stage of imperialism. A mad scramble on the part of the great capitalist states is going on for a place to invest their ever-growing surplus capital, for the control of raw materials and for the monopoly of the world market. Our terrestrial globe is monopolized. A permanent struggle for a redivision is going on. Colonial wars are being con-

stantly waged. China and other countries are the prey of the imperialist and are preparing to defend themselves. All capitalist powers constantly rattle the sword and a new world cataclysm is impending.

What program have the Socialists to meet this danger? How do they expect to avert the catastrophe or exploit it for the benefit of the proletarian revolution?

For a Gentlemanly Revolution.

It would be futile to look for an answer in the platform of the Socialist Party. The only salvation proposed by the official Socialist is voting for the Socialist Party ticket in the elections. Let us see what the leaders of the Socialist Party have to say. Norman Thomas, in his pamphlet, "The Challenge of War," has this to say:

"How can we prevent war save by a revolution which in itself will involve war? The Communist, the most militant wing of Socialists, generally believe that such a revolution must come. They are against pacifism, not because they love violence, but because they see no other way to get lasting peace. Many of them believe that the second World War will be the first World Revolution.

"Such a belief, as we have previously pointed out, is made by the nature of modern war a counsel of despair. More than that, it does little justice to the possibilities of such peaceful progress as is taking place with the growth of labor and Socialist Parties and finally of NON-VIOLENT COERCION (my emphasis, J. M.) as a method of constructive revolution."

The Reverend Dr. Thomas is not adverse to the idea of revolution, but he likes his revolution to be a gentleman's revolution, one of the nice and orderly kind, starting, perhaps, with a prayer.

Mr. Thomas declares:

"It is rather by the strike than by the sword that labor has won its victories. It is by the general strike that European labor at the great Hague Conference in December 1922, resolved to oppose a new outbreak of international war."

Did Dr. Thomas notice that the "non-violent coercion" of the general strike in England was met by the capitalist state by a mobilization of all its forces and a declaration of war on the strikers? Is he aware of the fact that the leaders of the strike—his heroes of the Second International—betrayed the workers? Did it occur to Mr. Thomas that there cannot be a peaceful strike because the peace of the strike is always disturbed by the war machinery of the capitalist state? But there is another important point. Whom did Mr. Thomas' "non-violent coercion" want to coerce, and for what? Does he want to coerce the capitalist state to abdicate in favor of a proletarian state? He must know that this is Utopian. Or does he want to coerce the capitalist state machinery to function as a proletarian state? That is even more than Utopian. So much so is this impossible that even the "peaceful coercion" of the general strike itself raised many necessities which any capitalist

government would refuse to meet. The strikers must meet them. They must thus organize functions for the proletariat which (for the capitalists) are the functions of the capitalist state. The workers' exigencies of the strike force the workers to create their own government apparatus, so to speak. Thus they are bound to come into conflict with the apparatus of the capitalist state. And does the reverend gentleman perceive that a general strike at the outbreak of war means a mobilization of the workers as against the capitalist mobilization?—that this would be the prelude to a revolution—a real revolution without prayers? Mr. MacDonald, one of the leaders of the international of Mr. Norman Thomas, is fully aware of it, and this is the reason for his betrayal.

O'Neal Solves the Problem.

Now let us hear another authority of the Socialist Party. Mr. James O'Neal, in his "Labor and the Next War," lets us in on the secret of "The Socialist Solution."

"We want peace, security, enjoyment and happiness, but these are phantoms under this new order of world imperialism. WAR WILL ALWAYS BROOD OVER EVERY HOUSEHOLD, THE GHASTLY WAR OF CHEMICALS AND GAS. Like the peoples of Europe for nearly two generations, we will know that war is coming, but will never know the date of its arrival. WE HAVE NO CHOICE IN MAKING THE DECISION. IT IS MADE FOR US BY THE IMPERIALIST DIPLOMATS WHO WORK IN SECRET AND WHO SERVE THE GREAT POWERS OF FINANCE AND CAPITAL. What are we going to do about it? That is a big question."

Mr. O'Neal answers his questions as follows:

"Why should the combination (he means the great trusts) END AT ITS PRESENT STAGE of mastery for a few? (My emphasis, J. M.) Why not a still greater combination; the nation itself, organized in its collective capacity, relieving the masters of ownership, just as the slave owners were relieved(?) of their ownership? If through the ballot our fathers and their sons could make class ownership lawful, we can make national ownership for the welfare of all lawful."

The "historian" and "Marxian," O'Neal, made the discovery that capitalist private property was invented by law. We know that O'Neal neither knows nor accepts Marx. But he could consult such authorities as Gustav Meyers and find out that primitive capitalist accumulation in America, as everywhere, is based upon forcible appropriation (of the Indian), upon the spoliation and exploitation of the public domains, etc.

Putting Over the League of Nations.

Closely connected with the question of war and imperialism is the question of the League of Nations.

The great powers, England, France and Japan, after the World War, perceived that the imperialistic robberies could not be carried on in the future with the same open brutality as in the past. The aversion to war on

the part of the great masses of workers and petty bourgeois was great.

The desire for peace, for an everlasting peace, was immense. The cry: "No more wars, peace without annexation, peace without indemnities," was the cry of the masses. The rulers of the great capitalist nations understood that this cry had to be met and they let Wilson serve them as well at making peace as at waging war. The "14 points" became the slogan of the day. "Make the world safe for democracy (capitalism)!"

Wilson took the lead in covering the shameful peace with a fig leaf—the League of Nations. Under the cover of this fig leaf the great imperialist powers could, for the time being, divide the world, subjugate nations, levy indemnities and create new caricature nations. Under the cover of the league they could blockade and wage war on Soviet Russia. The Socialist leadership of all lands, being more interested in capitalism than in revolution, began cheering at the fig leaf and assuring the workers that this was the real thing. Later on, the League of Nations was used by the Allies to saddle the Dawes plan onto Germany. Mr. McDonald was the officiating minister who blessed the German workers into this new exploitation slavery. Here the League of Nations appeared as the godfather of permanent starvation of the German proletariat.

American imperialism does not yet need a fig leaf. It is harmful for its interests to get into any close alliance on a formally equal footing with English, French and other imperialist powers. America emerged from the World War a super-power. Making the world safe for democracy was a profitable business for the American capitalists. They were making money, enlarged and concentrated their industry; monopolized markets and solidified their finance capital. American imperialism found the world divided into mandatorial colonies and spheres of influence. But it wanted to get a foothold in all parts of the globe for investments, for control of raw material, and for markets for its manufactured goods. And the American government made known the needs of its financiers and capitalists. It proclaimed two opposite policies at once: (1) The Monroe Doctrine—the closed door policy applied to North, South and Central America. These territories are considered a monopoly for imperialists of the United States, closed to all other imperialist powers. (2) An open door policy for the rest of the world, giving United States imperialism an equal right to the exploitation of those countries in which European and Japanese imperialism previously had a monopoly. England, France and Japan were compelled to give in. So we have our finger in the oil pie of Mosul, our foot on the resources of China and our capitalists can ply their trade in every nook and corner of the world, getting concessions and monopolizing natural resources. The only exception is the Soviet Union, but that is another story.

The Socialist Party seemed to have taken a stand on the question of the League of Nations in 1919. In the Manifesto of the Socialist Party published in 1919, we find the following statement regarding the League.

"The true aim of this alliance of capitalist powers is to safeguard their plunder, to bully and dominate the weak nations, to crush proletarian governments and to thwart everywhere the movements of the working class.

"It is the world wide struggle between the working class and the capitalist class which dictated the decisions of the Versailles Conference. This is clearly shown on the one hand by the desperate attempt to crush Soviet Russia and by the destruction of Socialist Finland and of Soviet Hungary, and on the other hand by its recognition of the un-socialistic coalition government of Germany.

"The so-called League of Nations is the capitalist black international against the rise of the working class. It is the conscious alliance of the capitalists of all nations against the workers of all nations."

Well, our readers will say, here you have caught the Socialist Party having a position at last. Yes. But our Socialist Party got frightened at its own clarity, and hastened to remedy the calamity.

Whitewashing the Black International.

In 1926, Hilquit supports the point of view held by a portion of the American capitalists—that the League of Nations is good. Berger, on the other hand, representing the point of view of the petty bourgeoisie says the League is bad. And the Socialist Party as a whole, between Hilquit and Berger, is deprived of any position. You can be a Socialist, although you are for the "black international." And you can be a socialist although you are against the "peace breeding" League.

Now the first question naturally is: Where does the Socialist Party stand on this question? The second is: Were the leaders of the Socialist Party dishonest in 1919 and were they only playing on the sentiments of their membership, or are they dishonest now? If they were stating the truth then, why revoke it now? If they tell the truth now, why did they lie then? Is all of this caused by senility and disintegration of the Socialist Party or by the desire on the part of the leadership to openly serve the capitalist class?

The situation is basically the same in 1926 as it was in 1919. The imperialist governments are suppressing the working class. They are subjugating and waging war on the small nations and threatening Soviet Russia in 1926 as they did in 1919.

The Socialist Party wants to be considered as a working class party, as a party based on Marxian principles. Such a party must not only prominently participate in the struggles of the working class in its own country but must "always and everywhere represent the interest of the movement as a whole." It cannot be for the workers at home—and against the workers abroad. What is then the present attitude of the Socialist Party towards the struggles of the working class of the Soviet Union?

The Soviet Union.

The vehement lying and vulgar attacks of the "socialist" Jewish Daily Forward and more "gentlemanly" vitu-

peration of the **New Leader**, the shameful statements of Victor Berger in congress, prove conclusively that the Socialist leadership singly and collectively use all and every means to discredit the workers government and are consciously helping the enemies of Soviet Russia.

The Socialist Party long ago pledged its support to the Soviet government. In one of its manifestos of long ago it states: "We, the organized Socialist Party of America, pledge our support to the revolutionary workers of Russia in the maintenance of their Soviet government." Hilquit had the following to say: "It is abundantly clear that a proletarian regime must at all times maintain an efficient and adequate organization to protect its conquests and that it must be particularly alert and determined in the early period of its existence, when counter-revolutionary capitalist attacks are likely to be the most frequent and dangerous.

"A whole-hearted support of Soviet Russia by the advanced workers everywhere is dictated not only by their natural sentimental attachment for the first Socialist republic, but also by their direct class interests." (From Marx to Lenin, page 106).

The working class must support Soviet Russia. An attack upon the Soviet Union means an attack upon the whole working class. Why, then, does Mr. Hilquit and the other leaders of his party, together with the rest of the reactionary leadership of American labor, attack and malign the working class of the Soviet Union, their government and their leadership?

The Socialist Party of America has lost every claim to being a Marxian party. Its theoretical foundation is the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie. Like this latter it hates the proletariat and fears the big bourgeoisie. To curry favor with the big bourgeoisie it tries to deliver

the working class to it gagged and bound. Its betrayal of the working class is at the same time the fruit of its fear of it and its proof of servility to the big bourgeoisie. Its political position is no position at all. It is for and against certain questions at the same time, just as the particular interests or even groundless sentiments of the different sections of the party may react to such a question.

It is a twentieth century replica of that social-democracy, of which Marx wrote in his **Eighteenth Brumaire**:

"The essential characteristic of social-democracy is as follows: Democratic republican institutions are demanded as a means, not for the abolition of two extremes, capital and wage labor, but for the mitigation of their opposition, and for the transformation of their discord into harmony. Various ways of attaining this harmony may be advocated, and the different proposals may be adorned with a more or less revolutionary trimming, but the substance is always the same. The substantial aim of social-democracy is to transform society by the democratic method, the transformation being always kept within the petty bourgeois orbit. . . They think that in no other way can society be saved and the class war averted."

When Marx wrote these lines he had not only in mind the Ledru-Rollins of France of 1848, but he foresaw the Abe Cahans, the Victor Bergers and Morris Hilquits of America in 1926.

There is only one immovable and solid rock island in the midst of the unfathomable swamp of the lack of principle of the Socialist Party of America—hatred for the proletariat, fear of the bourgeoisie, both synthesized into abject servility to capitalism.



American Capitalism Prepares for Class War

By Alexander Bittelman

SECRETARY MELLON came back from Europe a while ago and was pleased to tell the reporters that he liked Mussolini and his regime. Morgan has repeatedly expressed the same opinion. Several more prominent representatives of finance, industry and government have permitted us to see their admiration for the bloody doings of the black-shirted terror.

It can thus be safely stated that the big capitalists of the United States are in favor of fascism and stand ready to support it with a good deal of their might.

This does not mean that Mellon and Morgan are ready to introduce a fascist regime in the United States at this moment. Most likely, they are not. If any of these dictators of America were to speak his mind freely in public, we would probably hear something like this:

"Some day, at some stage in the development of the class struggle, democracy may prove no longer an accepted cover for our capitalist dictatorship. At this juncture the existing government apparatus may prove inadequate for the defense of capitalism. Under the pressure of severe struggles of the workers and the general disintegration of the capitalist system, democratic illusions of the masses may vanish, the police force may become demoralized, the army may prove not altogether dependable, and the entire volume of the oppressive and crushing power of the government may turn out to be insufficient to cope successfully with a large scale mass attack of the workers upon the existing capitalist order. Then we must drop our mask of democracy and adopt the features of a fascist dictatorship."

In other words, the capitalists of the United States—the same as elsewhere—are turning to good account the experiences of the class struggle that can be derived from world history in the last ten years. One might wish that the working class showed as much anxiety to learn from the past as does its master.

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ALL these reflections are occasioned by a number of definite and sinister moves on the part of the American ruling class in recent months. Here we have references to the so-called Civilian Defense machinery that is being built quietly up by the War Department with the "wholehearted" assistance of the municipal bodies and big capitalists in the country.

Mayor Walker and his municipality can claim the prize for having been first in the field which is as it should be. The great city of New York is our unofficial national capital. Wall Street is there. The nerve-center of modern capitalism, finance capital, is located on Manhattan Island. The real bosses and dictators of this land are concentrated in that city.

And although the official initiative came from the Assistant Secretary of War MacNider, yet the people who made the real practical beginning were the "big fellows" of New York through their puppet—Mayor Walker.

Here is how it happened. Assistant Secretary of War MacNider, who is in charge of so-called industrial mobilization provided for in the national defense act, had requested the co-operation of several city mayors for the upbuilding of the necessary machinery for putting these provisions of the defense act into effect.

Forth came Mayor Walker with a proposal to create a special committee "on industrial co-ordination and defense of the city of New York" to assist the Federal government in formulating plans "for industrial mobilization in the event of war." Secretary Davis, quite naturally, welcomed the proposal and expressed confidence in the ability of Walker, the committee, etc.

What kind of a committee is this going to be and what is it going to accomplish?

Let us quote Mayor Walker's communication to the War Department. It says in part:

"I am selecting a representative committee, known as the Committee on Industrial Co-ordination and Defense of the City of New York, which will be ready to co-operate with the National Government in carrying out the plans for industrial defense."

What does Walker mean by "plans for industrial defense"? He cannot possibly mean the defense of industries from a military attack by a foreign power. That is being taken care of by the War Department. What he means, and what is actually being planned, is the building up of strikebreaking bodies that will step into every serious conflict between capital and labor to help the police and the military to break strikes.

That this is what is actually meant can be seen from further quoting Mayor Walker. He says:

"At the same time I am certain that our own city will be benefited by such a committee in their study of industrial conditions locally. It will also stand ready to serve in case of any national calamity, such as earthquakes, or floods or any internal crisis."

. . . Or any internal crisis. Isn't that full of meaning? Mayor Walker is an alert sort of individual. Besides, he lives in close proximity to "great" industrial leaders. He therefore knows what he is talking about when he proposes to build up civilian machinery to be used in defense of "our" industries during an "internal crisis."

Strikes is the thing they have in mind. And to break strikes is what they are preparing for.

The British working class is well familiar with the O. M. S. and what it stands for. Something similar to that is being proposed and built now in the United States.

The O. M. S., or the so-called Organizations for the Maintenance of Supplies are volunteer strike-breaking bodies pure and simple. They are semi-governmental institutions made up of volunteers consisting of capi-

talists and their retinue. These bodies are called upon by the government to take the place of workers on strike whenever an emergency exists. The O. M. S. has been used by the British government—Liberal and Conservative—in every serious industrial conflict since the late imperialist war.

Even more obvious becomes the strike-breaking nature of these committees for industrial defense when we consult on this matter the opinion of the capitalist press. Some of the papers are quite outspoken. For instance, the *Boston Transcript*, in reporting the Walker proposal to the War Department, has the following to say:

"The Walker Committee designed primarily to handle such matters as are not taken care of directly in the Industrial Mobilization Plan of the War Department, and to handle such emergencies in peace time as might paralyze the city's activities and do injury to the civilian population."

And what may these peace-time emergencies be, says the *Boston Transcript*:

"Earthquakes, floods, strikes—such things as these may produce a situation in New York City or any other metropolis comparable to a war emergency, and requiring similar heroic measures to keep the harm to industry and to individuals down to a minimum."

This paper, as well as many others, already sees the great possibilities contained in this plan for strengthening capital against labor. And remember—not in times of war but in times of peace. Strikes are frankly listed in the same class as earthquakes and floods, as emergencies requiring "heroic" measures to keep them down. Next thing we will hear is a call for "heroic" volunteers to fill these emergency bodies for strike-breaking purposes.

The British experience with the O. M. S. all over again.

This enterprising Boston paper that we quoted above is making sure that the home of the textile and shoe magnates, and incidentally the home of our great president, does not fall too far behind the home of Wall Street. The *Transcript* assumes the championship for the formation of a Walker Committee in Boston and immediately it receives the blessings and the promise of co-operation of the War Department.

Boston too will have an industrial defense committee which will enable its manufacturers to exploit still more brutally the workers of New England. And what will this committee be worrying about?

"More particularly, New England is interested that the boot and shoe and the textile industries continue to operate normally,"

says the *Boston Transcript*. So this is what the proposed committee will busy itself with. Like the committee in New York and in other important industrial centers, it will build up elaborate machinery to forestall, combat and break strikes. It will create a new semi-governmental organ of capitalist power to fight more effectively the labor movement. These constitute the beginnings of fascism in the United States.

What are the essential characteristics of fascism?

It is the building up and setting into motion by the capitalists of extra-governmental machinery, made up of volunteers reliable in a capitalist sense, to supplement the official capitalist government in the defense of the present order, and to supersede and take the place of the official government when the latter is no longer able to cope with the rising working class.

American capitalism is not facing revolution but it is faced with a perspective full of intense labor struggles. It is this perspective that is moving American capitalism to what is called "industrial preparedness."

Competition on the world market, according to the latest reports of the Department of Commerce, is becoming more bitter every day. The recent formation of the European steel trust including France, Germany and Belgium, the prospective formation of another steel trust, which will combine with the first one, including Sweden, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Hungary and Jugo-Slavia, the negotiations now under way for the formation of a huge European chemical trust, these and several more developments including the growing opposition of European capitalism to the domination of American imperialism, are moving the American capitalists to adopt various measures of retaliation. And among them is the policy of cutting wages and weakening unions as a means of cheapening the cost of production.

Every now and then the cry is raised that wages in the United States are too high. The demand is persistently put forward by spokesmen of big capital to bring wages more in accord with wages paid European workers. This is the goal that American capital has set itself to achieve.

But the American capitalists know full well that labor will resent and resist any such wage cutting campaigns. Even with the help of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy, which will undoubtedly help the capitalists and not the workers, the capitalists could not start out on a wage cutting campaign such as is being contemplated without first carrying out a thorough campaign of preparedness. This campaign of "industrial preparedness" is now being initiated through the Walker committees.

What is the purpose of these committees?

They will strive to unify the capitalist interests of the big industrial centers. They will create centralized direction and leadership in the class struggle on the capitalist end of the game. They will survey conditions and outline strategy to defeat the plans of the workers and the unions. They will build volunteer organizations to supply the force and violence, the strike-breakers and the thugs with which to fight the workers. They will strive to develop into regular fascist organizations to be ready for every emergency in the class struggle.

American capital is preparing for war. War against its imperialist rivals. War against its "own" working class.

American labor must answer this move of the enemy by initiating a preparedness campaign of its own, the chief measure being organizing the unorganized.

The Present Condition of Agriculture in the Soviet Union

By Karl Reeve

NOT long ago, in an unsigned news dispatch dated from Riga, published in a New York newspaper, I saw a report that Zinoviev was about to set up a new government in the Leningrad district. Almost as brazen lies have been indulged in with regard to the difficulties in the government's grain collecting campaign.

Industry and Agriculture Reach Pre-War Level.

As a matter of fact, both Soviet industry and agriculture have now practically reached the stage of pre-war production. As far as the well-being of the peasants is concerned, especially the poor and middle peasants, they are a great deal better off than in pre-war times. In the *Pravda* of March 2, 1926, we learn from the proceedings of the Third Russian Agricultural Conference that "already the peasant seeding area has been raised to 87 per cent of the pre-war level in 1925, and to 91 per cent of the pre-war level of production."

One great goal in the progress of the Soviet Union has been reached. The horrible effects of the world war, of the civil war, economic blockade and famine which wrecked both industry and agriculture have been overcome.

"The economic situation in the Soviet Union," said *Pravda* (March 10, 1926), "in spite of the poor harvest (1924), with its effect on the development of our export trade, a visible growth was shown in agriculture. The gross agricultural production in 1924, increased almost 8 per cent in comparison with 1923, along the line of animal husbandry and technical culture. . . . Last year was one of rapid development, with great improvement in the conditions of the working class and peasantry. . . . Agricultural production for 1924-25 increased, according to pre-war value 76 per cent, according to present value, 71 per cent."

Industry also has reached close to the pre-war level. Djerzhinsky, in one of his last speeches, before the plenum of the Central Council of Trade Unions (*Pravda*, Feb. 9, 1926), said, "The increase in production for 1924-25 over 1923-24 was 64 per cent. The increase for the preceding years, 1921-22 was 50 per cent and 1922-23, 45 per cent and 1923-24 was 30 per cent. . . . The total percentage of increase is as follows (for 1924-25): in the heavy industries, 55 per cent; in the light industries, 45 per cent. In the previous year the increase was, in the heavy industries, 53 per cent and in the light industries 75 per cent." Rykoff, in a speech on the present situation, said: "The output of our industries increased 63 per cent last year over the previous year." F. Vinoff, writing in June (*English Inprecorr*, No. 47), said, "A general increase in production has become

almost a stereotyped phenomenon in the Soviet Union. No month passes which does not bring with it an increase in industrial production such as pre-war capitalism, when it was still sound, only reached with difficulty in a whole year." The latest figures show that this monthly increase in production has continued, the production in the large scale industries of the state increasing in April at the annual rate over March of 39 per cent and as compared to April, 1925, increasing from 50-60 per cent.

Present Problems.

The Soviet government has this year, as in previous years, faced difficult problems and solved them. In the first place the government miscalculated the amount of grain which could be collected after last year's harvest and consequently made incorrect estimates of the ability to import goods from abroad. Rykoff says: "We made a number of mistakes and miscalculations in our grain purchases. As a result we planned to live on what proved to be beyond our means."

One of the reasons why the peasants did not give up the amount of grain which was expected was that they were more prosperous and were in a position to build up for themselves a reserve. The harvest on the whole was a good one. Grain totalled 65 million tons as compared to 48 million tons in 1924. The government had planned to export and to bring to the city markets 13 million tons. However, only 42 per cent of this amount was collected by January 1, instead of the estimated 70 per cent. The government estimates were too optimistic.

Rykoff, speaking of the economic difficulties, said at a meeting of the Leningrad Soviet on March 3, 1926: "At the end of the first quarter of 1925-26, we entered a period of economic difficulties in foreign and domestic trade, fuel and transport. . . . The main factors in these difficulties began to grow more and more in August and September, 1925, when, guided by the prospects of a good harvest, our large plans began to be brought into life."

This economic strain centered attention on certain fundamental aspects of the present problems of the government. These problems included: (a) a disproportion between agriculture and industry, industrial production being behind agricultural demand and consequently a **hunger for commodities**; (b) a lack of sufficient organization of the grain collecting apparatus; (c) an unfavorable foreign trade balance; (d) high prices, the retail prices being disproportionately above wholesale prices, because of the great demand for industrial products; (e) a slight surplus of the amount of money in circulation

over the amount of commodities; (f) further differentiation of the classes among the peasantry and growth of village bourgeoisie.

The fundamental cause of these difficulties is the need for further industrialization of the country. The *Soviet Union Monthly* for June, 1926, states: "Owing to the disproportion between industrial and agricultural output it is impossible to utilize fully the agricultural resources of the country by the export of grain and raw materials." Industry is still unable to satisfy the growing demands of the population, 90 per cent rural, for commodities. . . . We speak of a radical change in the economic character of the country, of a long process of conversion from an agricultural-industrial country to an industrial agricultural country, requiring many years."

The shortage of goods was accentuated by the growth of the purchasing power in the town and village, but especially in the village. The peasant is now producing more for himself than in pre-war times and is not burdened with czarist taxes and with a land famine. Consequently, he has more money, which he is unable to turn into goods in the desired quantity because of the shortage.

The latest figures of the Gosplan show that the disproportion between agriculture and industry is being overcome and that industry is increasing its production at a faster rate than agriculture. Bukharin and Rykoff have articles on this subject in the July and August *English Inprecorr* which also show that the proportion of private trade to trade state is steadily declining.

Measures to Solve Difficulties.

The Soviet government immediately took steps to overcome these difficulties. "The development of industry and the industrialization of the country altogether is the decisive task" in order to overcome the demand for commodities and complete the development of socialization, says the resolution of the Central Committee Plenum of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the economic situation (April, 1926). The government took up the task of: (a) bringing about "an appropriate relation between the money in circulation in the country and the masses of goods in circulation," permitting an increase of issue only when the purchasing power of the ruble can be raised; (b) achieving a reduction in retail prices, especially through the co-operatives; (c) maintaining the process of constantly increasing wages, but increasing the productivity of labor by use of better equipment, etc.; (d) insuring the accumulation of a supply of capital for a reserve with which to increase the scale of industrial production; (e) forming a reserve for foreign trade.

Strict economy was put into force in order to make both ends meet. The import plan for the current fiscal year ending September 30, was cut, as was the foreign trade program which however, was under the revised estimate to be 12 per cent greater than in 1924-25. "We plan only a 35 per cent growth in industrial production," said Rykoff "But even with this our growth has been greater than in any other country in Europe."

Results of Soviet Tactics

The difficulties experienced, according to the latest figures, seem definitely to have been overcome. This was to be expected. Both the harvest of 1925 and the present harvest have been successes. The entire sown area in 1925 increased 5 per cent, the crop approaching pre-war volume. The grain area increased 4 per cent, the greatest crop increase having occurred in the Northern Caucasus, where this is being written. The harvest this year is reported as satisfactory, both for the winter and spring crops. Drought did not occur and the crops are now being taken in with an average yield per dessiatine (2.7 acres) and an increase in the area sown.

All the statistics this year show that more grain has been collected, that the foreign trade balance is now favorable, and that all phases of economy are in a healthy condition. The accumulation of grain this year as compared to the first months of 1925 has increased 80.3 per cent. In March, the improvement was noticeable. Not only was a larger quantity of grain collected but prices became more stable, some of them declining.

In March, for the first time for a number of months, there was a favorable trade balance. Because of the bad harvest in 1924, an unfavorable balance was recorded, and for the first eight months of 1925 grain and flour were actually imported. In March, exports exceeded imports. This was achieved not by cutting off imports, but by increasing exports by almost 25 million rubles as compared with March, 1925. In March, also, industrial production created new records. The value of the total production of industry was 312.6 million pre-war rubles, almost 5 per cent more than in February, 1926, and 40 per cent more than March, 1925. Another indication that the Soviet government is accomplishing the desired results is that in March the comparative increase of heavy industry is considerably greater than light industry. The figures for April and May are fully as encouraging. Not only was industrial production increased, but also the productivity of labor, the average monthly production reaching 167 pre-war rubles compared to 161 in March, an increase of 4 per cent whereas in the same month of last year there was a decrease of 3 per cent.

The prices of agricultural products again declined in April as they did in March, showing that the Soviet campaign to push down prices is achieving success. The price of wheat per pood was 1.30 in March compared to 1.27 in April and the wholesale prices for flour decreased 4 per cent. The amount of money in circulation increased only 1.5 per cent in April while the turnover of goods increased from 12 to 14 per cent showing that the amount of commodities and money on the market are approaching a level.

The regime of economy has produced a great saving, the total savings of all trusts and syndicates, from April to September are expected to amount to nearly 24 million rubles. This in no way affects the tendency of wages to increase. The production of grain in April was 150 per cent greater than in April, 1925, nearly 50 per cent of this amount being wheat (for further figures see *English Inprecorr* of June 17, 1926).

Thus the Soviet government has been able in a remarkably short time to put into effect its program and to achieve results showing the soundness of its socialist economy, the resourcefulness of the country's leading party, the Communist Party, and the satisfaction of the population with the Soviet regime.

Inheritance of the Soviet Government.

IT is no common sight in the Northern Caucasus to see a camel and a horse harnessed side by side ploughing. Nearby, on a government farm or peasant collective, can be seen the latest type American tractors, in many cases run 24 hours a day in the busy season. The method of ploughing with a camel or a team of bicks (oxen) was inherited by the Soviet government from the pre-revolutionary days. The tractor method of farming, on model government farms and collectives, is evidence of the fruits of the Soviet government's system of industrializing and socializing agriculture.

Pick up any book about the imperialist Russia of the days before 1914 and you will see such statements as the following. "The country was agriculturally backward and there was no capital or modern methods. The government gave no help to the poor peasants." "Famine in Russia is about as periodic as it is in China although China is only half the size of Russia and has twice as large a population. . . . In 1912, according to the official registration figures about 82 per cent of the population suffered from some ailment or other." (Maurice G. Hindus, *The Russian Peasant and the Revolution*).

A conservative American organization, which during the famine co-operated with the Red Cross and the American Relief administration, the Commission on Russian Relief of the National Information Bureau, said in its report of February, 1923: "Russian agriculture has been slow to develop. For half a century after the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, the cultivated area hardly increased although the population multiplied two and a half times. Peasant farming was generally of a low order. Wasteful methods were common."

Even the conservative histories of Russia dealing with pre-war times establish that the Russian peasant was most backward. Not only were his methods of farming and implements primitive, but in addition, he was constantly impoverished by the imperialist government's taxes, and was bound to the village and harnessed with

obligations which it was often impossible to meet by the old landlord controlled commune or mir. The serfs were "emancipated" in Russia in 1861. At that time they were required by law to pay a heavy "redemption" price to the landlords whom they had served, to be paid in 49 yearly installments totalling 1.5 billions of rubles. When this was finally abolished, after 1905, the peasant had paid more in fees than his land was worth. The peasant's history is one long history of too many taxes and not enough land. The peasant was constantly on the verge of starvation.

The Soviet Union, as is well known, inherited not only this backward system of agriculture, which had for scores of years been imposed upon an uneducated and ignorant peasant population, consisting of 90 per cent of the total population of the country, but an industry and an agriculture wrecked by years of war which was followed by civil war and famine. "The civil war killed some seven million adult males of the peasantry and seriously maimed fully as many." "The civil war was a Sherman's march to the sea spread over seven years," say the famine relief organizations.

In the world war 17 million men and two million horses had been mobilized in the three years from 1914 to 1917. Railways had broken down and the import of agricultural machinery went down from 95,200 metric tons in 1914 to only 4,100 in 1915. Then came the counter-revolutionary campaigns of such white guardists as Denikin and Wrangel and then the famine of 1921. The number of horses fell from 31 million in 1916 to 19½ million in 1923, of which 16 million were farm horses. In many provinces over half the horses were lost to the peasantry. Cattle decreased from 50 million in 1911 to 33 million in 1921. There were of course severer losses in the famine areas. The British Trade Union Delegation report says: "The loss of agricultural machines can only be roughly estimated at about 50 per cent."

In 1920, 60 per cent of the pre-war area was under cultivation. In 1921 it was 54 per cent. The British Trade Unionists were able to report in 1924: "So much has been done that the government outlay on agricultural restoration is now annually changing its character from that of relief and re-equipment to that of reconstruction by general electrification and technical education."

Agriculture in the Soviet Union has now reached the pre-war level and tractorization and industrialization are on the order of the day.

With Marx and Engels

I.

POLITICAL economy is the theoretical analysis of modern bourgeois society . . .

* * *

. . . Economics does not deal with things, but with relationships between people, and in the last analysis, between classes; these relationships, however, are always bound up with things and appear as things. This connection, which in isolated cases has certainly dawned upon this or that economist, was first revealed by Marx in its validity for the whole of economics, and he thereby made the most difficult questions so clear and simple that now even the bourgeois economists will be able to understand them.

(Engels: From a review of Marx' Critique of Political Economy published in two articles in the London German Weekly, "Das Volk," August 6th and 20th, 1859.)

II.

AS far as I am concerned, I can't claim to have discovered the existence of classes in modern society nor their strife against one another. Middle class historians long ago described the evolution of class struggles, and political economists showed the economic physiology of the classes. I have added as a new contribution the following propositions: (1) that the existence of classes is bound up with certain historical phases of material production; (2) that the class struggle leads necessarily to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship itself is but the transition to the abolition of all classes and to the creation of a classless society.

(Marx: From a letter to Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852, in the Neu Zeit, 25-2 (1906-7) p. 164.)

III.

WHAT is society, whatever its form may be? The product of the reciprocal action of people. Are the people free to choose this or that social form? By no means. Assume a definite stage of development of the productive forces of mankind and you will have a definite form of distribution and consumption. Assume a definite stage of development of production, of distribution and consumption, and you will have a definite social order, a definite organization of the family, of estates or of classes; in a word, a definite bourgeois society. Assume a definite bourgeois society and you will have definite political relationships which are now the official expression of bourgeois society. Mr. Proudhon will never understand that for he thinks he is contributing something great when he appeals from the state to society, that is, from the official concentration of society to official society

It is superfluous to add that mankind does not freely choose its productive forces—which are the basis of its entire history—for every productive force is an acquired force, the product of former activity. The productive forces, therefore, are the result of applied human energy, but this energy itself is conditioned by the relationships in which mankind finds itself, by the already acquired productive forces, by the social form which exists before them, which they create for themselves, which is the creation of the preceding generation. By means of this simple fact, that every subsequent generation finds ready the productive forces acquired by the preceding generation, which serve it as raw material for new production, there arises a causal relationship in human history; there is formed a history of mankind which is all the more the history of mankind, the more the productive forces of mankind have grown and with them also its social relationships. From that it follows necessarily: the social history of men is always merely the history of their individual development, whether they are conscious of it or not. The material relationships between people are the basis of all their relationships. These material relationships are only the necessary forms in which their material and individual activity is realized.

(Marx: Letter to Annenkoff on Proudhon, Brussels, Brussels, December 28, 1846. In: Die Neue Zeit, 31-1 (1912-13, p. 823-24.)

IV.

THUS, mainly because he lacks the historical knowledge, Mr. Proudhon has not seen: that people, in developing their productive forces, that is, in living, enter into definite relationships with one another and that the nature of these relationships must necessarily change with the transformation and growth of these productive forces. He has not seen that economic categories are only abstractions of these actual relationships and are truths only insofar as these relationships exist. Thus he falls into the error of the bourgeois economists who view these economic categories as eternal and not as historical laws, which are only laws for a definite historical stage of development, for a limited condition of the productive forces. Therefore, instead of viewing the politico-economic categories as abstractions of the actual, transitory, historical, social productive relations, he sees, in the actual relationships by means of a mystical inversion, only embodiments of these abstractions. These abstractions themselves are formulas which have slumbered in the lap of God the Father since the creation of the world.

(Marx: Letter to Annenkoff on Proudhon, Brussels, Dec. 28, 1864. In: Die Neue Zeit, 31-1 (1912-13) p. 827.)

V.

THE first presupposition of all human history is naturally the existence of living human individuals. The first historical act of these individuals by which they are differentiated from animals is not that they think but that they begin to produce their means of life.

(Marx and Engels: From the "German Ideology", on Feuerbach. 1845. In: Marx-Engels Archive Vol. 1 p. 237.)

VI.

Karl Marx on Henry George.

London, June 30, 1881.

To A. F. Sorge:

Before your copy of Henry George arrived, I had already received two others, one from Swinton and one from Willard Brown; so gave one to Engels, one to Lafargue. For today I must limit myself to formulating my opinion of the book quite briefly. Theoretically, the man is totally arriere! He hasn't understood anything of the nature of surplus value and therefore, following English example, tosses about in speculations on the independent (verseibstsaendigten) portions of surplus value, which even at that have remained behind the English—over the relationship of profit, rent, tax, etc. His basic dogma (Grunddogma): that everything would be in order, were ground rent paid to the state (you find such payment also among the transition measures contained in the Communist Manifesto... This view originally belonged to the bourgeois economists; it was first put forward (not considering similar demands at the end of the 18th century) by the first radical adherents of Ricardo directly after his death. In 1947 I said in my work against Proudhon concerning this: "We understand that the economists such as Mill (the older one, not his son, John Stuart, who also repeats it somewhat modifiedly), Cherbuliez, Hilditch and others, have demanded that rent be contributed to the state to be used as payment of taxes. It is the frank expression of the hate which the industrial capitalist avows for the land owner who seems to him an inutility, a superfoetation in the collectivity of bourgeois production."—We, ourselves, as already mentioned, took up this appropriation, among numerous other transition measures, which, as was also remarked in the Manifesto, are and must be contradictory in themselves.

But to make out of this desideratum of the radical English bourgeois economists the socialist panacea, to declare this procedure as the solution of the antagonisms confined within the present-day method of production, that was first done by Collins, a former old Napoleonic Hussar officer born in Belgium, who blessed the world from Paris in the last days of Guizot and in the

first of Napoleon the Little, with thick volumes on his "discovery," just as he also made the other discovery that there is indeed no God, but to be sure an "immortal" human soul and that animals have "no emotion" If they had emotion, therefore soul, we would be cannibals and a kingdom of Justice on earth could never be founded. His "anti-landownership theory," together with his soul, etc., theory, is preached this year-and-a-day monthly in the Paris "Philosophy of the Future" by his few remaining adherents, mostly Belgians. They call themselves "Rational Collectivists" and have praised Henry George. Following them and beside them, the Prussian banker and former lottery owner, Samter, from East Prussia, a flat head, has slapped out this "socialism" in a thick volume.

All these "socialists" since Collins have this in common that they let wage-labor, therefore, also capitalist production, stand, in that they want to trick themselves or the world into believing that by the transformation of ground rents into taxes to the state, all the embarrassments of capitalistic production will have to disappear of their own accord. The whole is therefore, a socialistically garnished attempt to save the capitalistic rule and in fact to found it anew on a still wider basis than the present.

This cloven-foot, which is at the same time an ass's foot, peeps out unmistakably from the declamations of Henry George. With him the more unforgivably since he would conversely have been obliged to ask himself the question: How did it happen that in the United States, where relatively, that is, compared with civilized Europe, the land was open to the masses and to a certain degree (again relatively) still is, capitalist economy and the corresponding enslavement of the working class have developed faster and more shamelessly than in any other country!

On the other hand, George's book, as well as the sensation which it has made among you, has the significance of being a first, even if unsuccessful, attempt to free oneself from the orthodox political economy.

For the rest, Henry George seems to know nothing of the history of the early American anti-renters, who were more practitioners than theoreticians. Otherwise he is a writer of talent (also having talent for Yankee-advertising, as, for example, his article on California in the "Atlantic" shows). He also has the repulsive arrogance and exemption which invariably characterizes all such panacea-breeders.

Fraternal greetings,

Your K. Marx.

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*Based on the Bibliography of E. Czobel and P. Hajdu.—In: *Marx-Engels Archiv*. 1 Bd.

The Spirit of the First American Revolution

By Jay Lovestone

THE SPIRIT OF THE REVOLUTION, by John C. Fitzpatrick, Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston.

BOARD a train from Chicago to Pittsburgh. It is the day before the one event that has attracted more mass attention and interest than any other question since the signing of the Armistice of the last World War.

The cars are loaded to the gills, as it were. You can't get an upper berth at a premium. Everybody is headed for Philadelphia. Gunmen—prosperous and hard-up—congressmen, clergymen, millionaires, managers, technicians, executives and sundry other species of our noted citizenry, are literally huddled towards Philadelphia—but yesterday the city of somnolence.

The writer is in the club car in the hope of finding a seat. Big bellied men puffing big cigars as emblems of their wealth and their satisfaction with things as they are crowd the car. One cannot but smell wealth and reaction in the nicotine-poisoned atmosphere. Finally, after considerable waiting, I managed to get myself a chair.

Americanism of the Moment.

I felt out of place. Yet I tried my best not to look out of place. I proceeded to read a book, "The Spirit of the Revolution," by John C. Fitzpatrick. Everyone else was straining his eyes either on the sporting columns or examining the stock quotations of the day, or gabbing about the big show to be staged by the two biggest Americans—Gene and Jack—therefore, the two biggest men in the world.

The "gentleman" to my elbow on the right looked especially contented and prosperous as he was rolling his smoke and perusing the measurements of the thighs and chests of his Gene and Jack. But it didn't take him long to notice the title of my book, blazoned in gold on its covers. Through the corner of my eye I could see him steal glances with increasing frequency at my reading matter. As I was reading certain chapters, the "gentleman" on my right, who looked every inch and every ounce the typical "executive" of our present industrial system, noticed chapter titles running as "The Committees of the Revolution," "A Liberty Loan of the Revolution," "A Sea Captain of the Revolution," "The Revolutionary Postoffice," etc.

Apparently, this peaceful fight fan was aroused out of his complacency by the repeated recurrence of the word "revolution" on the changing pages of my book. Soon he mustered enough intimacy with me to say in his obviously best authoritative voice: "Is this about Roosia you are reading?" I was quick to disabuse and set his mind at ease by saying: "No, it's all about the United States. It's about the first American revolution and it's mighty instructive. In spots it's thrilling."

Scarcely had I finished my last words when the 150 per center snapped: "Nonsense! You mean to say this is a history of a revolution in America. No such thing here. That can't be. It must be Roosia."

I realized that I had a tough job on my hands, but I thought the game was worth the candle and went on to say: "You see, sir, our fathers were not as holy as you and I were taught in the primary school histories. They were a sort of pretty human fellows. They defended their class and made a good job out of their defense. I will tell you a secret—as there is no use talking much about such affairs to many people just now—I can see our forefathers guilty of many acts for which the bankers and manufacturers now condemn the Bolsheviks. They were good fighters and knew how to hit hard."

As I went on to point out sections of the book to my already uncomfortable fellow traveler, he growled to close his talk with me abruptly: "Ah, but who gives a damn for revolution and the fights of a hundred and fifty years ago? Everybody is now interested in the big fight. Americans today have their eyes on Dempsey and Tunney. They are the fighters and they could teach even Washington how to hit hard and to knock out his opponents."

I felt that there was no use of my making the "executive's" life still more miserable and saw in the moment a welcome chance to bring our friendly hostilities to a close. I went on to read the book which is intensely worthwhile.

American Histories.

Except for such historians as Beard, Smith and James Truslow Adams, the historians of the first American revolution are divided into two main classes. One: The historians of the chair, the official deifiers of the Fathers, the writers of cherry tree bedtime tales, the authors of a super-idealism and perfection of yesterday as a basis for the perpetuation of things as they are today. Two: There is the type of vulgarized Marxian interpreters of the American Revolution so crassly typified by the irritated Mr. James O'Neal in his "Workers in American History," and by the somewhat too topographical interpretation of American history by Mr. Simons in his "Social Forces in American History."

Mr. O'Neal, inspired by the rantings of the primary school histories over the holiness of our Forefathers, viewed the first American revolution as made largely by smugglers. He confuses economic motives of certain individuals with class interests. Needless to emphasize, neither the mountain-and-water interpretation so extravagantly resorted to by Mr. Simons, nor the economic determinism a la Professor Seligman of Mr. O'Neal,

affords a Marxian, an historical materialist, a scientific analysis and treatment of the first American revolution.

Now let us return to Mr. Fitzpatrick whose general estimate of the character, goal, and results of the Revolution one need not accept. Yet, we can find in his book a fair number of refreshingly enlightening sections.

How many Americans are there, who have been told that the Declaration of Independence is the greatest document of liberty in the purest abstract sense, have also been acquainted with the fact the congress threw out from the draft of the declaration a complaint against the British government that it was preventing the colonies from checking the growth of slavery? More than that! How many historians give the class basis of this "crime" of the British government and the refusal of congress to include it as such in the bill of complaints against Great Britain?

Americanism of a Different Kind.

The heroism and suffering of the revolutionary American workers and farmers at Valley Forge is thus painfully brought home by Commander-in-Chief Washington in his letter to the president of congress two days before Christmas:

"But what makes this matter still more extraordinary in my eyes is, that these very gentlemen—who were well apprized of the nakedness of the troops from ocular demonstration, who thought their own soldiers worse clad than others, and who advised me near a month ago to postpone the execution of a plan I was about to adopt, in consequence of a resolve for seizing clothes, under strong assurances that an ample supply would be collected in ten days agreeably to a decree of the State (not one article of which, by the by, is yet come to hand)—should think a winter's campaign, and the covering of these states from the invasion of an enemy, so easy and practicable a business. I can assure these gentlemen that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under the frost and snow, without clothes or blankets."

Here we see one of the reasons for Washington being a real leader of the army fighting to insure the birth of the American bourgeoisie as a native American capitalist group free from the fetters of British feudal regulations and restrictions retarding American economic development.

Those of our bourgeois experts who repeatedly try to poison the minds of the masses against the proletarian revolutionary leaders on the ground that the latter are "young and inexperienced" would do well to recall certain facts: When Washington was elected Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary forces he was only forty-three. Most of his aides-de-camps were from ten to fifteen years younger. After the Revolution succeeded, this group of men hitherto inexperienced in the "arts and mysteries" of government, became the ambassadors, supreme court justices, and cabinet officers in the government of the new, the victorious ruling class which framed the present constitution of the United States. Why, the great American bourgeois leader, Alexander Hamilton, whom our imperialists idolize so much today, was only twenty-eight years old when he was one of Washington's closest aides in the revolution. And he was a foreigner at that—for he was not born on the "sacred soil" of the Thirteen Colonies—then all of the United States.

Here is another rude reminder to our capitalist pro-

fessors and their masters. Mr. Fitzpatrick says:

"The proportion of the population of the Thirteen Original Colonies who were Loyalists during the Revolutionary War is not realized as generally as it should be. Our school histories have carelessly or intentionally ignored the facts, for the preponderance of the patriotic feeling was not so great as we have been led to believe. It is doubtful if a referendum in all the Colonies on the question of independence, during the winter of 1777-78, would have shown a healthier majority in its favor."

Build New Government Apparatus.

Prying into the organization of the victory of the then rising and then revolutionary American bourgeoisie we listen to Mr. Fitzpatrick say further on:

"The development of the mechanics of a civil government to meet the necessities created by the struggle for political liberty is the most interesting of all the interesting phases of the American Revolution. In this development the Committees of Correspondence, of Observation, of Inspection, of Intelligence, and of Safety were most important organisms. They formed the bridge by which the colonists passed over the morass of political destruction from the ruins of a repudiated, paternalistic tyranny to the firm ground of self-administered government beyond."

The very Declaration of independence as written by Jefferson says:

"Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments, long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes but whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends (life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness), it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Indeed, the next American revolutionary class—the proletariat—to displace with a higher social system the American capitalist system which was once revolutionary but is now reactionary, once useful but now socially destructive, will have "to institute new government" and succeed in "organizing its powers in such form (based on the mass organizations of the working class) as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Revolutionary Committees in Action.

Let us heed such wise words as follow from Mr. Fitzpatrick.

"To establish a political machine of this character, extraneous to and unrecognized by any legal sanction, was difficult and dangerous as well. So dangerous was this that the Boston committee felt it wise to bind its members by oath not to divulge its proceedings. . . .

"This bold questioning of Britain's authority met with most enthusiastic support; Virginia's ringing call to action echoed up and down the Atlantic coast and before two months had passed the New England colonies were solidly organized into committee groups, with rumors of like activity coming in steadily from the southward. . . . "It was this group organization that controlled at the outbreak of the hostilities of the Revolutionary War, and it held steady the reins of governmental power and authority until the Royalist machinery was shaken loose and democratic governments set up and set in motion. In the rosters of these committeemen of 1773 are to be found the names of nearly every revolutionary patriot most familiar to us. . . .

"By 1774 a new type of committee was coming into existence; that of the Committee of Safety. This committee rapidly became the most important of all. The titles now changed again, and there were Committees of Safety and Correspondence, of Safety and Observation, of Safety and Inspection, but in all the combinations the word "safety" took precedence. There was something ominous in the appearance of this world. It seemed to assume that the danger of a resort to force of arms might not be far distant."

The American proletariat can learn much from the Committees of the Revolution for its coming revolutionary struggles. There are certain fundamental principles involved. One of these is that the oppressed class, struggling to overthrow the ruling class, cannot simply lay hold of the existing state machinery which is best fitted for perpetuating the prevailing social order but, on the

contrary, must destroy this machinery and set up its own governmental system suited for effectively building up a new social order for progress. The Russian and German revolutions and the great class struggles in England have likewise shown the infallibility of this principle of revolutions—which after all are only high water marks, culminating points of years of change-processes in class relationships and struggles.

Describing the activities of these Revolutionary Committees Mr. Fitzpatrick says:

"It is impossible to withhold admiration from action such as this. It was sabotage; but sabotage boldly and publicly recommended in the face of the bayonet. . . . It was plainly evident that the committees were engines of power and accomplishment sufficient in themselves to overturn the royal Government in the Colonies. . . ."

"The central Committees of Safety became, from their composition and character, the most important and powerful of all the committees. During the transition period before the royal Government fell to pieces and before the Revolutionary legislatures could begin to function, they held, for a time, almost dictatorial power. But it was always wisely used and quietly wielded in co-operation with the local town and country committees. Together these committees held firm to the heavy, everyday work of massing the resources of the country behind the fighting forces. It was not spectacular work, but exacting and unceasing. A break in the lines of supplies, a check or delay of men or equipment, a need for wagons, for arms, for blankets, for animals and fodder, and the Committee of Safety was appealed to for aid. It called out the militia, collected arms and accouterments, handed deserters, received, managed, and guarded prisoners of war, arrested Tories, adjusted accounts, settled claims, and performed hundreds of other tasks of a minor nature, but none the less necessary, which, unattended to, would have increased immeasurably the burdens and difficulties of the war."

Hardships of First Revolution.

What an uphill struggle the first American revolutionary army had to fight! What a sad plight it was in now and then! In order to encourage enlistments, the Continental Congress passed a resolution offering a clothing bounty to those who would enlist for the whole period of the war.

The problems of the revolution are problems of everyday life. After Lexington and the siege of Boston there was brought into existence an army that grew daily. Then, there was the bread problem. Picturing the initial stages of this phase of the building of the first American revolutionary army, Fitzpatrick tells us:

"The individual soldier, with flour trading as his excuse, straggled and plundered and roused the ire of the country people by his marauding practices. . . ."

"The lack of system and the evil effects therefrom were not plainly evident at first. . . ."

"Periods of prolonged drouth which withered crops and dried up the water-power in the mills; long continued and heavy rains which hurt the grain, clogged the roads, and held up the supply wagons; speculators who gambled in foodstuffs, and farmers who held on to their grain for better prices, all contributed to the hardships suffered by the army. . . ."

"There was always sufficient food in America to feed the Continental troops bountifully; transportation and mismanagement, most of which were avoidable, kept the army nearly always in want. The quantity of the bread ration was cut down many times to eke out the supply during periods of scarcity. Several times during the year 1779, and not always during the winter months, the Northern Department troops were on the verge of mutiny from lack of bread. The ragged finances of the central Government were responsible, in large measure, for the bread scarcity."

These were but the birth pangs of a higher social order in America one hundred and fifty years ago. Today, only the bedlamite would condemn as bankrupt the new order of things for which our Forefathers went through these and other countless trials and tribulations.

Likewise, the well-kept editors and bourgeois military experts who only the other day overworked themselves ridiculing the first days of the Red Army of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia in 1917 would do well to recall that it was not until the grand review held in honor of Comte Rochambeau that American soldiers were "facing each other fully clothed and equipped, for the first time during the war, with supplies furnished by France." This was after Yorktown—virtually at the end of the war.

Challenging British State Power.

A particularly interesting feature of the American challenge to British state power is to be found in the first beginnings of the American post office system, thus described by Fitzpatrick:

"The Royal Mail in the Colonies became a source of irritation to the people with the beginning of the Stamp Act excitement. The postal rates were high and the business methods a mixture of arrogance and superciliousness. When the struggle against the Crown commenced, the Royal Post Office interfered in every possible way that could block the efforts of the Colonies to obtain unanimity of action. It delayed and suppressed news and mishandled mail. Letters were opened, read, and destroyed, and the information thus obtained was transmitted to the royal authorities. Such interference was serious, and this and many petty tyrannies of the Post were decided factors in rousing the spirit of protest and rebellion, especially among the business and merchantile classes."

One, William Goddard, was owner and publisher of the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, a vigorous anti-government weekly. This paper, being barred from the mails a year before the civil war began, organized its own system of post riders. According to Fitzpatrick this postal system, whose head was Goddard, gave us the first Surveyor-General of Postal Roads for the Revolutionary Colonial Government—Mr. Goddard himself. Says Fitzpatrick:

"By August, 1774 Goddard's service was in full operation and the revenues of the Royal Mail were seriously curtailed by the competition. It was not a peaceful competition, however, and there were frequent personal encounters and much bad blood displayed by the competing riders when they chanced to meet upon the road. These were, in effect, the preliminary skirmishes of the war that was soon to break forth."

An Estimate of Our First Revolution.

Historically the first American revolution was a socially progressive step. It ushered in a period of higher social development. It crushed lower forms of production, brought to a crash the feudal fetters foisted upon the social relations in the colonies by the British ruling class, paved the way for the overthrow of the British monarchy in America, and for the subsequent establishment of a bourgeois democratic government. All of these were, historically, steps forward—revolutionary steps in their days. Of course, in time, the advanced, the revolutionary steps of yesterday became the conservative steps of today, and the reactionary, backward, and counter-revolutionary steps of tomorrow.

With the defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781, the British army bands, unknowingly indeed, were historically correct when they attempted a vicious satire by beating upon their drums "The World Turned Upside Down" to help their crushed and humiliated troops march their surrender to George Washington—the rising star of what was decades later to become the most powerful and reactionary national bourgeois ruling group in the world.

REVIEWS

"THE STORY OF THE WESTERN RAILROADS," By Robert Edgar Rigel. Published by Macmillan Company, New York. 345 pp.

THE story of the American railroads is a story of capitalist spoilation. It is the best example of primitive accumulation of capital a student of capitalism can possibly find. When the Huntingtons and Hills rose over night from comparatively have-nothings to the riches of millionaires it is clear that they could not possibly have "earned" their wealth no matter what liberal interpretation one may put on the word earning. Fraud, bribery and corruption was the source of this sudden richness. Thus the story of the Western Railroads, too, is primarily a story of fraud, bribery and corruption perpetrated by the promoters.

Even if one does not want to attack capitalism it is quite a feat to write this story without calling down upon the heads of these spoilers the wrath of the present generation. The author of this book, however, makes a conscientious effort to accomplish this feat. And, as far as accomplishments in this direction are possible, he succeeds.

He is by no means ignorant of the facts or blind to them. He includes many of them in his book. But he does not want the reader to draw any conclusions from these facts that might be inimical to capitalism. The worst he would say is: "There was little doubt in most people's minds that at least a portion of the state aid had been put to improper use." Or, in another place: "The activities of the company in securing this additional aid were not wholly above question."

One of the worst manipulators played the game so shamelessly that even a United States House of Representatives, steeped though it was itself in railroad graft, had to pass a public censure on him. Of this model capitalist the author says: "Up to the time of his death, shortly after the house vote of censure, he was unable to understand wherein he had erred." And of the practices of this gentleman the author declares: "There was no question but what the Credit Mobilier had been used to evade the letter of the law. . . . Such evasion might well have come from the purest of motives." What were these manipulations and what were the motives? The government made tremendous grants on the basis of a contract that the promoters and prospective stockholders invest 100 cents for every dollar of stock issued. The promoters swindled the government into fulfilling its obligations under the contract, though they evaded theirs. They organized a construction company. As the controlling power of the railroad company they voted the construction contracts to themselves, although their prices were from two hundred to four hundred per cent higher than actual cost. Then they accepted stock at

Mr. Fitzpatrick is rather impressionistic than analytical in his pages. He does not deal with the exploits and strategy of the over-estimated military campaigns of the first American revolution. He does not chew over the moth-eaten grammar school causes of the first American Revolution. Mr. Fitzpatrick deals with the minutest details of the mechanism and the technique of the Revolution and its fighting forces.

But precisely because the author works with such "small," professorially speaking insignificant details, as Washington's expenses at Valley Forge, the bands of the Continental Army, the why and how of the first American postoffice, the bread and clothes of the revolutionary soldiers, and the Committees of Correspondence and Safety of the Revolutionary War, that one is enabled to see clearly the powerful social forces, the dynamic class interests as the real motivators of this great historical drama known as the first American Revolution.

A New Interest in American History.

The Sesqui-Centennial celebration has been the occasion for the beginning of a new literature dealing with the first American revolution. We are now learning something more about the social milieu, the class relationships, struggles, and basis of the period of the first American Revolution. Books which treated the American revolution in such a serious manner were in the past largely reserved for shelf-habitation. Now, such books are on the move and growingly popular. Mr. Fitzpatrick's book is really a contribution to the "human interest" side of the American Revolution. We would recommend it not so much for its viewpoint or its keen social analysis. We would rather endorse it, despite some shortcomings in this respect, as a book which can only inspire a more active interest in the why and wherefore of our great class struggles of 1776 and thenabout.

Mr. Fitzpatrick has brought to more popular light some very interesting and instructive "petty details and little things," which are keys to some of the largest phases and most important lessons of the first American revolutionary struggles. To the worker who reads the history of yesterday in the light of the great events of today, Fitzpatrick's "The Spirit of the Revolution" is most readable and stimulating.



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par as payment. And the stock, thus nominally transferred at par, but actually at from 25 to 40 cents on the dollar, was sold by them in the open market at great profits, though below par. The result was that they pocketed millions of profits on no tangible investment whatever. Very pure motives, it seems. So pure were these motives that even the promoter had a doubt about their purity and bribed members of congress to buy favorable action from them. Stock was distributed among congressmen very freely.

The author's judgment of this congressional stock distribution is not as outspoken as ours. He declares: "Whatever or not he (the briber) expected to influence legislation is a matter of doubt." We are sure that only the author of this book doubts it.

All in all, however, the book contains a mass of very valuable material and data. The facts of the story of the Western Railroads are so eloquent that their apologetic treatment by the author cannot silence their lessons. The book destroys completely the myth of the railroad promoter as the benevolent gentleman who had visions of service for his country. Over-capitalized companies and very poorly constructed railroads testify to the real incentive of the promoters. They were out to shear the sheep and cash in on the wool. If this sheep-shearing could not be done without, at the same time, building some sort of railroads, we are indebted for our railroads, not to the promoters, but to the conditions which presented railroad promoting as an excellent method for sheep shearing. We are not complaining about this. We know that it is the peculiarity of capitalism that in its period of upward development it could not serve itself without serving, in some degree at least, society. But we want to make clear the facts.

"The Story of the Western Railroads" can be read with great benefit by revolutionary workers. It contains part of the history of capitalism in America. It presents the facts of this part of history. And the analysis of these facts, which the author omits, can be supplied easily by any intelligent proletarian reader. —M. B.

DEBITS AND CREDITS, by Rudyard Kipling. Double-day Page & Co., New York.

FOR the last fifteen years Kipling has been churning out very poor stuff and this volume of prose and verse is average bad. From his youth Kipling has been the bard of the subordinate official and the young army officer. He has written on many topics: his Mulvaney tales were excellently done—so were the Jungle Books and dozens of his stories—but his paragons were Stalky, the "Brushwood Boy"—keen young subalterns. The horrible death roll of the war convinced even Kipling that military keenness is not enough for a national objective and—even more disillusioning—he found that workers and "rankers" (enlisted men) often made better officers than "Sahibs."

Kipling's approach is infantile—his terrific hates of the "Huns," of America, of organized labor (remember "The Benefactors" published the "American" in July,

1912, but excluded from the three volumes brought out since), of the colonial rebels in Ireland or India, of the Boers—in all he shows a child's lack of poise. He has also the child's joy in glass beads and "dressing up"—he preaches the salvation of the world thru brotherly love expressed in Masonic ritual—how he emphasizes that ritual! He puts more faith in spooks now than he used to, so that it is a dull tale has not at least one ghost. This is possibly due to the death of his son in 1915. When a bereaved man believes in immortality and the soul, he usually hatches other quaint ideas.

The American press has squealed over his verse, the "Vineyard." In it he complains that after England burned her fingers pulling chestnuts from the war fire, America pounced them. It is our patriotic duty to point out that the American hacks have overlooked an even more bitter attack—"Gow's Watch." In thinly veiled metaphor he ridicules America's claim to give moral guidance to the world, calls the Americans "naked savages," weaklings who fled the Old World struggle, pagans with hoards of gold but ignorant of how to use it. Such abuse is childish. The American bourgeoisie dominates the world, because it owns the most modern and efficient industrial plant and because it mixed in the last war at the most profitable time.

There are two good stories in the book, but they are not good enough to make it worth reading.

—G. N. Kaplan.

JESUS THE NAZARENE—MYTH OR HISTORY, by Maurice Goguel, translated by Frederick Stephens, pp. 320. D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1926. \$3.

THIS is just the book to give to a fundamentalist as a Christmas present or as a birthday present or as any other kind of present. But don't fail to omit your name on the presentation card.

The publisher's description of the book is quite true to its contents: "A great French scholar presents the evidence and arguments for and against the existence of Christ." The conclusion to which the "great French scholar"—"Doctor of Theology and Literature, Professor of Exegesis and New Testament Criticism in Faculty of Free Protestant Theology (Paris)"—arrives is of no very great importance for us; it happens to be that Jesus had an historical existence. What is of importance is the method of investigation. The method is of the strictest scientific objectivity, a careful and often detailed and technical examination of all the available literary evidence, Christian and non-Christian. Jesus and the so-called "sacred writings" are dealt with just as any other phenomena in the history of human civilization; probably the only reminder of the current Christian superstition is the capitalization of the pronouns referring to Jesus or God. What powerful ideologic dynamite in destroying old superstition and religious illusions such a conception and such a method of approach can become, if only put into popular form and brought to the masses, is not hard to imagine. For people who are accustomed in their everyday thought

to regard Jesus as a god and the New Testament writings as inspired and literally perfect documents, the very fact that the existence of Jesus is questioned, and very seriously, too, is enough to shake the foundations of faith. And when they find that the questions of their god and of their god-given writings are discussed by world-famous scholars with the some objectivity and strict exclusion of the supernatural as are employed in the study of Buddhism or Islam—in other words, that Christianity is examined as a thing "of this world"—then it is hard even for the most profound and ingrained faith to stand firm and unshaken.

To submit divine revelation to the cold unimpassioned examination of science, to test God's infallible revelation by the "merely human" knowledge of man—this very idea acts as a breath of cold fresh air upon the fetid and unwholesome atmosphere of religious belief. And so, this book (and the whole modern critical movement) is of considerable value from the point of view of anti-religious propaganda—in spite of the fact that our author and his confreres would recoil in horror at such impious uses of their work. But such is the logic of their position that, pious and religious tho they are, they themselves undermine the foundations of faith and forge sharp weapons for the sceptic and unbeliever.

Aside from the more immediate and more "practical" anti-religious viewpoint there is the viewpoint of science as such. For we must not fall into the error of the vulgar "materialists" ("free thinkers") in regarding religion and Christianity as so much "vicious nonsense," of no importance whatever except as something to be refuted. Such an idea is utterly anti-Marxist and unhistorical, a bourgeois rationalist perversion. For Jesus (if he ever lived, which is, to say the least, doubtful) and Christianity as a social phenomenon have been of the greatest consequence in the history of European and world civilization and any accurate, scientific study of some phase of these phenomena well deserves our careful consideration. As an illustration of the methods of modern Biblical criticism our book is particularly useful because of its relatively simple and untechnical character and because of the extraordinary lucidity of the writer and translator. For the advanced worker who wants to know what's doing in this field of science (methods rather than results) this book is certainly to be recommended.

The Workers' Monthly is not a technical journal devoted to this specialty, and so we shall attempt no exposition or criticism of the theses and arguments put forward in the book nor of the general methodological validity of the "higher criticism."

As far as the conclusion of the book itself is concerned—the historicity of Jesus—we merely want to point out what is generally recognized as a fact, that it makes very little basic difference for an understanding of early

Christianity whether the historical Jesus existed or not. For it was not Jesus who created and formed Christianity as a social and religious movement; it was the conditions of society attending the birth of the new religion. Our author, to a certain extent, realizes this and points it out, from a doctrinal standpoint, towards the end of the book. Whatever we may think of the historical Jesus (of whom we know nothing), we can say with the utmost certitude of the traditional Jesus, of the Jesus of Gospels, that not Jesus created Christianity, but—Christianity created Jesus!

It is indeed strange that the whole movement of the "higher criticism" (modern Biblical criticism), which has done more than anything else to tear down the obscurantist veil of religious mysticism and superstition from the history of early Christianity, has been almost wholly the work of clergymen and other pious scholars whose defense of religion is all the more vigorous because their own work has served to break down its superstitions and dissipate its illusions. But we must not be misled by this fact and miss the historical significance of the whole movement. Dialectics bid us distinguish the positive from the negative. Lenin has a good lesson to teach us in this respect (N. Lenin, *Unter dem Banner des Marxismus*, I, 1, p. 13):

"And now let us consider . . . the representatives of modern religious criticism. In almost every case these representatives of the educated bourgeoisie are sure to 'complete' their own refutation of religious prejudices thru arguments that immediately expose them as spiritual slaves of the bourgeoisie, as 'diplomats lackeys of the priesthood.'

"Two examples: Professor R. J. Wipper published (1918) a book entitled: 'The Origin of Christianity.' After taking up the important results of modern science, the author not only refuses to touch upon, in the course of his further considerations, the struggle against prejudice and deceit which the church uses as political weapons, but he also makes the absurd and reactionary claim of standing above both 'extremes,' idealism and materialism. What does this represent but support to the ruling bourgeoisie which spends millions squeezed out of the toiling masses for the maintenance of religion?"

"The well-known German scholar, Arthur Drews, in his book 'The Christ Myth' follows up his attack upon and refutation of religious prejudices and fairy-tales and his proof that Christ never really existed, with an explanation that he is really for religion, naturally for a renovated, better constructed and better formulated religion, a religion capable of resisting 'the ever rising tide of naturalism.'

"This does not in any way mean that we will not translate Drews into Russian. It only means that THE COMMUNISTS, and all logical and thoro-going materialists, MUST KNOW HOW TO GO ALONG IN ALLIANCE (within certain limits) WITH THE PROGRESSIVE PART OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND YET KNOW HOW TO EXPOSE THEM UNHESITATINGLY THE MOMENT THEY BECOME REACTIONARY."

These are profound words and they light up, as with a torch, the whole problem of the ideologic relations of the Communists (and all revolutionary materialists) with bourgeois science and bourgeois scientists.

For this book we can say that there is much that is progressive, i. e., scientific, and very little, it at all, that is reactionary.

—Apex.

"THE RISE AND FALL OF JESSE JAMES," By Robertus Love. Published by G. P. Putnam Sons, New York. 446 pp.

THERE exists quite an extensive biographical literature about the inventor of train hold-ups and daylight bank robbery, Jesse James. Most of it, however, is just blood-curdling dime novel stuff. Authors and publishers of such trash attempt to coin profits from suppressed desires of prospective readers to do bad deeds. They know that such suppressed desires love to revel in secret ecstasies about the bad deeds of others.

"The Rise and Fall of Jesse James" is decidedly not of this class. It is not a pure biography, either. Nor is it exactly history. It is simply a story, a good story. The historic exactness of any story of the bandit Jesse James must naturally suffer in the absence of any authentic record of his deeds. He did not keep such a record. There exists no comprehensive court records. And many of the deeds that public opinion laid at his door were ascribed to him, originally by the real culprits, as a "catch thief" ruse.

"The Rise and Fall of Jesse James" is a rather well written book. It paints a realistic picture of the bandit and his accomplices. It portrays the men in their contradictory mixture of good and bad. It certainly strikes the reader how the exemplary husband and father, Jesse James, and the jovial and amiable "Uncle Cole" Younger could have been cold-blooded bandits whose fixed price for a human life in their way was just a bullet.

But, after all, Jesse James was only human. He was fundamentally not much different from the average Babbit. Good and bad in him were side by side.

Where he differed from the average Babbit is that he gave free reign to his badness. Thus he gave a luster of genuineness to his goodness. Babbit's saintliness, on the other hand, smacks too much of hypocrisy. He is not a saint because he hates to do bad. He is merely a moral coward, lacking courage to be bad.

The author treats his subjects with ability and sympathy. The book is well worth reading. —**Criticus.**

THE RELATION OF NATURE TO MAN IN ABORIGINAL AMERICA, by Clark Wissler. pp. 248. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York City.

IT is rare indeed that we come upon a work at once written with the proper scientific sobriety, significant in its ideas and conclusions, and interesting enough to absorb the serious reader tho he may know nothing of the technicalities of anthropology and ethnology. And so we consider this work a valuable one, tho, as we shall see, it just stops short of rising to the higher level of historic materialism.

The essential aim of the work is to investigate "the relation between man and nature." "It is . . . desirable to choose what promises to be the simpler form of this relation, and, since it is usually assumed that aboriginal man lived close to nature, or was more directly dependent upon natural phenomena than those groups of men we look upon as having attained a civilized state, the American Indian claims first consideration."

The instrument of the investigation thus outlined is the study of the geographical distribution of human traits, taking into consideration, of course, the attendant phenomena of migration and diffusion. No one who has not carefully read this book can fully realize how effectively Professor Wissler collects his data, how skillfully he marshals and classifies them, and how convincingly he presents his conclusions.

The conclusions to which Professor Wissler finally arrives and which are supported by his mass of distribution data are very significant. "A principle, or law, may be formulated . . . (that) . . . when two sections of a continent differ in climates, flora and fauna, or in their ecological complexes (i. e., "living conditions"), the culture of the tribal groups in one section will differ from that in the other" (p. 214). Thus, "Pueblo culture is an affair of this semi-desert area and is confined to it" (p. 213). In general, "it appears the rule that, wherever . . . a well-marked ecological area (i. e., an area with approximately the same "living conditions") can be delineated, there one will find a culture area" (p. 216). In other words, the culture of the aborigines of America was determined directly or indirectly by their natural material environment.

Professor Wissler says a few words as to the mechanism of this law. "A hunting tribe will, for example, specialize upon one or two forms of game and so develop a complex of traits, habits and customs favorable to the pursuit of such game" (p. 217). The effect of what Professor Wissler calls the "ecological factor" may not be apparent at first sight, but it is real nevertheless. Take the sun dance. There seems to be no direct connection between the material conditions of life and "the development of the sun dance; but there may be an indirect one, in that certain economic conditions are the more favorable to the elaboration of such special traits" (p. 219).

Such, in his own words, are Professor Wissler's theses. To the Marxist they present a familiar aspect. It is only on the basis of the Marxist theory of historic materialism that this "ecological" theory can be properly understood, its validity and limits clearly demarcated, and the theory itself articulated in its proper place in the fundamental, uniformly valid theory of historic materialism.

The great success that Professor Wissler meets in applying his theory to his facts is due to the fact that—he chooses his facts! Not consciously, of course! The selection comes in thru the fact that he studies the "simpler form of the relation of man to nature," the phenomena exhibited by **aboriginal man**. And in justice to our author it must be recorded that in this work he does not pretend that his conclusions extend any further.

Now, primitive man was largely dependent upon nature, as our author points out. He had not yet built up an apparatus for harnessing and transforming nature; the forces of production which he used in his life process were overwhelmingly **natural** forces. Artificial or man-made productive forces ("tools") were of the most primitive sort and played a minor role. Naturally,

therefore, since, as Marx clearly proved, social development is in the last analysis dependent upon the "state of development of the productive forces," primitive culture is very largely traceable to the natural environment, "the ecological situation."

But man is a tool-making animal; he is continually extending his forces of production. He cannot remain satisfied with what nature gives. He constructs new things—tools, and so lays the basis for his whole social and ideological development. These "artificial" or man-made productive forces are created in response to and upon the basis of the conditions and the forces of the natural environment but they represent an extension and a development of the natural productive forces and, as man forges ahead, soon come to overshadow them. The process is not simply a mechanical addition of "tools" to "nature." There is an internal co-ordination between the constructions of man and the forces of nature into a uniform whole that, at any particular period, represents the "stage of development of the forces of production." Corresponding to this stage of development there arises a system of economic relations that forms the "economic structure of society, the real basis on which rise" social, political and ideological superstructures.

This is the reason why the "ecological" theories—if they rely upon the "natural" environment only—are so insufficient to account for the social and cultural phenomena of human development, **once we get beyond the more primitive stages**. Only the integral doctrine of historic materialism—in which the "ecological" doctrines can find their place—can explain satisfactorily the history of mankind.

Yet Professor Wissler's work, incomplete and liable to misinterpretation and misapplication tho it be, is valuable because of its objective and materialist method and well as because of the insight it gives into the life of primitive man. —**Apex.**

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE BUSINESS CYCLE, By Dorothy Swaine Thomas, New York. E. P. Dutton & Co., 1925, 217 pp.

THIS is a book that can be heartily recommended to the advanced worker-student whom a few unavoidable statistical technicalities cannot frighten away.

"The objects of this study is an examination of the sociological aspects of the business cycle. The tool is statistical analysis." Such is the author's own definition of the task and method.

It is a familiar fact that, within the long-range, one-directional trend (the so-called "secular trend") of economic development under capitalism, there are short-range, periodic phenomena, cyclical changes, flux and reflux. Within the general movement of capitalist development, there are ups and downs of prosperity, depression, boom, crisis, etc., repeating themselves in a definite, more or less regular fashion. Bourgeois economists have apparently given up as hopeless the problem of explaining these periodical phenomena known as the

"business cycle"—because a scientific understanding of the problem, such as Marxism gives, necessarily involves recognition of the class basis, the exploitive character, and the entirely historical nature of the capitalist economy, something that it is surely too much for us to expect from either the economic apologists or the eclectics. And so, bourgeois economics has addressed itself, especially of late, to the external aspects of the phenomena whose inner nature it cannot understand, to a careful and minutely accurate description, primarily in quantitative terms, of its many phases and aspects. In this task considerable success has been attained—as witness, for example, Wesley C. Mitchell's **Business Cycles** and the collection of papers on **Business Cycles and Unemployment**. What might be called the "economic aspects" of the business cycle have received a competent empirical examination and quantitative formulation.

But what about the "social aspects?" Do the periodic changes in the current of economic development have any social reverberations? "Do the fluctuations in business produce fluctuations in social conditions?" (p. 54). Does the business cycle have any effect on social life, on the marriage rate, on the birth rate, on crime, on illegitimate births, on prostitution, to name some phases of social life which are subject to a quantitative examination? These problems are the subject of our book.

That the task is no easy one is apparent to any one who understands the technical as well as the sociological side of the problem. Yet the author succeeds admirably in making the problem itself, the methods used, and the results achieved intelligible to the attentive reader who may know nothing of the technical intricacies of statistics. The banishment of the purely technical material to the appendices as well as the wealth of tables and charts help a great deal in achieving this end.

The book is very well organized. After an introductory statement on "The Problem and Its Setting," there follows a "Critique of Previous Researches into the Social Aspects of the Business Cycle," including a reprint of an earlier investigation by Miss Thomas and Professor Ogburn. This is preparatory to the actual investigations which follow: "Marriage and the Business Cycle," "Births and the Business Cycle," "Deaths and the Business Cycle," "Pauperism and the Business Cycle," "Alcoholism and the Business Cycle," "Crime and the Business Cycle," "Emigration and the Business Cycle," "Summary and Conclusions." Several appendices on the statistical methods employed and some important tables conclude the book.

This is no place to review either the methods or the results of Miss Thomas' inquiry. Altho her results are not always conclusive and are sometimes very puzzling—as, for example, in connection with the death rate which appears to **increase** with prosperity instead of decreasing as we would naturally expect—her discussions are very stimulating and are quite effective in evoking the thoughtful consideration of the reader for the problem and its difficulties as well as for the results actually attained. The large amount of statistical material brought forward and carefully organized is also of considerable value for reference.

The most interesting problems aroused by this book are not discussed in it at all—naturally, since it is a purely statistical study. These are problems going to the very roots of sociological and historical theory—problems of historic causation, of the relation of social and historical phenomena to the consciousness, the feeling, the will of individuals. Thus, for instance, it is proved that there is a very high correlation between industrial conditions and the marriage rate—when conditions are “good” marriages are relatively numerous; when conditions are “bad,” on the other hand, the marriage rate falls off, and for intermediary conditions there is an equally close relation. Another example: “Burglary, house- and shop-breaking and robbery. . . show a definite tendency to increase in a business depression and to decrease with prosperity.” (p. 139).

Here at one end of the causal chain we have the business cycle; at the other end—the rate of marriage and the number of crimes! How does one phenomenon convert itself into the other? Certainly, marriage is a matter of the “free choice” of the individuals involved, if anything ever is and a burglary is popularly supposed to be “willed” by the burglar. What influence has the business cycle upon “free choice?” That is the problem.

It is well known that the observation of such “social regularities” (particularly Quetelet’s studies) was a powerful factor in the development of the doctrine of historic materialism. If alcoholism, prostitution and burglary and such other moral phenomena are seen to depend a great deal upon economic conditions, or as the old investigators used to say, “on the price of grain,” then surely it is no longer monstrous to take these phenomena out of the realm of theology and “morality” and refer them to the social conditions and ultimately to the economic relations of society. Now, when this is done, we have taken the longest step towards historic materialism. And if these “social regularities” lead directly to historic materialism, historic materialism on the other hand, offers the only satisfactory explanation for these “social regularities.” Only upon the theory that the economic structure of society (corresponding to the definite state of development of the productive forces) is the basis upon which rise the social and ideological superstructures can we really understand the inner relations of “the price of grain and the frequency of suicide.”

But the one problem still remains: there can be no question that people think, will and feel—yet the social events when they occur are independent of the consciousness, of the feeling, of the will, of any particular individual. The events take place in an “unconscious,” elemental, “natural,” and highly regular predictable manner.

Engels solves this problem in a very clear way, at the same time answering those critics of Marxism who impute to it a fatalistic character:

“There are numberless criss-crossing forces, an endless series of parallelograms of forces, whose resultant—the historical event—appears . . . to be the product of a force without consciousness and without will. For, what any particular person wills is interfered with by another and what emerges is not what anyone precisely has willed.”

Social and historical phenomena are composed of the actions of men but how men act and react—all the while believing themselves to be acting “freely”—and what the resultant of all these actions and interactions will be, is conditioned upon and determined by the economic and social relations, by the forces at work in society, by the configuration and correlation of classes.

“Men make their own history but in a given environment that conditions them, on the basis of given determining relations . . .” (Engels).

Such are the conclusions to which a consideration of the basic problems aroused by this book leads and such is the only viewpoint from which the theses developed in this book are anything more than interesting empirical observations. Considered from the viewpoint of historic materialism both the material and the results of this book acquire great significance.—Apex.

MOHAMMED, by R. F. Dibble, pp. 357. The Viking Press, N. Y. C.

THIS book is a treat—in spite of a blemish or two. It is cleverly written with a certain deft and urbane irony; it is pleasant to read, interesting, informative . . . all around, quite satisfying. This much is simple . . .

But once we attempt to analyze the book or to classify it, the matter is no longer quite so simple. What kind of book is it? The publishers speak of it as their “big non-fiction book of the year”—but this brings us no nearer to the answer. Is it history? Or biography, or what?

As history it has many glaring faults, enough to damn it without appeal. For, aside from one or two half-hearted attempts at “theorizing”—that is, at historical analysis and “the discovery of causes”—the author makes no pretences whatever in the direction of history. There is no serious consideration of the social and economic organization of Arabian society, no examination of the social forces or the tendencies of historic development, no analysis of the role of Mohammed and Islam in the social life-process, there is in fact, no vestige of what history would demand as the very first step.

Nor is it biography, scientific, scholarly biography. Simply to read the book is to realize this. The very idea of accurate scholarship seems preposterous in the atmosphere of the book. It seems quite bad taste, quite incongruous, one feels, to demand any documentation or any weighing of evidence. Delightful legends and striking even tho apocryphal anecdotes are woven into the narrative so that before we know it we have left the world of hard verified fact and are sailing airily thru the clouds of fancy. No, this is no biography . . .

Well, then, what in the name of “non-fiction” is it then? It strikes us that this book should most profitably be considered as a glorified historical novel, as a sort of transition from the historical romance to history and biography. We do not mean to reflect on the accuracy of the picture it paints. We merely wish to point out that, above all, it is a picture that is being painted, a story that is being told, and not a phenomenon that is being investigated. The basic motivation is unques-

tionably esthetic and not scientific. We do not wish to be understood as implying that history or biography can have no esthetic values—quite the contrary. But in this case we are dealing, not with an artistically written biography, but with a piece of literature that has considerable biographical and historical value. The dominant theme is esthetic . . .

So—read the book, but not as biography or history. Read it as a brilliant and accurate historical novel. You will enjoy it . . . and learn. —Apex.

STATEMENT

of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the act of Congress of August 24, 1912.

Of The Workers Monthly published monthly at Chicago, Ill., for October 1, 1926.

State of Illinois, County of Cook, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Moritz J. Loeb, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Workers Monthly and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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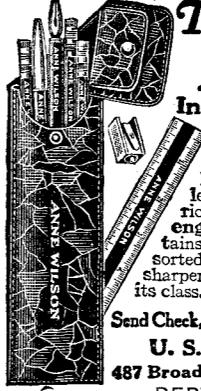
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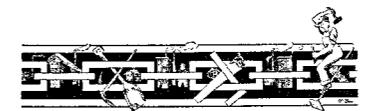
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