

Born of a Wish



and of the needs and desires of the working class, The Daily Worker—with the aid of the meager funds and the untiring efforts of those who must labor to live—has in the ten months of its existence established itself as “The National Labor Daily.” It is here to stay. The future size of The Daily Worker and its ability to better fight the worker’s battles rests entirely in your hands. If your interest in the labor movement is real—if it is earnest—you will unite your efforts with the efforts of thousands of workers united at the present time in an enthusiastic “Daily Worker Bricklayers’ Union” in a campaign to build a greater working class newspaper. You can begin by sending this brick to

THE DAILY WORKER

1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

— RATES —

\$6.00 a year \$3.50-6 months \$2.00 3 months
in CHICAGO—\$8.00 a year \$4.50 6 months \$2.50 3 months

**THE NEW SUBSCRIPTION TO BUILD
THE DAILY WORKER**

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

I SENT IT
NAME
STREET
CITY
STATE

The WORKERS MONTHLY

A CONSOLIDATION OF

**THE LABOR
HERALD**

LIBERATOR

**SOVIET RUSSIA
PICTORIAL**

NOVEMBER 1924 25 CENTS





VICTIMS OF CAPITALISM

Workers Imprisoned

In Germany, about.....	7,000
" Italy "	8,000
" Spain "	23,000
" Belgium "	2,300
" Lithuania "	200
" Latvia "	500
" Finland "	1,200
" Poland "	12,000
" Hungary "	70,000
" India "	253,000
" Roumania "	3,000

THEY ARE IN FOR US WHO ARE OUT

Their wives are blacklisted. They can get no work. Their children need help. Winter is coming.

Their class war knows no geographical boundaries. Today the workers of Europe need OUR help. Tomorrow we may need THEIR help.

G I V E
in the spirit of
SELF HELP AND INTERNATIONAL CLASS SOLIDARITY
and get others to
G I V E

OUR AIM

To give aid to all needy workers and class war victims of the laboring masses without conditions, without political discrimination, whenever and wherever the existence of a working class is menaced by economic or natural catastrophe or by political oppression.

International Workers' Aid
19 South Lincoln Street
Chicago, Illinois

Here is my contribution to help the prisoners of.....
and their families.

Name

Address

City and State

Trade or Profession

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS AID

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

Is just what its name implies—the monthly magazine of the workers.

It retains all the old fighting spirit and careful leadership of the trade union struggle developed by THE LABOR HERALD.

It continues the traditions of revolutionary art and politics established by THE LIBERATOR.

It carries on the pictorial and textual story of Soviet Russia and the international class struggle which made famous THE SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL.

ALL IN ONE MAGAZINE—WITH ADDED FEATURES

Not only will THE WORKERS MONTHLY bring you each month the best thought on the fields of industrial and political struggle in the United States, and the productions of the best revolutionary artists. It will also receive and publish regularly the current writings of the

Outstanding Writers
of the

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

and

The RED INTERNATIONAL of LABOR UNIONS

There is but one way to keep abreast of the events of the world and the political thought that molds these events—and that is by reading regularly THE WORKERS MONTHLY.

When remitting use this blank for convenience.

You can assure yourself of this monthly treat by sending in your subscription now—at \$2.00 per year. Single copies sell for 25c.

THE WORKERS MONTHLY,
1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed find $\frac{\$2.00}{\$1.25}$ for $\frac{12}{6}$ months' subscription.

Name

Street

City..... State.....

Official Organ of
Workers Party of America
Trade Union Educational League



Fred Ellis

On the Road to Power

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

A Combination of the Labor Herald, Liberator, and Soviet Russia Pictorial

Published monthly at 1113 W. Washington Blvd. Subscription price \$2.00 per year. The Daily Worker Society, Publishers. Entered as Second Class Matter at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

VOL. IV.

NOVEMBER, 1924

No. 1.

Let's March With Them

By Moissaye J. Olgin

WHEN the hush of holiday will have fallen over Russia on the morning of this red-glowing day, November the Seventh, and the workers of the First Workers' and Peasants' Republic will be closing brotherly ranks in their powerful marching battalions, ready to accentuate the significance of the moment by a demonstration of invincible revolutionary cohesion, and the red banners will light up over age-worn and youthfully blooming heads like so many storm messengers over a restless, heaving sea,—what will these columns announce to all of us here, to the toiling masses of every land?

Let us ask the very first fellow worker we come across. He is not young, our Russian friend. His clothes are worn. His boots are crude. His frame is thin. His eyes are deep set—eyes that have seen worlds and suffered hells. He is good natured and affable, this red revolutionary proletarian, as is one who has witnessed the agonies of men in cruel combat for cherished ideas. He will be glad to talk to us, for nothing is dearer to his much-tried soul than to behold foreign workers awakening to the realization of their historic task.

"Look around," he will say pointing at a cluster of buildings near the place where he is waiting in line with his comrades for a signal to march. "See that two-story red brick house with pillars on either side of the door? This is the house our boss lived in. He was a good man, he said. He claimed he loved his workers. And so, on the birthday of his wife, March 28, he used to place a barrel of vodka in front of the main shop; every one of us received a tumblerful of the stuff, and we had to shout 'hurray' in honor of the master's mate. When we had become a little wiser and refused to perform the slavish act, declaring a vodka strike, five of us were discharged as 'dangerous rebels.' It came to a real strike, with the plant shut down, with scores of us jailed, with many ordered to the home village 'under police surveillance,' while my-

self and that man yonder, Comrade Prokofiev, were exiled to the province of Yakutsk (Siberia). Aye, that was a labor loving boss, indeed! And still, he was not the worst of the lot."

Our interlocutor will hesitate a while and, with a gleam of childish joy illuminating his stern features, he will say:

"Do you mind coming with me? I can leave the ranks for a minute, as our column is not likely to start for some time."

And so the man leads us through the gate of the plant, across a big yard surrounded by soot-covered structures, down a passageway with closed doors on either side, and into a spacious hall where tables are lined along the walls. There he points to an elderly man with a baldish head and a look of dejection on his flabby face, seated at a desk in a far corner and laboriously working over a pile of sheets.

"This is our former boss," our guide declares. "He is now a clerk in the employ of our plant. Efficiency is not his greatest virtue, but we have pity with his old age. He regularly receives his wages twice a month from the hands of our shop committee chairman, Comrade Popov."

Back in the yard, our guide makes a broad gesture with his right hand, as if embracing the group of buildings in one powerful sweep. "Look," he says, "this plant and all the industrial plants of our land, belong now to us, to the working class. There is no boss over us but ourselves, our self-imposed discipline which is a guarantee of success. We have done away with the class of employers. We are not slaves any more. We are free men."

What a whimsical smile appears in the corners of our comrade's mouth! Is he reminiscent of humiliations heaped upon his head in years gone by? Is he sad at the thought of untold millions who still toil under the yoke of private owners, who work for the



RUSSIAN WORKERS MARCHING IN THE FAMOUS RED SQUARE, MOSCOW

enrichment of private owners, who obey the command of accumulated riches?

"It was easy," he says, "to take possession of our factories and mills seven years ago. When the workers and the peasants combine to oust the oppressors, who can withstand? We were like an avalanche that smashes and sweeps away everything obstructing its rush. It was just as easy to possess ourselves of the power of state. But what a terrible effort was required to make the wheels of the industrial machinery move! What devilish struggles we went through before we made our newly won power secure!"

"Do you see that frame building on the right side? It is a storehouse now. Three years ago the lot it stands on was vacant. The structure had been taken apart, piece by piece, to be used for fuel. We could not help it. We had to live somehow. We had to keep on working at any price."

A hardly perceptible shiver runs across the face and down the body of our friend. Shadows hover on his forehead, making his eyes darker and deeper.

"Your freedom-loving democracies," he continues, and there is the bitterness of gall in his expression, "your rich and mighty states drew a ring of fire around our young republic. We were being strangled. We choked. We were hungry, sick and hungry and miserable and desolate, and bleeding, bleeding. . . ."

"Picture to yourselves. This plant with its fifteen hundred workers was reduced to a little over four hundred. The rest dispersed. Some went to the countryside in search for food. Some joined the Red Army. Some tramped the width and length of the country hoping to find a refuge. Some engaged in illicit trade to stave off starvation. We who were supposed to stay and work, idled for months at a stretch because of the lack of either raw materials or fuel or tools or equipment. It was torture. We lived in a trance. We were hungry. We ate a quarter pound of bread a day. In winter time we saw water freezing in our bedrooms. We saw our children becoming waxen, resembling little skeletons covered with a yellowish skin. We were so feeble it took an effort to move our limbs. How

could we work in such a state? Yet we worked. We managed even to give something for the boys at the front. We were surrounded by fronts. My boy joined our workers' and peasants' army. He died a brave revolutionary fighter under the ramparts of Perekop."

There is the shadow of moisture in the corner of our comrade's eye. Maybe we only imagine it. He is too composed for such expression of weakness. And he has seen things. After a while he continues:

"We stood everything. Behold these streets and squares and roads; go from here to the North or the South, to the far eastern provinces or to the western frontiers; wander through cities, villages, forests, gardens and fields, hills and dales,—they have all been made wet with our blood, the red blood of the working class. We have given all we possessed, all we could; our very lives—and we have won.

"There is this plant now. The number of its workers is at present nineteen hundred. We have mended its buildings, improved its machinery, increased the productivity of our labor. Ours is a rising industry, and we are working at full speed. There is life in the plant now. There is new life in every one of us. We realize that things are not as far ahead throughout the Republic. But we read and we know that the industrial output of the country has increased these last three years by leaps and bounds, that in certain industries it has reached the pre-war level, that our fellow workers are learning the lessons of efficiency, that our labor is becoming more and more productive. What is more important: We know we can do things, we have the confidence, we have the strength and the endurance. Tell your comrades in the land across the water that nothing in the wide universe can break our will."

As we return to the waiting columns which in the meantime have been increased by several squads of young workers with a flood of crimson banners giving the illusion of a flaming torrent, our friend points at some of the men and women in the line.



"KOMSOOLS," YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

"This is Comrade Popov, the chairman of the shop committee. He was taken prisoner by a band of Denikin's army as he served at the front. He pretended to be a fool of a peasant who had been forced into the Red Army under threats. They did not think it worth while to kill him, and so they made him a soldier in their ranks. He is a sly one, brother Aleixei Popov. He has a way about him. Once in the heart of the hostile army, he began to conduct an underground propaganda among his fellow soldiers, many of whom were plain folks ignorant of what they were doing. He succeeded beyond his expectations. At the crucial moment of the civil war the entire regiment he served in deserted the white general and went over to our side. Popov received the Order of the Red Banner. Now he is our representative on the union administration. He is a hard worker. He sometimes quarrels with us and sometimes has a row with the union, but we all have complete confidence in him. He does his level best. Besides, he is under our vigilant control.

"And do you see that square-faced fellow yonder, beside the carrier of the first banner? This is Comrade Arkhipov, the manager of our plant. The man he talks to, that broad-shouldered giant with the drooping, black moustache, is the president of our trust. Do not be surprised, dear friends, at the mention of trusts. The Russian proletariat has taken from America the name but it gave it a new content. A trust in our land is a cluster of kindred factories located in approximately the same region and managed as one industrial unit. This combination is made for the sake of efficiency. A manager of a trust has several managers of individual plants under his jurisdiction. The trust is under jurisdiction of the Supreme Industrial Council of the Union. Both the plant manager, Arkhipov and the trust president, Philipenko, are former workers of my shop. We are old friends. We sat together in jail, in the same cell, for six months."

"What for?"

"Eh, that was an interesting story. There was an overseer in our shop, a servile soul to whom a smile of the boss meant more than the life of the workers. He made us work like hell, which was bad enough, but he had a foul mouth besides. Well, one fine morning the workers of our shop seated the dog of an overseer on a wheelbarrow, wheeled him out of the premises to dump him on the refuse heap. There was a rumpus in the entire plant after this. Many were discharged. Myself, Arkhipov and Philipenko got away with six months. I tell you, it was worth while.

"Now those two between themselves represent the employer. They are the combined 'Boss' of our plant. It is between the trust and the union that the wage problem is being settled. The union represents the workers. The trust represents the state. But we are all of the same kind. The union is interested in the welfare of the proletarian state. The trust has the in-

terests of the workers at heart. Shop committee, management and trust are so many departments of the same workers' and peasants' republic. This is why we have full confidence in their work. It is ourselves in action."

A thrill passes through the ranks. Backs straighten. Arms stiffen. Eyes sparkle. A word of command flares up somewhere ahead of us. A band of music starts a lively tune. The November sun throws sheaves of pale gold in which the first snowflakes are zigzagging through a misty air.

The comrade says:

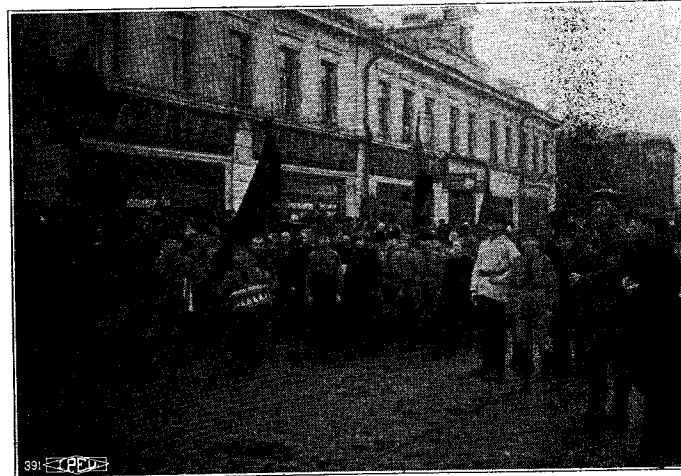
"Come on with us, friends. This is a holiday of holidays for all the workers of the world. Seven years ago, on this very day, we dumped the employers' government with all its machinery on the refuse heap of history. We seized the power of state in order that we may seize the industrial apparatus and become the masters of ourselves. This day is a crimson line drawn across the book of history. From then on, the world revolution began."

We join the lines. We march. To the right and to the left of us we see only marching columns. There is music in the air. There is song in the air. Gladness reigns. A battalion of children flows into the general stream through a side street. Pioneers. Young Leninites. The Soviets of the future. The climbers of the tomorrow's cultural heights. Their forces are a field of marching multi-colored flowers. Their eyes are a chorus of joy. They are wild with joy. They are drunk with the intensity of life. As they pass by us to put themselves at the head of the procession, they wave their sparkling banner, they shout something which none can understand which, however, goes into the depths of our hearts to warm them and make them quicken with awe-inspiring joy.

Ecstasy reigns.

Our friend speaks to us as we proceed along suburban streets where shops are closed and low-roofed houses opened their doors to pour out young and old.

"Keep your eyes open and it will become clear to you that we are the ruling class. Never mind poor clothes. You of the other countries have grown to identify state power with riches, luxuries, extravagance. This is because state power is used there for the private gain of a few. We, for the first time in history, are using state power for the final liberation of all. This is why we economize. We must live in poverty till the time we shall be able to secure a comfortable living for all. Poverty, however, must not make you misjudge our position in the state. We possess the power of the state. We are the power of the state. Do you note those men in black uniforms with red trimmings, red batons in their hands? They are the police of our state. They guard the revolutionary law and order of our state. They have closed the main thoroughfares for private traffic in order that



YOUNG LENINIST PIONEERS

our procession may move undisturbed. They allow nobody to pass through the route mapped out for our march because they wish to keep possible enemies away from our ranks. As we approach, they raise their gloved hands to their caps to salute—whom? Our flags and ourselves, the masters of the state.

"And now we come nearer to the central parts of the city. Watch the stores. They are all closed because it is the wish of our proletariat that no work be done on this revolutionary jubilee. The wish of the proletariat is law. Most of the stores, as you may conclude from the signs, are owned by our state. They display flags and emblems and the portraits of our leaders. But some of the stores are owned by private businessmen whom we allow temporarily to trade, up to the time we shall have perfected our own machinery of trade. These private businessmen are certainly opponents, if not enemies of our state. They have good reasons to hate it. Still, they also have hoisted the red flag, and some of their show windows exhibit the pictures of famous Bolsheviks. This is to acknowledge their submission to our rule. They do not like it, but they wish to live in peace with us, and so they say by means of pictures and flags: 'You are the masters, yours is the power, we do not dare oppose.'

"We have now approached the heart of our industrial city. This is a historic square. From that five-story apartment house in the southeastern corner we fired, seven years ago, at the students of the military school who defended the capitalist regime. This granite column is a memorial to the comrades we lost in that stubborn fight. The speakers' platform has been erected on the very spot where the red coffins of our dead stood open for a day and a night while masses of plain people, workers and peasants, came in an unending, mournful procession, to bend their knees before the remains of the brave comrades who had sacrificed

their lives for the cause of the working class. It seemed to us in those dark, glowing days that the masses gave a silent oath to continue the work of the men and women who had died for them."

Our Russian comrade is silent for a brief moment. A flutter of reminiscences, proud ones and terrible ones, makes his face paler while he tightens his lips and steadies his features. The big square is gradually filling with marchers. We already form a huge block of columns. Comrades appear on the platform.

Suddenly there is heard the thunder of drums and the metallic song of trumpets. The square reverberates. The square becomes tense. Waves of emotion run through the masses.

The Red Army.

Sturdy young men, tanned in the blazing sun, proud of the red stars on their helmets, full of the vitality that only youth combined with a great idea can produce, they wedge themselves into the square, into the columns of workers. There is shouting. There is an eruption of cheers. There is a waving of banners.

"These are the armed forces of our Republic," says our comrade. "They are sons of workers and peasants under the command of officers from the ranks of workers and peasants organized to defend the government of workers and peasants. They are at the bidding of the working class. They have come here to show that they are a mighty weapon in the hand of the working class. They are aware of their great task. In our Republic only the sons of the toiling masses are allowed to bear arms. The bourgeoisie is excluded from service in the ranks. The bourgeoisie may serve only as an auxiliary force. This, more than anything else, manifests the rule of the working class.

"And now turn your head to the left and you will see the court building where we try the offenders against proletarian rule. In all these spacious structures which formerly belonged to the royal family, to the nobility or to the bourgeoisie, we have placed our offices, our councils, our party organizations, our educational and cultural institutions, our industrial boards. We carefully watch over their work, we are glad to realize that they are growing more efficient and more devoted in the service of our class."

"We shall soon hear the speakers of the day," the comrade continues, "but before that I wish to call your attention to those columns of young peasants stationed in the rear of the platform. You can recognize them by their crude woolen or sheepskin coats and by their heavy fur caps. Those are our allies. They represent the village. They represent millions of land tillers who have freed themselves from the landlords. They have had their share of suffering and privation, too. There was a time, three or four years ago, when only two-thirds of the arable land was tilled. Now every yard is under cultivation. There was the black year of 1921, when millions upon millions were stricken with

famine and disease, death taking her plentiful toll in numberless vales of torture. My heart stands still when I recall those monstrous months. Suffering, however, has only tightened the bond of unity between the village and the working class. Here they are, the sons of the land. Read the inscriptions on their banners. 'The rule of the working masses will ultimately free the peasants.' 'Cooperative agriculture is the road to Socialism.' 'Fight the Fist (village bourgeois) by collective husbandry.' 'Communism is the future of mankind.' There is a touch of prosperity in those peasant ranks. They are improving their work. They are learning under the guidance of the working class. Agriculture has nearly reached the pre-war standards, it will soon rise higher. Bright days are coming."

A sea of exclamations drowns the voice of our friend. There is a frenzy of welcome in the crowds that occupy every available bit of space in the big square. Clusters of heads appear in all windows, defying the chilly weather. Youngsters have climbed the trees that line the sidewalks. We see people on the roofs.

The leaders have appeared on the platform.

Our Russian comrade points at them saying:

"There are the big heads of our Communist Party. We love them. We respect them. We follow their advice most of the time. But we do not idolize them for their own sake the way it is done in your money-ridden countries where the masses are asleep. We have entrusted these men with power to represent us, to act in our behest. They are only an expression of ourselves. They give utterance to thoughts that live in us in a diffused and imperfect state. They formulate demands that vibrate in us in the form of unclear wishes, aspirations, hopes. They call for action when our energy has reached high tension and the response is secured. They are flesh of our flesh and spirit of our spirit. We are all one—the Communist Party."

There is silence now in the square. All eyes are fixed on the platform, all ears are strained. But our comrade continues in a low tone. It is evident he has struck a cord that runs through the depths of his mind.

"You have seen," he says, "part of our achievements; you have had a glimpse of our power. This is a brief glance, no more. You must go into our clubs, our reading rooms, our libraries, our Lenin corners, our party schools, our workers' universities, our youth courses, our art galleries, our theaters, concerts, mass performances in order to gain an idea of what we have become seven years after the revolution. You must learn to understand the spirit of our youth: gay, careless, daring, industrious, versatile, and brave, brave as only free men in a free land can be. But whatever you may see and appreciate, remember that all this—political power, economic growth, agricultural progress, organizational advance, spread of culture among

the masses—all this could be secured only because we were led by the Communist Party, disciplined by the Communist Party, organized by the Communist Party. No revolution and no proletarian dictatorship without the Communist Party."

Our friend has hardly finished his last sentence when one deep sigh of adoration escapes the hearts of all assembled. A curtain has slipped down a frame that stood on the side of the platform. A picture inclosed in the frame has been illuminated from behind. The picture represents Lenin. He waves his hands as he gesticulates in an impassioned speech.

The big square is steeped in the silence of reverence. He was the man who planned and led the revolution. He lives in the proletarian masses. He will be more and more alive with the advance of world revolution.

* * * * *

We have allowed our thoughts to wander to the Land of the Social Revolution. We have listened in our thought to one of the millions. We have participated in the great celebration.

Is it imagination? No. This is what the Russian comrades announce to all of us here on the seventh anniversary of their Revolution. As to the celebration, it is up to us to make it as powerful and as glowing as befits the Great Day.

Long live the Russian Revolution!

Long live the Russian Communist Party!

Long live the Struggle for World Revolution!

The Great Strategist of the Class War

THE first booklet in the English language that attempts a comprehensive approach to a study of the many-sided genius of the greatest working class leader, Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin, has just been published by the Trade Union Educational League. It is entitled, "Lenin: The Great Strategist of the Class War," and is written by A. Losovsky, General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions. Translation from the German edition was made by Alexander Bitelman, who also writes an introduction for the American edition, in which he says:

"If I were asked to tell in a few words what is the most pronounced feature of this pamphlet by A. Losovsky on 'Lenin; the Great Strategist of the Class War,' I should say this: It is a desire to extract from the experiences of Lenin's life as many lessons as is humanly possible for the advancement of the class struggle and for the promotion of the proletarian victory thruout the world.

"A. Losovsky has been prompted to write on Lenin, it seems to me, not merely by a desire to perpetuate Lenin's memory. No. Lenin's name will live in the world as long as toiling masses struggle against exploitation, and as long as oppressed nations and persecuted races tread the path of revolt against their masters in a fight for freedom and human equality. The motive that produced this little book is much more immediate, direct and practical than a mere wish to perpetuate the memory of a great leader. It is an earnest attempt to make Lenin in his death as nearly useful to the



VLADIMIR ILYITCH LENIN

working class as he was in his life, and a study of this pamphlet will show that its author has acquitted himself of his task with more than ordinary excellence.

"What is it that we are primarily interested in about Lenin? We, I mean those that are part and parcel of the labor movement and of the proletarian class struggle and that are fighting for the dawn of a new day. What do we want to know about Lenin and for what purpose?"

"Lenin was the founder of a great party, the Communist Party of Russia. He was the leader of the first successful proletarian revolution. He was for over six years the head of the first Workers' and Peasants' government in the world. He was also the founder and recognized leader of the Communist International. For us, working class militants in the cause of labor, there is a world to learn from the the experiences of Lenin as to how to educate, organize and arouse the masses to action against their capitalist exploiters. What we all want to know is, how did Lenin do it? What theories did he hold? What tactics did he pursue? What means did he employ? In short, what is the essence of Leninism?"

From all the thousands of workers to whom this question, "What Is Leninism," has become of intense interest, this pamphlet by Losovsky will receive a hearty welcome.

"LENIN: The Great Strategist of the Class War," by A. Losovsky. 48 pages, heavy paper cover with artistic drawing of Lenin, published by the Trade Union Educational League. Price 15c.

The Workers Party to the Fore

By Wm. Z. Foster

STANDING out above all other facts in American social life today is the break from their old political moorings of great masses of workers and farmers. Notwithstanding the political immaturity of these masses, and their illusions, which combine to make them easy prey to the middle-class politicians of the LaFollette type, the disillusionment of large masses with the two traditional parties of American capitalism remains the biggest political fact today. By the time these lines appear in print the elections will be but a few days off, and we shall soon have more facts upon which to estimate the depth and extent of the movement of the masses. But even now the broad outlines of the situation are clear. Especially is it possible to judge the historical role of the LaFollette movement, and the tasks which are thereby placed upon the shoulders of the vanguard of the American working class—we Communists and our immediate sympathizers.

What is the LaFollette Movement?

The LaFollette movement has furnished the channel into which has been turned the elemental mass movement of disillusioned workers and farmers. Only the class conscious portion of the working class and poor farmers will follow the lead of the Communists in this election. But to say that the LaFollette movement has the support of great masses of workers and farmers tells us very little about its nature and historical function. It does not mean that LaFollette or his movement represents the interests of these workers; to admit such an argument would be equivalent to admitting that Warren Harding, in 1920, represented the interests of the millions of misguided workers who swelled his vote and helped place Daugherty, of injunction fame, in office. No, the LaFollette movement is the most dangerous enemy of the toiling masses of America today.

What we see in America in the LaFollette movement is the same historical fact that is finding expression on an international scale in the revival of the "democratic illusion" as a means of halting the revolutionary mass movements of populations thrown into action by the breakdown of the international capitalist system. The imminence of this wave was pointed out at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922, and the Fifth Congress definitely fixed the characteristics of this period. It is expressed in Germany by the Social-Democratic party, in England by the Labor government of Ramsay MacDonald, and in France by the left bloc of Herriot.

These four movements, in Germany, England,

France and the United States, all differ among themselves in many respects. But all have this in common—they are political coalitions or alliances between the small and middle capitalists, the professional elements, the well-to-do farmers, certain sections of the labor aristocracy, and the officialdom of the labor movement. Their programs and actions are determined by their social composition. They are inevitably dominated by a capitalist ideology, they base themselves upon the institutions of private property, and they carry out the imperialistic policies of the capitalist class as a whole. They are essentially hostile to the aspirations of the working class. They are the last reserves of capitalist "democracy."

The "Democratic Illusion."

"Democracy" under the capitalist system is a set of forms to mask the dictatorship of the capitalist class. In times of "normalcy" it puts into office such open servants of Wall Street as Warren Harding. If the workers are still "normal" this year it will put the capitalistic puppet, Coolidge, into power. Under such conditions capitalism operates quite brutally and openly through the government, with Daugherty injunctions, "red raids," and armed force against the workers. Why not? The workers continue to approve with their votes! But when the masses begin to revolt against the flagrant "Wall Street control," and when the middle classes take the leadership and organization of the masses, then the capitalist dictatorship either becomes more subtle or turns to Fascism. In the former case the real "illusions of democracy" are called into play. LaFollette measures, such as primaries, direct election of senators, and so on *ad nauseam*, are allowed to be written into the law, to quiet the masses with the belief that they have achieved some measure of control.

But is anything fundamentally changed by all this tinkering with the machinery of capitalist "democracy?" Not at all. It may happen that temporarily the lower sections of the capitalist class force a bit more recognition for their particular group interests, but whatever power they gain they immediately turn against the workers. The working class never gains anything of consequence for itself, although it really bears the brunt of all such struggles, except the incidental disillusionment which gradually forces it to begin to organize its own class forces, to mobilize itself as a class, to formulate its own program, and to realize the necessity of a break with the petty-bourgeoisie as it broke with the parties of big capital.



"BACK TO '76"

begin to act upon their own class policies, that they come to a fuller realization of the treacherous nature of this fake "democracy." In Germany, when hundreds of thousands of workers were thrown into violent conflict with their capitalist masters in the fall of 1923, and it seemed as though the capitalist system in that country must surely fall, it was the bearers of the "democratic illusion," the German Social Democracy, that turned the power over to the Ludendorffs, Hitlers, and the Fascist organizations, to rule the turbulent masses with machine guns and bombs. In England, when the transport workers were at the point of winning the demands of their strike, it was the "social pacifist," MacDonald, head of the British Labor party, who took the proclamation of martial law to the king for his signature, and thereby forced the workers to compromise. And in America we can confidently predict, with the full knowledge that the class interests controlling LaFollette will have their way with him, that in any great struggle of the workers that may arise when the LaFollette movement comes to power, the governmental powers will here also be turned against the workers or turned over to the Fascist elements in the United States.

Imperialism and LaFollettism.

Imperialist policy is the very keystone of modern capitalism. How little the LaFollettes, MacDonalds, Herriots, and Eberts endanger the capitalist dictatorship, what servile attendants they are upon the interests of their masters the capitalists, is witnessed by their care not to interfere in any way with the exploitation and suppression of colonial peoples. The middle class of each country is incapable of formulating, not to speak of carrying out, any policy that would interfere with the imperialist aims of its respective higher capitalist circles.

Perhaps our LaFollette enthusiasts may reply that the Wisconsin senator is an outspoken critic of American military adventures in South America, and that it is unfair to charge, in the absence of such action on his part, that he would serve American imperialism. But when we know that the pacifist MacDonald (who, by the way, opposed the world war with slightly more emphasis than LaFollette), once he was in office, proceeded to continue bombing defenseless natives in Irak, to handle India by forcible repression, that he continued imperialist intrigue in the Near East, and in every way continued the policies of British imperialism as established by the liberals and conservatives, it is not straining a point to expect that MacDonald's prototype in America, LaFollette, will follow the same course with regard to American imperialism. And when we further see Herriot, of France, continue the policy of the *Comite des Forges*, and of French imperialism in Africa, and French Indo-China, we have another reason for our belief. Further, when we consider that even the propaganda of the LaFollettites for the masses contains nothing but the most peurile sentimentalities, that Gompers, a big cog in the LaFollette machine, is an open defender of imperialism, that there is a complete absence of any program of action that would mobilize the resistance of the colonial peoples or crystallize the power of the working class against imperialism—then we know of a certainty that LaFollette and his kind are nothing but concealed imperialists, agents of capitalism in foreign affairs as they are at home.

Debauching the Working Class.

At this moment the masses in America are just entering upon a drunken debauch of democratic illusions, fed to them by the LaFollette movement. Blindly they were making their exit from the two old parties of capitalism, and just as blindly they allowed themselves to be led into the domain of the petty bourgeoisie. And in the accompanying flood of middle-class sentimentalism, there has been submerged what promised to be the beginnings of a mass party of workers and farmers upon a class basis, with a class program, the rising Farmer-Labor party movement. There can be no blinking the fact that the farmer-labor movement, as a mass movement distinct from the revolutionary (Communist) movement in this country, has been terrifically weakened, that its basis in the minds of millions of workers and farmers has been cut from under it, by the sweep of the LaFollette illusion.

Thus the slogan of the Labor Party has lost its power to stir the masses. That is because, while previous to this time it stood as the organizational expression for realization or, at least, struggle for some of the dimly felt needs of the masses—today the masses have, organizationally, come to rest in the LaFollette

movement. Before, they wanted a weapon to fight with. That is why the Labor Party slogan was powerful. Now they think they have the weapon in the LaFollette movement. They will insist upon trying to use it. Their ears will be closed to organizational slogans to the extent that they are under the spell of LaFollettism.

But if organizational slogans lose their keen edge in the period we are now entering, the opposite is true of slogans of immediate struggle, political and industrial issues of a single, burning, definite need felt by large masses. More than ever before in the history of the United States will it be possible to stir the millions of American workers and farmers, and lead them to demand and expect redress of these grievances. That is because they think that they have an instrument of their own, or at least very close to them, which will be used for their interests. That is an illusion. The LaFollette movement will fail them miserably. But the masses will not believe that only because the Communists tell them it is so—they will become disillusioned to the extent that issues are raised and pressed, issues on which the masses will demand action in their own interests, and against which the capitalist control over the LaFollette movement guarantees that it will set a flinty face.

What the Revolutionists Must Do.

The situation here outlined brings sharply to the fore the role of the Workers Party as the vanguard of the working class: We have two principal tasks: first, to assist the working class to cast off the influence of the LaFollette illusion, and second, to organize the disillusioned workers into the Workers Party as well as to unite them for the immediate struggle upon as wide a basis as possible. There is no organized force in the United States that can lead the struggle against the domination of the middle class over the labor movement, except the Communists organized in the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League.

In this struggle there is no possible substitute for the Workers Party. In the sea of reformism, opportunism, and petty-bourgeois muddle-headedness, nothing can possibly furnish a rallying center for the workers as they gradually become disillusioned except a clear-cut party of class struggle, with a program and policy that cuts a sharp line between it and the whole body of LaFollettism. It was always a dangerous tendency for revolutionists to yield to the idea that other organizations could substitute for the Workers Party in the immediate struggle. Today it is necessary to root out the idea completely.

Against the class-collaboration program of LaFollettism the only weapon that will cut deep will be the program of class struggle; against the conception

of parliamentary reformism, the only effective slogans will be those that mobilize the masses in the shops and factories for immediate struggle. In such a situation can we expect results from the use of any vague, abstract slogans and middle-of-the-road political organizations? It is absurd to think so. The most powerful weapon that we will have will be our own Workers Party. It was a growing realization of this fact that influenced greatly our decision to enter Communist candidates in the presidential election now upon us.

Direct Organs of Struggle.

All of the foregoing does not, for a single moment, minimize the importance of direct organs of struggle of the working class, particularly of the importance of the trade unions. On the contrary, for at the same time that the political leadership of the Workers Party becomes more predominant, at that time also the trade union struggle becomes more intense. Not only that, the cleavage within the trade unions, between the fossilized officialdom and the rank and file, will render necessary new forms of organization for the immediate struggle both against the employing class and against their agents, the union bureaucrats.

One of the most important of these forms, and one which will soon be playing an important role in the American labor movement, is the shop committee movement. The shop committees will furnish the basis for unifying the actions of organized and unorganized workers. They act as protective organs of the workers in the shops and factories, against aggression of the capitalists, against wage cuts, against lengthening of hours, against arbitrary changes in working rules, etc. At the same time, they furnish the necessary base for the struggle for unity and amalgamation of the trade unions, and against the splitting, class-collaboration tactics of the union officialdom.

Of even more importance, from a long range view, the shop committees give the mass basis for the political struggle against LaFollettism. Out of the struggle in the shops and factories, crystallized in the shop committees, and out of the masses of unemployed, who must be united into unemployed councils connected with trade unions and shop committees, will come the issues upon which the masses will break with their treacherous middle-class leaders. And it is therefore precisely in the centre of these direct organs of struggle against the exploitation of capitalism that the Workers Party must plant its banner, must mobilize its forces, must send forth its slogans, and win by virtue of its superior program, its wiser leadership, its better fighting qualities, the leadership of the American working class for the revolutionary struggle.

Paterson—Field of Battle

By Rebecca Grecht

PATERSON, a historic battleground in the class war of America, is today the scene of another bitter labor struggle. For two months the broad-silk weavers of the "silk capitol" of the United States have been on strike in a fight for decent living conditions. And again, as in previous strikes, they have found opposing them not only the silk manufacturers but the force of the police and the courts. Mass arrests of pickets, injunctions, violent attacks in the mill-owned press, are today giving the Paterson silk toilers another lesson in the meaning of the class struggle and the capitalist dictatorship.

The strike, which began on August 12, was called by the Associated Silk Workers union of Paterson. It came as the inevitable result of the attempt to rob the silk workers of gains achieved through long sacrifice. During the past year conditions in the silk industry have been growing steadily worse. Not only has there been a rapid extension of the vicious three- and four-loom system, but, close upon its heels,—in fact, as an inevitable accompaniment—a decrease in wages of fifteen to twenty per cent, and an increase in hours from eight to nine, ten, and even eleven hours a day. How unbearable the situation had become can readily be seen from the fact that with little difficulty the union succeeded in bringing down almost all the silk weavers of Paterson. And these strikers have stood their ground loyally and militantly despite all efforts of bosses, police, courts, and press to intimidate and terrorize them.

Textile Mills Are Slave Pens.

To understand the significance of the present strike, it is necessary to know the general conditions of the textile industry. The struggle in Paterson cannot be considered as an isolated struggle. With strike clouds looming over the entire New England area, Paterson may well be the scene of the first battle in a far-reaching industrial conflict.

Conditions in the textile industry, which employs about one million wage earners, are among the worst existing in any American industry. The average annual wage of the textile worker in 1921, as indicated in the last report of the United States Census Bureau, was \$902, or about \$17 weekly—lower than the average for more than fifteen leading industries. For this wage, which is the prevailing one today, more than fifty per cent of the mill operatives slave nine, ten and eleven hours daily. Efforts to resist this exploitation have led to long and bitter struggles. The textile barons, who have netted millions in profits, have fought violently all attempts of the workers to better

their conditions. Today the textile industry is witnessing one of the worst slumps in its history. Of New England's 315,000 textile workers normally employed, 200,000 are now idle. With this huge reserve army of the jobless at hand, the way has been paved for a general drive against labor.

In the silk manufacturing branch of the textile industry, employing over 120,000 workers, conditions reflect this general situation. That silk production is highly profitable can be seen from the fact that within a comparatively short period the United States has become the foremost silk manufacturing country in the world, the raw silk consumed by American mills during the three years preceding the war amounting to almost as much as that consumed in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy combined. On the other hand, wages in the silk industry, though slightly higher than in cotton and knit goods manufacturing, have always been at a very low level. The mill owners prosper and silk production thrives at the expense of thousands of workers forced to toil in silk mills from nine to twelve hours a day under conditions which lead to ill health and disease. It is estimated that 19.8 per cent of all deaths among men, and 37.7 of deaths among women employed in silk manufacturing are caused by tuberculosis. That is the produce of a "flourishing" American industry.

Fragments of Labor Unions.

Despite the militant labor struggles carried on within recent years, the extreme exploitation prevalent in the textile industry has not been checked. The reason for this can be found mainly in the lack of organization among the workers. Less than 100,000 of the million workers employed are organized in trade unions. This in itself constitutes a grave weakness, as the unorganized masses constantly menace the fight for better conditions. And the situation is aggravated by the fact that these eight or ten per cent organized workers are themselves split into various unions. The United Textile Workers, the so-called bona fide union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is the largest, claiming a membership of 50,000. Then there are the Amalgamated Textile Workers and perhaps a dozen other independent unions all opposing one another. No unity exists. As a result, even those workers who are organized cannot offer effective resistance to the oppression of the textile magnates who thrive upon the absence of organization and solidarity within the industry.

Until a few years ago, conditions in Paterson were the same. This city, the home of the first attempt to

weave silk in the country, has fast become the silk center of America. In 1919 it had 574 silk establishments, about forty-two percent of the total number in the United States, and employed 21,836 wage earners. Since then the number of mills and looms has rapidly increased.

Because of its important position, Paterson saw the first serious attempts to organize the silk workers. There was no concerted drive for organization, but as the various trade unions arose in the textile industry, each tried to establish its own local. Under the leadership now of one union, now of another, the silk workers of Paterson have made repeated efforts to better their lot. In this they have from the very beginning met with the most bitter opposition of the silk manufacturers, together with the various agencies of government in Paterson.

The "First Revolution" of 1913.

While strikes had taken place before, there happened in 1913, what might well be called the first revolution in the Paterson silk industry. In that year occurred the general stoppage in which over 20,000 silk workers participated. The strike was called by the Industrial Workers of the World, mainly against the introduction of the three- and four-loom system. It was a long, intense battle lasting more than six months, and accompanied by acts of brutality and terrorism on the part of the police and courts which established Paterson as an outstanding center of industrial warfare in this country.

As a result of this strike, though no agreements were made with the union because the Industrial Workers of the World refused separate settlements, better conditions were gained in many individual mills, and a temporary halt was called to the spread of the multiple loom system. Far more important, however, was the brilliant manifestation of working class power and solidarity which has made that strike a landmark in the history of the struggle of the silk workers against exploitation.

Following that, a degree of improvement in working conditions was gradually obtained. In 1916, when the war prosperity in the silk industry was just beginning and the demand for labor increased, the nine-hour day was won. Three years later a conference was called of the various trade unions in Paterson, which decided to press the demand for an eight-hour day. The bosses, with the memory of the 1913 strike still vivid in their minds, were unwilling to face another stoppage at that time, and granted the demand.

Up to 1920 there were four unions of silk workers in Paterson—locals of the United Textile Workers, the Amalgamated Textile Workers, the Industrial Workers of the World, and the Associated Silk Workers. None of them had any strength, but each had its own show control here and there. Then came the after-



RELIEF COMMITTEE IN FRONT OF COMMISSARY

math of the war—a severe industrial crisis. Most of the silk mills closed down. Workers were idle eight, nine, and ten months. Wages were slashed more than forty per cent. This practically destroyed whatever trade union organization had previously existed, but it also gave an impetus to the movement for one union of silk workers in Paterson. When the remnants of the various locals, excluding the United Textile Workers, united with the Associated, the first step was taken to end the chaos caused by the existence of separate local bodies, and to build a united organization. Within a short time the Associated succeeded in organizing about thirty per cent of the broad silk weavers, and became a definite factor in the labor movement.

The New Revolt.

The struggle now being waged in Paterson is in many ways a second revolution in the silk industry which may well overshadow in results, if not in extent, the strike of 1913. It was precipitated by the gradual encroachment of the mill owners upon the standards won by the workers, and particularly by the rapid spread of the three- and four-loom system.

Early this year the depression began in the silk industry which now marks textile manufacturing generally. Immediately an assault was made upon the laboring conditions of the silk weavers. Mill after mill began to introduce the multiple loom system. Many of them closed down for a month, and opened only on condition that the weavers agree to operate three or four looms instead of two. What the workers had feared in 1913 had become a reality. The three- and four-loom system had brought about unemployment, decrease in wages, longer hours. Its introduction necessitates no new machinery. Shops operating on the two-loom system introduced the four-loom system by cutting their

labor force in half and doubling the number of looms each weaver must attend. The result is an increase in the army of unemployed, with the consequent competition for jobs and the lowering of labor conditions, not to mention the greater nervous strain which menaces the health of the workers.

As an excuse for their attacks the mill owners claim they are becoming impoverished by the excessive demands of the workers. But while the average weaver earns the miserable wage of twenty to twenty-five dollars weekly, the silk manufacturers of Paterson build large annexes in other towns out of the riches amassed from the toil of the silk slaves. While whole families are forced into the mills in order to earn enough to meet the cost of living, the wealth accumulated in the business of silk production has enabled the silk barons to own and control the biggest banking houses of Paterson.

To resist the multiple loom system, to restore the eight-hour day, to increase wages and force recognition of the union, the Associated Silk Workers union decided to call the broad silk weavers out on strike. Within two weeks over 10,000 workers were out and three hundred mills tied up. Eighteen nationalities are involved, chief among whom are the Italians, Americans, Syrians, Jews, Poles, and Lithuanians. A signal proof of the exploitation in the silk mills of Paterson is given by the Syrians. Brought from other towns to scab in the strike of 1913, and later the backbone of the three- and four-loom system, they are today the most enthusiastic supporters of the strike and the most bitter enemies of the silk manufacturers.

The Government Versus the Workers.

Throughout the strike the silk workers have seen how class government functions. Though this strike is the most peaceful ever conducted in Paterson, police terrorism has been rampant. Weavers on picket duty have been subject to arrest from the beginning. On one occasion 107 strikers, following out the union policy of mass picketing, were arrested in a body while they were quietly patrolling the streets before one of the mills most bitterly opposed to the union. Blanket injunctions have been obtained by the leading silk



LEAVING TURN HALL FOR THE PICKET LINE

manufacturers of Paterson forbidding the strikebreakers to leave the employment of the firm either at their homes or on the streets. Turn Hall, historic meeting place of the Paterson silk strikers, has been closed by the chief of police, as it was closed in 1913. All the so-called American rights of free speech and assemblage have been violated by the public authorities who are backing the silk manufacturers today, as they have done in previous strikes.

In answer, the strikers have adopted a policy of defiant resistance. An outstanding feature of the strike, and one which makes this struggle especially important for the labor movement, is the fact that mass picketing has continued, despite injunctions. For the first time, striking workers have in a body disregarded this infamous weapon used by the owning class in their war against labor. The silk weavers of Paterson have not merely talked—they have acted. The day after the decision was taken to go on with picketing, over a thousand silk workers encircled the mill that had obtained the first injunction, giving a splendid demonstration of militancy. In thus violating the injunction, they set an example for the entire working class. Their heroic stand has deterred the courts from taking definite action against them; for while picketing of "injunction shops" continues, few strikers have been arrested for contempt of court, and hearings on their cases have been constantly postponed.

Virile Fighting Forces.

The spirited determination shown by the strikers to see the fight through at all costs has been due to the influence of those workers who are members of the Trade Union Educational League and the Workers Party. From the very first day of the stoppage the League militants have been in the front ranks of the strike. Communists are found on all the principal committees, helping to shape policy and direct activity. It is their voice which encourages the workers to mass picketing, and arouses the enthusiasm of those battling against the silk magnates.

To divert attention from the real issues of the strike, the silk manufacturers, together with the Paterson Chamber of Commerce, the chief of police, and the kept press of the city, have seized upon Communist activity in the strike to raise the cry of red menace, hoping thus to intimidate the workers. They have sought to demoralize the strikers by threatening to drive out of town all "outside agitators"—meaning the Worker Party speakers who have been the most influential factor in keeping intact the ranks of the striking weavers. This campaign of the capitalist masters of Paterson, however, has failed of its purpose. The Communists have won the confidence of the silk weavers by their loyal service in the struggle. Attacks against them have but served to open the eyes of the strikers to an undersanding of class rule.

The strike has been in progress for two months. About the silk manufacturers, together with the Paterson Chamber of Commerce, the chief of police, and the kept press of the city, have seized upon Communist activity in the strike to raise the cry of red menace, hoping thus to intimidate the workers. They have sought to demoralize the strikers by threatening to drive out of town all "outside agitators"—meaning the Worker Party speakers who have been the most influential factor in keeping intact the ranks of the striking weavers. This campaign of the capitalist masters of Paterson, however, has failed of its purpose. The Communists have won the confidence of the silk weavers by their loyal service in the struggle. Attacks against them have but served to open the eyes of the strikers to an undersanding of class rule.

(Continued on Page 47)

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

Combining
The Labor Herald, Liberator and Soviet Russia Pictorial
EARL R. BROWDER, Editor

Official Organ of
The Workers Party
and
The Trade Union Educational League

Published by
The Daily Worker Society
1113 W. Washington Blvd.
Chicago, Ill.

25 Cents a Copy
\$2.00 a Year—\$1.25 Six Months

Business Manager,
Moritz J. Loeb

A Graveyard of Working Class Hopes.

CENTER of a world of burning problems, is what the convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in El Paso, Texas, November 17, should be if it represented properly the interests of the American working class. America is the richest and most powerful nation on the globe; the capitalist world is crashing into ruins in Europe, a new ruling class, the proletariat, is consolidating its forces preparatory to the decisive fight for power. But the American labor movement is held back, is throttled, is delivered bound and helpless to its enemies, by a reactionary officialdom that is objectively the agent of the capitalist class. Gompers, the arch-bureaucrat who will rule at El Paso, is more imperialist than Dawes, more capitalist than Gary, more servile to his masters and more arrogant to those over whom he holds power than Uriah Heep. El Paso will be but a graveyard of working class hopes because the dead hand of Gompers still rules.

Labor Must Save Sacco and Vanzetti.

IN no other country could such a judicial decision as that just delivered in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, confirming the death sentence against two workers framed up by capitalist "justice," have been passed by without tremendous demonstrations of protest by the whole labor movement. While the Communists, their sympathizers, and the unions influenced by them, have held large mass meetings and caused, as in the Chicago Federation of Labor, the adoption of resolutions of protest, and have generally revived working class interest in the struggle to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti, the higher officials of the labor movement remain silent and cold. They are not interested. They are too busy cementing their new-found friendships in politics (the whole bureaucracy in the LaFollette movement) in industry (Lee, president of a million dollar corporation, Stone, head of "open shop" mines, etc.), in finance (a whole flock of so-called labor banks are carrying labor officials bodily into the councils of Wall street). The El Paso Convention will be more like a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce than a labor gathering. And the names of Sacco and Vanzetti will there be mentioned only as a formality!

The Left Wing Fights On.

UNDERNEATH the fossilized crust of officialdom, however, new forces are coming to expression. The labor movement is in ferment. In the miners' union the left wing is campaigning militantly with a revolutionary program and list of revolutionary candidates in the forthcoming elections; Nova Scotia regains its autonomy and re-elects Communist officials; the underhand exclusion of Duncan McDonald in Illinois starts a storm of agitation through District 12. In the new trades, mass revolt rages against the czarist

regime of Sigman & Co. in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; while in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, thousands of members and dozens of local unions declare themselves opposed to the betrayal of the union's class position by the surrender of the officials to LaFollette, the revolutionary elements throwing their support to Foster and Gitlow, while the same alignment crystallizes on inner-union issues also. In dozens of unions and hundreds of cities, the left wing sentiment takes form and begins to speak. Its voice will at least reach the El Paso convention from afar. What will it be demanding as a real fighting policy for the labor movement?

The Left Wing Program.

AMALGAMATION of craft unions along industrial lines into organizations powerful enough to fight effectively, remains a first demand of all militants. This demand is a prerequisite, also, to the effective application of any program of organizing the unorganized; the unorganized millions must be drawn into the unions on pain of severe defeat for the labor movement. To this end all racial discriminations must be removed, especially those against the 12,000,000 Negroes, to organize whom the labor movement must exert itself, standing squarely upon the demand for absolute equality of all races. The menace of unemployment must be combated, and the labor movement must fight for unemployment relief at union wages, nationalization of idle factories and industries, unity of the employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized, in shop committees to control production and in unemployed councils to fight for and administer relief. Nationalization of all basic industries, especially mines and railroads, is a fundamental demand in the struggle to solve the vital problems of the working class. An energetic struggle must be waged all along the line against wage cuts and lengthening of hours. Labor's prisoners in the jails and prisons of America must be released. Injunctions must cease and anti-labor (syndicalism) laws must be repealed and their prisoners released. Deportation of foreign-born workers, a weapon against the labor movement, must be abolished. Anti-labor bodies, of a fascist nature, like the Ku Klux Klan, and the American Legion, must be bitterly opposed and denounced. American imperialism, enemy alike of labor in the United States, in Central and South America, in China, in Europe, must be fought against by the labor movement with all its strength; to this end, the Pan-American Federation of Labor should put first on its order of business the struggle against imperialism, "Hands off China" committees should be organized everywhere with the active participation of the labor unions, recognition of Soviet Russia must be demanded, and the Dawes plan of enslaving the German workers denounced. This foreign policy which the labor movement must adopt calls for international affiliation with the fighting unions of the world, which means with the Red International of Labor Unions, and to fight for international unity of all unions, Amsterdam and R. I. L. U. And in America this calls for a fighting policy in the industrial struggle, and an independent and revolutionary struggle on the political field.

Fight Against War!

WAR is in the air! At the moment the threats are toward Japan, but, in the civil strife now tearing China, many imperialist ambitions are actively expressing themselves that carry the seeds of still other wars. In all of these world struggles, J. P. Morgan stands as the central figure, with the government and armed forces of the United States

in one hand and its industries in the other as his weapons. Morgan, master of American imperialism today, is now backed by a growing consciousness of the entire capitalist class of its "world destiny." Imperialism in this country has become conscious of itself. It is out to conquer the world, and it counts upon, as its principal instrument for this purpose, the control of the millions of workers to man its factories, and to swell its armed forces on the battlefields of Europe, Asia and to the south. Control of the working class by Morgan and his class of parasites, is exercised not alone by governmental means, by control of the press, etc. More important for this purpose are the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class."

MacDonald Displeases His Masters.

MACDONALD, Labor Premier of Great Britain, was such a one. In the London conference to "put over" the Dawes' plan, did Morgan find a better servant? Lloyd George could not have done it so well, because the workers would have been more suspicious of him than they were of "their own" premier. Thus did the capitalist class of the world once more receive a great object lesson in the efficacy of reformist socialism as the last bulwark of capitalism. It should cause the capitalists to turn more jobs over to socialists the world over; it should cause workers everywhere to turn towards the Communists. How comes it, then, that MacDonald is dismissed by his masters just at this moment? Various reasons are cited. Rather than the case of Campbell, Communist editor, however, or the treaty with Soviet Russia, the immediate cause of conservative and liberal withdrawal of support from MacDonald, was the fear of the rising left wing in the British labor movement, which fights against the Dawes' plan, which is enthusiastically in favor of the treaty with Soviet Russia, and which forced the labor government to drop the proceedings against Campbell. British imperialism wishes to give "lieutenant" MacDonald a vacation for all these reasons. The Communist party of Great Britain extends its power and influence as a result.

An Agent of Imperialism.

GOMPERS is Morgan's most effective lieutenant in America. Especially through his privately-owned Pan-American Federation of Labor, by means of which he sabotages the struggle of the masses of South America, which is being, step by step, conquered by American imperialism. Of all the countries sending representatives to Gompers' Pan-American congresses, a majority are under the military control of United States forces, or are ruled by dictatorships financed from Wall street. The representation from these countries is selected by the forces that control the government of the particular country. The masses are unrepresented. Gompers thereby consolidates his own power and prestige, the influence and name of "the labor movement" are lent to sanctify the crimes of Morgan in South America, while the national struggle and the class struggle of the masses in those countries are sabotaged and hampered. Against the imperialism of Gompers, as a servant of Morgan, the labor movement of the United States, Mexico, and all the countries of Central and South America must organize an international struggle. The initiative in such a struggle and its organization must be taken by the revolutionary elements. Against the Pan-American union of the agents of imperialism, must be built the Pan-American union of revolutionary labor. Against the world imperialism of Morgan and his agents of the Amsterdam International, the masses must turn to the international fight-

ing organization of the working class—the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions.

"Buncombe," Not Prosperity.

CAPITALIST newspapers assure the world that prosperity is at hand. Is that a fact? Is the crisis over? The answer must be an emphatic "No." There is no reason to doubt that 1925 will witness an intensification of the crisis. The strong downward trend in 1924 had two slight interruptions, but these were due to temporary causes, and they laid no basis for a revival in the near future. The last temporary halt in the downward course of industry proves, upon examination, that the crisis continues unabated; hundreds of millions of dollars in order for railroad equipment were placed upon the market, doubtless for political reasons, yet even this tremendous stimulus, coinciding with the crop movement, failed to revive industry generally even for a time. Building operations, a basic factor in the boom ending last year, continued at a high peak during 1924, but failed to halt the progress of the crisis. Now building operations also are slowing up, and authorities agree that the building shortage has been overcome, and that operations next year will be greatly curtailed. No foreign markets sufficient to change the immediate course of events are in prospect. There is no material foundation for the claims that "prosperity" is at hand. It is all bunk!

Farmers Are Still Bankrupt.

FURTHERMORE, the agrarian crisis continues, and will aggravate the industrial crisis. This is true in spite of the rise in grain prices due to a world shortage. It is estimated that the largest part, some say eighty per cent, of the return on the crops, even at the higher prices, will go directly into the hands of bankers and merchants who hold claims against the farmers. Thus the crop movement will not appreciably increase the buying power of the farming population nor stimulate the circulation of industrial products in that field. In the meantime the world-wide causes of the agrarian crisis continue to operate with undiminished vigor. The agrarian crisis may be expected to intensify during 1925. The farmers will find themselves, after election, in a constantly worsening condition, no matter which capitalist politician has been able to crawl into office upon their votes. Another lesson will be given the poorer elements upon the farms, that their struggle can be carried on effectively only in alliance with the revolutionary working class.

The International "Open Shop."

"DAWES" is a name that stands for the "open shop," nationally and internationally, for smashing the unions, for lower wages, for longer hours of work. The Dawes plan in Europe introduces into international action the same program, essentially, that Dawes stood for nationally in 1920, when he urged the adoption of the "open shop" plank in the Republican party platform; it is an international expression of Dawes' idea in organizing his Fascist "Minute Men of the Constitution." German workers are already feeling the fist of Morgan enclosed in the glove of the Dawes' plan in longer hours, wage cuts, and suppression generally. As Morgan gets his grip upon the products of sweated European labor, another weapon will be added to his arsenal in his "open shop" war upon the American labor movement. The growing army of unemployed, the Dawes' plan, the control of labor leadership thru "B. & O. plans" and "labor banks"—these and many other signs call "Danger" to the working class. Prepare to fight, workers! Close up your ranks!

A Harvest Stiff Comes Back to Town

By Keene Wallis

IT is mighty good to feel
Spick and span from head to heel
And to walk around just looking,
Hearing talk and smelling cooking.

Did you ever think, breathe, eat,
Sleep in, dream of, wheat, wheat, wheat?
Till you felt you couldn't stand it,
And you've wandered out some night,
And although you never planned it
There's been sabotage, a fight
With an agent or a tattler,
Then a ramble on a rattler
With a crowd that's giving crews
Revolutionary views
And perplexing all the bindle stiffs with bits of
rebel news.

Then the next you know we're stranded,
And the jungle where we've landed
Is a hustling, bustling scene
In behind the kindly screen
Of the tangled weeds and willows,
Till there's blankets, canvas pillows,
Drying underwear and socks,
On all the cottonwoods and rocks.
And the crowd can rest and settle
In a ring around a kettle
Full of mulligan to dip
With tomato cans and sip.
Clothes dry, train comes and we hop it.
Then there's rough work and we stop it
For we know that high-jack mob.
Then we ride into a job
And the process is repeated
Till you're jailed or overheated
Or are out of it like me,
Home again and staked and free,
Rich enough and tired enough to loaf and think
and see.

I have strolled around and seen things,
Houses, porches, lawns, and green things,
Women dressed in crinkly white,
Feeling cool and looking right!
Looking positively queenly;
Men in white who sit serenely
Smoking Turkish cigarettes,
Puffing out the smoke in jets
In the twilight, cool and shady.
Oh the bourgeois and his lady—
I don't know, though, that's the life.
Summer evenings with your wife . . .

It is getting darker now,
Maybe better, anyhow

For the people on the porches.
Now an automobile scorches
Down the lighted street and soon
Lads come singing out of tune,
Hatless, coatless, careless, happy,
"Got a butt, guy, got a match?"
"Pass 'em on and make it snappy."
Then a story, then a snatch
Of a song, but always smoking,
Then they pass me, jostling, joking,
Strolling up the street and still
Shouting, whistling fit to kill.

I go on I don't know where
Just to walk and breathe some air
That is cool and fresh, not dusty,
Caked with alkali and musty
From that stifling harvest smell.
I can feel my windpipe swell
As it drinks a cool aroma
And remembers Oklahoma.
I can breathe behind a shirt
That is free from sweat and dirt,
Then I hear a high soprano
Drowning out a cracked piano,
And the words and notes are wrong,
But I'm swaying to the song.
Nothing like it out in Kansas.
Jesus! I can feel the stanzas
Taking hold, taking hold with a bold and vigor-
ous grip
And I've got to get away before I start to prance
and skip.

There's a lake with park around it
And beyond the lake more town.
Rows of lights run up and down
And between those lighted ridges
There are sooty concrete bridges,
Hogheads running running here and there,
Rolling smoke into the air,
Jamming lines of cars and grunting
From the quick impact and shunting
While the cars recoil and buck.
I have lost my way. I've found it.
And again I'm out of luck.

Shiny brats run here and there.
Burning feathers fill the air.
All the streets are clogged and trashy,
All the yards are slopped and ashy,
And the charred stick fences show
Through the tickle-grass and horse weed in a
stumpy, sagging row.

Here a lank gray mule is gnawing
 At a porch post and hee-hawing,
 There a droopy, lop-eared hound
 Moans and groans and snoops around.
 All the weather-beaten shanties
 Swarm with dogs and bucks and aunties,
 Howling, laughing, making eyes.
 There's the whimpering of flies
 In among old hoops and barrels.
 One black mammy ups and carols:
 "Goan to hebbem, yass my Lawd.
 "My good Lawd, my good Lawd.
 "Goan thah, goan thah, my good Lawd.
 "Goan to go to hebbem, yass my Lawd.
 "Oh Good Lawd!"
 Now I pass—reformed—saloons,
 That are rocked with giddy tunes,
 And I pass tamale wagons
 And I meet these female dragons
 That solicit on the street.

And I stroll along and meet
 With the skulking tribe that dallies
 Near these unexpected alleys:
 "Three ways, kid, and treat you right.
 "Spend a dollar, spend the night."
 Then the Sal-i-vation Sallies:
 "Lord, thine army stands and rallies!"
 And I know it's not so long
 Till I'll hear a wobbly song,
 And I do, I'm getting near them,
 So I hurry up to hear them
 And I join them on the run.
 But already they are done.
 Well, I hate to miss a meeting
 But I give them all my greeting
 As they sit there in a row
 On the curbstone singing low:
 "Join the union, fellow-workers?"—"Home, Sweet
 Home" and "Old Black Joe."



The Rich

J. de Miskey.

Torchbearers

By Moritz J. Loeb

WHEN a year ago we organized and struggled and sacrificed, it was a great dream we had that pushed us on with all our energy. We were visionaries, impractical idealists, fanatics, for we dreamed of establishing and operating a Communist daily in America. What a crazy idea! With a hundred thousand dollars we purposed to start a daily in the English language and to maintain it in the face of the hostility of not only the capitalist class, but also that of the entire officialdom of the organized labor movement.

We didn't get the hundred thousand; less than three quarters of that amount was collected all told. Almost a year has passed since the first edition of *The Daily Worker* was published. *The Daily Worker* still lives. It thrives. Its circulation is increasing, its influence extending. The \$75,000 bought not only a Communist daily paper; it bought also a home for the center of the Communist movement in America and a printing plant with which it is possible to do that which is the dread of all the enemies of labor, to flood the country with Communist literature.

We have secured for ourselves the machinery to set the wheels of revolution moving. We have laid the basis for a real communist press in America.

Already tremendous steps have been taken. Not only is *The Daily Worker* published in our printing plant, but also *The Young Worker*, *The Young Comrade*, all of the leaflets and pamphlets of the Workers Party, and up until now the *Labor Herald*, the *Liberator*, and the *Soviet Russia Pictorial*. And now the WORKERS MONTHLY unites these last three to complete the cycle of Communist literature in this country.

The daily, the monthly and the party publishing department, united under one roof, almost unlimited in capacity are ready to fill the educational and propaganda needs of the American Communist movement.

A Barometer of the Class Struggle

The Communist movement in America is passing out of infancy. We are entering a period of steady, healthy growth—growth in membership, in structural strength, in organizational permanence and in mobility. Ordinarily we would now be beginning to plan and create our propaganda machinery, our permanent party press. It is particularly fortunate that to some extent that task has already been performed. Around the *Daily Worker* has been built the printing machin-

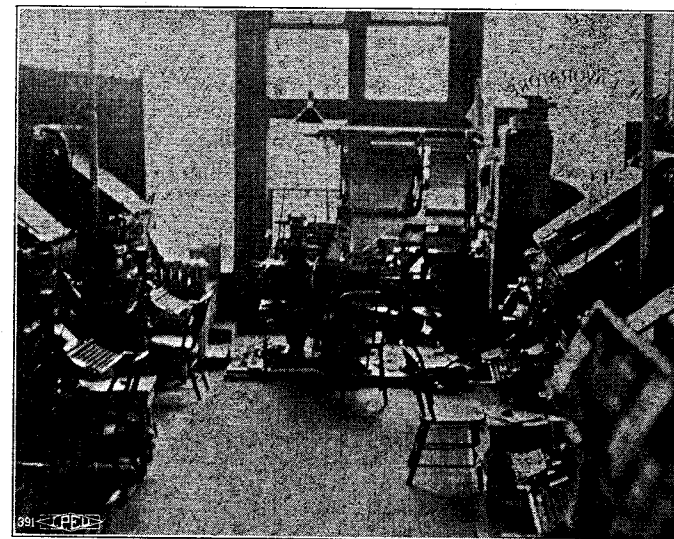
ery upon which our press may be erected, upon which the permanency of our press is maintained.

Upon our press depends the rapidity and the healthiness of the growth of our party. Upon the quality of our press depends the education of our membership, the "bolshevizing" of our Party, the making of Communists out of Communist Party members. Upon the circulation of our press depends the increase in our numbers. For it is axiomatic that our press is our barometer. Its nature reveals the state of our health. Its abundance testifies to our virility and our attained and potential power.

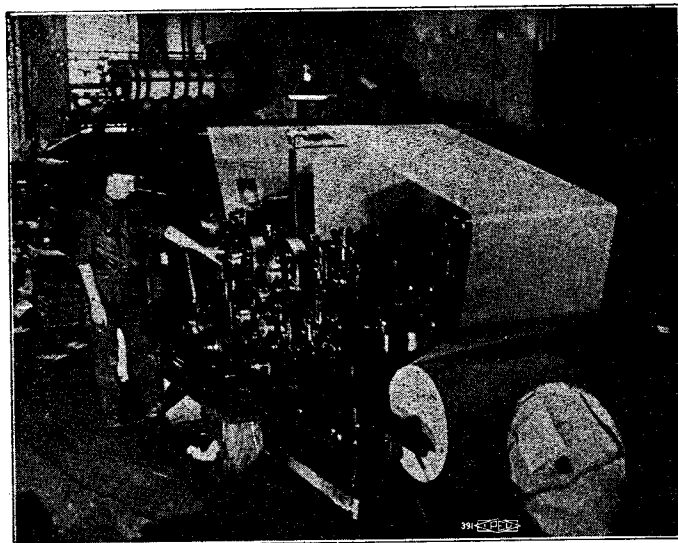
The Party Press Machinery

It has been stated that around the *Daily Worker* has been built printing machinery upon which our press may be erected. In truth, we have realized that much of our wonderful dream. But printing presses do not make Communists, nor do they build Communist Parties. Nor do Communist newspapers and magazines and books. Not they alone.

In addition to our printing plant and as a complement to it, must be built the *human* machinery which will make possible the growth of our movement and the continuity of our publications.



A VIEW OF THE DAILY WORKER COMPOSING ROOM. SIX UP-TO-DATE LINOTYPE MACHINES ARE KEPT BUSY FIFTEEN HOURS A DAY TO SET THE TYPE FOR OUR PARTY PRESS. FROM THE SAME TYPE SET UP HERE CAN BE PRINTED ENOUGH DAILY WORKERS, WORKERS MONTHLIES AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE, TO SUPPLY MILLIONS OF WORKERS INSTEAD OF THE TENS OF THOUSANDS WHO NOW READ OUR PRESS.



THIS NEWSPAPER PRESS PRINTS THE DAILY WORKER AND IL LAVORATORE, OUR ITALIAN DAILY; THE YOUNG WORKER, OUR GREEK AND SWEDISH WEEKLIES TOGETHER WITH MANY OTHER PUBLICATIONS AND LEAFLETS.

IT IS CAPABLE OF PRINTING 200,000 COPIES OF THE DAILY WORKER EVERY DAY IN ADDITION TO TURNING OUT ITS OTHER WORK.

WHAT IS NEEDED IS THE HUMAN MACHINE OF LABOR PRESS BOOSTERS TO SECURE ENOUGH SUBSCRIPTIONS TO KEEP THE PRESS BUSY.

It is no easy task which we have set ourselves. Many a labor daily with much more rosy an outlook than ours, with much more simple a financial problem, has met an early and often dishonorable end. And yet we have undertaken not only the obligation of a daily paper but also weekly and monthly publications, together with the operation of a large printing plant as well. It takes work to keep these going... and organization.

Built inside of our party and parallel to it must be erected the machinery which will have as its task the sale and distribution of the party publications. An army composed of hard working, unrelenting propagandists must be created which will cover the country with a sales organization which will advance the interests of our daily, our monthly and our books and pamphlets in every factory, at every working class meeting, in every working class home in the country.

A great forward step has been taken in the centralization of the communist publishing enterprises into the one organization, the Daily Worker Publishing company and the building of an adequate production equipment. Now the next step is obvious and equally necessary. **Centralize the distributing machinery for the Communist press and build an adequate organization to make it live.**

In general, every Communist, every militant, must become a cog in this machine. Always it is a first duty to support the press. In particular it is the duty of every Communist organization and every unit thereof

to organize the machinery, so that each unit has its press director and committee.

The results from the organization of such machinery are as sure as they are obvious. As the erection of the printing plant has made our party press possible, so the erection of the distribution machinery will make our press fruitful.

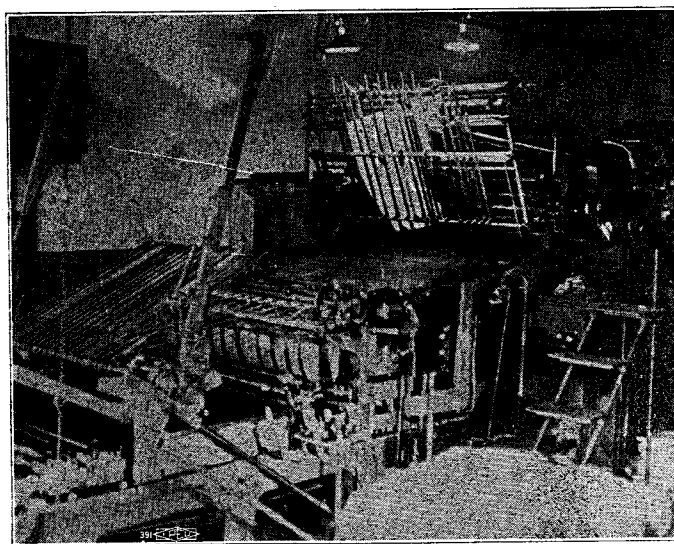
The First Time in History!

The first Communist industry in America has been created! Our press is established, our organization is being effected!

To be sure, its future is not yet secure. There have been no miracles. Our papers are small in size and in circulation. They have little or no advertising income. There are deficits; not so large as had been expected, but large enough and dangerous enough. But here we are; and while our future is difficult, after all we are workers, and we are fighters.

Now we campaign again for our press. But how different is this campaign from any in the past. Then we campaigned for a dream (an illusion, many called it), or we campaigned for some debt ridden, hopelessly money-losing paper, to keep it going a little longer until a miracle happened. Now we campaign for a reality, for a press which is growing and healthy. We campaign to build our press stronger and faster, to secure for the revolutionary movement a militant, virile, self-sustaining press, the WORKERS MONTHLY and the *Daily Worker*.

We light the dark places in the minds of the workers. We light the flame of the class struggle. We are torchbearers of the revolution!



THE CYLINDER PRESS ON WHICH THE WORKERS MONTHLY AND THE PARTY PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS ARE PRINTED. THIS PRESS CAN TURN OUT 200,000 COPIES OF THE WORKERS MONTHLY EVERY MONTH IN ADDITION TO OTHER PARTY PUBLICATIONS. HOW LONG WILL IT BE UNTIL IT RUNS TO CAPACITY?

Progressive, But Not Labor

By C. E. Ruthenberg

MANY voices are being raised in the labor movement, particularly from among the Socialists, to declare that the LaFollette-Wheeler-Progressive campaign means the birth of a labor party in the United States. This view is based upon the fact that a large section of the organized workers are supporting the Progressive movement. This, it is argued, must make it a movement of labor which will crystallize in the form of a labor party.

Political parties represent definite economic group interests. They are organized because some economic group has a grievance and believes that through use of the governmental power it can create more favorable conditions for itself. Behind every political struggle there is the solid fact of economic interests. The Republican party is making the safeguarding of the Constitution the issue of the campaign, for the Constitution is the greatest safeguard of the economic interests of the capitalist class which the Republican party represents. Behind the slogan "Back to 1776" in government there lies the desire to re-create some of the economic conditions of 1776.

Does this mean that the support of a political party by a certain economic group makes it a party representing the economic interests of that group? To ask this question is to show at once that the support which organized labor is giving the Progressive movement cannot be accepted as determining that out of that movement will come a labor party.

Organized labor has in the past, through action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, given its support to one of another of the old parties. The rank and file of the organized labor movement as well as of the workers generally have been and will be quite generally dividing their support between the Republican, Democratic and LaFollette-Wheeler tickets in the election.

How can we judge, then, the economic group interest which a political movement represents? What tests can we apply to the Progressive movement to establish whether in it we have the beginning of a labor party or something else?

There are three phases of a political party, examination of which will throw some light on the question. These are the group or class consciousness which it expresses, its composition, not merely as to its supporters but as to its leading organizations and leadership, and its program.

It is by examining the Progressive movement as to these points that we can establish its economic content and determine whether it is the beginning of a

labor party or the beginning of a party representing the interests of some other economic group.

II

In whose name do the Progressives speak?

We can get the most authoritative answer to this question by referring to the writings and speeches of the leader of the movement, Senator LaFollette. In whose name does he ask support? Whose interest does he promise to serve if elected president?

Search carefully through the writings and speeches of Mr. LaFollette and you will find that never once does he call upon labor to rally to the standard of the Progressive movement, never once does he urge upon the farmers to fight their own battles. Workers and farmers are sometimes mentioned in enumerating the evil things which the privileged class has done, but they are never appealed to as a group to unite for struggle against that privileged class.

Senator LaFollette talks about "the American people" and the "people's side." He declares "the rank and file" of both old parties is "progressive." He appeals to "the plain people" and emphasizes "my appeal will be addressed to every class of people." He urges "In the uneven struggle against monopoly, the people must insist that the government be the ally rather than, as at present, the active agent of the enemy." He repudiates sharply the suggestion of a class movement. "We are unalterably opposed to any class government, whether it be the existing dictatorship of the plutocracy or the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The quotations here made from the speeches of Senator LaFollette might be duplicated from the speeches of Senator Wheeler. Similar quotation could be made from speeches by William H. Johnston, head of the labor section of the Progressive movement. Even Morris Hillquit, since he has cast his lot with the Progressives, has learned their language and no longer speaks in the name of the workers but in the name of the "people."

Who are "the people?" The farmers, the wage workers, the professional group, the small businessmen and the big capitalists. They all belong to "the people." The leaders of the Progressive movement call upon all these groups to support them.

This is not the language of a labor party. A labor party speaks in the name of labor. It calls upon workers for action. Or if it is a Farmer-Labor party it calls upon the workers and farmers and speaks in their name. The language of the Progressive movement is the language which the Republican and Democratic parties have been using. They, too, call upon "the



people" for support and make their appeals in the interests of "the people."

Judged on the basis of these utterances of the spokesmen and leaders of the Progressive movement, it is clear that they have no intention of building a party which even

predominantly expresses the interests of labor. Labor occupies the same position in this supposed-to-be labor party in embryo as it has occupied in the Republican and Democratic parties. It is part of "the people" to which the Progressive movement appeals and does not pretend to be an organization making a special appeal to the workers because it is fighting for the economic interests of the workers.

The tradition that American government is a democratic institution functioning in the name of "the people," that it represents all classes alike, is something which has been systematically built up by the ruling class. The Progressive movement is fostering and reinforcing this tradition. For the idea of labor entering politics as a class to fight for its own political interests it is substituting a movement of "the people" qualified by that meaningless, milk-and-water phrase "progressive."

III.

The composition of the leading organization of the Progressive movement is most significant as an indication of the class interest which this movement represents.

Three movements developed, more or less independent of each other, during the last few years, which were tending in the direction of creating a new political party in opposition to the two capitalist parties which alternated in ruling in the name of the capitalist dictatorship. There was a rank and file movement of workers and farmers openly advocating the formation of a political party which would express the interests of these two economic classes. This movement took the form of an effort to build up farmer-labor parties. The second group consisted of the bureaucratic leaders of a section of organized labor which organized in the Conference for Progressive Political Action. The third group was the insurgent movement in congress under the leadership of Senator LaFollette; expressing a revolt against the domination of the

government by the big capitalists on the part of the independent manufacturers, bankers, well-to-do farmers and liberal professional groups.

What has taken place since LaFollette announced his independent candidacy for the presidency is that the third group, representing the revolt of little business against big business, has absorbed and imposed its leadership upon the group organized in the Conference for Progressive Political Action and even upon a large part of the rank and file movement which was fighting for a farmer-labor party.

It is essential to establish this point, because it is the determining factor in establishing whether the Progressive movement has within itself the possibility of establishing a labor party. The first group described above stood openly for the formation of a farmer-labor party. Had its efforts been crowned with success we would have had a radical farmer-labor party in the United States. The C. P. P. A. was dominantly made up of labor elements. Even though dominated by conservative labor leaders, a party created by the C. P. P. A., based upon the labor organizations it represented, would have been a labor party.

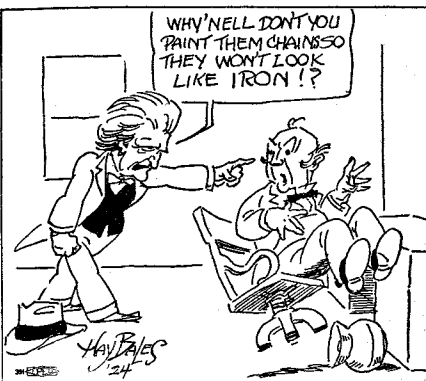
A party which had as its organization structure

local organization created through labor unions sending delegates to a central organization, and state organization created through delegates from labor unions and farmers economic organizations, and a national organization built upon this structure, such an organization, irrespective of what degree of class consciousness it represented or how conservative its platform, would have been a labor party in the historical sense of that term. A party

built upon the economic organizations of the workers and farmers would be compelled, in some degree to fight for the economic interests of these two classes.

The fact that the LaFollette-Progressive movement took definite form at the C. P. P. A. convention in Cleveland gives the misleading impression that it sprang out of the C. P. P. A. The fact is that at the Cleveland C. P. P. A. convention a new leadership was imposed upon the C. P. P. A. and it became an appendage to the LaFollette-Progressive movement.

The proceedings of the C. P. P. A. convention show that the convention determined nothing. The LaFollette group



handed down their decisions and the C. P. P. A. registered them in a public demonstration. Since that time the process of changing the nature and basis of the leadership and of eliminating any expression of the economic basis of the C. P. P. A. in the leadership of the Progressive movement has been made almost complete.

The joint executive committee conducting the LaFollette-Wheeler campaign has fourteen members. Of these fourteen not more than four can be by any stretch of the imagination be assigned to the labor wing. Wm. H. Johnston, D. B. Robertson, Morris Hillquit and Edward Keating. Against this labor (?) expression we have John M. Nelson, Robert M. LaFollette, Jr.; W. T. Rawleigh, Herman L. Eckern, Mabel C. Costigan, Rudolph Spreckles, Basil M. Manley, Elizabeth G. Evans, Herman E. Wells and Frank P. Walsh.

No more emphatic evidence of the character of the Progressive movement could be produced than the constitution of this committee. The independent business men, and the progressive professional group have made the movement their own. They lead it and dominate it and the labor element sinks into insignificance.

The roster of the state chairman and regional managers of the LaFollette-Wheeler campaign shows the same seizure of control of the movement by the independent business men's and professional groups. Labor is everywhere an appendage and not the basis on which the organization is erected.

The record of what has taken place in relation to the Farmer-Labor parties in the Northwest is additional proof that the leaders of the Progressive movement, those who today dominate it and hold it in their grasp, not only do not want a labor party, or a farmer-labor party, but are bitterly hostile to the formation of such a party.

In Minnesota there existed a Farmer-Labor party which had built a powerful state organization. It had elected two senators—men who belonged to the LaFollette group. It was not purely a class party representing an alliance between the workers and farmers, but it contained large elements of the small businessmen and professional group.

Did the Progressive movement accept this party as its expression in Minnesota? So far as a victory in that state was concerned there was every reason why the Progressive group should have done this. The Farmer-Labor party had won two victories. It had a powerful organization. LaFollette's best chance in Minnesota was as the candidate of the Farmer-Labor party.

Yet the LaFollette organization sent the banker John F. Sinclair into Minnesota to create a rival organization as the expression of the Progressive movement. So bitterly hostile is the dominating group of the Progressive movement that it was ready to risk the defeat which might grow out of the confusion result-

ing from the creation of a rival movement in Minnesota than accept anything smacking of class movements of workers and farmers.

What happened in Minnesota has also happened in South Dakota, Montana, Nebraska and Washington. In place of the strongly organized Farmer-Labor parties based upon the economic organization of the workers and farmers, the LaFollette-Progressives have placed their faith upon newly formed committees dominated by bankers, business men and professionals.

The evidence here is complete. The Progressive movement not only does not contain the basis for a labor party, but it is bitterly hostile to the formation of a labor party and is fighting every manifestation tending in that direction.

IV.

The LaFollette platform has been repeatedly analyzed. The fundamentally reactionary character of the fight to destroy the trusts and its anti-labor character has been pointed out. This proposal is the clearest proof of the class interest which controls the Progressive movement. It is not labor or farmer but independent, little business fighting against big business.

The slogan "Back to 1776" is typically the slogan of little business. W. T. Rawleigh, the Illinois manufacturer on the LaFollette-Wheeler joint executive committee stated in an article in the Chicago Herald-Examiner the goal for which the Progressives are striving: "What the businessmen of the United States need now more than anything else is a free, open and competitive market in which to buy their raw materials and supplies and the opportunity to buy, sell and compete on an equal basis in the greatest producing and consuming market in the world."

That is what the Progressive movement means by its slogan of "back to 1776"—the restoration of free competition, to give little business an equal chance by using the governmental power to restrain the trusts and great organizations of wealth production.

With the exception of its one paragraph directed against injunction in labor disputes and for the child labor law, the rest of the Progressive platform is written with an eye to the interests of the same group. Even government ownership of the railroads is essentially a demand of little business to prevent discrimination against it and establish "free competition."

Its group consciousness, the composition of its leading organization and its platform, all stamp the Progressive movement for what it is, "progressive" but not labor.

What has happened is that the small business-professional group has been able to seize upon, absorb and make itself the leader of a movement of workers and farmers against the two old capitalist parties. The fact that a large section of the working class did revolt against the two old capitalist parties is progress, even

(Continued on page 31)

EXIT SAVINKOV

By Alexander Bittelman

THE curtain rises on August 29, 1924, through an official announcement by the Soviet Government which appeared on that day in the Russian press, reading like this:

"On one of the twentieth days of August, this year, there was arrested by the State Political Department on the territory of Soviet Russia, Citizen Savinkov, Boris Victorvitch, one of the most active and irreconcilable enemies of Workers' and Peasants' Russia. (Savinkov had on him a false passport to the name of Stepanov, V. I.)"

On August 23 Savinkov was notified of the nature of the charges against him and following that, at the expiration of seventy two hours, he was brought to trial before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The court consisted of three judges. The presiding judge, Comrade Ulrich; members of the court, Comrades Cameron and Kushniriuk.

The trial lasted two days. In his testimony before the court and in his concluding speech, Savinkov definitely declared that in his struggle against the Soviet government he has been mistaken and wrong. He exposed the activities of the foreign interventionists and admitted that on all points which were at issue between himself and the Soviet government, the October (Bolshevik) Revolution has proved itself completely and irrevocably right.

In his last words before the Court Savinkov made an appeal to all those who really love Russia to recognize and obey the power of the Soviet government.

The court sentenced Savinkov to death. But considering the above declarations by Savinkov, the court decided to appeal to the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics for remission of sentence.

The appeal was granted. On August 29, 1924, the highest governing body of the Soviet government made the decision to change the death sentence to ten years' imprisonment. Thus came to an end the last act of a long drama which will be known as the Exit of Savinkov.

Who Is Savinkov?

Savinkov was formerly a member of the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. The brains and organizing genius of the military-terrorist committee of that party. One of the most militant and enterprising leaders of what was once the revolutionary party of the Russian petty bourgeoisie.

Savinkov still values his revolutionary record under Czarism. This is how he begins his written testimony to the Soviet trial court:

"Before I reply to the proposed questions, I must say the following: I, Boris Savinkov, formerly a member of the terrorist-military committee of the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, friend and comrade of Yegor Sazonov and Ivan Kaliaev, participant in the assassination of Plevé, Prince Sergey Alexandrovich, and in many other terrorist acts, one who has worked all his life for the masses and in the name of the masses, am now charged by the Government of Workers and Peasants with the crime of having taken up arms against the workers and peasants of Russia. How could that happen?"

Well, we know that it did happen. Savinkov himself admits it. We also know how it happened. There is no difference of opinion on that score. As to the whys and wherefores, we fear that Savinkov's explanations will explain very little.

But, first, let us get the facts.

Savinkov is 45 years old. The son of a minor official of the bureaucratic machinery of the former government of the Czar, Savinkov received an education customary in families of this type. He went to the "Gymnasia" and later to the University, from which, however, he was not graduated.

Early in his life he made the acquaintance of the revolutionary movement of the student youth. Until about 1900 he considered himself a social-democrat, manifesting, however, strong tendencies of a petty bourgeois, terroristic nature. Later on he came in contact with the party of Socialist-Revolutionaries. Of this party and its terrorist wing he had been a member and militant leader up to the time when the party began to disintegrate.

Between the bourgeois revolution in March, 1917 and the proletarian revolution in November of the same year, Savinkov was successively political Commissar attached to the Russian armies of the South-western front, Secretary of War in the cabinet of Kerensky, and prominent member of the Council of the Union of Cossack armies.

In all these capacities Savinkov engaged actively in consolidating the power of the Russian bourgeoisie and nobility and in brutally combating the rising tide of the proletarian revolution.

All this—up to the moment when the workers and peasants of Russia seized power and established the dictatorship of the proletariat.

From then on and until practically the moment of his arrest, Savinkov devoted all his life and energies toward the destruction and overthrow of the Soviet Government. He knew no bounds, no scruples. Every-



SAVINKOV MAKING HIS CONFESSION BEFORE THE SUPREME TRIBUNAL.

thing was permissible; unity with Czarist ministers and generals; paid service to foreign capitalist governments; pogroms; bandit expeditions; assassination of leading communists; foreign intervention.

A Story of Blood and Betrayal.

Savinkov tells the story himself.

Immediately upon the seizure of power by the workers in November, 1917, Savinkov attempted to arouse the Cossack regiments to overthrow the new government. Failing in this he joined Kerensky's Staff and jointly with General Krasnov continued the fight against the Bolsheviks.

At the beginning of 1918, we find Savinkov on the River Don, in company with the monarchist generals Alexeiev, Kaledin and Kornilov, impressing upon these generals the necessity of waging an armed struggle against the Soviet power. From that time and until the end of 1920, Savinkov is engaged in building the so-called Volunteer Army which was ravaging and destroying the Ukraine, the Don Province, the North and South of the Caucasus, supported by the English and French capitalists.

Later in 1918, Savinkov arrives in Moscow and forms a counter-revolutionary organization, known by the name: "Union for the defense of country and freedom." And whom did this organization consist of? Savinkov himself gives the answer. Officers of the Czar's select regiments, monarchists of all kinds

and sorts, led by the generals Rytchkov and Perchurov.

Savinkov reports to General Alexeiev, head of the monarchist counter-revolution in the South, the formation of the above "Union" in Moscow, requesting further instruction. This "Union for the defense of country and freedom" has been operating, according to Savinkov's own words, under the guidance and with the financial support of the former French ambassador to Russia, M. Noulens, and the present president of the Czecho-Slovakian republic, M. Masaryk.

In the spring of 1918, Savinkov received from Masaryk, through the intermediary of one named Clenanda, 200,000 roubles for the conduct of terrorist work, and organized a system of espionage upon Lenin, Trotsky and other leaders of the Soviet government for the purpose of assassinating them.

During the same spring of 1918, Savinkov received from ambassador Noulens, in various sums, the total of about two and one-half million roubles with specific instruction to organize armed uprisings on the Upper Volga. These uprisings were to serve as protection and assistance to a proposed landing of French troops through one of the ports on the White Sea.

After several conferences with the French military attache, Laverne, and the French consul, Grenar, Savinkov had mobilized the military strength of the "Union for the defense of country and freedom," and supported by the Mensheviks and local merchants, had

started a series of armed uprisings, in July, 1918, in Yaroslav, Murmo, Rybinsk and Kostroma, thus drawing away considerable forces of the Red Army from Kazan and Samara, cities which were then being attacked by the Czecho-Slovaks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Upon the liquidation of these uprisings by the Red Army, Savinkov goes to Kazan, then occupied by the Czecho-Slovaks, and joins the regiments of Kappel which continued to operate against the Red Army.

At the end of 1918 Savinkov accepts an offer by Kolchak to serve as the latter's representative in Paris. In this capacity, and during the year of 1919, Savinkov had visited several times Lloyd George, Churchill, and other ministers of Great Britain, receiving from them large supplies of military clothing and ammunition for Kolchak's armies.

During the same period, Savinkov had been in charge, by instruction from Kolchak, of a press bureau, called "Union," which had been consciously and purposely (by admission of Savinkov) spreading false rumors about Soviet Russia, and agitating in favor of continuing armed intervention against the Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

Then comes the year of 1920 and the war between Poland and Russia. And what is Savinkov doing? As chairman of the "Political Committee" of the Russian White Guard, with headquarters in Warsaw, Savinkov enters into an agreement with Pilsudsky by which Savinkov undertakes to organize the so-called "Russian People's Army" to be financed and assisted generally by Poland and the French military mission in Warsaw.

Savinkov does the job. He organizes the army which later took the field under the command of General Peremikin and the brothers, Bulak-Balachovich. In the autumn of the same year, subsequent to the armistice between Poland and Russia, Savinkov personally participated in the march upon Mozir led by Bulak-Balachovich.

In the year of 1921, Boris Savinkov tries his hand at organizing on the territory of Soviet Russia groups of military intelligence, the information secured by the latter being transmitted by Savinkov to the military intelligence service of the Polish General Staff and French military mission in Warsaw for a handsome financial remuneration.

From June, 1921 up to the beginning of 1923, we find Savinkov at the head of the now reestablished "Union for the defense of country and freedom," sending armed bands into the Western border cities of Soviet Russia under the command of such notorious bandits as Pavlovsky, Vasiliev, Pavlov and others.

The doings of these bands are well known. They stand for robbery, plunder, pogroms, murder, assassination, etc., Incidentally these bands were doing military

intelligence service for the General Staffs of France and Poland.

During the year 1923, when Savinkov's organization in Russia was all but completely liquidated, the stream of financial assistance from France and Poland was beginning to dry up. It was then that Savinkov made an attempt to secure some funds from Mussolini.

Savinkov's counter-revolutionary career was coming to an end. Did he realize that? Hardly. As late as the spring of 1924 his brain was still active in devising new schemes for bolstering up the spiritually dying counter-revolution. And in August of 1924 he finally decided, it seems, personally to visit Soviet Russia to establish the real strength of his counter-revolutionary organizations on the territory of the Soviet Republics.

He secured a false passport under the name of V. I. Stepanov and crossed into Russia at the Polish frontier. There he was arrested.

An Artist of Adventure.

This is how Comrade Lunacharsky (Peoples Commissar for Education) sees Savinkov—as an artist of adventure, an individual full of affections, a lover of theatrical gestures, a man in love with himself every minute of his life.

At this point one might justifiably inquire into the relevancy of analyzing the individual characteristics of Savinkov. To which the reply would be: No, Savinkov as an individual is of very little social interest. Only, the truth is that this man Savinkov is typical of a considerable social group, particularly in Russia, the group that is known under the name of petty-bourgeois "intelligencia."

Writing on Savinkov from this angle in the "Pravda" of September 5, Comrade Lunacharsky says: "The petty-bourgeois intelligencia is continually giving birth to such traits of character as self-admiration and self-love. It is from this group that we get individuals who are carrying around their 'personalities' as an object of public exhibition."

Savinkov is that type of man. This seems to be the impression of nearly everyone who knew Savinkov personally. For instance, G. V. Plechanov. Plechanov's opinions of Savinkov are related by his wife who September 4 published a letter in the Russian press to deny some of the statements made by Savinkov regarding her late husband. In this letter she says:

"Georgy Valentinovich Plechanov had sympathy for Savinkov's revolutionary temperament. In the years of peace Plechanov liked to listen to Savinkov relating his revolutionary experiences. Plechanov considered Savinkov a brave man, capable of self-sacrifice, but always held a low opinion of the latter's theoretical understanding of the revolutionary task and definitely disliked Savinkov's flippancy in literature as well as in politics. This element in Savinkov's character Plechanov called adventurism."

Another interesting phase of this same side of Savinkov's nature is revealed to us by a few remarks on him made by one who has known Savinkov long and well, a former member of the Central Executive Committee of the Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries, N. I. Rakitnikov. The latter says:

"I have known Savinkov since 1900. At the time he was still a Social-democrat but strongly inclined toward petty-bourgeois revolutionarism. Savinkov became a Socialist-Revolutionary, according to himself, on the basis of the agrarian question. I never noticed, however, any particular interest in this question on the part of Savinkov. In the party of the Socialist-Revolutionaries he was always a terrorist, never participating in any other work but, on the contrary, manifesting a kind of contempt towards the other phases of the party's activities."

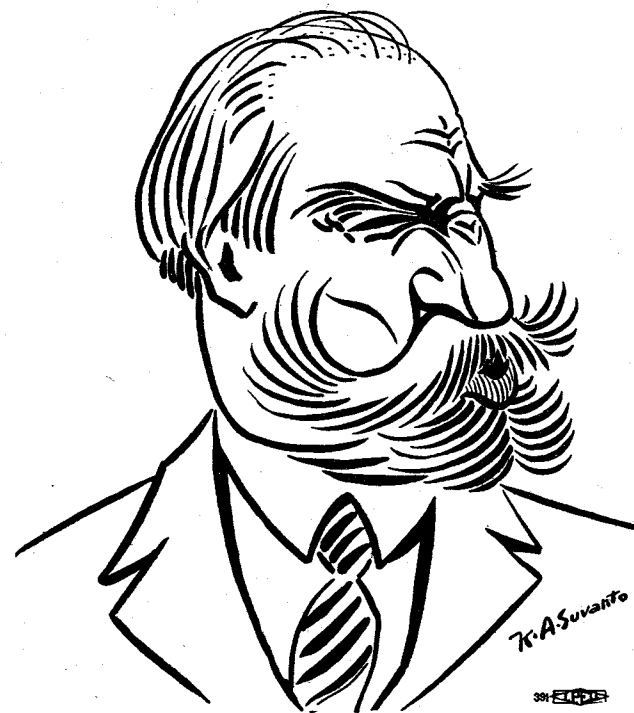
Grandstand play, fireworks effects, pose and gesture, without the least regard for the human element in the struggle, these seem to be the most pronounced features of Savinkov's character. Even in his hour of black defeat, facing the military court of the Soviet Government, he couldn't forego the pleasure of indulging in a play of melodramatics and stage-tragedy.

The Sentence.

The court sentenced Savinkov to death, but because of his admission of crime and guilt, because of his expressed determination to surrender and make peace, the court appealed to the government to change the death sentence to a lighter form of punishment. The government remitted the death sentence to ten years' imprisonment.

The barbarians! They will always choose their own way. They will never follow the illustrious example of their more civilized brothers, the capitalist governments of Europe and America! Is not this sufficient to justify another intervention?

The significance of the sentence meted out to Savinkov can best be realized by a comparison with the "justice" administered to workers under capitalist rule in other countries. Compare it, for instance, to the cause of the workers, Sacco and Vanzetti, who have been arrested and sentenced to death upon an admitted frame-up of the most brazen and



MR. HUGHES, HIMSELF.

outrageous nature in our own State of Massachusetts. Death is hanging over the heads of these innocent workers. Their lives are in danger. And unless the labor movement of the United States musters up very quickly some courage and determination, their lives will be taken. This is in civilized, democratic America whose Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, piously turns his face away from the Soviet government because he wouldn't "shake hands with murder." Bless the memory of Lloyd George!

Then come the "murderers" of Soviet Russia. And in order to spite the whole world, "our own" government included, they shamelessly and brazenly . . . refuse to murder. They hold in their hands the life of one of their bitterest enemies, a man who has, more than any other single individual, contributed to the dark misery and cruel sufferings of the Russian masses during the years of active counter-revolution and foreign intervention. And what do these barbarians do to him? They send him to prison for ten years.

Why? Because they wouldn't shed blood, even of their worst enemies, for the mere pleasure of doing it. They are not after vengeance. They merely want to protect themselves, to defend their lives and security. Or, in the words of the "Izvestia," the official organ of the Soviet Government:

"In their struggle for human happiness, the workers and peasants do not resort to vengeance against their enemies. They only make those enemies harmless."

The Collapse of the White Guard.

There is only one word with which to describe the effect of Savinkov's confession upon the ranks of the Russian White Guard. It is: **Katzenjammer**. Nothing short of it. They are shocked, demoralized, helpless, crushed.

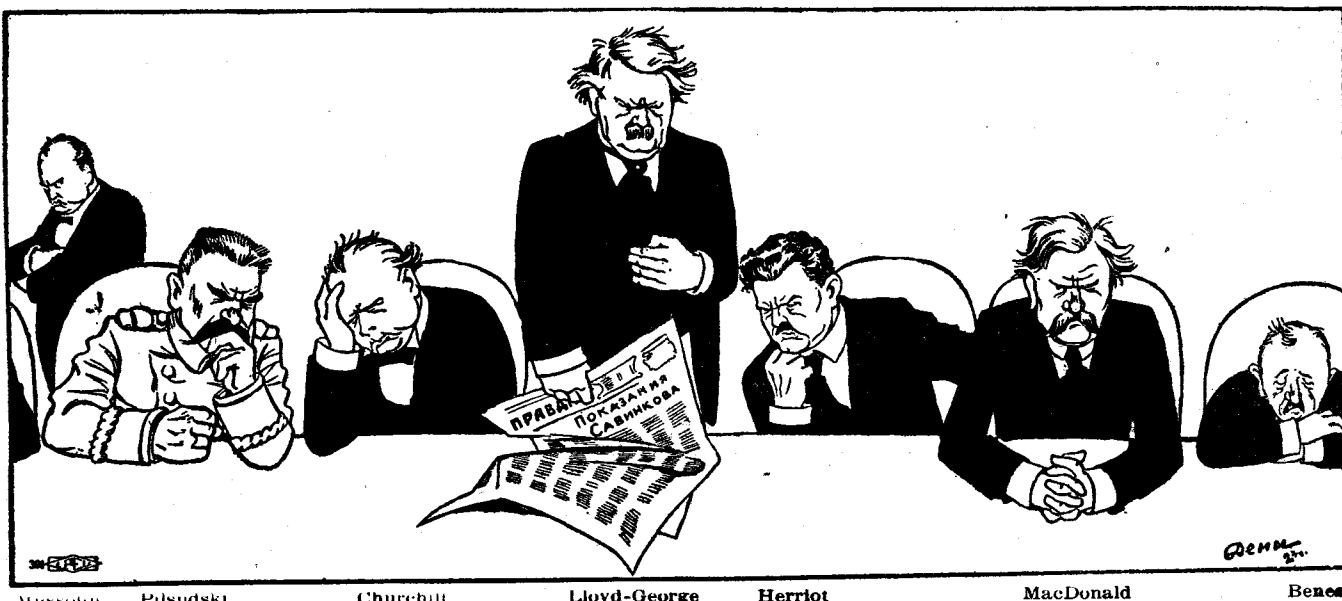
Just think of it! Savinkov, the prime mover of all white guard conspiracies, the livest wire in the whole counter-revolutionary mixup, the very apotheosis of irreconcilability to the Soviet regime, making peace with the proletarian revolution, admitting his crime and guilt and, to cap it all calling upon his friends and followers to recognize the Government of Workers and Peasants!

This is the limit! It is almost unbelievable, and so it was termed at first by Savinkov's erstwhile friends all over the world. But now, since the thing has been established beyond doubt, the Savinkov affair has come in for a good deal of explanation and interpretation in the press of the Russian White Guard and in the European capitalist press generally.

The organ of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, "Dni," published in Berlin, assumes the position of watchful waiting. The Socialist-Revolutionaries are awaiting, that is, further information. But, obviously, this is a case of "nervous breakdown" which resulted in total incapacity to react to anything.

On the other hand, the organ of the Cadets, Rul, also published in Berlin, bravely faces the music and declares the whole affair a cooked-up proposition between Savinkov and the Soviet government, totally devoid of any political significance.

This, however, is not the opinion of Miliukov, one of the chief leaders of the Cadets. In his organ, *Poslednie Novosti*, published in Paris, Miliukov takes the position that Savinkov is sincere, but that this sudden transformation of his should cause no surprise. Savinkov, he said, has always been an individualist, a believer in acting independently of the rest



THE RULERS OF CAPITALIST EUROPE READ SAVINKOV'S CONFESSION.

of the Russian groups in Europe, always a group by himself. That's why Miliukov is of the opinion that very few will follow Savinkov's example.

But this new hope of Miliukov is already contradicted by the facts as they are coming in from the White Guard colonies in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Lithuania, etc. Large circles of Russian emigrants are totally demoralized by Savinkov's confession and surrender, and are seriously considering the possibility of making peace and returning home.

Savinkov's Appeal.

Savinkov has issued an appeal to his friends and followers to make peace with the Soviet government. The appeal was published in the Russian press on September 13. It is well written. It states his case clearly and convincingly and should go a long way toward converting to his present point of view large numbers of his former associates.

"I have exhausted all means of struggle and have come to the realization that I have been defeated."

This is his starting point, from which he proceeds to ask: Does that mean that we must give up the fight? And he answers: No, not necessarily, provided there are serious reasons for continuing the struggle. But are there such? And here is how he answers his question:

"Who believes nowadays in the Constituent Assembly? Who will now condemn the Bolsheviks for having concluded the Brest-Litovsk treaty? Who now believes that the November (Bolshevik) revolution cleared the way for the coming back of the Czar?"

Nobody. Then, again:

"We love Russia, that is, the Russian people. And we ask ourselves: With whom do the Russian people stand? Are the Bolsheviks usurpers of power? Are they ruining our homeland? Are they sacrificing Russia to the Communist International?"

And he answers: The people are with the Bolsheviks. The Soviet government is restoring, strengthening and building up Russia. Under the Czar, Russia was the oppressor of Europe; now, under the Soviets, Russia is becoming the liberator of the world.

"But we have no freedom, some will say; to which I reply: And if the Whites had been victorious, wouldn't they have established a dictatorship? I prefer the dictatorship of the working-class to the dictatorship of generals who have learned nothing."

And he concludes:

"Many things had begun to become clear to me even while I was abroad, but it was only here, in Russia, that I became convinced through my own eyes that one should not and could not continue the struggle, that I finally decided that I was wrong and drew the consequences. And I know that I am not the only one who feels that way. I am not the only one in the depth of his soul has already recognized the Soviet government. I call upon them to break their silence... A year will pass and ten years, and those who still retain a 'living soul' will come and confide in the toiling masses of Russia, and will say: We love Russia, therefore we recognize the Soviet government."

It is well that Savinkov has surrendered and made peace, because he was a dangerous and a costly enemy. It is also well that he remains alive to continue to tell his story, which he has really hardly begun to tell, and which will be of immense interest and instruction to the toiling masses the world over. And, above all, it is well that the Soviet government is so magnificently right, so strong and so powerful, as to conquer its enemies not only physically, but also morally.

IN TRANSLATION

"THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IN THE WORLD LABOR MOVEMENT"

By A. LOSOVSKY

Momentous developments are taking shape in the world's labor movement. What is the meaning of the left wing in the Amsterdam International? Why did the Red International Congress adopt a resolution for a world unity Congress of trade unions? In the December issue A. Losovsky, secretary of the R. I. L. U., will discuss these questions.

Shop Committees—a Revolutionary Weapon

By Wm. F. Dunne

The shop committee is the natural center around which all organized and unorganized workers should be grouped.

Thesis of Red International of Labor Unions.

THE existence in the United States of a working class, eighty per cent unorganized, constitutes the major problem of the labor movement here.

The range of the organized labor movement is limited, very definitely, by the presence of this army of millions, outside of its ranks and often hostile to it. In the olden, golden days of competitive capitalism—back to which the LaFollettes would lead us but which were golden only when seen through middle-class spectacles—organization of the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers was not so vitally important. Skilled trades held the key positions in the decentralized industry of the period and could play one competing capitalist against another.

The American trade union movement, with its sharply drawn divisions of craft and occupation which survives today, is about the only evidence of the previous existence of this primitive period in American industry.

The American trade union movement has been losing power steadily. Before the outbreak of the world war, in 1913-14, it was helpless in the face of a nationwide industrial depression. The war industry boom brought increase in membership, the betrayal of the whole movement by the official leadership into the hands of the war lords, brought official recognition of the bureaucracy, and the two events combined gave the whole movement a false sense of security.

How ill founded was this feeling of security was shown in the "open shop" drive of 1921-22 that practically wiped out the most militant section of the labor movement—the railway shop crafts.

Even the building trades unions, although there has been unprecedented activity in their industry for two-and-one-half years, have never recovered their powers. They are rent and torn by jurisdictional disputes and have just about surrendered their rights to the sympathetic strike—the tactic which built their power.

The coal miners, although organized industrially, and possessing a fighting membership, have been forced to watch the growth of non-union fields while unemployment riddled the ranks of the union miners. Their officialdom has abandoned the fight for nationalization, has surrendered to the coal capitalists and joined with them in a scheme to drive out of the industry 200,000 union coal diggers.

The steel, marine transport, textile, metal mining

and food industries are either totally unorganized, as in the case of steel, or have a few small unions powerless against the capitalists but which wage bitter struggles among themselves. In the boom period which has been replaced by distinct and increasing depression the labor officialdom abandoned entirely the struggle on the industrial field.

They have tacitly acknowledged their inability and unwillingness to fight in this sector by their endorsement and support of the LaFollette movement. They now lean on the broken reed of middle-class parliamentary reformism and they will be submerged in the foul muck of the swamp that nourishes its roots.

All over the world the trade union bureaucracy is collapsing. It has ceased to fight for the most elementary needs of the working masses and millions of them are now disillusioned, bitter and discouraged.

For the first time in the history of the labor movement there appears in industry a group of workers, totalling millions in Europe and hundreds of thousands in America, who were once members of unions but who now swell the ranks of the unorganized.

These workers compose an opposition *outside of the unions* to the treachery and cowardice of the officialdom, but because this opposition is *outside and unorganized*, it is powerless. Its protest is the negative one of refusal to pay dues and support the bureaucratic machine. It leaves the control of the union machinery in the hands of the bureaucrats.

That we are now in the beginning of a period of industrial stagnation that is becoming, in spite of temporary revivals here and there, more acute every day, is obvious. Industrial expansion in America has reached a limit while the breakdown of European capitalism has made it possible for the American capitalist class to increase immensely its power in every phase of international politics. It has entered upon a career of imperialistic enterprise with the Dawes plan as its expression in Europe and its forays into Oriental politics as its expression in Asia.

Incidentally this policy of aggression abroad has its counterpart in a new offensive against the American working class. A powerfully organized and militant working class is the one thing that imperialism cannot tolerate. That leaves its rear too weak.

Even though American capitalism was not imperialistic it would not resist the temptation to war on the living standards of the workers when unemployment gives it a reserve army of six or seven million idle workers who must live even though forced to exist but a point just above actual starvation.

We know then that the American workers are facing a long stretch in which they must choose between struggle and complete surrender.

Surrender is unthinkable, but this is what the trade union bureaucracy presents as a solution by its failure to organize the unorganized, its failure to prevent desertion of the unions, its failure to give the workers a program and leadership.

How is this life and death struggle to be organized? It must be by some method that unites four groups:

1. The unorganized workers who have never belonged to a union.
2. The unorganized who have left the unions.
3. The organized workers, and
4. The unemployed who are composed of workers from the first three groups.

Only shop committees can carry out such a task as this. Just as the work shop is the unit of industry so are shop committees the basic instruments of working class power—they are flexible weapons whose use is easily understood by all workers. Because they can be used in the daily struggles that take place wherever there are workers and bosses and because they are formed and controlled by workers, because they are not far removed from the workers and their functions can be allotted, their activities known and their faults easily seen and remedied, they arouse a loyalty and militancy that is perhaps the most remarkable result that follows their organization. Shop committees are nothing new in America, but they have always been a result of trade union organization rather than a cause. They have never included the unorganized, have had no political character, and usually they have been part of the union machinery, confining their efforts to the registration of grievances and some attempt at adjustment of them.

Where shop committees have departed from this narrow policy in America they have registered some remarkable successes, but as the American trade union movement has but little historical literature these successes of a local character have escaped general notice.

Two instances of successful operation of shop committees will give an idea of the manner in which they can and will function. In Great Falls, Montana, during the war, in spite of the betrayal perpetrated by union officialdom there as elsewhere, there grew up, through the activity of a few militants, a shop committee system in the huge shops of the Great Northern Railway which actually took charge of and controlled the enterprise. It extended its power until it was able to force the discharge of an obnoxious superintendent and choose his successor. It forced the attorney general of Montana to quash an indictment for sedition against a militant in the shops, brought as a result of his revolutionary activity.

This shop committee system forced the discharge of three stool pigeons who had preferred the charges and the entire shop force of over a thousand men shut down the shop one afternoon to chase the spies three or four miles down the railway right of way. Many times the shop committees closed the works and mobilized all the workers to protest meetings for radical speakers which the American Legion had planned to break up.

This movement was fought just as hard by the union officials as by the railway executives and because of this it failed to extend its organization to the entire railway system. Had it been able to do so the shop craft strike of 1922 would not have been lost.

In the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railway shops in Minneapolis and in the Northern Pacific shops in St. Paul, shop committee organization reached a comparatively high point. It was more or less an adjunct of the union machinery, but the activity of militant workers, who were handicapped by lack of a national program and the prevailing confusion of the period, nevertheless made the shop committees a power.

During the agitation for a general strike in behalf of Tom Mooney, these shop committees invited speakers and forced the right to hold meetings in the shops.

During election campaigns they held meetings in the shops for working class candidates and distributed literature. Grievances were adjusted on the job or a strike was called.

As in Great Falls, the lack of national organization, lack of a clear-cut program, the failure to include unorganized workers and the hostility of the officialdom, broke up the movement in the 1922 defeat. That such examples are to be found in American labor history before even the revolutionary minority was organized in the Trade Union Educational League is proof of the statement:

"The shop committee is the natural center around which all the organized and unorganized workers should be grouped."

Wherever the shop committee movement has been systematically organized as in Germany and Czechoslovakia (both countries have centralized industry that almost parallels the situation in America) with a high percentage of unemployed, opposition from the trade union officialdom and the capitalist state, following the mass desertion of the unions by the disheartened workers, it has been able to check the offensive of the capitalists, give the workers new courage, rejuvenate the labor movement, overcome the defeatist tendency expressed in growing disorganization and make great strides in setting up a united front from below composed of organized and unorganized workers and the unemployed.

In the terrible crisis through which the German labor movement passed and which is not yet over, when the unions lost almost half of their membership, when millions of workers left the unions because the bureaucrats made them tools of the German and allied capitalists, the shop committees, under Communist leadership, proved to be a rallying point for the German workers and the salvation of the labor movement.

Even in Germany, where shop committees are now the accepted instruments of struggle, and are fairly well organized, the movement is not yet fully developed and all of its possibilities have been by no means realized.

This is due to the fact that, growing out of the struggle and born of sheer necessity, the shop committees are just beginning to have definite militant aims. Where shop committees have not sprung into existence their organization is not pushed with intelligent persistency and great questions at issue between the capitalists and the working class have not been used properly to create shop committees and link up those already formed. If this is true of the German movement, with the revolutionary experience of the German working class, how much more difficult but more necessary is the establishment of shop committees in American industry, with its millions of unorganized and inexperienced workers, ruled by the most powerful capitalist class in the world.

Organization of shop committees with a common program of struggle, with the clear aims of conducting the daily struggles of the working class and the conquest of power

for the working class is the first task to be attacked in building a powerful trade union movement. All that has gone before has served simply to show the futility of the present program and basis of the existing movement.

Shop committees cannot take the place of unions but they will give them new life and vigor and lay the foundation for industrial unionism. Decentralizing tendencies that will develop as the shop committees grow in strength will have to be combatted but this is a minor danger compared to the present helpless status of the American working class.

How will shop committees come into existence?

First, by reason of the failure of the unions to resist the wage-cuts, increase of hours and general worsening of the working and living conditions of the masses, that is already the order of the day.

Second, by the activity of the Communists and revolutionary elements who accept the shop committee program.

It is unlikely that with the present strength of the Workers (Communist) Party we will be able to do much more than give the movement a program and a series of immediate objectives, but this need not worry us.

Shop committees are purely working class bodies, they have to fight, they will naturally be composed of the best and most courageous elements, and the situation of the workers, as the industrial crises become more acute, will be such that only the program of the adherents of the Red International of Labor Unions offers any real hope. If the bureaucrats want to fight with us for the leadership of shop committees we shall be much pleased.

Organization of the unorganized is the first job that the shop committees must undertake. They must also organize the unemployed and see that unemployed workers remain in close contact with their fellow workers in the industry and every new attack of the capitalists must be made the occasion for agitation and propaganda among the workers.

The shop committees must become the centers of discussion for all problems of the workers. They must take the lead in action and rally the workers for their own defense, as well as interpret the political character of all strikes and other actions in this imperialistic epoch. As the movement develops it will be advisable to link up the committees in various industries into a national body that will, because of its purely working class character and known militancy, be able to give direction to all activities of the shop committees and shop councils.

What slogans express the needs of the masses in this period? They must be simple and so pat that they will meet with immediate response.

No wage cuts!

No increase of hours!

Organization of the unorganized!

Down with the blacklist!

Amalgamation of all unions in the same industry!

Workers' control of industry!

Slogans like these, with others adapted to particular important issues as they arise, have a stimulating effect on the working class and serve to keep its problems always before it.

This article begins with a quotation from the theses on immediate tasks of the Red International of Labor Unions and we cannot do better than close with one.

"It is necessary to become imbued with an understanding of the greatest importance of the committees for the revolution. No opportunity for the creation of this natural

representation of labor should be missed . . . There is no better way of creating the united front from below than the organization of shop committees, there is no better schooling for the unorganized than the shop committees. That is why the struggle for shop committees must become the principal aim of the R. I. L. U. adherents in the immediate future."

Out of the daily battles which the shop committees wage for the everyday demands of the workers, comes the united front in the revolutionary conflict.

By creating shop committees under revolutionary leadership (which means Communist leadership) and thus laying the foundations for revolutionizing the unions, the organized and unorganized masses can be brought into the united front against capitalism and organized in the struggle for its overthrow

NEXT MONTH!

MANY good things that clamored for space in the first issue of THE WORKERS MONTHLY had to be held over for the December issue. For instance, there is

A VISIT WITH SUN YAT SEN

By Alfred Wagenknecht.

which has especial interest in these days in which the Republic of South China is battling for its life against the united forces of capitalist imperialism. Read it in the December issue.

Then there is the story, full of the "inside dope" that only workers are familiar with and interested in, about

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN MINERS

By Jack Lee.

which is full of hard facts as well as the lighter side of the metal mining industry.

And a Host of Other Good Things!

Progressive, But Not Labor

(Continued from page 23.)

though they have sunk into the morass of the Progressive movement.

The workers have made a step, only to be newly entrapped, but the fact that the step has been made gives promise of a further movement. Today labor moves from the capitalist parties to the Progressive movement. Tomorrow from the Progressive movement to a class fight against its enemy.

The immediate political work before the Workers Party is to hasten the disillusionment of the workers now in the Progressive movement, through merciless criticism and exposure of its shortcomings, through proving its character by its actions on actual issues of the class struggle, to break the grip of the Progressive leadership and bring the day of the workers fighting as a class in their own interests.

In Which We Solve the Chinese Puzzle

By Harrison George

CHINA is embroiled in a huge civil war. This may appear singular to those who have heard endless slurs by American militarist-capitalist newspapers at the "spineless Chinese" who were insultingly compared to pacifists. Astonishment naturally increases when these supposedly "backboneless creatures" of China, following the example of the "Christian" Occident and rushing into battle armed with gas bombs, tanks and airplanes, are "warned in the most solemn manner" by the great robber powers to cut it out and be "pacifists" again. We see, besides, American warships rushing toward the ports of China. And one must remember that warships make war—not peace.

China has long been divided up among the robber nations into "zones of influence." Their "diplomatic corps" at Peking has met and divided up the various provinces among their imperialist business men who sought a higher return—a superprofit—on capital, than they could get at home. If China's government ever objected, the whole band would threaten to call their warships and let China "tell it to the marines." This has gone on for decades. Everybody knows it. It worked all right for everybody but China as long as the robbers didn't fall out among themselves.

The necessity for expansion of Japanese imperialism on the Asiatic continent and to widen and intensify her exploitation of China clashed with the imperialist designs of other powers. But with the weakening of Japan since the earthquake, and the "understanding" between Britain and America, the robber alliance is broken by internal quarrels, and the United States is taking the lead in threatening Japan with elimination.

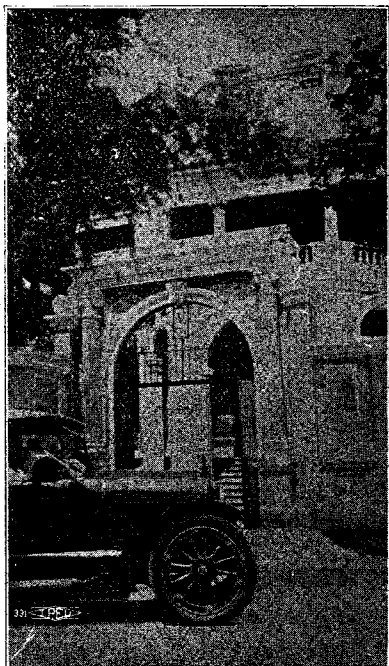
In the first six months of 1924, Japan sent \$100,000,000 of exports into the Shanghai district, her heaviest customer in China. This is worth fighting for. Shanghai is the greatest commercial city in China and the Yangtze River is the greatest water trade route. Besides this market area, Japan controlled Manchuria, and had there great oil prospects as well as those in Sakhalin.

Schurman Stirs the Pot.

Since Jacob Gould Schurman, Standard Oil appointee as United States minister to China, appeared at Peking, things have begun to happen. A fund of corruption money, said to be \$3,000,000, was used to bribe a majority of the Chinese parliament to elect Tsao Kun, a former bandit, as president. But as Tsao was an irresponsible cuss not altogether likely to stay bribed, the real power, the head of the Peking government's army, Wu Pei Fu, was the one depended upon for action.

Several years ago, Lu Yung-hsiang, governor of the province of Chekiang, in which lies the port of Shanghai, probably being backed by Japanese interests, declared his province independent of Peking. As all China is decentralized, he got away with it—until Uncle Sam in the person of Schurman showed up.

Last January, Schurman, at the "invitation" of the agent of the British-American Tobacco Company, went to Shanghai and warned Lu Yung-hsiang that "the powers" would demand that Peking stop Lu from collecting consumers'



KUO MIN TANG PARTY HEAD-
QUARTERS, CANTON.

taxes on cigarette smokers. This was taken as a sanction and has been used as justification of Peking's present war against Chekiang. This, of course, is an excuse.

Obviously, American control of the Peking government will profit American imperialism only in so far as Peking controls the rest of China. General Wu is given the job and declares war to effect unity by force. He has competitors. Besides Lu Yung-hsiang, who sits pat on his rice paddies around Shanghai, in Manchuria, subsidized by Japan, is General Chang Tso-lin, with an army of 180,000 men, well equipped, drilled by foreign officers and just waiting for this. From Mukden, Chang is

throwing his army against Peking to relieve Chekiang and actually to resist American imperialism in behalf of Japanese imperialism.

The Kuo Min Tang Party.

The one force in China which fights alike against the native feudalists and capitalists as well as against the foreign imperialist wolves who have pillaged China's resources and exploited China's workers through the infamous "Open Door" policy, is in the national-revolutionary "Kuo Min Tang Party," the group gathered around Sun Yat Sen. For thirty years Sun has fought for his vision of a China freed from exploitation by an overthrow of feudal remnants and an importation of the machinery of capitalist production without permitting capitalist ownership of that machinery. He thought to skip over the capitalist stage between feudalism and Communism. The example of Russia not, indeed, skipping capitalism, but shortening its dominance and, under the Soviets, reducing the capitalist class to a subject class whose days are numbered, has quite probably greatly aided Sun Yat Sen.

The personality of this leader of the Chinese masses is most amazing. On foot, disguised as a peddler, Sun Yat Sen for years went about China preaching socialism and the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. His life was continually in danger. Spies of the emperor dogged his steps. On a trip to England he was framed-up and nearly deported to China where the headsman waited with the axe. Locked up at the mercy of enemies, only the chance help of a scrub-

woman got word to friends who prevented deportation. He has had many narrow escapes and one instance at least is known of his receiving assassins sent to kill him, convincing them they were wrong and turning them into friends.

After Sun Yat Sen had been the active spirit behind the overthrow of the empire and the establishment of the Republic, he declined to take office though easily the popular choice. He refused the offer of the parliament in favor of Yuan Shi Kai, who turned out to be a scoundrel who sold out to foreign imperialism and suppressed the socialist party of China with the remark that it was "not like the socialists of other countries, who only study socialism." In the last few years Sun Yat Sen has by armed rebellion established a government of South China at Canton, from which as a center he hopes to unify the Chinese workers and peasants against both native and foreign exploiters.

Chinese Bourgeoisie Betrays Nation.

The native capitalists and merchants in South China are opposed to Sun Yat Sen. When the clash of arms sounded in the north, the merchants of Canton in collusion with English and American interests formed a real "white guard." They imported arms on the Norwegian steamer Hav. When Sun Yat Sen's government seized this ship, the White Guard seized a portion of Canton by armed sortie, barricaded the streets, and called for foreign assistance. Capitalism recognizes its own. America and England rushed warships to Canton, and to save the city from bombardment Sun released the ship load of arms—sent in, of course, contrary to law.

It is significant that the Cantonese labor unions support Sun Yat Sen enthusiastically. They enlisted to fight the White Guard. So did the poorer peasants. The capitalist press immediately branded these workers as "brigands" and "mercenaries." Needless to say the Communist Party of China is the organizer and active force within the "Kuomintang" which it regards as an armed mass party of farmers and workers.

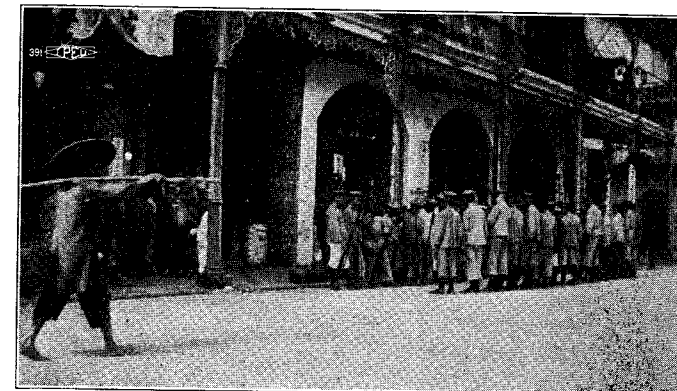
When Schurman's intrigue began to work into war, he suddenly left for Washington, refusing to talk or explain his departure. He came home to report on the eve of "Mobilization Day," which was a prelude to war just as "Prepared-

ness Day" in 1916 was a prelude to the great "war to end war." Since he has been away the Peking correspondent of a Tokyo paper telegraphed to his paper that "Secretary Hughes has sent four secret cablegrams to Wellington Koo, Chinese minister of foreign affairs. Undoubtedly the United States is plotting to take advantage of the trouble in China."

Preparing the War With Japan.

Undoubtedly the correspondent is right. American imperialism having carefully aroused the war spirit in America is now directing it against Japan. At the same time she legally furnishes Japan the excuse of a formal and studied insult by the Exclusion Act, she encroaches physically on Japan by force of arms in Chinese hands along the Yangtze and the Great Wall. In its turn Japanese imperialism is becoming alarmed. It holds counter demonstrations and business men "plead with the government" to protect Japanese interests in Manchuria. Meanwhile, French airplanes, German shells, American, English and Japanese munitions are pouring into China in complete disregard of "covenants" and "conferences."

If this puppet show of American-Chinese armies fighting Japanese-Chinese armies does not settle things satisfactorily to both parties, i. e., until one is satisfied with being beaten, then the major force of Japanese and American armies and navies will be called upon. So get down your tin hats, boys, for the war with Japan.



RECRUITING THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST ARMY
ON STREETS OF CANTON

Tribute

SHE made a little song
I could not understand;
It was as if she lived
In some enchanted land;

She hummed it through the day—
It was a lovely thing;
I could not understand
What there was to sing.

I was a weary wretch
And toil was all I knew;
But she had made a song
And sang her short life through.

N. Bryllion Fagin.



FRENCH BANKER TO RUSSIAN PEASANT:

"Ivan, throw off the Communist tyranny; then you'll be free to pay me 999,999,999,999 quadrillion gold rubles."

The Bolshevization of the Party

By James P. Cannon

(A speech before the New York Workers' School, Sunday, October 5.)

THE founding of the Workers Party school in New York City has a great significance for the party and must be regarded as a real achievement. It is one of many signs that the American Communist movement, which already has five years of struggle behind it, is hammering itself into shape, overcoming its weaknesses, striving in real earnestness to throw off the encumbrances which it inherited from the past and to transform itself into a genuine party of Leninism.

We are well aware that our party is not yet a Bolshevik party in the complete sense of the term. But we can say that after five years we have succeeded in crystallizing at least a strong nucleus within the party which endeavors to adopt a real Leninist standpoint on every question which confronts the party. It is characteristic of such comrades that they regard the adherence of our party to the Communist International not as a formal affair, but as an inseparable part of its being, which shapes and colors all of its activities, something that penetrates into the very marrow of its bones. For them, the word of the Communist International is decisive in all party questions. It is as one of such comrades that I wish to speak here tonight.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International has completed its work. It has examined and appraised the world situation. It has gone deeply into the experiences of all of the most important parties during the period since the Fourth Congress, as well as into the work of the International as a whole. The judgment finally arrived at has been compressed into a series of resolutions and theses which are now available for the Communist Parties of the entire world. They constitute a clear guide for our future activities.

The Slogan of The Fifth Congress.

The Congress found that all of the parties of the International, with the exception of the Russian Party, are still far short of the requirements of a Bolshevik Party. The traditions, customs and habits of the past are like leaden weights on their feet. They lack the Bolshevik discipline, the iron hardness, the capacity for decisive action, the mobile form of organization and the strong theoretical foundation which a party of Leninism must have.

The Congress demanded an energetic struggle against all these weaknesses and defects and the slogan of this struggle is "The Bolshevization of the party!"

Our educational work, as well as all other phases of our party life, must be carefully scrutinized and examined in the light of this slogan. When we come to speak of theory and theoretical work, we put our finger at once on one of the weakest spots in the American movement. This has always been the case. The American labor movement, in common with the labor movements of practically all the Anglo-Saxon countries, has a traditional indifference to theory. There is a widespread tendency to draw a line between theory and practice. The typical labor leader boasts of being a practical man who "has no time for theory." We encounter the same point of view quite often even in the ranks of our party.

Such a tendency is bound to lead the party into a blind alley. We must fight against it in a determined and organized manner. The party educational work must be organized in a systematic way and pushed forward with tenfold energy. Our educational work up to now has been practically negligible and that is all the more reason for making haste now.

Fundamental Importance of Theory.

In connection with this work it is necessary continually to stress the fundamental importance of revolutionary theory. Comrade Lenin said, "Without a revolutionary theory, a revolutionary movement is impossible." These words must become a part of the consciousness of every member of the party. It must become obvious to all that the working class will be able to come into open collision with the capitalist order, to dismantle it and to set up in its place the Communist form of society—to accomplish the task which history has set for it—only if at every turn of the road, in every phase of the struggle, it is guided by a correct revolutionary theory.

The spectacle is familiar to all of us, of militant workers starting out with a great hatred of capitalist oppression and a will to fight against it, but drifting along, because of lack of knowledge of the capitalist system and of the means by which it may be overthrown, into a policy which leads them to actual support of the capitalist system. The participation of many thousands of discontented workers in the LaFollette movement is an instance of this. We know that the typical labor leaders of America, who say they have no theory, carry out in actual practice the theory of the bourgeoisie and constitute strong pillars of support for the bourgeois system. There is no such thing as "no theory" in the labor movement. Two social systems are in conflict with each other; the capitalist system and the Communist. One must be guided either by the theory of revolution which leads to the Communist order of society or he will follow a line of action which leads to support of the present order. That is to say that, in effect, he adapts himself to the theory of the present order. "No theory" in the labor movement is the theory of the bourgeoisie.

Without revolutionary theory, the workers, even with the best will in the world, cannot fight the capitalist system successfully. This statement holds good, not merely in the question of the final revolutionary struggle for power, it applies equally in every aspect of the daily struggle. Workers who have no understanding of the theory of revolution, cannot follow a consistent line of action that leads toward it. Behind every action, aimed at the bourgeoisie, there must be the theory of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie. False policies in the ranks of the workers, whereby even their own good will and energy is transformed into a force operating against their own interests, spring in the first place from false theory. Only by an understanding of the revolutionary nature of their struggle, and of the necessity of shaping their actions in the light of this theory and adapting them to the execution of it, can the workers follow a systematic policy of opposition to the bourgeoisie and of de-

fense of their own interests. Revolutionary theory is not something separate from action, but is the guiding principle of all revolutionary action.

What "Bolshevization" Means.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International dealt with the mistakes made by various sections during the period between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses which, in the case of the German Party, led to most disastrous results, and laid these mistakes at the door of incorrect theory, of deviation from the line of Marxism and Leninism. It declared that both the opportunistic errors of the right and the sectarian errors of the left represent deviations from the line of the Communist International which is the embodiment of the theory of Marx and Lenin. The crisis in the German Communist Party, which became evident at the time of the October retreat, was declared by the Fifth Congress to be the result of the influence of the remnants of the old social-democratic ideology which still existed within the Communist Party of Germany. This also applies to our party and the remedy for this state of affairs, in the language of the propaganda thesis of the Fifth Congress, is to "Bolshevize the party!"

The propaganda thesis says: The Bolshevization of the party in this sense means: The final ideological victory of Marxism and Leninism; or in other words, of Marxism in the period of imperialism and the epoch of the proletarian revolution, and to reject the Marxism of the Second International and the remnants of the elements of syndicalism.

The Bolshevization of the party, therefore, like all slogans of the Communist International, means not a mechanical formula, but a struggle. In this case it is a struggle against false ideology in the party. The Bolshevization of the party, for us, means the struggle for the conquest of the party for the ideology of Marxism and Leninism.

To quote again from the thesis: "The complete and rapid Bolshevizing of the Communist Parties can be obtained in the process of the deliberate revolutionary activity of the sections of the Communist International, by more deeply hammering Marxism and Leninism into the consciousness of the Communist Parties and the party members."

The Bolshevization of the party is a process and the means towards the end is an ideological struggle. The Workers' School, in common with all educational institutions set up by the party, must be a weapon for this struggle. Under no circumstances can we conceive of it as a neutral academy standing between the various tendencies and currents of the party, but as a fighting instrument against all deviations both to the right and to the left, and for the overcoming of the confusion of the party members and for the "hammering into the consciousness of the party and the party members, Marxism and Leninism."

Take Comintern Slogan Seriously.

This conception imposes giant tasks upon the Workers' School. There is much confusion in our ranks. This we must all admit frankly. Such a state of affairs is to be expected in a party which up to now has devoted little attention to theoretical work and which has had little revolutionary experience, but we must begin now in a determined fashion to cope with this condition and to overcome it.

A particularly dangerous form of confusion and irresponsibility, which we must conquer by frontal attack without delay, is the formal and even frivolous attitude which is sometimes manifested in regard to the relations of our party and our party members to the Communist International. We

hear the Bolshevization of the party spoken of here and there as though it were a joke, not to be taken seriously. The very utterance of such a sentiment is in itself an evidence of theoretical weakness. Communists cannot take such a light-hearted attitude towards the Communist International. Let us say at the very beginning, and let everybody understand once and for all: The international organization of the revolutionary proletariat and the leadership of the World Congress is, in itself, an inseparable part of our theory. The very fact that any party members are able to regard the slogan of the Fifth Congress as a joke is a great proof of the need for this slogan in our party.

The Cause of Factionalism.

If we examine closely into the state of affairs within our party now, and for the five years that it has been in existence, we are bound to come to the conclusion, as did the Fifth Congress in regard to the international as a whole, that the internal conflicts and crises, as well as the mistakes made by the party in the field of its external activities, can be traced directly to ideological weakness, to the incomplete assimilation by the party of Marxism and Leninism. In other words it still carries with it the dead weight of the past and has not yet become a Bolshevik Party.

The thesis on tactics of the Fifth Congress lays down five separate specifications which are the special features of a really Bolshevik Party. One of them is the following:

"It (a Bolshevik Party) must be a centralized party prohibiting factions, tendencies and groups. It must be a monolithic party hewn of one piece."

What shall we say of our party if we measure by this standard? From the very beginning, and even up to the present day, our party has been plagued with factions, tendencies and groups. At least one-half of the energy of the party has been expended in factional struggles, one after another. We have even grown into the habit of accepting this state of affairs as a normal condition. We have gone to the extent of putting a premium upon factionalism by giving factional representation in the important committees of the party.

Of course, this condition cannot be eliminated by formal decree. We cannot eliminate factions, and factional struggles by declaring them undesirable. No, we shall make the first step toward eliminating factions, tendencies and groups, toward creating a monolithic party in the sense of the Fifth Congress declaration only if at the beginning we recognize the basic cause of the condition; if we recognize that the existence of our party of factions, tendencies and groups runs directly counter to Leninism, to the Leninistic conception of what a revolutionary proletarian party should be.

Then we will proceed, in true Leninistic fashion, to overcome the difficulty. Not mechanically, not by organizational measure alone, but by an ideological and political struggle which has for its object the creation of a uniform and consistent proletarian class ideology in the party ranks. The problem of factions, tendencies, and groups is not an organizational problem merely, it is a political problem and for political problems there are no mechanical solutions.

We must conceive of the Workers' School as one of the best weapons in our hand for the fight to develop a uniform proletarian ideology in the party ranks and to overcome all deviations from it.

False Conceptions of Education.

The American revolutionary movement has had in the past, and still has in many sections, even in a section of the

party, queer and false conceptions of the nature of revolutionary education. We are all acquainted with that class of "educators" who reduce education to the study of books and separate the study of books from the conduct of the daily struggle. We know of that old school of "educators" whom we used to call the "surplus value" school, who imagined that if a worker learned something of the nature of the capitalist system of society, the process by which it exploits him and by which it expropriates the major product of his labor, that his education is complete.

We have no place for such a static and one-sided, conception of revolutionary education. In all our work, the analysis of capitalist society and the study of the mechanics of capitalist exploitation must be directly and originally connected with the Marxian theory of the state and the process by which the proletariat will overthrow it and set up their own order of society. We must give short shrift to those pseudo-Marxists who convert Marxism into a "theory" separate from struggle. According to our conceptions, Marxism and Leninism constitute both the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution, and it is in this sense that the Workers School must teach Marxism, and must impart it to the students of the school.

Genuine Leninist education cannot by any means be separated from the daily activities and the daily struggles of the Party. It must be organically connected with these struggles. No one can become a real Leninist if he studies in a glass case. We must discourage, and the Workers' School must fight with all its means, against any such conception.

Education Must Be Partisan.

Correct revolutionary education is partisan education. It must bear the stamp of Marx and Lenin, and no other stamp. Only the theory and teachings of Marxism and Leninism are revolutionary. They cannot be harmonized with any other theory, for no other theory is revolutionary. The Workers School cannot be natural or tolerant. It must scrutinize, ten times over, every item in its curriculum, and every utterance of its instructors from the standpoint of their adherence to the teachings of Marx and Lenin.

There is a phrase entitled "Labor Education," which is current in the labor movement. There is no such thing as "labor education." "Education" is given from the revolutionary standpoint of Marx and Lenin or it is "education" which leads to a conformity and an adaptation to the bourgeois order. This fact must never be lost sight of in any of our educational work. We must be intransigent in this conception of education and so must the Workers School. We must be "narrow-minded" and intolerant on this score, imparting knowledge or culture not from any "general" standpoint, which in the last analysis becomes the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, but from the standpoint only of Marxism and Leninism. There is a conception of this so-called labor education, in my opinion utterly false, which has become widespread. Scott Nearing recently expressed the opinion that, the "united front" tactic should be applied in workers schools.

Our answer to this point of view is that if there is one place where the united front should not be applied it is the field of education. According to our point of view, the only theory which correctly analyzes capitalist society and correctly maps out the road of the struggle for its overthrow is the theory of Marxism and Leninism. We cannot find a

common meeting ground with any other theory or any other brand of education. The Workers School does not represent a united front in the field of education. The Workers School must be a partisan school, a weapon in the hands of the party for implanting the party ideology in the minds of the students who attend its classes.

Theory in Our Trade Union Work.

I should like to deal now with the question of education in connection with our trade union activities. I speak with particular reference to the trade union activities because at the present time it is our main field of work, although the points made apply to all fields of activity in the daily struggle. Our party members in the trade union are obliged to carry out widespread and many-sided activities, the sum-total of which comprises a very large percentage of our party work. This is rightly so, because the trade unions are the basic and elementary organizations of the proletariat, and the success of our party, in its efforts to become a party of the masses, depends to a very large extent upon its ability to work in the trade unions and to follow out a correct policy in all of its work there.

To arrive at the correct policy in dealing with the complex problems which constantly come up in the trade unions, a firm grasp on theory is absolutely indispensable. However, theory is badly lacking in this field amongst the comrades in the ranks, who have to carry out the work.

The reason for this is obvious. The members who join our party directly from the trade unions come to it as a rule because they are drawn to the party in the daily struggle over immediate questions. They become convinced, by seeing our party in action and working with it, that it is a real party of the workers which fights for the immediate interests of the workers, and on that basis the workers come to the party. As a rule they do not go through a course of study before admission and do not inquire very deeply into the fundamental theory upon which the party's whole life and activity is founded.

Consequently, for our comrades in the trade unions to attempt to work out a line of tactics in relation to the employers, in relation to the reactionary labor leaders, progressive labor leaders and various other currents and tendencies in the trade union movement, and to coordinate everything with our general political aims, their own empiric experience is not a sufficient foundation. They are bound to become overpractical if they have no other guide, and to drift into tactics which lead them inevitably away from the revolutionary struggle. The Communists in the trade unions can be successful only if they approach all of their tasks from the standpoint of correct revolutionary theory and have all of their activities imbued with this theory.

Two serious errors manifest themselves in the party in connection with theory and practical work in the trade unions. On the one hand we are confronted, every now and then, with a prejudice on the part of the rank and file workers in the trade unions against theory and theoreticians and a resentment against any interference of this kind in their work. All the party leaders, especially the comrades leading our trade union work, have encountered this prejudice. On the other hand we frequently see comrades, who have gained all their knowledge from books and who have had no experience in the actual struggle of the workers, especially comrades who can be classified under the general heading of "in-

tellectuals," adopting a condescending and superior attitude towards the comrades who do the practical work of the party in the daily struggles in the unions. They take a pedagogical and supervisory attitude towards the trade union comrades and thus antagonize them and lose the possibility of influencing them and learning from them.

Both these attitudes are false, and in my opinion the Workers School must help the Party to overcome them by systematic, persistent, and determined opposition to both. We must oppose the prejudice of some of the practical trade union comrades who are new in the party and who have not yet assimilated its main theories against theory and party workers theoretically trained. We must oppose and resist in the most determined fashion any tendency on their part to separate their work from the political and theoretical work of the party and to resent the introduction of theoretical and political questions into their discussion of the daily work in the unions. And likewise, to the comrades who have book knowledge only, we must make it clear that the theory of the Party gets its life only when it is related to the practical daily struggle and becomes a part of the equipment of the comrades who carry on the struggle. They must learn how to approach the practical workers and collaborate with them in the most fraternal and comradely manner, and they must not under any circumstance adopt a superior and pedagogical attitude towards them. This very attitude in itself manifests an ideological defect. A Communist intellectual who cannot identify himself with the trade unionists in the Party and make himself one with them is not worth his salt.

Organic Connection of Theory and Practice.

The separation of theory and practice, the arbitrary line between theoretical work and practical work, the arbitrary division of activity into theoretical activity and practical activity, must be combatted and overcome. We must set up against it the conception of the organic connection between theoretical and practical work, and of fraternal collaboration between theoretically trained comrades and comrades carrying out the practical work in the daily struggle, especially in the trade union movement.

Our Party, in common with the other parties of the International is confronted by two dangers which militate against its effectiveness in the class struggle. One of the dangers is left sectarianism which is a deviation from the line of Marxism and Leninism in the direction of syndicalism; and the other is right opportunism which is defined in the Fifth Congress resolution as a deviation from Leninism in the direction of the emasculated Marxism of the Second International. These dangers can be overcome and the Party remain on the right road only if it succeeds in carrying on a successful struggle against these deviations. Educational work is an important means to this end.

Educational work therefore is not a mere academic activity. In a certain sense it is a fight. It is a fight to overcome these dangers by building in the party ranks, a true and firm and uniform proletarian ideology. It must help the party in the fight against right deviations without falling back into the error of deviations to the left. The Workers' School must be for the party one of the most important means by which we impress in the minds of the party members a knowledge of Marxian and Leninist theory, of developing a respect for theory and an understanding of its fundamental importance, without falling into the error of teaching theory

in an abstract manner and separating it from the daily activities of the party.

Our party must be at the same time a party of theory and a party of struggle, with theory and struggle closely interlocked and inseparable. Without allowing the party members to develop into mere fault finders, the School must help them to acquire the faculty of criticism, of subjecting every action and every utterance of the party to criticism from the standpoint of its conformity to the basic theory of the movement. We do not want a party consisting half of critics and half of practical workers, but every party member must be at the same time a critic and a constructive worker.

The party must be a party of study and struggle. All the party members must be trained to become thinkers and doers. These conceptions carried out in actual practice will be the means whereby we can rapidly transform our party into a Communist party in the true sense of the word.

Party Support for Educational Work.

We have every reason to be proud of the response the Workers School has met in the ranks of the party membership of New York. The enthusiastic support it has already gained gives us the hope that our educational work, which we have so long neglected, can now be developed extensively and that all who are most active and alive in the Party will join in the task of making it more forward.

The party members in New York should look upon the Workers School as their own institution, as their own party educational center which, by fraternal collaboration of all the comrades, can be built and maintained as a real leader in the fight for Leninist ideology in the party, in the fight to shake off the paralyzing inheritance of the past and to merge in the shortest possible time, through the process of careful study and vigorous struggle, into a party complying with the specifications of a Bolshevik Party which were laid down by the Fifth Congress.

That is, "A central monolithic party hewn of one piece."

That is,

"Essentially a revolutionary and Marxist Party, undeviating, in spite of all circumstances proceeding towards the goal and making every effort to bring nearer the hour of the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie."

A Poster From Soviet Russia

THE cover of this magazine is a poster from Soviet Russia, representing the Red Army and Navy defending Russia's borders against invasion by the forces of capitalist imperialism.

This is one of a series contained in a booklet issued by the Leningrad office of the Russian Telegraph Agency, "Rosta," in 1923.

The lettering and arrangement of the cover for publication is by Lydia Gibson.

Two Battles Against Reaction

By J. W. Johnstone

TWO important trade unions held conventions in the month of September, at which was registered another step in the development of the American labor movement. These conventions, that of the carpenters and that of the machinists, were important from many angles. The former represents the extreme right wing of the labor movement, while the latter, despite the class-collaboration leadership of Johnston, belongs to the more advanced section. And at both conventions were seen growing left-wing forces, militant in spirit and much clearer in program than ever before. The Trade Union Educational League held the leadership of all those elements, in both conventions, which had anything vital to offer their unions.

Carpenters at Indianapolis.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, which met at Indianapolis beginning September 22, is the second largest union in America. It is also one of the most backward in social and political outlook. Due, however, to the era of prosperity in the building trades, it weathered the "open shop" storm without much loss of membership or much general wage-slashing. Its officials, therefore, have a feeling of confidence in their power which is not justified by the actual situation. And these officials are so reactionary that President Hutchenson is an open supporter of Calvin Coolidge.

For actual steps of a progressive nature, incorporated in the policies of the carpenters' union at this convention, one would look in vain. Yet progress was made, nevertheless, because, for the first time in the history of the union, a definite left wing made its appearance. This left wing fought for quite a clear-cut program. And Hutchenson, who entered the convention the unquestioned autocrat of the union, left it, because of his bitter and arbitrary rulings against progressive measures, a discredited official in the eyes of large numbers of delegates, with the convention in turmoil and the cry of "Czar" flung at him from the floor.

On the morning of the opening of the convention, each of the 800 delegates found on his chair a copy of the *Daily Worker*, the daily organ of the Workers Party, containing a statement from the Trade Union Educational League on the problems facing the organization. This document put forward the slogans of repudiation of the Chicago "scab" agreement, job control by the workers, amalgamation of the building trades unions, a break with all capitalist political parties, international affiliation and support of the world unity program of the Red International of Labor Unions, reinstatement of expelled militants, organization of the unorganized, recognition of Soviet Russia, a class struggle policy all along the line. This document had a great effect upon the convention delegates.

The reactionary officials were stupid in their war against the progressive delegates. Thus, when they arbitrarily ruled that the resolution for independent working class political action was out of order and could not be discussed, they helped to arouse a militant spirit among the delegates. The secret agreement signed in Chicago by Hutchenson and ex-

posed in the convention by the Trade Union Educational League, helped this spirit to develop. The sentiment against the ruinous and arbitrary jurisdictional wars carried on against other unions added its effect to the sentiment of revolt. Only once, however, did the delegates find an opportunity to agree on an action that would express their resentment. That was when the proposal was made to increase the salaries of the officers. It was snowed under in an avalanche of adverse votes.

Fake Progressives vs. Militants.

With the exception of a very small left wing, however, this revolt was not class conscious. It was to a large extent blind and vague. Some of it was being capitalized by men just as reactionary as Hutchenson himself, who are fishing in troubled waters, in the hope of getting jobs for themselves. A silent leader of this opposition was Willis H. Brown, now running as a "progressive" against Hutchenson, who followed his usual practice and said not a word during the convention. Brown is little different from Hutchenson, his only claim to the title of "progressive" being his support of LaFollette instead of Coolidge, while he backs the reactionary Small for governor of Illinois.

The hope of the future for the carpenters was represented by the left wing, led by Morris Rosen of New York City, which fought for the program of the Trade Union Educational League. It is supported by a much larger following than the confused situation in the convention would indicate. The small group of about twenty delegates were unable to rally the entire opposition to Hutchenson. This was primarily due to the fact that the fundamental issue, class struggle or class peace, was not brought out clearly. The very few Communist delegates were without previous convention experience, and it must be admitted that as a result all was not done that might have been to clarify the situation. The left wing remained small, while a large number of revolting delegates fell under the influence of leaders just as reactionary as the old ones.

But if the left wing was inexperienced, and therefore not quite militant enough, it still accomplished wonderful results when one remembers the very backward nature of all building trades unions in the United States. It has a clear understanding of its program, but is not yet well-organized, nor does it fully realize the dangers of alliance with groups whose only purpose is to ride into office and who for that purpose play with all elements, progressive as well as reactionary. With growing experience this left wing will revolutionize the carpenters' union. It is now campaigning to elect Morris Rosen as president, against the fake "progressive" Willis Brown, and against the frank reactionary Hutchenson.

Machinists Between Two Policies.

Only a shadow of the formerly powerful International Association of Machinists gathered in the Detroit convention on September 15. Demoralized and scattered by the terrible defeat of the railroad strike, the railroad machinists were very conspicuous by their small number of delegates.

Always one of the more advanced unions in the labor movement, the machinists have lately been inflicted with a most reactionary policy by Johnston, president of the union, in the shape of the "B. & O. plan," and a whole set of policies to fit, including fake labor banks, etc. Johnston and his administration came to Detroit to complete their corruption of the union; the left wing came to Detroit to wipe out the Johnston type of leadership.

Neither one succeeded. The left wing succeeded in defeating the compulsory insurance scheme, in cutting salaries and eliminating excess officials, in forcing officers to stand for reelection in January, 1925, instead of two years later, and in forcing the withdrawal of a resolution designed to outlaw the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League. On the other hand, Johnston defeated the labor party resolution, blocked a move toward amalgamation even though it was at the price of endorsing the principle, prevented the reinstatement of suspended militants, and obtained a conditional permission to go ahead with his "B. & O. plan" although what he wished, a complete endorsement, was blocked by the left. The relation of forces in the convention prevented a clear-cut victory on either side.

Toward Revolutionary Leadership.

But for the left wing Detroit marked a tremendous step forward. Under the leadership of Andrew Overgaard, chairman of the Amalgamation Committee (who, although not a delegate, was recognized by the reactionaries as a power in the convention) and of Delegate Emme of St. Paul, who was the floor leader of the left wing, the militants extended their influence greatly, and won the respect of the rank and file for their clear-cut program and fighting spirit.

The so-called "center" group which developed in the convention under the leadership of Fry of Chicago and Kepler of New York, which was opposed to the administration on many points and voted occasionally with the left wing,

is not really a progressive group. It represents a struggle for power of leaders who now hold the strongest organization centers in the union, and who have been ignored by Johnston, who originally went into office on the basis of different support. But when it came to fundamental policies, Johnston made his peace with the Fry-Kepler group, and saved his skin from the left wing attack. The "center" tried to confuse and break up the left wing, but without success; the left contains experienced and tried fighters, and they are going into the elections to crystallize a rank and file movement around left-wing candidates.

The metal and railroad industries are destined to play a big role in the revolutionary struggle. The Trade Union Educational League in the machinists' union, working in closest cooperation with its groups in other unions of the metal and railroad industries, and in the other industrial groups as well, is laying the basis for a real struggle along revolutionary lines, and are developing a revolutionary leadership that will displace the class-collaboration leadership of the Johnston-Fry-Kepler type.

In both these important trade union conventions, in Detroit and in Indianapolis, representing two phases of the labor movement in this country, with differing historical backgrounds, working under different immediate economic conditions—there is to be seen the same general line of development. In both, the old officialdom is turning more and more to arrangements with the employers as their base of operations. In both, the rank and file are blindly revolting, and reaching out for means of struggle against the betrayal. In both, this rank and file revolt is crystallizing a clear-cut left wing leadership and program which promises soon to win away the rank and file from the fake progressives who still confuse the situation. The events of both conventions are signs of the growing intensity of the class struggle in America and the inevitability of a great and powerful revolutionary movement in the trade unions in the not distant future.

In the Catacombs of Democracy

By Max Bedacht

SINCE the world has been made "safe for democracy" it has become unsafe for men and women who write, speak or even think along lines not officially approved by the precious Dame Democracy, or her retainers, the capitalist class. Plain murder has become a comparatively harmless sport, while at expression of officially unapproved opinions, the arm of a vindictive nemesis reaches forth out of yawning prison gates to punish the trespasser. Judges openly and shamelessly display their infamy as protectors of property against suffering and starving human beings. Wherever Dame Democracy feels herself crowded by masses who no longer consent to accept the phrase for the substance, the lady calls for aid on her twin brother, Fascism. While Democracy strangles free speech and free press in the name of the law, Fascism chokes them in spite of the law. While Democracy covers its crime under a cloak of virtue, Fascism openly revels in the bloodstains of its deeds.

Capitalism, its foundations shaken by its own greatest

crime, the world war, clings to life by desperate methods. Decency, humanity, justice and other phraseological flowers of the "garden" of our civilization, are being made subordinate and subservient to a single object of capitalism, self-preservation. Desire for self-preservation must justify rankest injustice and cruelty is called "humanity," as long as it serves to perpetuate a dying system.

The nearer to death the patient finds himself, the more desperate become the means used for his recovery. Hence we find that at the head of the procession of persecuting Democracy there march the countries of Balkanized Europe, who have been brought nearest to the point of utter ruin by the crimes of their ruling classes. The masses, buried under the debris of the falling economic structure of their countries, are gradually awakening to the fact that capitalism cannot save the world by saving itself through an act of bootstrap lifting, but that the task of rescuing the world falls upon the shoulders of the masses themselves. They

learn that it is not a renewed life of the old system that will bring relief, but that new life for society will spring only out of the death of the old order. The greater the masses grow in whom this conviction takes hold, the more desperate becomes the beneficiaries and retainers of the old order.

No wonder, therefore, that Germany heads the procession of persecuting Democracy. Autocracy was supposed to have left Germany with the fleeing Hohenzollern. But although the emperor disappeared, he left behind him his whole governmental machinery—full, intact and unimpaired. A trusting people took form for substance with the emperor gone, the name of the firm was changed from an imperial to a republican one, and the firm continued with the same department heads as heretofore, the same salesmen, the same doorkeepers, the same judges, the same jailers, the same teachers, the same preachers. Business went on—as usual.

There were some voices, to be sure, that warned the masses. "The task master was changed," they said, "but the real master in whose name the lash is swung over your heads, is still the old one." But these cries, like the lone voice of Cassandra, went unheeded. Instead of the criminal agents of the task master of yesterday being summoned before the bar of public justice, they were made the taskmasters of today. They began to drag the people and their champions before their bar of perverted justice and began to imprison and murder them. In every crisis of the new republic, new measures were devised for its protection. At the initiative and with the treacherous connivance of the Social-democrats, the execution of these measures was trusted to the very conspirators against the republic.

Since then, the republic has died an inglorious death. Its protectors rot in prisons and its murderers strut about, clad in glittering uniforms covered with imperial orders and medals and revelling in their crime as the assassins of the republic. And behind them march, in jubilant procession, the agents of these crimes: the Noskes, Scheidemanns, Eberts and the whole coterie of social-democratic traitors.

The victims of the infamies perpetrated by royalists, "republicans" and treacherous "socialists" cry out to the workers of the world for help. While fighting for the freedom of the masses of workers in their respective countries, they fought for the exploited masses of the world. They fought for all. They suffer for all. All must come to their aid.

The first hopeful movement of the masses in Germany was drowned in the blood of its victims. Noske, Scheidemann, Ebert, have to account for the lives of fifteen thousand proletarians murdered and tortured to death by a systematic white terror. Among thousands of unknown victims, the blood of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Leo Yogiches, cries out to the proletariat of the world: Remember! Remember us who gave our lives in the service of our cause! Remember our murderers! Remember our fellow-victims buried alive in the prisons of capitalism! Remember the suffering families of those who gave their lives or who rot in the prison cells of democracy!

When conditions became unbearable for the masses in Germany, as they did in March, 1921, and the masses revolted, the brutalities of the white terror played havoc among the ranks of the defeated workers. A total sentence of 2,500 years of prison life was assessed against them.

The fury of the white terror in Germany can best be

measured by contrasting it with the protection that the enemies of the republic enjoy. From 1919 to 1920, there were committed by royalists 314 murders. During the same period thirteen killings were registered against the masses of revolutionary workers. For the thirteen killings committed by revolutionary workers, eight executions were carried out and one hundred seventy-six years and ten months' imprisonment were pronounced. For the 314 killings by royalists, there were no executions and only thirty-one years and six months of imprisonment. Only one royalist, Count Arco Valley, the assassin of Kurt Eisner, was sentenced to life imprisonment. But he has long since been pardoned. Every participant in the rebellion of the German workers of March, 1921 on whom the democratic republic could lay its hands, was prosecuted and convicted. Hundreds of them are still in prison. Three of them, one of whom is Max Hoeltz, are to spend their whole lives in confinement. The perpetrators of the Kapp-putsch on the other hand, very few of whom have ever been brought to justice, have all been pardoned. Five hundred, forty army officers, participants in the Kapp-putsch, unquestionably guilty of high treason against the republic, have never stood trial.

The participants in the Hitler putsch in Munich are all free, with the exception of one, and all over Germany they are publicly feted as heroes.

Yes, justice is blind. It cannot see undisputed evidence if the accused happens to be a beneficiary or a mercenary of the old order. But what it lacks in preception it makes up in hearing. Whenever it hears the faintest rumbling of anti-capitalist movements, then its vindictiveness knows no bounds. During the months of May and June alone of 1924, German courts pronounced 770 years of imprisonment, 150 years of confinement in a fortress and 35,000 gold marks of fines against workers suspected of "disloyalty" to capitalism. What Karl Liebknecht said of justice in the imperial Germany of 1916 is more than ever true today: "The sword of justice is in the hands of the military power. The base of the scale of justice is military power and behind the bandage of the Goddess of Justice there leers the grimace of militarism."

The tortures that these victims of capitalist injustice must undergo in prisons are adapted to the purposes of their torturers. To save capitalism is for them equivalent to killing off its enemies.

But Germany, German capitalism, and German capitalist justice are not alone in the execution of these crimes. The white terror has become a fixed institution in most of the European countries, especially in Hungary, in Bulgaria, in Roumania and in Fascist Italy. To be a spokesman or champion of the cause of the workers is in these countries tantamount to being declared an out law. Murder of such spokesmen and champions of labor is treated by the class in power as an act of heroism. In all of these countries, wholesale persecution of workers is the order of the day. To make room in the prisons for new victims, the old ones are tortured to death or murdered outright. The families of the persecuted men are ruthlessly delivered to misery and starvation. It is the object of the ruling class thus to kill the spirit of revolt among the masses of the suffering and exploited. They hope that the horrible treatment meted out to the unfortunate victims of their justice may undermine the courage of the masses.

In the face of these systematic persecutions carried on in all those countries where capitalism is bankrupt, econom-

ically and politically, the revolutionary workers of the world must unite in defense of their victimized brothers. This defense becomes an act of revolutionary duty. Just as our enemies expect to undermine and kill the spirit of revolutionary opposition to capitalism, so the relief action initiated by the revolutionary workers of the world will help to sustain that spirit. The victims of capitalist injustice, rotting in the prisons of Europe, must be supported by the thought that their suffering helps to unite their class brothers the world over and helps to spread the irreconcilable antagonism among these masses against the capitalist system. At the same time any relief action organized by the workers everywhere helps to protect the innocent victims of capitalist injustice, helps to sustain the families of victimized workers, helps to feed and educate the children whose fathers have sacrificed their lives or their freedom to the cause of the proletariat.

Out of these considerations the International Red Aid was formed. International Red Aid is a proletarian relief organization to unite relief action of the workers of the world

for the suffering revolutionists in capitalist prisons the world over. Against a bloody regime of dying capitalism, the workers everywhere must pitch their revolutionary determination.

Democracy on the rampage, with proletarians as its victims, must tend to a closer unification of the workers everywhere. What is race, color, religion, creed, nationality, in the face of a common danger? Protection against a common danger must supply a basis for common action. A united front of the workers must face persecuting democracy and must rush to the aid of those countless thousands who are robbed of life and freedom to bolster up the tottering capitalist system. Red aid to lighten the burden of the imprisoned; red aid to support the starving families of the victims of dying capitalism!

A united front of the workers of the world so that every humiliation, every persecution, every execution, every murder of a proletarian fighter against capitalism awakens a million-fold echo from the workers of the world: **WE COME TO YOUR AID!**

History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

THE Russian Communist Party is not merely one of many parties. History has so willed it that the Russian Communist Party should become a powerful weapon of human progress and one of the most important instruments of the world revolution. The importance of our Party is great and incomparable, not only in the history of Russia but of the entire world. It is not for nothing that the development of the Russian Communist Party is being studied by the best minds in the international labor movement. It therefore devolves upon every one of us who lives and struggles in the ranks of the Russian Communist Party to know its history, to study every step on its difficult way to victory, the smallest episode in its heroic struggle for the liberation of the proletariat.

The following six lectures, read by me on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Party, contain only the sketch of our Party's history. Merely to treat the five years that have passed since 1917 would demand several books. My lectures are therefore only general sketches which might serve as a short introduction to the history of our Party. I am publishing them at the insistence of comrades and for the reason that the literature on the history of our Party is so far very meager. In view of this it is possible that my lectures will serve a good purpose.

FIRST LECTURE

WHAT is a party? This would seem to be a very simple question. In the audience there are no doubt present many members of our Party and it is no doubt possible that these may consider it even an idle question. But this is hardly so.

In speaking of scientific definitions dealing with matters which touch to the quick large masses of people—such definitions relate almost entirely to social organizations—we are always sure to find representatives of various classes and points of view defining variously the substance of one and the same social organization. We shall take as an illustration, an example which is close to us, namely, the trade unions, in which millions of people take part. Everyone knows what such an organization is, and yet representatives of various classes give various definitions of the substance of a trade union by means of the words: "A school of socialism," the representatives of the bourgeois scientific world defined the substance as something entirely different. The husband and wife, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, well-known English writers of the reformist Menshevist school, hold the opinion that a trade union is nothing but an organization for mutual help and even charity. And should you inquire further into how a trade union is defined by, say, a German professor belonging to the Catholic Centrum, you will see that according to the latter a union is almost a church-auxiliary or a home for the

aged. There is nothing surprising in such definitions, because in questions of this sort, where there are involved the interests of hundreds of thousands of people, you will hardly find objectivity and impartiality in the definition of the most ordinary things. Hence, our desire to start out with a definition of what a party is is not idle.

Marxian and Bourgeois Definitions of the Word "Party."

The word "party" is derived from the Latin "pars" — that is, a part. We, the Marxians, say that a party is part of a certain class. But the representatives of the bourgeois world think differently. For instance, the famous German conservative publicist, Stahl, classifying parties according to their attitudes towards revolution, law and order, and to the old system generally, comes to the conclusion that the struggle between the laws of man and the laws of God, between institutions created by the pressing demands and passions of humanity on the one hand and the creations of Providence on the other hand—in other words, that the struggle between parties is a struggle between good and evil. The well-known Swiss political writer, Rohmer, attempts to base his definition of parties upon psychology. He says this: Human society is born, develops and dies. Consequently, society is at one time young, and at another time old. Depending upon its age there will prevail within society certain political views. In childhood, man is dominated mainly by the passive forces of his nature. He develops primarily susceptibility and a live imagination but not creative ability nor the power of critical reasoning. Such a state of mind finds its best expression in radicalism. Hence radical parties. Youth and later on maturity develop first the creative abilities and a faculty for criticism. In his youth, man is motivated more by a desire to create, while in maturity the motive force in man is a desire to retain what has been acquired. These two states of mind find their expression respectively in liberalism and conservatism. (According to this theory, the majority of those present here would be either liberals or conservatives.) And finally, in old age, the passive forces again take hold of human nature, resulting in a devotion to the established order and a fear of change, which finds its expression in absolutism. Thus we find in society, living side by side, the elements of youth, the elements of maturity and the elements that are dying away, and because of this co-existence, radical parties, liberal and conservative parties, and reactionary parties, the predominance belonging to those parties which most nearly express the temperament and nature of a given period. The co-existence of all these parties is inevitable. Political life is the result-

ant of all the forces functioning within the state, and the wise statesmen, although struggling against some of these forces, will never undertake to destroy any of them for the reason that such an aim could never be realized without undermining the very foundations of society. The affiliation of an individual to one or another of these parties is determined primarily by his temperament. Thus, for instance, we find that Alcibiades remained a boy throughout his life, Pericles remained a youth to his very death, Scipio a mature man, while Augustus was born old. The same is true of nations. Germans are conservative by temperament, and liberal by intellect. Russians are radical, but inclined to absolutism.

All this was written prior to 1917.

Why Bourgeois Science Fails to Give a Correct Definition of the Word "Party."

Thus we see that bourgeois science gives various definitions to the word "party," and it is very seldom that a bourgeois scientist dares take the bull by the horns and declare that a party is the fighting organization of a class. This simple truth, so clear to all of us, the bourgeois scientist will not and cannot accept, and for the same reason for which he avoids a correct definition of the substance of parliamentarism or of the church. The bourgeois order of society, by its very nature, is compelled to represent its institutions, designed for class oppression of the proletariat as organs of class harmony and conciliation. The protagonists of capitalism cannot represent these institutions for what they really are—organs of the class struggle.

For further clarification, I will bring a definition of the word "party," are given by Vodovozov, a comparatively harmless Russian publicist, semi-liberal, semi-populist. In a special work dedicated to the definition of the word "party," he writes: "What is a party? By this word we designate large groups of people striving toward the realization of the same political forms, holding political ideas in common, and organized in pursuit of the above ends."

This definition seems very innocent and very close to the truth. In reality, however, its author is consciously and carefully evading the use of the terms "class" and "class struggle." According to the author, a party is merely an organization of people holding common views, sympathizing with a common idea. In other words, what this definition lacks is the very substance of the thing. It is devoid of blood and bone, and has no real meaning.

A Definition Given by Miliukov.

Let us take a more recent example—a definition given by Miliukov. You will find that it also was dictated by definite class interests. We all know that the party of the Cadets led by Miliukov used to parade as a "classless" party. These pretensions we have been fighting against, proving that there is no such thing

as a classless party, that the party of the Cadets* is a class party, because it represents a definite class of land-holders and the bourgeoisie. Now, glance backward, and you will understand why Miliukov represented himself at one and the same time as a bourgeois scientist and as a militant statesman. As a militant statesman, he was interested in concealing from the people the class nature of this party, its substance as a party of land-holders. The party of the Cadets could not very well tell the masses that it defends the interest of the landholders and of the upper sections of the bourgeoisie—that is, the interests of a small propertied group of the population. As a militant statesman, he felt and knew that in appearing before the masses, he had to keep his party under a veil, covering its true features, and in this work of masking his party, Miliukov, the statesman, was ably assisted by Miliukov, the professor, who proved with the aid of his bourgeois learning that a party need not necessarily be a class organization, but that it is merely a group holding common views, having definite ideals, which are not determined by the class affiliations of the people holding them. This example illustrates how easy it is to construct a bridge between the academic definition of Vodovozov to the perfectly concrete, bourgeois, militant politics of Miliukov. Vodovozov's formula was very useful to Miliukov, who by bringing his party under this formula disguised his class party under the mask of a classless organization.

The Formula of the Social Revolutionists.

Now let us take our neighbors closer by—the Socialist Revolutionists. The Socialist Revolutionists, as you know, called their party, not exactly a "classless," but an "interclass" organization. This definition was based upon their program. You will remember the classic formula of the Socialist Revolutionists, which said that they represent, first, the proletariat, second, the peasantry, and third, the intelligenzia—that is, they represent at one and the same time three social groups. It was for this reason that the first theoretical battles between the Marxians and the Socialist Revolutionists were waged around our conception that there is no such thing as an "interclass" party, each party is bound up with a definite class. Consequently it must defend definite interests. We said: We have bound up our faith with the proletariat. This did not mean that we intended to assume a hostile attitude

*Popular abbreviation for the party of the Constitutional Democrats, organized in 1904.



GREGORY ZINOVIEV

toward the peasantry, particularly in a country predominantly peasant. The task of the proletariat in such a country was to create a certain measure of co-operation and collaboration with the next largest class in society. We, the Marxians, came out of the proletariat. We are the party of the proletariat. Being the party of the proletariat, we will nevertheless lead the struggles of the peasants also, because we have many interests in common with the peasants.

After what has happened—in the course of recent years, the practice of the Socialist Revolutionists has become sufficiently clear to explain why they clung so tenaciously to the definition of their party which they had given in the beginning of 1900, when their party came into existence. At that time many young revolutionaries shared the idea that Plechanov (at that time universally recognized leader of our party) was paying too much attention to this controversy on definitions. These young revolutionaries believed that Plechanov was waging a struggle over issues that did not mark the real differences between the parties. They thought that a controversy between Plechanov and Chernov was merely an academic discussion, while others reproached both with needlessly fighting between themselves on the question of party and class, instead of jointly fighting the autocratic government of the Czar. However, we can see now that this was

not an academic discussion, but an important political struggle.

This is why it is necessary that we first of all agree on what we shall understand by the term "party," thereby introducing the whole subject-matter with clearness and exactness. We understand by this term a political organization, which is part of a definite class. In other words, there are proletarian parties and bourgeois parties. To us, a party is not simply a group of individuals holding similar views, or the meeting-ground of people agreeing on a common ideology which is independent of and can be preached to any class at all. I repeat: To us, a party is part of a definite class and having its faith bound up with the faith of the class. This class derivation or genesis stamps the party with its psychology and determines the party's life and its role in society.

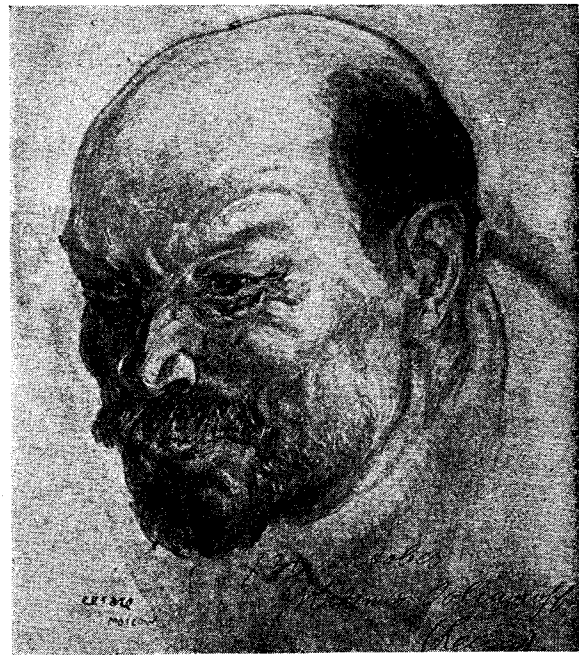
Class and Party.

We are now using the terms "working class" and "class" as terms which are clear and understood by everyone and which no longer present a subject for controversy. The conception of class is part of our flesh and blood. We have seen our class in action in two revolutions, and have studied the characteristics of our class. To us, all this is elementary and fundamental. But the same was not the case in the past. From my lectures you will see that the entire struggle between the Marxians and the Narodniki (Populists)—at least, the first phase of it—was waged around the formula of "class" or simply "people." There was a time when the whole struggle in the Socialist ranks of Russia revolved about the questions: What is a class? Must a revolutionist conceive of his struggles as class struggles or is he bound to defend the interests of the people as a whole? As you are aware, it was Karl Marx who formulated the theory of the class struggle. This does not mean that Marx discovered the class struggle. This struggle is not a theory, but a living fact, which Marx had formulated and generalized, thereby presenting to us the conception of human history as the history of class struggles. Hence, the whole fight of the founders of our Marxian party against the first generation of the Narodniki was substantially a clarification of the theory of the class struggle, an interpretation of this theory in the light of Russian experiences, which enabled the Marxians to define the real substance of the Russian working class. This is why this simple conception, which is now the property of every one of us, the conception that our party is part of the working class, had to be hammered out in the course of long struggles of a theoretical and practical nature, and if we want to understand the history of our party we must first of all grasp the significance of these first battles.

Before concluding with this phase of the question, I want to say this: It may be said that very

often one class has several parties. This, of course, is true. The bourgeoisie, for instance, as a whole, has several parties—Republicans, Democrats, Radical Socialists, merely radicals, independent liberals, conservatives, etc. It might be asked whether this fact does not contradict my definition. I think that it does not. It must be taken into consideration that the various bourgeois parties are not so many individual independent parties, but only fractions of one bourgeois party. These fractions are fighting each other once in a while, particularly on the eve of elections, but the swords used in these battles are usually made of paper. Very often it is very much to the interests of the capitalists to appear before the masses apparently divided and in disagreement, while they are definitely in agreement on the fundamental and basic issues, the issues which really form the basis for the unification of millions of people. These bourgeois parties will struggle on matters of secondary importance, but on matters of a fundamental nature which are able to move masses to struggles on the barricades, to revolutions, to undergo starvation and suffering in civil war—on these matters and first of all on the matter of private property, all bourgeois parties are unanimously agreed. We are therefore justified in saying that in the last analysis and in relation to the main issues there exists only one great bourgeois party—the party of slave-holders and defenders of private property.

To be continued in December issue.



The International

ON September 11, Edo Fimmen, secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation, and executive committee member and former secretary of the Amsterdam International, was the guest of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Railroad Workers' Union. In reply to a number of questions by members of the committee, Edo Fimmen expressed the opinion that the Dawes' plan undoubtedly signifies the greatest catastrophe for the toiling masses of Germany. When the capitalists of the world begin putting into effect the Dawes' plan they will reduce wages, increase hours, and generally worsen the conditions of the workers. The victims of this will be not only the workers of Germany but the workers of the entire world.

He was then asked about the unemployment situation among the transport workers of the world. To which he replied: In a number of countries, speaking generally, we notice some weak signs of an industrial revival, but in spite of that unemployment is assuming great proportions among the transport workers of England, Poland, Belgium, and France, where unemployment among these workers reaches almost fifty per cent. The transport workers' unions of Germany, affiliated with the International Federation, counted in their ranks last year nearly 400,000 members, while at this time they have no more than about 200,000. This is explained by the prevailing unemployment and the Ruhr occupation.

Expressing his opinion on the expulsion of left wingers from the unions of the Amsterdam International, Fimmen said the following: "I have already stated that I am heartily in favor of unity in the trade union movement of the world. It is therefore clear that I am opposed to expelling revolutionary unions and consider it a duty to combat these tactics of expulsion. As to the proposal of the Profintern that an international trade union congress be called consisting of delegates from the Amsterdam International and Red International, elected on the basis of proportional representation, I would say the following: such a unity congress is an absolute necessity, and if called may really bring unity. However, this congress must be carefully prepared. It must come as a last step in a long process of preparation. I am afraid that if we exhibit too much impatience in calling that congress we shall have nothing but fights and mutual recriminations."

Edo Fimmen was then asked to express his views on the labor government of England and on the British intervention in China. To which he replied, "I can say very little about China, because I do not get any newspapers from abroad and the Russian papers I cannot read. As regards the labor government of England, I have already said in my speech at the Hamburg Congress that this labor government is nothing more than a screen, colored pink, to conceal the doings of the English bourgeoisie. No matter what the intentions of the members of this government, what they are doing is serving the interests of the capitalists. There is, however, one good thing that the labor government of England may produce, and that is, disappointment with the present methods which will inevitably drive the English masses towards the left."

In conclusion, Fimmen declared that he is very much

interested in the Russian Trade Union movement, particularly in the unions of the transport workers, with which he intends to familiarize himself during his visit in Russia.

THE Unity General Confederation of Labor has issued an appeal to the workers of France calling upon them to resist in the most determined fashion the so-called Dawes' plan, which is calculated to enslave the workers of Europe. The appeal says: "The Dawes' plan, when put into effect, will mean the abolition of the eight-hour day, first in Germany and then in all the other countries in the world. French industry in its attempt to compete with the industries of Germany, will inevitably attempt to reduce the standard of living of the French workers to that of the German workers. As a result of this Dawes' plan the international conflicts between the great imperialist powers are bound to become sharper, leading eventually to new wars."

The appeal concludes: "Workers of France! Join the ranks of the Unity General Confederation of Labor for a common struggle with the workers of Germany. Belgium, and England, against the Dawes' plan, for the maintenance of the eight-hour day, and for the building up of an international united front of the workers of the whole world."

THE British Trades Union Congress at Hull, in September, was made the occasion for another attack upon international unity by the yellow Amsterdam International. On the day after the close of the congress, the Amsterdam International issued a long statement, containing a bitter attack against the minority movement in the English trade unions and against the Red International of Labor Unions. The Amsterdam International charges the minority movement with the intention of splitting the British trade unions, in spite of the fact that not a single reactionary in the British trade unions was able to submit a particle of proof to substantiate this charge. We cull from the statement the following paragraph:

"Very few among the leaders of the British unions understand foreign languages. They, therefore, cannot read what Moscow says about the British trade unions, in the German and other foreign papers. We are certain that the leaders of the British trade unions would be greatly surprised to learn that all the details of the conference of the revolutionary minorities in England were worked out in Moscow."

It seems, however, that this statement had very little if any effect on the trade union situation in England. The charge that the minority conference was designed in order to split the British trade unions is not taken seriously, not even by the reactionaries.

The British Trades Union Congress, held in Hull, represents no doubt a great step forward in the development of the British trade union movement. It is noteworthy that the congress found it necessary to criticize very seriously the MacDonald government and the Dawes' plan. It is also very significant that the congress took up the problem of reorganizing the unions with a view of more centralization and unity of action. The increased power given to

the General Council of Trade Unions is a step in the right direction. An important feature of the Congress was the unity discussion. It goes without saying that the trade union bureaucracy of Great Britain had no intention of dealing with this problem in a thorough-going manner. As a matter of formal duty they were compelled to present a report of the Vienna Congress of the Amsterdam International, which, however, was taken advantage of by the Communists and other progressive militants for a thorough-going discussion of the entire matter.

It was indeed a sign of the times to see British trade unionists, even of a conservative turn of mind, to severely criticize and attack the trade union bureaucracy of France and Germany for collaborating with their capitalists in imposing upon the world proletariat the Dawes' plan. And then the enthusiastic reception given by the congress to the Russian delegation—it showed that the British proletariat feels a warm attachment for the struggles of the working class and would be willing to join hands with the Russian workers for common struggles against capitalism.

CASH INCOME SEPTEMBER, 1924 Committee for International Workers Aid

National Office, 19 So. Lincoln St. Chicago Ill.		29503 Peter Cemena, Buffalo, N. Y.	5.00
29431 T. Conigg, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50	29504 L. Rosenfield, Cleveland, Ohio	2.20
29432 Otis Wurzbach, Alameda, Cal.	2.50	29505 Virginia Bestor, Washington, D. C.	3.00
29433 Ladies Auxiliary Br. 353, Duluth, Minn.	2.00	29506 Samuel Pesner, New York City	1.00
29434 L. E. Giller, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00	29507 Mrs. C. Schmidt, Niles, Calif.	2.50
29435 E. J. Beck, Vancouver, B. C. Canada	.68	29508 M. Michaliovsky, Maspct, L. I., N. Y.	2.00
29436 Albert Gerling, Portland, Ore.	1.50	29509 George Nickerson, Minneapolis, Minn.	2.50
29437 Dr. F. Sudokoff, Sanatorium, Colo.	2.50	29510 Section San Francisco, S. L. P., San Francisco, Cal.	2.50
29438 Rank & File Unit, One Big Union, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50	29511 W. Dietrich, Denver, Colo.	4.75
29439 Ellen A. Freeman, Troy, N. Y.	2.00	29512 Estella Tarkoff, Boulder, Colo.	2.00
29440 F. Weissenburg, Toledo, Ohio	1.00	29513 Emma F. Baxter, Holden, Mass.	2.50
29441 M. Romanuk, Elizabeth, N. J.	10.00	29514 John Mallach, Marysville, Cal.	2.50
29442 Mrs. Estelle, E. Holland, Stretator, Ill.	30.00	29515 S. E. Coble, Huntington, Ind.	2.00
29443 F. S. R. Local Cleveland, Ohio	37.05	29516 C. W. Kaley, Huntington, Ind.	2.00
29444 Standard Bank of Africa, N. Y. C.	10.00	29517 W. J. Conarty, Calumet City, Ill.	2.00
29445 Mary E. Broughton, Philadelphia, Pa.	2.00	29518 Alfred Williams, San Francisco, Cal.	3.50
29446 Max Cohen, Peoria, Ill.	2.00	29519 Jack Samek, New York City	2.00
29447 Court Hubertus No. 15, San Francisco, Calif.	2.50	29520 Anthony Adomater, Detroit, Mich.	2.00
29448 A. Zekar, Chicago, Ill.	1.60	29521 M. Kyellerup, St. Peter, Minn.	1.00
29449 Anna Hammer, Roslindale, Mass.	2.00	29522 F. S. R. Committee, Spokane, Wash.	30.00
29450 Sonia Svetlow, Chicago, Ill.	1.00	29523 George Kessler, Eureka, Calif.	4.00
29451 Mrs. Anna Johanson, Chicago, Ill.	4.00	29524 John Van Porter, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50
29452 Andrew Sloodveg, Highland Park, Mich.	7.60	29525 Ernst Besselmann, Los Angeles, Calif.	1.00
29453 Mrs. H. Grebs, Berkeley, Calif.	2.50	29526 Frank Dash, Minneapolis, Minn.	1.50
29454 Carl Brammin, Dallas, Texas	2.00	29527 E. M. T., Chicago, Ill.	1.00
29455 F. Saltz, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	29528 A. Young, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.50
29456 Marianna Gay, Petersham, Mass.	2.00	29529 L. Reaves, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50
29457 E. M. T., Chicago, Ill.	1.00	29530 Chas. W. Vohl, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00
29458 F. S. R. Local So. Bend, Ind.	17.10	29531 California Hall Association, San Francisco, Cal.	3.75
29459 Waiters Union No. 30, San Francisco, Calif.	2.50	29532 Vonnegut Hardware Co. Indianapolis, Ind.	2.50
29460 M. & M. Hicks, Bambridge, Ga.	4.00	29533 Carl Arvidson, Attleboro, Mass.	3.00
29461 Miscellaneous Employes Union Local 110, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50	29534 Miss M. M. Hughes, Santa Monica, Cal.	2.00
29462 I. & E. Tarkoff, Boulder, Colo.	2.00	29535 F. Humnich, San Francisco, Cal.	3.00
29463 Margaret Furness, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	29536 Jose Sanchez, San Francisco, Calif.	2.50
29464 W. Theo. Woodward, Miami, Fla.	5.00	29537 John Muros, Chiloquin, Ore.	2.50
29465 Geo. A. Ellis, Berkeley, Calif.	2.50	29538 L. A. House, Halfway, Mich.	2.50
29466 Bella N. Zilberman, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	29539 Mrs. R. S. Dogge, Ross Cal.	5.00
29467 C. W. Pelgein, San Francisco, Calif.	2.50	29540 Isabella A Van Canteren, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00
29468 John Lambric, Lyons, N. Y.	3.90	29541 Russian Br. Workers Party, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50
29469 J. Bender, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00	29542 Int'l Committee for Staring German, Endicott, N. Y.	41.75
29470 S. F. Schurtzen Damen Ferein, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50	29543 Joseph Hess, Buffalo, N. Y.	1.50
29471 Carpet, Linoleum, Tile Workers Union, San Francisco, Calif.	3.55	29544 Lettish Br. W. P., Chicago, Ill.	22.65
29472 Gus Daubeneck, Casper, Cal.	4.00	29545 Finnish Br. W. P. San Francisco, Cal.	2.90
29473 J. M. Crawford, Casper, Cal.	2.00	29546 I. Strier, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.50
29474 James Krosner, Springfield, Mass.	2.50	29547 Mrs. Steinmann, Hilo, Hawaii	2.00
29475 A. L. of A. Local No. 17, San Francisco, Cal.	5.00	29548 R. Stoess, Denver, Colo.	1.00
29476 V. Pochebit, Newton Upper Falls, Mass.	.50	29549 Ed Salvisberg, Santa Rosa, Cal.	5.00
29477 Pauline Goldberg, Philadelphia, Pa.	3.75	29550 Earl Wrangle, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50
29478 Geo. Konkly, New York City	5.00	29551 Central Labor Union, Indianapolis, Ind.	2.15
29479 A. Johanson, Vancouver, B. C. Canada	2.00	29552 William Light, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50
29480 G. W. King, Ashland Ore.	2.50	29553 Dorothea Reimer, Brooklyn, N. Y.	6.00
29481 Int'l Jewelry Workers Union Local 36, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50	29554 Louis E. Weiss, Sr., Worcester, Mass.	2.50
29482 I. C. Scharff, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00	29555 Mrs. V. La Rue, Plymouth, Conn.	3.00
29483 J. H. Oltmann, Berkeley, Cal.	11.50	29556 Ray McElpeney, Antioch, Cal.	2.50
29484 A. Menke, Cleveland Ohio	6.80	29557 H. Pangel, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50
29485 Cooks Union Local 44, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50	29558 Emery Myers, Los Angeles, Cal.	4.00
29486 Walta Karsner, Chicago, Ill.	.10	29559 Auto Mechanics No. 1305, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50
29487 Mr. H. Ley, Buffalo, N. Y.	4.80	29560 Gerhardt Zeiner, Lawrence, Mass.	2.50
29488 L. D. Chandler, Los Angeles, Cal.	.50	29561 F. S. R. Committee, Detroit, Mich.	105.50
29489 Robin Hood Circle No. 58, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50	29562 H. Kleinschmidt, Kansas City, Mo.	2.50
29490 Mrs. T. M. Nagle, Wesleyville, Pa.	20.00	29563 Carl Nordman, Cotati, Calif.	2.50
29491 Mrs. R. E. Stearns, Whittier, Cal.	3.00	29564 Otto W. Sammet, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50
29492 A. Weinstock, Philadelphia, Pa.	2.50	29565 Bernard Hiltunen, Gardner, Mass.	2.50
29493 Mrs. H. Kall, Duluth, Minn.	2.00	29566 Walter M. Nelson, Detroit, Mich.	2.50
29494 J. Aronson, Minneapolis, Minn.	2.50	29567 Int'l Workers Aid, San Francisco, Cal.	500.00
29495 Louis Sochs, Minneapolis, Minn.	2.50	29568 E. Gendler, Philadelphia, Pa.	2.50
29496 Annonymous, San Francisco, Cal.	.30	29569 Amity Rebekah Lodge No. 161, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50
29497 G. C. Bartlett, Tolland, Conn.	.50	29570 Jenei Laszlo, Detroit, Mich.	2.50
29498 E. Weiser, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00	29571 Goldie Shamburg, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.50
29499 Mike Krinavic, Whiting, Ind.	3.00	29572 Junior Group, Astoria, Ore.	15.00
29500 Verein Oestereich, San Francisco, Cal.	2.50	29573 Int'l Workers Aid, Los Angeles Cal.	45.25
29501 Helena Foukola, New York City	5.00	29574 Miss Belle Oury, Cincinnati, Ohio	1.00
29502 James Riley, Tuolumne, Cal.	5.00	29575 J. J. McCarthy, Laton, Cal.	2.50
		29576 I. G. Bergenstrohle, Worcester, Mass.	2.50
		Total.....	\$1,246.13

Paterson--Field of Battle

(Continued from page 14)

thousand dollars to the strikers within a week after its formation. Their work is being intensified, and relief committees are being organized in other cities.

So far, the strike has been successful. The weavers who have returned to work under agreements signed with the mill owners who have won an increase in wages and the restoration of the eight-hour day. The union has obtained shop control over each of the settled mills, all the workers of which, regardless of craft, are organized in the Associated. More significant, however, as an indication of the value of this strike, is the fact that the task of organizing the silk workers has assumed primary importance.

Divisions Must Be Abolished.

Experiences of the last fifteen years have been gradually impressing the silk workers with the need of establishing one union in the silk industry. The present strike has deepened that conviction. In Paterson the only force capable of carrying on organizational activity among the silk workers is the Associated Silk Workers union. True, there is also a local of the United Textile Workers, but this has only a few hundred loom fixers, quillers, and twisters—the labor aristocracy of the silk industry. This A. F. of L. organization bitterly opposes the Associated, and has even sent instructions to all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor not to support the appeal of the strikers for relief. Such opposition has not weakened the Associated. By its work it is winning the support of the silk workers. Its prestige has been greatly strengthened by the strike, and it plans to carry

on an organization campaign to keep the few thousand weavers now affiliated with it when the struggle is over.

This alone, however, will not solve the problem confronting the silk workers. The great need which exists today for all the workers engaged in manufacturing textile products, whether cotton, silk or worsteds, is the amalgamation of all the unions within the textile industry. An end must be put to the division within the ranks of labor itself. Whatever the gains of the present Paterson strike may be, the silk barons will again attempt to wrest them away at the first opportunity. An effective resistance can be made only by consolidating the forces of the workers in the entire industry.

The militant silk workers organized in the Trade Union Educational League and the Workers Party will carry on an agitation for amalgamation, recognizing in this the most vital task before them. In the present strike they have made clear to the strikers the nature of the class struggle. They have awakened the class consciousness of numerous silk toilers by exposing the capitalist dictatorship as it exists in Paterson and throughout the country. So also they will continue to battle for unity of the labor organizations in the textile industry, thus making possible a unified drive to organize the unorganized, and forging a weapon with which to fight exploitation in the textile industry all along the line.

BANK WITH THE WORKERS

at the

AMALGAMATED TRUST AND SAVINGS BANK

371 West Jackson Blvd.,
CHICAGO

Foreign exchange to every European country at lowest rates payable in American Dollars or foreign currency : : : :

Modern and efficient in every department of banking. : : : :

Bank With Chicago's Labor Bank

Resources \$2,700,000.00

Member of Chicago Clearing House Association

CRAMER Ladies' Tailor and Furrier

Since 1893
Phone Sheldrake \$515
6722 Sheridan Road Chicago

BOOKS FOR THINKERS

ECONOMICS SOCIOLOGY PSYCHOLOGY
History Science Literature

Any Book in Print at Once

Jimmie Higgins Book Shop

127 University Place, New York City.
A Workers Party Book Shop

JAY STETLER'S RESTAURANT

Established 1901

1053 West Madison Street Chicago
Tel. Monroe 2241



SPEAK WITH POWER

SPEAK WITH POWER and effectiveness by use of the WINNING METHOD based on a scientific study of the motives of audiences and readers. Five ways to express one idea. Seven secrets of interestingness. How to convince, sway, influence or cause to act. Full particulars FREE. KNOWLEDGE EXTENSION, Inc., 1605 Van Buren, Chicago, Ill.

GOOD READING

for the up-to-date thinker

The Federated Press Bulletin occupies its own niche in the field of labor journalism, in as much as it aims to report the domestic and foreign labor news, without editorial comment and without bias toward any faction of the movement.

It is a weekly record of labor history in the making, and is so recognized by working people, university libraries, college professors, liberals, and research workers.

To introduce the Bulletin to many who would value and enjoy it, we are making

The Bulletin one year, \$2.50
Imperial Washington, cloth, ... 1.25
Singing Jailbirds, paper,25
Darrow's Plea, paper,35

\$4.35

Imperial Washington is ex-Senator Pettigrew's expose of Washington life and politics.

Singing Jailbirds is Upton Sinclair's latest work, a drama of the life of political prisoners in California.

Darrow's Plea is his contribution to criminology and penology, made in defense of Richard Loeb and Nathan Leopold, Jr., on trial for murder.

Remit, mentioning this advertisement, to

The Federated Press League

511 North Peoria St.,
Chicago, Ill.

LABOR!

MAKE MONEY

by showing

RUSSIAN MOVIES

Now available

Two dramatic features, one comedy, three historical features, three news shorts.
Straight rental, percentage, or consignment.

For terms and dates apply to

International Workers' Aid

19 S. Lincoln St.

Chicago, Ill.

Four Books on Coal

Four Hour Day in Coal

By Hugh Archibald, Mining Engineer. Published for the Bureau of Industrial Research. 150 pages, \$1.50.

The author, writing from his experience of twenty years as engineer in coal mines gives a vivid picture of the conditions under which coal is dug. He shows that the fundamental causes of strikes have been the same for a generation, and that they will continue as long as underground operations are run as they are. He shows how these conditions affect the price of coal, and the thousand commodities that are manufactured with the aid of coal.

A timely little book. If everybody would read it there would be a more intelligent public appreciation of the conditions that lie at the root of the present trouble.—Power.

Government Operation of Coal Mines

Compiled by Julia E. Johnson. (Handbook Series), 325 pages. \$2.40.

This Handbook deals with operation by the Government of one of our most important natural resources in the interests of the people as opposed to the present system of private ownership. It contains reprints selected to reflect all the various points of view on the subject, and a selected up-to-date bibliography, and briefs are included. A separate section is given to the discussion of price control or regulation as a means of stabilizing prices and preventing profiteering.

IN PREPARATION!

Anthracite

By Hilmar R. Rauchenbusch, an investigator for the Bureau of Industrial Research.

An advance edition, of which the permanent edition is to be an enlargement, was issued last spring. In it Mr. Rauchenbusch has made a study of conditions in the coal mining regions, the aim of which is to put the public in possession of the facts concerning wages, living conditions, and other matters at issue between the miners and their employers, all with a view to supplying a basis for an intelligent estimate of such reports and recommendations as may come from the Government coal commission.

The Strike for Union

By Heber Blankenhorn. Published for the Bureau of Industrial Research.

This book attempts a patient following thru of every angle in a single strike, based on field studies, and checked against other studies. It goes behind the record of courts and press; the story of a strike in the record of what goes on in men's heads.

ORDER DIRECT

FROM

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

1113 W. WASHINGTON BLVD.

CHICAGO, ILL.



ALL LABOR BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICALS ALWAYS IN STOCK

Subscriptions Taken for English and American Labor Papers

**THE WALDEN
BOOK SHOP**

307 Plymouth Court Chicago, Ill.

A Pamphlet of Importance

Just Off the Press

LENIN

**THE GREAT STRATEGIST OF
THE CLASS WAR.**

By A. Losovsky,

General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions.

Translation and introduction by Alexander Bittelman. An attractive booklet of 48 pages—heavy paper cover with a drawing of Lenin—the whole work a tribute to our great leader, and an instrument toward mastering Leninism.

ORDER NOW

Single copy 15 cents

Reduced rates on bundle orders.

Send remittance to

THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

Wm. Z. Foster, Secy.

1113 W. Washington Blvd. Chicago, Illinois

"A new novelist for intelligent people to keep up with," said The Nation when "Bunk" appeared. "Lottery" is even better than "Bunk."

Lottery

BY W. E. WOODWARD,
Author of "Bunk"

Here is a writer, intellectual, yet powerful, knowing a lot, yet laughing a lot. "Lottery" is the story of Jerry Garrison, lucky, stupid, roystering, beloved of women. He starts out in life with nothing and becomes an American hero by accumulating a million dollars before he is thirty. A book of metaphysics and business, of humor and poetry, of "liquor, love and fights."

Wherever Books Are Sold, \$2.00
HARPER & BROTHERS New York
Publishers Since 1817

BOOKS BY UPTON SINCLAIR

"The Goslings," a study of the American Schools \$2.00 cloth; \$1.00 paper.
"The Goose-Step," a study of American Education: \$2.00 cloth; \$1.00 paper.
The above two books in combination: \$3.00 cloth; \$1.50 paper.
"Singing Jailbirds" and "Hell," two dramas; paper-bound, 25 cents each, six for \$1.00.
"They Call Me Carpenter: A Tale of the Second Coming," cloth \$1.50, paper 75 cents.
"The Cry for Justice: An Anthology of the Literature of Social Protest," cloth \$1.50, paper \$1.00.
"The Book of Life," a Book of Practical Counsel: Mind, Love and Society. Price \$2.00.
"Damaged Goods," novelized from the play by Brieux; cloth-bound only, \$1.20.
"Sylvia's Marriage," a novel; "hard covers," \$1.00.
The following at \$1.20, cloth, and 60 cents, paper any three for \$3.00 cloth, \$1.50 paper:
"The Brass Check: A Study of American Journalism."
"The Jungle": a novel of the Chicago stock-yards.
"100 Per Cent: The Story of a Patriot."
"The Profits of Religion": A Study of Supernaturalism as a Source of Income and a Shield to Privilege.
"King Coal": a novel of the Colorado coal country.
The following at \$1.50 cloth, \$1.00 paper:
"Manassas," called by Jack London, "the best Civil War book I've read."
"The Metropolis," a picture of the "Four Hundred" of New York.
"The Journal of Arthur Stirling," the literary sensation of 1903.
"The Fasting Cure," a health study.
The following at \$1.00 in "hard covers":
"Samuel the Seeker," a story of Socialism.
"Jimmie Higgins," a novel of the World War, a best seller in Russia, Italy, France, Germany and Austria.

UPTON SINCLAIR

Pasadena, California