



*Where Labor's Chains Are Broken—
and Freedom Is Born*

*The Official Report
of*

RUSSIA TODAY

*The British Trade
Union Delegation
to Soviet Russia*

The official report of the British Trade Union Delegation to Soviet Russia, including trade union leaders and experts who travelled to every section and observed every phase of Soviet life.

A most complete report, with graphic charts and maps covering Politics, Finance, Army, Religion, Education, Trade Unions, Wages—by a Non-Communist, impartial and official body of British Labor.

WM. F. DUNNE

Editor of the Daily Worker says:

The British Trade Union Delegation to Soviet Russia in a unanimous report has told the story of the Russian Revolution in language that trade unionists can understand.

It is a great story; told in matter-of-fact language, the story of millions of workers and peasants marching towards Communism over all obstacles; it is history hot with the breath of the struggle in the style of a convention report . . .

Revolutionary Russian and stubborn, slow-moving Briton both call to the American worker from the pages of the British delegation's report.

RUSSIA TODAY

\$1.25
Paper Bound

\$1.75
Cloth Bound

FROM

THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING COMPANY

"The Source of All Communist Literature"

1113 W. WASHINGTON BLVD.,

CHICAGO,
ILL.

A Book of the
INTERNATIONAL
PUBLISHERS CO.
Publishers also of
FLYING OSSIP
Stories of New Russia
\$2.50

LITERATURE AND
REVOLUTION
By Leon Trotsky
\$2.50

Duplicate

The WORKERS MONTHLY

"A COMMUNIST MAGAZINE"



G. PICCOLI

AUGUST, 1925

25 CENTS

Russia Today

The Official Report of the
British Trade Union Delegation to Russia

This unbiased report of a Commission of British Trade Union leaders and experts after a visit to all sections of Soviet Russia, giving an accurate and complete picture of the world's first workers' government as it is today—

Will be given with every half year subscription (at a special rate) to the only working class newspaper in America that gives accurate day to day news of not only the Russian and American labor developments—but registers in every issue the progress of all world Labor—

Alone
RUSSIA TODAY
\$1.25

8 Mos. Sub to the
DAILY WORKER
(6 Mos. in
Chicago) \$4.50
RUSSIA TODAY \$1.25
\$5.75
BOTH FOR \$5.00

1113
W. Washington Blvd.

THE DAILY WORKER
"America's Only English Communist Daily"

Chicago,
Ill.

International revolutionary labor leaders are contributors to this daily—the best features of Labor's art and literature—cartoons—all contribute to make the Daily Worker an outstanding American working class newspaper.

Another subscription advantage offered now is this story of adventure and escape from Siberian exile, written by a great figure in the world revolutionary movement and a writer whose sparkling pen is well known in the world of letters.

Alone
MY FLIGHT FROM
SIBERIA
\$1.00

3 Mos. Sub
to the DAILY
WORKER \$2.00
MY FLIGHT
FROM SIBERIA \$1.00
\$3.00
BOTH FOR \$2.50
(3.00 in Chicago)

My Flight From Siberia

by
LEON TROTZKY

POWER COMES OF KNOWLEDGE

These books are an aid to Communist understanding. They make valuable additions to your library—while the liberal offers make possible their use for wide propaganda purposes.

Buy a Set for Your Shop-mate!

Offer Number 2 Four Books for \$1.00

1. THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE
by Wm. Z. Foster (Paper) 50c
2. LENINISM vs. TROTSKYISM
by G. Zinoviev, I. Stalin, L. Kamenev 20c
3. LENIN THE GREAT STRATEGIST
by A. Losovsky (Paper) 15c
4. INDUSTRIAL REVIVAL IN SOVIET
RUSSIA...by A. A. Heller (Cloth) \$2.00

Regular Price.....\$2.85

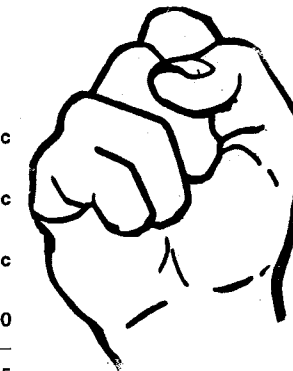
All Four Books for \$1.00

Offer Number 3 Three Books for \$2.00

1. ROMANCE OF NEW RUSSIA
by Magdaleine Marx (Cloth) \$2.00
2. INDUSTRIAL REVIVAL IN SOVIET
RUSSIA by A. A. Heller (Cloth) \$2.00
3. THE GOVERNMENT STRIKE-
BREAKER by Jay Lovestone (Paper) .60

Regular Price.....\$4.60

All Three Books for \$2.00



OFFER NUMBER 1

10 Pamphlets for 25 Cents
100 for \$2.00—1,000 for \$15.00

1. UNEMPLOYMENT by Earl Browder .05 Cents
2. AMERICAN FOREIGN BORN WORKERS by Clarissa Ware .05 "
3. WM. F. DUNNE'S SPEECH AT THE PORTLAND CONVENTION05 "
4. STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM by Andreas Nin .15 "
5. WHITE TERRORISTS ASK FOR MERCY by Max Bedacht .05 "
6. SHOULD COMMUNISTS PARTICIPATE IN REACTIONARY TRADE
UNIONS by V. I. Ullanov (Lenin) .05 "
7. STRATEGY OF THE COMMUNISTS05 "
8. RUSSIAN TRADE UNIONS05 "
9. MARRIAGE LAWS OF SOVIET RUSSIA05 "
10. CONSTITUTION OF SOVIET RUSSIA05 "

Regular Price..... .60 Cents

All Ten Copies 25 Cents

CASH!

These orders are made
on a strictly cash basis
only. No credit orders
accepted.

The Daily Worker Publishing Co.

1113 W. Washington Boulevard

Chicago, Ill.

ORDERS

For single books will
be accepted only at the
regular catalogue prices
as listed.

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 November 3, 1924, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

VOL. IV.

AUGUST, 1925

No. 10

La Follettism Without La Follette

By Manuel Gomez

THE death of the senior senator from Wisconsin is a political event of moment. Newspapers up and down the land are editorializing upon it, sometimes hopefully, sometimes in despair, never with indifference. It has caused shrugging of shoulders and scratching of heads.

The question on every interested tongue is: What will become of La Follettism without La Follette?

The Individual and the Movement.

To the readers of the WORKERS MONTHLY at least, it will be at once plain that all this adoo over the individual does not in any sense imply that the individual was the movement. If Robert M. La Follette had never been born someone else would have taken his place. But La Follette was born, and in the development of events a certain political grouping became identified with his personality and he was pushed into the position of leader of a movement. The fact that its central figure was La Follette and not some other, necessarily influenced the immediate turn that the movement could take, presenting concrete possibilities for the direction of its strategy (for instance the whole senatorial phase of it), setting a certain stamp upon it organizationally, and determining many of the avenues of relationship between the movement and its financial friends, the movement and its publicity organs, the movement and its volunteer supporters among the farmers and in the trade unions.

With its central figure suddenly withdrawn, the entire grouping is shaken, thrown off its equilibrium. Before it is able to adjust itself to new conditions of leadership, inevitable transformations will occur capable, perhaps, of precipitating a change of course—a change which was foreshadowed anyway, but which under other circumstances might be held off much longer. In the case of the La Follette movement the shake-down is greatly intensified by the fact that not one, but three, factors have recently been removed from the situation: Robert M. La Follette, Warren S. Stone and Samuel Gompers. Many old relationships have been disturbed and many cords of communication have been cut. Small wonder then, that so much uncertainty has arisen as to what will become of La Follettism.

La Follettism, An Unholy Alliance.

La Follettism was the movement of the thwarted petty bourgeoisie of town and country struggling for political expression against the all-enveloping power of Big Business. As such it was a sign of the internal decay of capitalism.

But that was not all there was to La Follettism. The petty bourgeois movement was grafted onto and secured a temporary hegemony over the parallel movement of the awakening proletariat for independent action of the workers. This combination of forces, under the hesitant and insidious leadership of the petty bourgeoisie was the thing that went by the name of La Follettism.

The Petty Bourgeoisie.

The petty bourgeoisie on which La Follettism depended, has at no time been an independently decisive factor in society. "The medieval burghesses and the small peasant bourgeoisie," Marx says, "were the precursors of the modern bourgeoisie." He shows, however, that this class was never capable of achieving political victories and it was the larger industrial and commercial capitalists that ushered in the period of capitalist rule throughout Europe. A new class of petty bourgeoisie was called forth by the process of capitalist development, which in turn saw itself menaced with ruin by the growth of large-scale industry. From this class arose what Marx termed "petty bourgeois socialism."

"This school of Socialism," he pointed out in the Communist Manifesto, "dissected with great acuteness the contradictions in the conditions of modern production. It laid bare the hypocritical apologies of economists. It proved, incontrovertibly, the disastrous effects of machinery and division of labor; the concentration of capital and land in a few hands; overproduction and crises; it pointed out the inevitable ruin of the petty bourgeois and peasant, the misery of the proletariat, the anarchy of production, the crying inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the dissolution of old moral bonds, of the old family relations, of the old nationalities.

"In its positive aims, however," he continued, "this form of Socialism aspires either to restoring the old means of production and of exchange, and with them the old property relations, and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange, within the framework of the property relations that have been, and were bound to be, exploded by those means. In either case, it is both reactionary and utopian."

American readers will immediately associate many of



Fred Ellis

Greetings!

FOURTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

the above criticisms of capitalism with the "cheap money" movements in the United States, and nearly all of them with the early anti-trust movement. The same deficiency as regards positive aims will also be noted.

Out of the West.

What confuses many workers is to see a recurrence of petty-bourgeois individuality today, long after the petty bourgeoisie has been crushed into submission in this country and has lapsed into spineless dependence upon Wall Street. There is really no mystery about this, however. The resurgence of forces which has given us La Follettism receives a direct impulse from the revolt of the mortgaged and tenant farmers against the ever-increasing exploitation by railroads and grain elevators, by marketing firms and packing houses, by loan companies and banks—in short by monopolist finance capital. Bob La Follette was born on a farm, in the agricultural state of Wisconsin. It is common knowledge that the backbone of the La Follette movement was in agricultural territory. The poorer farmers can and must be won away from the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie and brought under the leadership of the workers. That task is still ahead.

Another thing to remember about the La Follette movement is that it came out of the West, where the concentration of capital was to a certain extent an exotic growth, coming violently, as an overflow from the East. The petty bourgeoisie of the West has still a good deal of its pristine virility. Moreover, it is allied, to a degree, with the forces of industrial capital in the West which require its support for a sectional struggle against absentee finance-capital domination. I called attention to this strange alliance some time ago in an article on "The Passing of Pittsburgh Plus." Its results have been contradictory; it has kept some sections of the Western petty bourgeoisie inside the ranks of rock-ribbed Republicanism, but it has also enticed many of the larger industrial capitalists into support of La Follettism—for instance Rudolph Spreckles, the Western sugar magnate.

Capitalist Class Disintegration.

It should not be assumed, however, that La Follettism was essentially a Western phenomenon, notwithstanding that the West was its cradle and the West gave it extraordinary vigor. La Follette's big vote in New York alone should be enough to dispel any such impression. In its larger aspects the movement represents something which is not confined either to the West or to the East, or even to the United States. It is the historic fight of the petty bourgeoisie against proletarianization. "Big Business" defeated and temporarily absorbed the petty bourgeoisie as a political factor, but that did not make the capitalist class a homogeneous unit. The contradictions of bourgeois society are inexorable. Capitalism proceeds along the path of the proletarianization of the petty bourgeoisie; in the advanced stage of imperialist capitalism, the petty bourgeoisie thus becomes powerfully aware of its special interests. Pressure from within and without the capitalist class, from a hundred different sources, tends to split the solid front of the capitalists into groupings and subdivisions, incapable of effective united action. This process has reached tremendous proportions in Europe. In the United States it is in its beginnings. The 1924 resolution of the Communist International on the American Question

characterized the La Follette movement as a sign of the disintegration of capitalism.

These divisions in the camp of the enemy are of great importance for the working class, and must be taken advantage of by the Communists. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the fight of the petty bourgeoisie is not a wholehearted fight. To share in the exploitation of labor, that is the purpose of the petty bourgeoisie struggle. Petty bourgeois elements exhibit their traditional incapacity for independent action even in this. They adopt no clear line. They acknowledge the suzerainty of big capital in the very course of their struggle against it. Thus they are deliberately made use of by big capital as a decoy to attract and misdirect its more serious enemy—the working class.

La Follette's appeal to the workers was calculated to exploit the political power of the masses in the interests of the middle class. La Follettism gained the support of millions of workers, largely through the treachery of corrupted trade union leaders, but its program and policies were scarcely influenced by its working-class following. The movement was based upon the economic factors outlined above.

La Follettism Still Alive.

Does La Follette's death signify the end of La Follettism? Of course not. The economic foundations of the movement still remain.

Let us take a cross-section of American political parties and groupings today. At the extreme right we find the Republican Party and at the extreme left, the Workers (Communist) Party. In between are the Democratic Party, the so-called "Progressive" (La Follettite) grouping, the movement for a Labor Party, and the Socialist Party. The Republican Party is the party of "Big Business." In proportion as the working class moves toward independent political expression on its own behalf, the bourgeoisie traditionally sets up buffer organizations to counteract it. Such was the La Follette movement. The Democratic Party cannot play such a role, because of its connections with finance capital and because of its reactionary base in the South; it has been steadily losing strength among the workers and petty bourgeoisie of the North. We can expect to see the so-called "Third Party" movement continue to grow and develop.

While it is true that La Follettism secured a temporary hegemony over the movement for an independent party of labor, it must not be imagined that the Labor Party movement ceased to exist. In the long run the forces for working-class political expression will make faster progress than the "Third Party" forces, not only because their group is larger and more homogeneous but because it represents a more fundamental class alignment. The lines of demarcation between the two groups are of course not always clear. Each group has in it elements which really belong in the other and who form the basis of confused appeals for unity. Actually, there is no unity. La Follettism did not merge with the Labor Party movement but temporarily eclipsed it.

"Fighting Bob's" Own Role.

La Follette was a means to that end. His role in the La Follette movement was twofold: (1) to crystallize the petty bourgeois forces; (2) to confuse and seduce the workers.

There are a number of men who might slip into his shoes, but no one could do it immediately and without friction. Candidates for the seat in the Senate are plentiful;

"Fighting Bob" was scarcely in his grave before a mad scramble began among the Wisconsin Old Guard as to whether his successor should be Bob, Jr., Governor Blaine, Congressman Nelson or somebody else. Just now Bob, Jr. seems to have the edge, the idea being to take a leaf from the notebook of the Republican Party which has persistently been trying to establish the dynasty of the Roosevelt family by pushing the political fortunes of Teddy, Jr. But whether or not he goes to the Senate, it must be clear that young La-Follette cannot take the place of his father. Senator Norris is willing, but he does not quite fill the bill. Brookhart and Frazier are weak sisters. Wheeler is out of the question. Hiram Johnson, the ambitious freebooter from California, could establish neither contact nor confidence.

"But," writes the New Republic's Washington correspondent, "there is still Borah. As a matter of fact, Borah is the real hope—the one best bet. . . His friends here have a feeling, which I fully share, that the La Follette death will force him forward as the real Progressive leader, and that as such he will in the long run be more effective than any other man. The logic of things, they contend, points directly to him."

Effect of La Follette's Death.

Borah, however, is not La Follette. His past history and present connections offer many serious disadvantages. If the "Third Party" movement should now push forward Borah as its leader—a not improbable eventuality—a number of readjustments will be necessary. Borah—or someone else—might serve to crystallize the petty-bourgeois forces almost as well as La Follette did, but La Follette's other functions of confusing and seducing the workers can not be taken over so simply. Swapping horses while crossing a stream is always ticklish business, and especially when the new team is not immediately at hand and furthermore is unused to the harness.

The effect of La Follette's death must be to spread temporary demoralization in the camp of La Follettism and to hasten the separation of the Labor Party forces.

Stone and Johnston; the Passing of Gompers.

The death of Warren S. Stone, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the loss of prestige of Johnston of the Machinists, must also operate as powerful influences in this direction. Stone and Johnston have been the two most important links between the trade unions and La Follette. Both rose to public importance in politics on the crest of the movement for an independent party of the workers and both were instrumental in the capitulation of their movement to La Follettism. Johnston is still head of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, it is true, but the setback that he received from the rank and file of the Machinists' Union in the recent grand lodge elections, will tend to weaken his hand there.

More important still is the disappearance from the scene of Gompers. The passing of Gompers marks the break-up of a whole leading grouping in the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and releases many dammed up forces making for working class progress. This is not immediately visible on the surface, but it is beyond doubt. The rule of the small aristocratic unions is at an end. And in the larger unions, where the unskilled workers are becoming a more and more important factor, the movement for independent political action has gained considerable foothold. William Green may be a black reactionary—as he most certainly is—and John L. Lewis may be a pal of Cal Coolidge's, but the United Mine Workers of America which is the source of their power is overwhelmingly in favor of a Labor Party. The A. F. of L. obviously cannot continue to be the barrier to independent working class political action that it was under Gompers. The need of the American workers to enter politics as a class cannot remain permanently unsatisfied.

Towards a Labor Party.

Communists should be prepared to take advantage of the situation created by the deaths of La Follette, Stone and Gompers. We must not only throw the weight of our influence into the campaign for rousing the political consciousness of the trade unionists inside and outside of the La Follette movement, but we must also put forward concrete propositions tending to give organizational substance to the Labor Party movement as against La Follettism. We must, however, always bear in mind the general co-relation of forces and the position and role of our own Workers Party. We cannot proceed as though all the strings were gathered in our hands, as though we were the Labor Party. The Communist International has only recently emphasized the fact that the Labor Party must be deeply rooted in the trade unions. If we remember this, we can play a noteworthy part in leading the American workers into taking the first steps toward conscious political activity on a class basis.



WALL STREET'S NEW PUPPET IN MEXICO

Maurice Becker

The Consolidation of The Revolutionary Government in South China

By Tang Shin See

HONG KONG constitutes the imperialist headquarters in South China. Right opposite this town lies revolutionary Canton, the general staff of the national revolutionary emancipation movement. This town is a thorn in the flesh of the bourgeoisie; it would very much like to destroy it. It has already several times attempted to do so by direct and indirect means.

In the year 1922 the English egged on Chen Shui Ming, who was at that time a follower of Sun Yat Sen, to fight against the revolutionary government. Sun Yat Sen had to leave Canton. But after some months the revolutionary government again established itself in this town. England continued on every occasion to support Chen Shui Ming, whose troops were in East and South Kwantung. This lasted until shortly after the death of Sun Yat Sen.

In the middle of April of this year Chen Shui Ming was finally annihilated by the revolutionary troops. The English incited another general, the governor of Yunnan, against the Canton government. But he was unable to penetrate through Kwangsi (a neighboring province of Kwantung and a sphere of influence of the Canton government). This was how the imperialists carried on their indirect work.

Sometimes, however, they lost patience and made direct attempts against the Canton government. At the end of 1923 the imperialists concentrated their warships before Canton on account of a customs dispute. Sun Yat Sen declared that he was not afraid of entering into war with them; they should only start. But one ship after the other steamed away from the harbor.

In the summer of last year the English supported the so-called volunteer bands of the merchants against the government, and the English consul even went so far as to send a letter to Sun Yat Sen in which he threatened that "if the Canton government fired upon the volunteers, he would take action on behalf of the volunteers with warships."

In October last, Indian soldiers directly supported the revolt of the volunteer bands in Canton.

Now, when the fight for emancipation broke out in Shanghai and the national revolutionary movement threatens to spread over the whole country, the imperialists incited the troops of Yunnan and Kwangsi, who have for a long time been in Canton and who belonged to the right wing of the Kuo Min Tang, to fight against the revolutionary government. Although the treacherous troops had the town entirely in their hands, before a week was over the revolutionary government once again had complete mastery over Canton. This means that the revolutionary forces are capable of defending their government.

The Canton government is not a workers' and peasants' government; but it supports the workers' and peasants' movement; it leads the workers and peasants in the revolution. The government was set up by the Kuo Min Tang. It is well known that, formerly, the Kuo Min Tang was based upon the intellectuals and the army. It is only since 1922 that it has come to rely particularly upon the peasants and workers. As a result the old members formed a right wing within the



Billie Burke

MOTHER RUSSIA: NEVER MIND THE BIRTH PANGS OF REVOLUTION. MY BOY AND YOURS WILL STAND AND FIGHT TOGETHER.

party or became out and out counter-revolutionaries. The two traitors: the leader of the Yunnan troops, Yang Hsi Ming and the leader of the Kwangsi troops, Liu Tchun Wan, were right wing members of the Kuo Min Tang and have meanwhile become counter-revolutionaries. As a result of the fights in Canton, a thorough purging has taken place within the party and this purging of the Kuo Min Tang has rendered the position of the Canton government more firm than ever and has enabled it to come into closer contact with the workers and peasants.

Since Sun Yat Sen established direct relations with the workers and peasants, the Canton government has been protected by the workers and peasants. The fascist revolt in October last year was only defeated by the Canton workers. Chen Shui Ming was completely annihilated solely because the peasants fought against him along with the revolutionary troops. The struggle in this month was likewise so speedily decided because the Canton workers assisted the revolutionary government by going on strike. Many workers and peasants are now being armed (in accordance with the decision of the workers and peasants conference held on the 1st of May in Canton). They are to constitute the Red Guard of the Revolution.

The Canton government has various bodies of troops at

its disposal. In February of last year Sun Yat Sen formed a party troop on the pattern of the Red Army. He said to the soldiers:

"The troops who are at present in Canton, are all enemies of ours; it will not be long before we shall have to fight against them."

And this proved to be the case.

Not only has Chen Shui Ming been completely annihilated, the treacherous troops have also been completely defeated.

The financial position of the government has been considerably improved as a result of these two victories, because, on the one hand, important harbors like Swatow fell into its hands, and on the other hand, because the revenues no longer, as hitherto, find their way into the hands of private persons (military rulers) but are paid direct into the government treasury. It will now be possible to strengthen the party army. The Canton government will now no longer need to remain on the defensive, but will be able to go over to the

attack against the counter-revolutionaries and imperialists. The consolidation of the Canton government means, therefore, at the same time a strengthening of the general staff of the national revolution. The emancipatory struggle commenced in Shanghai will thereby be able to spread over the whole of China.

It is not only the French and English imperialists who are interested in overthrowing the Canton government but also the American and Japanese imperialists. The Japanese, who possess some influence in Fukien, fear that the Canton government will capture power over this province also. America has attempted in recent times to obtain mining and railway concessions in Kwantung. Both these latter powers equally wish to annihilate the Canton government. The two generals of Yunnan and Kwangsi, Jang Hsi Min and Liu Tchun Wan, made their war preparations in the middle of May. They desire that Canton should be controlled by Hong Kong. But the imperialists have already experienced a great disappointment. Canton stands firmer than ever, the national revolution has approached nearer.

Bryan, Evolution and the Bourgeoisie

BRYAN may be a living proof that man is not descended from the monkey but from some ancestor decidedly lower in the scale of evolution; but anyway he takes his bible seriously and doesn't pussyfoot about his religion. He proclaims science a thing of the devil. Well the devil of science has come up against the god of ignorance before, and it has managed to prevail—in spite of courts of law, inquisitions and burnings at the stake. "Tarzan" Bryan has at least some of the elements of consistency. But how about those bourgeois "friends of science," the sophisticated cynics from the big universities who are "defending evolution" by trying to show that it does not conflict with religion! These men are denying science in the very act of defending it. In the majority of cases they are doing it deliberately. That is the method of capitalist education.

Bukharin showed in his book on the A. B. C. of Communism that in bourgeois society the school has three principal tasks to fulfill. "First," he says, "it inspires the coming generation of workers with devotion and respect for the capitalist regime. Secondly, it creates from the young of the ruling classes 'cultured' controllers of the working population. Thirdly, it assists capitalist production in the application of sciences to technic, thus increasing capitalist profits. . . . The work of the bourgeois educators," he adds, "is completed by the servants of the church with their religious instruction. Thanks to the intimate associations between capital and the church, the law of God invariably proves to be the law of the possessing classes."

Science is therefore necessary to capitalism but only insofar as it serves the capitalist order. Wherever it clashes with the first two principles of capitalist education as summed up by Bukharin the teaching of science is regarded as an evil. Capitalism limits science, hedges it in, stands in the way of its development. It is only when capitalism is overthrown that scientific research will be untrammelled.

It is because capitalist production has need of the theory of evolution that university professors, "experts" and even preachers go forth to battle against Bryan; and it is because capitalism has need of God that the battle is only a sham battle after all.

The theory of evolution has nothing in common with religion. It conflicts squarely with the Christian bible, the Mohammedan koran, the Buddhist-veda and the several thousand other "sacred books." It explains that the development of organic as well as inorganic matter is brought about not by any kind of supernatural forces but according to traceable scientific law. The religious conception of a supernatural Prime Mover, who created the world, is superstitious fairy tale, to which no true scientist can give a moment's consideration in any phase of his work.

Nor is it only in the Origin of the Species and the Descent of Man that science leaves no room for religious interpretation. By the application of the theory of historical materialism, Karl Marx was able to show even social phenomena—the relationship between human beings, revolutions, wars, etc.—as processes which occur in accordance with definite laws. The same theory has demonstrated that the very idea of God and of supernatural powers arises at a definite stage in human history, and at another definite stage inevitably begins to disappear as a childish notion which finds no contradiction in practical life and in the struggle between man and nature.

One of the things that are operating to destroy religious superstition is the growing understanding of evolution. Mr. Bryan senses this. His bourgeois opponents realize it too, but all they can do to counteract it is to try to harmonize science with fairy tales. We Communists, on the other hand, can defend the theory of evolution sincerely and with all its implications. We have no special privileges to bolster up by means of illusions. Science is our ally.

The Ladies Garment Workers Awaken

By Wm. Z. Foster

THE time was, a number of years ago, when the needle trades unions were in the vanguard of the trade union movement of the United States. They really stood for progress, and at all conventions of the American Federation of Labor they were to be found in the bloc of organizations lined up against the reactionary Gompers' machine. They were an eye-sore to the arch traitor, Gompers, and he was never more happy than when attacking them viciously.

But such a situation is now merely a matter of history. The leadership of the needle trades unions, which one at least partially reflected the revolutionary spirit of the rank and file, has now become practically indistinguishable from the leadership of other trade unions. Officially the needle unions stand for few or no policies in advance of those of the bulk of organized labor. They have repudiated every semblance of militancy in their attitude towards the employers, and they are just as ardent advocates of class collaboration as are the most hide-bound A. F. of L organizations. They have thrown overboard amalgamation and now stand squarely for craft unionism, having repudiated the campaign for industrial unionism they carried on in the A. F. of L. for many years. When Sigman, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers, presented Samuel Gompers with a bronze bust at the recent convention of the A. F. of L., his act was symbolical of the complete surrender made by Sigman and other needle trades bureaucrats to the policies and leadership of such men as Gompers.

The complete degeneration of the leadership of the needle trades unions has kept pace with the decay of the Socialist Party, to which most of these leaders are or were affiliated. When the S. P. lost the left wing in 1919 it lost practically all its vital elements. The organization rapidly deteriorated. Now there is no work of reaction too contemptible for it to endorse. The Socialist leadership in the needle trades unions reflects this degeneration. Where once these leaders, getting some sort of discipline from the S. P., maintained at least a superficial pretense of honesty and of desire to protect the workers' interests, now they, for the most part, have disintegrated and descended into mere cliques of hungry bureaucrats willing to betray the workers' interests openly and brazenly in order to curry favor with the employers and to hang on to their own fat sinecures in the unions.

This break-up of the leadership in the needle trades is one of the most pronounced features of the union situation in the industry. In all of the unions the reactionaries find themselves in two or more rival camps, making war upon each other for the control of the unions, and carrying on a fight against each other from which every semblance of revolutionary idealism is totally absent. The one-time discipline of the Socialist Party, now hopelessly corrupt, is powerless to hold in line in one uniform bureaucracy all these discordant and job-hungry elements. In the Fur Workers, the Ladies Garment Workers, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers the crumbling of the official machine is far ad-

vanced. There is a more far-reaching and greedy scrambling for jobs and control going on now among the reactionary needle trades leadership than in any other set of unions in the United States.

The rapid swing of the needle trades leadership to the right, which has taken place during the past few years and which has wrought havoc with the wages and working conditions in the industry, was bound sooner or later to produce an upheaval of protest among the exploited rank and file. The many years of radical propaganda carried on among needle workers have not been lost. These workers have not the sheep-like timidity that is to be found among the workers in other industries. They will not submit without violent protest to the treachery and betrayals of their leaders. The present situation in the needle industry, with the rank and file in revolt against the leadership, was inevitable.

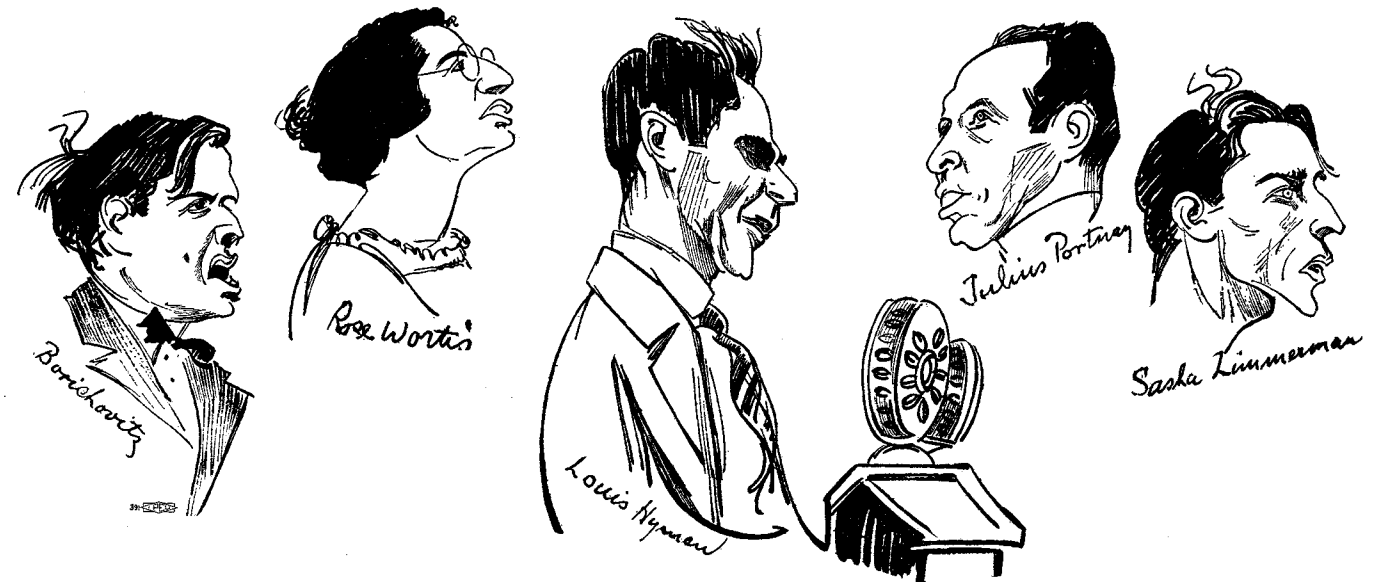
The depth and extent of this revolt is as yet unrealized by organized labor as a whole. In the Fur Workers the thousands of members in New York have demonstrated their opposition to the growing corruption and reaction among the needle trades leadership by overthrowing Kauffman's machine in the Joint Board of New York and electing the militant left-winger, Gold, as the head of this Board which forms the backbone of the whole organization. In the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a similar movement is developing as the Hillman machine moves towards the right. In this organization the development of the rank and file protest is somewhat slower because of the gesture to the left made by Hillman a couple of years ago.

Sigman's War Against the Left Wing.

But it is in the International Ladies' Garment Workers that the revolt is taking on its most pronounced form. Following in the footsteps of Schlesinger, the present President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, sowed dragon's teeth in his organization by betraying the workers in every movement they have made for better conditions since he took office. He further prepared the ground for revolt by the bitter persecution which he levelled against the left-wing militants in the Trade Union Educational League who dared to raise their voices against his treacherous policies.

Not content with betraying the economic interests of the union membership, and with exercising the most terrific oppression against the honest and progressive elements in the union, the bureaucrats fell out with each other and waged a most destructive and contemptible warfare against each other for control of the union treasury and the overpaid jobs as union officials. Sigman and Breslau, the heads of the two warring cliques in the bureaucracy, are as alike as two peas in a pod, and their mad scramble for control is ruinous to the organization.

The upshot of these conditions, the betrayal of the workers' economic interests, the war against the left wing, and the break-up of the old bureaucracy, was bound to be an explosion. When Sigman and Perlstein, attempted to gain an advantage over Breslau by capturing the three big local



From "The Big Stick," Jewish satirical weekly.

LEADERS OF THE I. L. G. W. U. LEFT WING AT THE GREAT PROTEST MEETING IN YANKEE STADIUM, NEW YORK, WHERE 30,000 CLOAK AND DRESSMAKERS DEMANDED THE RESIGNATION OF SIGMAN, PERLSTEIN AND FEINBERG.

unions, Nos. 2, 9, and 22, by arbitrarily removing their executive boards, they touched the match to the great heap of tinder they had piled up. They soon became confronted with a conflagration which threatens to consume them. It was pushing the rank and file beyond the last limit of endurance, and they revolted en masse.

Rank and File Aroused.

The story of this revolt, one of the most spectacular and significant in the history of the American labor movement, need not be repeated. The spontaneous outpouring of thousands of rank and file members to the great mass meetings to protest against the insufferable policies of Sigman & Co., the raids of the administration gangsters to capture the union headquarters, the defense of these headquarters by the rank and file, the enormous meeting at the Yankee Stadium, where 30,000 to 40,000 needle workers gathered to protest against betrayal by their leaders and to organize themselves to defend their interests, the farcical trial staged by the Sigman administration in a desperate effort to discredit the leaders of the left wing and to find some faint plausibility for their brutal expulsions—all these things have received the widest publicity, and striking though they may be, they will be followed in all probability by events even more significant than those that have happened so far.

It is characteristic of the right-wing program of betrayal in every union that the reactionaries seek to cover up and justify their ruinous policies by concentrating an attack upon the left wing and by trying to convince the workers that the danger they have to confront is from the left and not from the right. In the present situation, the Sigman bureaucrats are following this policy with classic orthodoxy. They viewed with alarm the growing strength of the left wing. They awaited only a favorable opportunity to deliver a heavy blow at this left wing. They thought they saw their opportunity in connection with the May Day meetings, and they struck their blow by sweeping out of office 77 members of the executive boards of these three local unions which constitute not only

60 per cent of the International in New York, but also its very best proletarian elements.

In their eagerness to strike at the Communist militants, trade union bureaucrats have in many other unions raised the charge that the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League have been, in the first case in opposition to trade unionism generally, and in the second place a dual union, and upon the basis of such charges they have either expelled members outright from the union or have deprived them of their rights to sit as delegates in Central Labor Councils. But in no case was there such flimsy pretext seized upon as in the case of these suspended executive boards. Once again, even as he did in the case of beginning the expulsion policy in general, Sigman takes the lead in proceeding to extremes to make war upon the revolutionary elements in his organization.

In the New York Times which is pleased to give Sigman and his agents ample space in which to spread their poison against the best members of the organization, Sigman's tool, Feinberg, charges the 77 suspended officials with having violated the Constitution by the commission of the following "crime":

"On May 1st, 1925, the Executive Board of Local 22, and the Secretary-Treasurer of the local, called and organized a public meeting under the guise of a May Day demonstration, which, upon the invitation of the Executive Board and the Secretary-Treasurer of the local was addressed by avowed enemies and opponents of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; the speakers who were invited to address the meeting were members of organizations opposed to all the settled principles of trade unionism, and particularly those of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the American Federation of Labor with which it is affiliated, i. e., the Workers Party, the Communist Party, and the so-called Trade Union Educational League. The speakers so invited advocated at the meeting methods of violence and

dictatorship which were widely reported in the public press and conveyed the false impression that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and its locals were committed to the aims and methods of Communism and were calculated to impair the standing, reputation, and usefulness of the organization."

The officials of Locals 2 and 9 were similarly charged, with the exception that Local 22 committed the additional "crime" of financing the meeting. The fact that Communists have spoken at hundreds of meetings of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, that they have been officially invited to speak at the conventions of that organization, and that these things were done for years with the knowledge if not the willing consent of the officialdom, were conveniently ignored by Sigman in his eagerness to set up a "red scare" in his organization and thus to break up the growing opposition to his control and policies.

Movement Far-Reaching.

But the workers are not deceived by this maneuver. Their grievances are too deep and burning and their intelligence too well developed to allow this dragging of the red herring across the trail to be successful. They refuse to be stampeded into a "red" hunt. They understand that the men and women being victimized in this latest maneuver of Sigman's are the ones who have led the battle for their demands. They know that insistence upon these demands, insistence that the union follow a fighting policy, is the real reason for the expulsion of these militants. Ample demonstration of this fact is the loyal manner in which the masses have rallied to their support.

The movement now agitating the needle workers in the Ladies' Garment industry is bound to produce profound changes in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. But this movement runs certain dangers. One is that its leaders should make the mistake of minimizing the importance of the economic demands of the workers and to concentrate the fight one sidedly upon the elimination of "Brindellism" from the union. This course would inevitably result in losing the support of the masses, who want their burning grievances in the shops adjusted. In this situation the way to success is to keep ever to the forefront the demands of the workers against the bosses, as well as the fight against the latter's corrupt agents, the Sigman bureaucracy.

Another danger that this healthy movement of revolt runs, is that of dual unionism. The bureaucrats will split the organization if they think that thereby they can get rid of the left wing. This danger is further accentuated by the natural resentment of the rank and file at the persecutions and betrayals of the Sigman bureaucracy, and by the inevitable tendency of the discontented masses to break away from the corrupt leadership and to demand a new union. But so far the rebellious workers have been able to successfully avoid this danger. They have effectively resisted the efforts of the bureaucrats to force a definite split, and likewise they have held in check those ill-advised elements in their own ranks who would yield to a tendency to split.

The left wing is the advocate and champion of the solidarity of the workers. It must resist the splitting tendency

of the bureaucrats. In no situation is this more evident than in New York. If the bureaucrats are absolutely determined to split, then of course they cannot be prevented. But the left wing can and must fight so resolutely against such a split that, if it develops, the entire blame will rest upon the shoulders of the bureaucrats, and so plainly will this be evident that the masses of workers in the industry will understand it.

A New Era in the Clothing Industry.

The present revolt of the masses of workers in the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the Fur Workers against the tactics and policies of the leadership in these organizations marks the beginning of a new era in the clothing industry as a whole. Today the unions are organized on a craft basis and manned by reactionaries who follow policies of class collaboration. The consequence is that the organizations are unable to maintain a grip upon the industry and to win even the most modest concessions for the workers. The industry is slipping from under their influence and is rapidly becoming an "open shop" industry. The conquests won by the needle workers through long years of struggle are being lost one after another.

But the great revolt now taking place in the needle trades foretells a fundamental change in the situation. The workers are demanding and will have a fighting policy of class struggle. They will put at their head men who understand that the workers can gain their demands, not by a policy of surrender to the employers, but by one of militant struggle against these employers. They will insist that the present weak and demoralized craft unions in the needle trades be combined into one powerful industrial union organized on a shop committee basis. They will insist that the unions embark upon an active campaign to build a mass party of the workers, a Labor Party. The needle trades unions are in the first stages of a renaissance.

Contemporary

THEN to Emmaus with him, I, too walked.
No mark of nails in hand or feet I traced.
So quietly of star-wise dream he talked,
I did not know a savior with me paced
The dripping city street; that by my side,
In the familiar clothes of modern men,
There lived again the tale of one who died
"To make earth good"—the thorns, the scourge again.

At lunch, he told in simple phrase to me
The story of the strike and his arrest,
Charged with inciting murder. A near tree
Bent while he told of prison, death, his guest,
And when he spoke of rising from that tomb,
It threw a cross of shadow on the room.

—Sara Bard Field.

Factory Committee Chairman Comrade Shishkin

A Picture Drawn from Life

By Moissaye J. Olgin

OUR first steps on factory premises lead us to the office of the Factory Committee. In this particular factory the Factory Committee occupies two rooms in a low building which has all the earmarks of a temporary abode. The horrible years 1918-1921 wrought havoc on the human material as well as on the buildings of the factories, and this cabin has apparently been constructed to replace an older and more comfortable house. In the first room, behind a wooden bar, Comrade Shishkin is seated at a small table. In the second room we find his secretary and a girl typist.

The factory Committee is the most conspicuous and many-sided factory organization. It is the general staff of the workers in each establishment. It is the connecting link between the mass of the local workers and their industrial union, between the workers and the organs of the state. It is one of the channels through which all the measures and all the ideas of the republic pour into the rank and file workers. First of all, however, it is the organ that represents all the workers of the factory between one general meeting and the other.

The general meetings of all the workers take place twice a month. At those meetings where the workers personally state their opinions and formulate their demands, decisions are taken on many of the most vital problems of factory life. Every six months the general meeting elects a Factory Committee. At present Ivan Ivanovitch Shishkin is the chairman of the committee.

It is by men like Shishkin that Russia is now governed. Workers of the Shishkin type form the backbone of the new order. It, therefore, will not be out of place to gain closer acquaintance with this revolutionary worker.

He is thirty-seven years old, but the air of boyish innocence makes him look much younger. He has a weather-tanned face, vivid dark eyes and a nervous mouth. He wears no beard or mustache but his face is always covered with several days' growth. His manner is simple, he hardly raises his voice, and it is impossible to imagine him in a state of rage. Altogether he is a mild, friendly, good-humored Russian whose perfect ease does not betray the harsh and strenuous deeds he has suffered through.

He hails from the village, from a family of very poor peasants. When he was seven he was sent to school. It was a miserable little school in a backward village. Catechism was the main subject. Arithmetic, geography, history were hardly taught. The school was under the supervision of the local church. The commandments had to be learned by heart. When the boy heard "Thou Shalt Not Kill," he very innocently asked the teacher, "How is it that one kills in war?" The question showed an inquisitive mind, but the teacher told him to go home and never return. He was then nine years of age. The family lived on bread and porridge. There were times when little Vanja with his brothers and sisters tasted meat only twice a month. Later, father died. Mother wept days and days. To maintain the children, she had

to beg, after a day of crushing labor on the landlord's fields.

Little Vanja had to go to work. When he was eleven he was placed in a small textile factory near the village, and from that day on for over a quarter of a century he has remained in the industrial system of his country.

It was poor work at the beginning. The factory used hand looms. The hours were long. The pay was miserable. At the age of fifteen Ivan moved to a textile factory in the city of Orechovo where the methods of production were similarly primitive.

Who put rebellion into the heart of the young worker? In his mature years he is unable to trace the sources of his revolutionary spirit. "It seems to me this is my nature. From childhood on I could not stand landlords, priests, policemen." His dissatisfaction was entirely elemental. In his youth he received no political education. He was hardly able to read and write. However, when a strike breaks out in his textile factory, Ivan, still a youth of nineteen, finds himself an active member of the strike committee. He distributes leaflets and pamphlets.

For such illegal activities he was arrested and sent back to his native village there to remain under strict police surveillance. The young Shishkin had already tasted of the wine of struggle. The revolution of 1905-6 had swept over the country like a scorching gale. Shishkin, rich with the experience of a town worker, attempts to organize the village against the landlord. A successful strike for higher wages is carried out under his leadership. For this feat he is put into prison for a term of eight months.

Free again, he found himself on the blacklist. To gain entrance into a factory he had to use his brother's passport. From the age of twenty-one till the age of twenty-six he worked in a modern textile factory as a helper to the electrician. It is there that he got his first acquaintance with electric wire and cables. His work in that factory ended because of his participation in strike preparations. He was fired and driven out of factory premises "in 24 seconds."

Shishkin now has greater ambitions. He is strong, active, self-reliant. He is a skilled worker. With infinite pain he has taught himself to read and understand a paper and a magazine. He has a taste for reading. Youth and the wish for a richer life drive him to the capital. He goes to Moscow where he obtains a job in the factory now known as Russcable Number Three.

Moscow broadens his outlook. His revolutionary spirit becomes more ardent though he still has no connection with any of the existing revolutionary parties. His protest against the employers, the police and the "master class" in general exhibit much of the elemental. Any revolutionary party calling for action was sure to find in Shishkin a friend. He had hardly settled in his new place when he was caught distributing leaflets among the workers of his shop. He had a hard time extricating himself. The intervention of older employes helped him this time.



A YOUNG FACTORY CHAIRMAN.

Then came the war. It was a "great shake-up," as Shishkin told me. A number of workers fell under the influence of patriotic propaganda. The foremen insisted the war was being waged in defense of Russian independence against German aggression. However, part of the workers hated the war from the start. As to Shishkin, he could see no reason for hostilities. "There is no difference between myself and any German," he said to his fellow-workers. "I suppose if we cut his flesh the German would feel pain the same as we do. Why, then, should we fight?"

That was seditious talk and Shishkin would have been discharged if his skilled labor had not been indispensable. The factory was making war material, labor had become scarce, and Shishkin was an expert worker. He was warned time and again to desist from undesirable discussions but the job was not taken away from him. Being indispensable in the factory he was also exempt from military service.

The war dragged on and the "undesirable discussions" became even more heated. The workers lost all fear of their superiors. Throughout the country, the impending catastrophe spread dark forebodings. Everybody became tense with expectation. Shishkin, a rebel by nature, cursed the war-lords, cursed the traitorous tsarist generals, cursed the

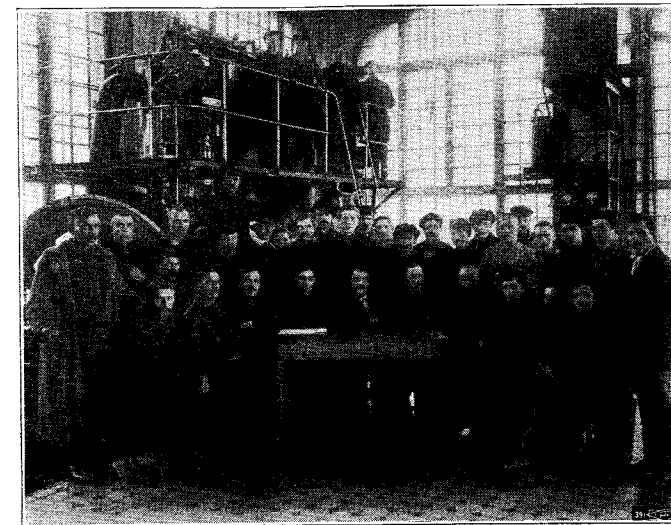
bosses who were coining money, "filling barrels of gold," out of the peoples' misery. The prices were mounting and bread was becoming scarce. Then, like a thunderbolt, came the March revolution. Meetings were held on the factory premises—for the first time in the history of Russia. Members were elected to the **Soviet of Moscow**. Shishkin felt like "walking on the air." For a few days he was in a delirium of mad joy. Still, the effect of those first revolutionary days was to make him look for organizational and ideological guidance. Activities in the factory threw him closer to Sidorov, now the secretary of the Communist nucleus, and a number of others who, by a quick process of selection, became the spokesmen of the factory. The group decided to get connected with the Bolshevik Party. This was accomplished a week after the fall of the monarchy, through the aid of a woman worker who hailed from Shishkin's native village and knew some Bolsheviks. The leading group joined the Bolshevik Party and began to work under its direction.

Throughout the summer of 1917 there were three parties active in the factory: the Mensheviks numbering about eighteen adherents, the Socialist-Revolutionaries (S. R.) with a stronger following, and the Shishkin-Sidorov group of Bolsheviks. There was a fierce struggle for influence between the Bolsheviks and the S. R. Innumerable discussions and meetings took place, floods of literature poured into the factory. In the end the Bolsheviks prevailed. Shishkin's group managed to gain control over all the workers' organizations created after March. The strongest of these new-born organizations was the Factory Committee, which gradually assumed control of the business of the factory administration.

These were stirring times. Immediately after the March revolution, the question of wages came up. The workers were unwilling to continue work on the old terms. A wave of strikes brought, first, the eight-hour day, second, an increase in wages. At that time, the unions being still weak, the brunt of the burden of leading the workers in their struggles fell on the Factory Committees. The latter soon revealed themselves everywhere as the strongholds of the workers. Conferences of factory committees were held throughout the country and demands formulated. Both the employers' organizations and the Provisional Government looked askance at these new proletarian nuclei, but the committees felt their strength; they often made laws for themselves disregarding the government authorities and working in co-operation with the then extra-legal power, the soviets. In this way the Factory Committees gained control over the hiring and firing of workers, over the order and distribution of work. Later they mixed in the price-fixing and banking activities of the factory administration with a view to prohibit profiteering.

In the Factory Committee of this particular factory, Shishkin became one of the most active members. He manifested good organization abilities and understanding of the workers' psychology. Through the Bolshevik group, the idea of seizing power penetrated into the factory. By the end of the summer we find the Factory Committee drawing the workers into the Red Guard. The question of armed uprising was the order of the day. The Factory Committee obtained revolvers to arm nearly all the Bolshevik workers. The employers were cowed into silence. The leadership of the Bolshevik Party was followed by an overwhelming majority of the non-partisan workers.

This supremacy, however, was not reached without struggle. At one time in the course of the summer, the S. R.'s had gained control over the shop committee. They did not maintain their power, because they had no definite program of action. Under their leadership discipline slackened, the workers became restive. The Bolsheviks conducted a vigorous propaganda for confiscation of the factory in order that its closing down by the employers might be prevented. After a brief period of indecision the workers held new elections and the Bolshevik slate won complete victory. Shishkin was made chairman of the shop committee and under his leadership the workers fought the November revolution. Immediately after the access of the Soviets he was charged with the duty of safeguarding revolutionary order in the district adjoining the factory. This implied the right of search and seizure. Shishkin was now a **Commissar**. He had red guards at his command. He became a part of the newly created proletarian administration.



MEETING IN THE SHOP.

It appears that he did well, for several months after the November events he was made chief of the militia (revolutionary police) of the Rogoshko-Simonovsky district. He had to quit factory activities, as his new duties left no time for anything else. The Rogoshko-Simonovsky district is a vast suburban area populated by workers mainly. It contains industrial establishments, railway shops, and storehouses. To keep order in that district in times of great upheaval was no mean task. Where did Shishkin acquire the experience and the knowledge of law for his new duties? "We learned as we worked," is his explanation. "Life made us find the proper methods of work. As to laws, the revolution was creating them every day. We could not fail to know them. Quite often we of the district were instrumental in creating new revolutionary laws. We saw what was good for the workers and we gave the bourgeoisie no quarter." There was no bridge between Shishkin and the bourgeoisie, no community of experiences, no way of conciliation. Those members of the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia whose houses were searched by order of Shishkin, looked upon him as an abysmal brute, while Shishkin looked upon them as "whitehands"

and exploiters. It was civil war in its most dramatic manifestations.

Shishkin, gentle, almost timid, overwhelmed by the avalanche of events, ardent in his revolutionary faith, proved a good officer. In 1919 he was promoted to the position of manager of the commissariat of the militia in his district; later he was drafted into the Red Army and sent to eastern Russia against Kolchak. By the time he arrived at the front, Kolchak's retreat from Ufa assumed a catastrophic character. Shishkin was ordered to remain in Ufa where he was made chief of the intelligence force of the region. Later he was made commander of the forts along the Belaya river. In 1921, after the cessation of hostilities on the various internal fronts, he was returned to Moscow in the capacity of special commissar (party representative) on the Alexandrovski railroad. His duty was to supervise the work, to prohibit sabotage, to detect counter-revolutionary activities. Later, he was given a similar appointment on the Yaroslavl line.

These were all administrative, military and police activities dictated by civil war and the necessity to establish the new order. The year 1922 witnessed a revival of economic activities. Skilled workers were gradually called back to their shops. The Labor Commissariat issued a decree ordering all electricians to return to their industrial units. It was obedience to this decree that Shishkin, rich with three years' experience in the heat of revolutionary struggle in various regions of his country returned to his home factory. This was in September, 1922. Up to July of the following year he worked at the bench as a rank and file worker. Then he was elected member of the factory committee and finally was made its chairman.

He merits the respect of his fellow-workers. He is not a student. His general education is meager. His party education never exceeded the course of "political A. B. C.," which he attended on several occasions and in which he passed examinations. "There is no time to study," he says. "One is happy when he has time to read his paper after the day's activities." But he has the practical knowledge of the factory, the industry and the union. He seems to live in absolute peace and harmony with the workers.

His activities are as follows: He is chairman of the factory committee, chairman of the cultural committee, chairman of the production conference, member of the factory school committee.

Shishkin has a wife and two children. He draws the average wage of the workers of his shop and his degree of skill. He receives no other remuneration.



The War in Morocco

ABD-EL-KRIM'S victories against French and Spanish imperialism have stirred all Africa and Asia. His armies are pushing on toward Fez, swelling with eager recruits at every advance. The French Communists are lending him active and effective support. It is a life and death struggle for imperialist France.

The negotiation proposals made by Abd-el-Krim were systematically rejected by Herriot and Painlevé who organized the blockade of the Riff by swarming the neutral zone with block-houses and then luring Abd-el-Krim into the ambush on the Uergha. The Moroccan events between 1907 and 1911 and the Agadir episode were the forerunners of the great slaughter from 1914 to 1918. The plundering expedition now undertaken by France against the Riff contains elements which may well lead to severe international complications. Not only France and Spain, but also England and Italy are interested in the plundering of Morocco. France waited for the defeat of Spain in order to acquire the Riff territory at Spain's cost.

Just as in 1914, so today we hear of the "attack on France's prestige." Today also we are told that it was the inhabitants of the Riff who first attacked peaceful France. England and Italy are waiting for a favorable chance to demand in the name of their international prestige their share of the spoils. In this manner French imperialism once more lets the Moroccan fire flare up which may lead to heavy international conflicts. This is an imperialist war directed against an oppressed people; it is the war of French, British, Italian and Spanish imperialism against the independence of the oppressed peoples.

By defending themselves the Riff inhabitants are only defending their independence in the name of the right of self-determination of all peoples. The democratic Left Bloc which presented itself to the workers and peasants as the angel of peace, has started the Morocco war in order to do justice to the colonial interests of high finance and the Comité des Forges. The socialists who are part of the bloc, were the accomplices of Herriot in the preparation of the war, and they are now the accomplices of Painlevé in the starting and the continuation of the war. They are no better than in 1914; they support with their ideology the imperialist adventures of the Left Bloc, those pacifist pretensions have now unceremoniously been thrust aside.

The Months Prize News Story

("American Federationist," A. F. of L. Organ)

"June AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, page 440, an error stated that the Executive Council granted the request of the Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705 to amalgamate with the Tea, Coffee, Cheese and Egg Drivers' and Salesmen's Union No. 772. The decision of the Executive Council upon this application was that the Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705 does not come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters."



ABD-EL-KRIM, LEADER OF THE RIFF ARMY OF LIBERATION.

England is intriguing with Spain which is also opposed to the French penetration into the Riff. In the meantime Italian imperialism is taking advantage of this situation by demanding Tunis. It points to France's intentions in order to hide its own ambition for colonial expansion, and in order to hush up its own plans in Tripoli. Because of the international complications, the government of the Left Bloc tries to assure the world that it will confine itself to driving Abd-el-Krim out of the Protectorate and to the defense of the borders. In reality however, the war will be carried on in the form of a blockade whose goal is to force the Riff inhabitants into submission and thus to get hold of their land.

Such is the policy of "peace" which is supported by the Democrats and Social-Democrats of the Left Bloc. Their colonial policy differs in no way from that of the Bloc National. They have prepared the war, they are now prosecuting the war, and they will carry the Morocco war to a finish. This war may lead to another war yet more frightful than that of 1914-18, a war that will cause rivers of blood to flow, and will require thousands of corpses and unparalleled destruction and devastation.

Amazing

THE new attitude of business men toward employes is "sometimes paternalistic and frequently amazingly generous," according to William C. Dickerson, vice-president of the American Car and Foundry Co., speaking before the United States Chamber of Commerce. The speaker favored the company "union," bonuses, the piecework system and efficiency charts.

Twenty Years After

By Harrison George

ON June 27, 1905, two hundred delegates gathered at Chicago and launched a new labor organization, the Industrial Workers of the World, an organization whose very initials have been things to conjure with, an organization with such gripping appeal that scores of workers have devotedly laid down their lives for it, thousands rapturously rushed into prison at its call, and still more thousands have zealously sacrificed money, time, home, family and friends, to spread over all the earth and, with ragged pants, a red song book and daring hearts, proclaim to the proletariat its principles, principles which they fervently believed infallible, immutable and eternal.

And yet—on June 27, 1925, twenty years exactly to a day since that First Convention of the I. W. W., hailed almost unanimously by all workers of America who claimed to be revolutionists as certain soon to supplant the "out-of-date" American Federation of Labor, which would embrace the millions of wage workers in one great industrial union and sweep triumphantly on to the revolutionary goal of a new society—and yet, I repeat, just twenty years after, the General Headquarters of the I. W. W. sent out the following appeal to all branches and members:

"We are writing this letter as a last resort. We have repeatedly, in previous letters and communications, tried to impress upon you our near-bankrupt condition, and now, unless we receive funds within the next week, we will have to file petition of involuntary bankruptcy."

This was signed by Arthur Coleman, General Secretary-Treasurer, Carl Keller, Chairman of the General Executive Board, and eleven officials of the various industrial unions. It was sent out at a time when the membership, as shown by per capita payments to the general headquarters, reveals a steady decline as follows:

Membership in 1923	38,828
Membership in 1924	30,722
Membership March, 1925*	13,620
Membership April, 1925*	12,945
Membership May, 1925*	12,061

If it were merely financial bankruptcy, the I. W. W., once the banner revolutionary organization of the American proletariat, could face the future with a grin at the empty treasury. The treasury has been empty before. But that was when the magic force of revolutionary unity enabled the I. W. W. to cash in on Haywood's famous slogan that, "The treasury of the I. W. W. is in the pockets of the workers." Though enough money came in to stall off the legal bankruptcy, no amount of money can save the I. W. W. from a

* To the figures given for 1925, should be added the generous estimate of 3,000 taken out of the organization by the so-called "Emergency Program" split. This split is chiefly in two industrial unions, the General Construction Workers No. 310 (Emergency) which had 1,086 dues payers in March, 1925, and the Lumber Workers No. 120, which showed 1,635.

dismal end so long as it continues policies which history has declared bankrupt.

Even if few members were the only point of discouragement, the picture would not be altogether dark, in spite of the fact that the power of a labor union must lay in its numerical strength. The I. W. W. had started at that famous First Convention twenty years ago with only 51,563.

Lots to Do Yet Undone.

Besides, there are in 1925, millions and millions of workers who are unorganized and any organization which sets out with a practical theory and a fighting, constructive program of action can unquestionably gain members far and away beyond the present numerical strength (or weakness) of the I. W. W.

The question naturally arises—"Why hasn't the I. W. W. done it, then?"

The answer is that the revolutionary goal of the I. W. W. which inspired and attracted to it the cream of the American working class and invited the love and labors of countless numbers of the best revolutionary fighters for their class, was not to be gained by the theories it has put into practice. It is tragic, but true.

An Internal Contradiction.

The I. W. W. has tried to be a political party in the definite sense that it set out to direct the working class in its struggle for revolutionary power. To be a political party with a theory of definite revolutionary struggle necessitates an ideologically united and exclusively chosen membership, voluntarily but strictly disciplined.

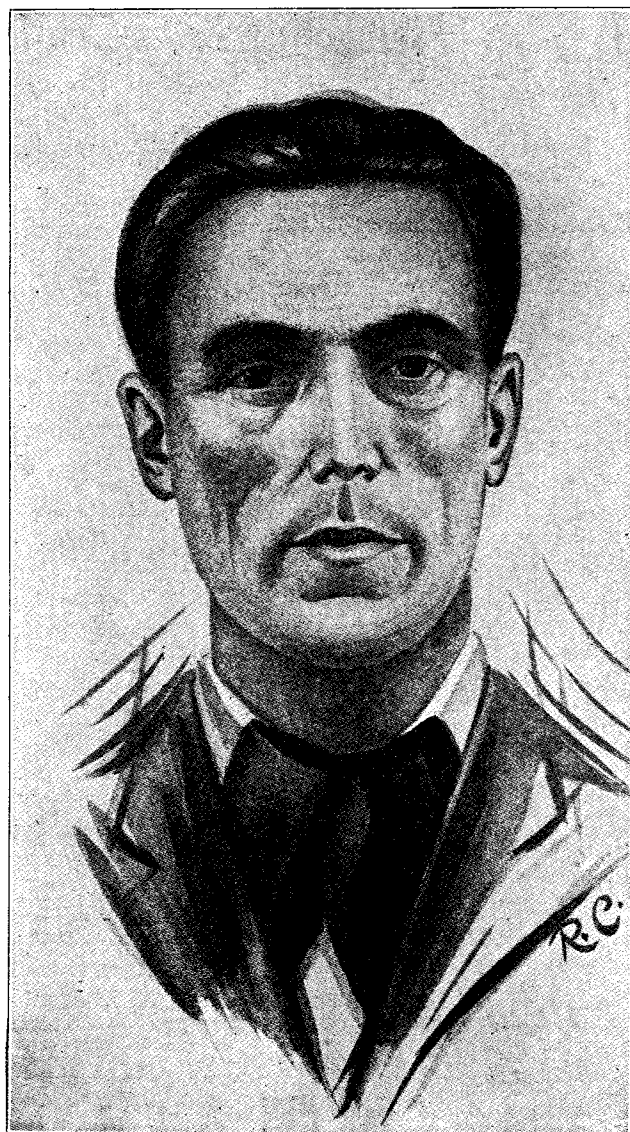
On the other hand, the I. W. W. tried to be a labor union. To be a successful labor union requires an all-inclusive membership, barring no wage-worker whatever his political conception, and a persistent struggle for the material needs of workers in their daily conflicts with the employing class.

No Misunderstanding, Please!

It must be accented that these interests, the revolutionary struggle for power and the daily struggle for bread, are not opposed, are not mutually exclusive. Quite the contrary. In the struggle for bread the proletariat becomes conscious of the need for the struggle for power. Marx holds that "The unions are schools for socialism." But the difference of function in social dynamics requires that the rising proletariat evolve separate organs of struggle to discharge these separate functions.

It is just as much an error to blend the two functions in one organization as the I. W. W. has done in practice, as to conceive that a revolutionary workers' political party and a labor union are necessarily and mutually opposed and antagonistic, as the I. W. W. has traditionally held in theory. Much more could be written upon this point but the above is the bold outline showing that both forms of organization are necessary to the proletariat and any conflict between them only aids the capitalist class and obstructs the working class.

But this inherent contradiction in the theory of the I. W. W., becoming more marked as it met the realities of struggle, and subjected to an evolution which is filled with



JOE HILL, MARTYRED WOBBLY AUTHOR OF "PIE IN THE SKY"—DRAWN BY RALPH CHAPLIN.

interesting detail space forbids recounting, is not the only theoretical error upon which the I. W. W. has come to grief.

An "Original Sin."

The organization at the beginning inclined toward, and finally definitely took up dual unionism as a matter of principle. Although millions, then, as now, of unorganized workers lay before the new organization as a rich field from which to gather numerical strength, and many elements among the "founding fathers" inclined to accent the organization of the unskilled and unorganized outside of the A. F. of L. (looked upon as devoted only to the skilled), the influence chiefly of Daniel De Leon, and of Gene Debs, both powerful factors, was thrown to the adoption of a hostile dualist position toward "the Fakeration."

Haywood's more constructive attitude (at that time) was seen in his speech:

Haywood Aimed at the Unskilled.

"We are going down in the gutter to get at the mass of

workers. I do not care a snap of my finger whether or not the skilled workers join this industrial movement at the present. When we get the unorganized and unskilled laborer into this organization, the skilled worker will of necessity come here for his own protection."

But the natural reaction to the hide-bound craft unionism and political reaction of the A. F. of L. was an emotional and subjective sentiment that the A. F. of L. was "gone," "impossible to do anything with" and De Leon was the leader in ridiculing the revolutionists who wished to stay in the unions and work to broaden them and make them an organ of class struggle. He said:

De Leon—Dual Unionist on Principle.

"Boring from within with the labor faker in possession is a waste of time." He wanted all rebels to get out of the A. F. of L. and form a "union" of revolutionists.

Delegate Dalton of the De Leon Socialist Labor Party said: "We call upon the socialists of the United States to get out of the pure and simple organizations and smash them to pieces."

Debs said: "There is but one way to effect this great change and that is for the workingman to sever his relations with the American Federation and join the union that proposes on the economic field to represent his class."

"Boring From Without."

It was generally expected that at the trumpet call of an organization, so perfect and faultless in both structure and principle, the A. F. of L. would crumble like the walls of Jericho and the I. W. W. would not only have the desired masses of the yet unorganized unskilled, but the skilled workers as well—all marching at the double quick toward the goal of the co-operative commonwealth down a broad highway, with all ruts and rocks removed and the pavement strewn with flowers.

Hence, Father Haggerty's "Wheel of Fortune," later known as the "Industrial Union Chart" was diagrammed, showing that there was room for all workers in the I. W. W. Having a great big empty space to put them, the I. W. W. felt it needful to convince not only the unorganized millions, but the already organized that they should leave the existing unions and come under the I. W. W.'s big umbrella, and its appeal was couched so as to get, if not the mass of craft unionists, at least the class conscious ones, sickened with craft unionism and lacking the inspiration of collective effort furnished now by the Trade Union Educational League.

So the I. W. W. drifted into a policy devoted (if not altogether in theory certainly in practice) to dual unionist attacks on other labor unions: to anti-political (instead of its formal "non-political" statement) attacks upon workers' political parties; and to what has been its really beneficial work though crippled dreadfully by the organization's other policies, the propaganda for industrial unionism as an instrument of struggle.

Much Heat and No Fight.

The bitter struggle to "throw out the politicians" and cut out the "political clause" from the Preamble, usually stressed as an event of overwhelming importance by both pro and anti-I. W. W., the present writer deems of only academic interest. Firstly, the "politicians" of that day rather deserved the booting they got because they were generally

(Continued on page 476.)

The Organic Composition of Capital

By Karl Marx



WRITING to his friend Engels in August, 1862, Marx jotted down what is perhaps the first attempt to summarize his views on the organic composition of capital, average rate of profit and rent. At this time, while Marx was juggling theoretically with enormous sums of capital in the library of the British Museum, his own financial condition was one of chronic crisis, owing to the outbreak of the American Civil War which had cut short even the small weekly remuneration he had been receiving for writing articles for the New York Tribune. "It is a real wonder," he says in his letter to Engels, "that under these conditions I can still continue working on my economic theories." The portion of this historic letter dealing with Marx's economic analysis was originally translated by Max Beer for the British Labor Monthly. It is now given here for the first time in the United States. It will be recognized by all students of Marxian economics as a profoundly important document, particularly as it shows the roots of Marx's differences with Ricardo and other bourgeois economists of the same school.

You know that I divide capital into two parts: (1) into constant capital (raw materials, machinery, buildings), and (2) into variable capital, or that part of capital which is spent on wages. Constant capital reappears in the value of the product. Variable capital contains less materialized value than the workman gives in labor back for it. Let us denote constant capital by the letter "c," and variable capital by the letter "v."

Suppose that the necessary labor (that is that part of the daily labor which is necessary for the reproduction of the wage) amounts to eight hours, and that the laborer works twelve hours, then he replaces the variable capital plus one-half of it. This 50 per cent of excess labor I call surplus value.

You know further that I lay much stress on what I call the organic composition of capital, that is on the proportion of constant and variable capital employed in the various trades. This ratio varies in the various trades. In highly developed textile industry, for instance, the ratio between constant and variable capital (c:v) is 80:20, in the tailoring business it is 50:50, in some very highly developed trades it is 90:10, in another trade it is, say 70:30. We see, then, that the organic composition of capital varies considerably. And as it is only variable capital which produces a surplus value or profit, since profit is nothing but the proportion of surplus value to the total capital advanced, then it theoretically follows that equal capital but with different organic compositions will produce unequal surplus values and therefore different rates of profit.

Suppose, as above, that the surplus labor is equal to 50 per cent. If, for instance, £1 value is the product of one working week, then the total wage bill of thirty laborers will be 20 and the value of the product of their labor 30. That is, the laborer receives two-thirds of a pound and he produces £1 value.

The amount of surplus value which a capital of 100 produces in different trades will vary according to the ratio in which capital is divided between its constant and variable elements. I denoted v 20, then the value of the product is equal to 110 (assuming, as above, 50 per cent surplus value or surplus labor). The mass of surplus value is equal to 10 per

cent, likewise the rate of profit, that is £10 profit on a capital of £100, the total profit is £110. Take now the big tailoring trade, the organic composition is c 50, v 50, the surplus value 25, the total product £125. Take another trade, where the organic composition is c 70, v 30, the surplus value 15, the total product £115. Finally, take a trade where the organic composition is c 90, v 10, the surplus value 5, the total product of £105.

We have here, with the same exploitation of labor, for equal amounts of capital in different trades, very different amounts of surplus value, and hence very different rates of profit.

However, if we consider the four capital outlays as forming component parts of a single whole, we get an average rate of profit as follows:

Value of the Produce:	Profit Rate Equal to:
I. c 80, v 20110	10 per cent
II. c 50, v 50125	25 per cent
III. c 70, v 30115	15 per cent
IV. c 90, v 10105	5 per cent
Total capital £400. Rate of exploitation 50 per cent	Profit 55 per cent

This amounts to an average profit of 13¾ per cent.

The total capital (£400) considered as being the property of the capitalist class yields an average profit rate of 13¾. And the capitalists are brothers. Competition, transfer of capital, or withdrawal of capital from one trade to the other renders it possible that capital outlays of equal magnitudes in different trades, despite their different organic compositions, yield the same average rate of profit. In other words, the capital outlay of any single manufacturing business yields an average profit rate, not according to the surplus value which it produces, but as an integral part of the total capital of the employing class. It is a share capital of a big concern, and its dividend is paid proportionately to its magnitude out of the total mass of surplus value the laboring class produces.

In order that each of the four capitals given in the illustration, I, II, III, IV, should earn the same average profit, they must each sell their goods at £113. I and IV sell above their value, II and III below their value.

The price fixed in that manner is equal to the expenses

of capital plus the average profit, and it is this price which Adam Smith calls the natural price, cost price, etc. It is the average price to which competition between the different trades (by the transfer and withdrawal of capital) reduces the prices in the different trades. Competition, then, does not reduce the commodities to their values, but to their cost prices, which may be sometimes above, sometimes below, or on par with their values, according to the organic composition of the capitals, as was shown above.

Ricardo confuses value with cost price. He therefore believes that if absolute rent existed (that is, a rent independent of the different degrees of fertility of the soil) then agricultural produce, selling as it does above the cost price (that is, the advanced capital plus the average profit), would likewise permanently stand above its value. Which, of course, would be inconsistent with the law of value. He therefore denies that there is such a thing as absolute rent and assumes only differential rent.

However, his identification of value of commodities and cost price of commodities is thoroughly wrong, and was traditionally accepted by him from Adam Smith.

The facts of the matter are these:

Assume the average organic composition of all non-agricultural capital to be $c\ 80, v\ 20$ (at 50 per cent surplus value), then every £100 will emerge from the productive process with a surplus value or rate of profit of £10. Total £110.

Assume now that the average organic composition of agricultural capital is $c\ 60, v\ 40$. Then the product, at the same rate of exploitation (that is 50 per cent), will be £120, and the profit rate 20 per cent. If the farmer sells his agricultural produce at its value, he sells it for £120, and not for £110, its cost price, for which he would have to sell it if there were competition in land. But here the landlord comes in and takes from the farmer the £10 as absolute rent, or the difference between value and cost price.

Low organic composition (that is, relatively high variable capital) means really low development of the productivity of labor in any sphere of production. The organic composition of agricultural capital, which is, say $c\ 60, v\ 40$, while the composition of industrial capital is $c\ 80, v\ 20$, shows that agriculture has not attained to that degree of productivity which manufacture has reached. As soon as agricultural capital reaches the composition $c\ 80, v\ 20$, absolute rent will cease and there will but remain differential rent, which is but surplus profit, and which of course may also occur in certain manufactures as long as they enjoy special technical, topographical, or any other advantages. I shall deal with differential rent in my book, as I think that Ricardo's assumption of a constant deterioration of agriculture is devoid of all foundation.

With regard to my definition of cost prices as distinguished from value, I may remark that apart from the difference between constant and variable capital, which emerges from the immediate process of the production of capital, there is still to be considered the difference between fixed and circulating capital, which emerges from the process of the circulation of capital. But this would complicate matters here. I only desired to give you a right outline of my views about surplus value, cost price, rent, in criticism of Ricardo. But you will admit that by clearly considering the importance of the organic composition of capital a good many difficulties and problems easily solve themselves.

About Scott Nearing

WE have received the following communication for publication in the WORKERS MONTHLY:

Editor, WORKERS MONTHLY

Dear Comrade:

Commenting on Earl Browder's criticism of Scott Nearing's theories, may I say that while I appreciate the good spirit of it and do not doubt that Comrade Browder's general criticism may be sound, still I do think that when he characterizes Comrade Nearing as a mere "liberal," he shows a sad confusion of idea—a confusion Nearing himself could not be guilty of. If we are going to be exact, let us be very exact, especially in our criticism of each other.

Fraternally,

S. PORTER,

San Jose, Calif.

Comrade Browder's Reply.

Comrade Browder's reply follows:

Comrade Porter should read the article again, and he would find that I characterized Nearing not as a "mere liberal," but as one who, beginning as a liberal, has become a Communist even though not yet completely clear. Comrade Nearing's record as something much more than a liberal is well-known; he was an editor of the "Revolutionary Age," one of the first left-wing publications in America after the Russian revolution. Although he did not go along with any of the organizations that resulted from this movement, yet he always established a line of demarcation between himself and the yellow Socialist Party, membership in which he dropped a couple of years ago. There was not the slightest intention on my part to slur over the various steps of Comrade Nearing in his progress toward Communism when I spoke of his "liberal" political beginnings. And when Comrade Nearing finds himself in complete agreement with the line of the Communist International he will also find that no Communist will make arguments against him on the basis of past differences. If we discuss the views of Nearing publicly at this time, it is only because Nearing embodies certain issues before the movement. In the process of criticism we clarify our own ranks and, we hope, bring Comrade Nearing and all who think as he does, closer to Communism and to the Party.

EARL R. BROWDER.

Work Routine

TWO days hunting a job.
Three days on job.
One day resting up from job.
Repeat.

—Henry George Weiss.

A Communist Milestone

The Fourth Convention of the Workers Party of America

By Max Shachtman

THE revolutionary party of the working class is not born with its full vigor, strength, and ability. It develops and reaches maturity only with years of struggle against unhealthy elements and tendencies within its ranks; its arms and mind are steeled and sharpened in the crucible of fiery battle against the enemies of the proletariat; its leadership is built and made firm by test and by the experiences and errors and victories of the workers throughout the world. With the knowledge of its tremendous historical role it aids in the task of leading the masses to their triumph by consciously improving the quality of its revolutionary mettle.

The fourth national convention of the Workers Party of America which meets this month is a milestone in the development of an American Bolshevik party. It is to be held after two highly important gatherings of the Communist International: the fifth world congress and the sessions of the enlarged executive, which considered the bitter defeats of the revolutionary movement in 1923 and their causes, which reflected the crystallization of the sharp struggle for the liquidation of the perils of the right-wing deviations and ultra-left errors on an international scale, which laid down a detailed line for the building of mass Leninist parties in a period of the temporary and partial depression of the revolutionary wave in Europe and its rise in the "backward" parts of the world.

The American party convention is taking place at a moment which follows a period of intense internal discussion and strife over various political differences which will, with

the fraternal aid of the Communist International, result in a consolidation of Communist forces in this country and a greater clarity and definitiveness of political line, more solid theoretical conception and practical pliability.

The delegates will gather at a time when American imperialism is rushing madly towards world domination over the bodies of millions of weaker peoples in all corners of the earth, and the convention will be confronted by a situation where it will proclaim its revolutionary task of transforming the swiftly approaching world war into a civil war of the proletariat against the ruling class. America, no longer the relatively isolated nation of some fifty years ago, is now a power of the first magnitude and has its far-flung financial interests which a well-knit military machine stands ready to defend and widen at a moment's notice. And a Communist party in this country must put in the forefront of its problems that of combatting imperialism which places under the yoke of slavery the people of the colonies and semi-colonies, which prostitutes broad sections of the aristocracy of labor at home, drags ever broader sections of the working class down to the level of colonial slaves, and sacrifices the flower of the proletariat in its conflicts with other imperialist powers: war.

This is not the only problem of the Workers Party. There are many others which are in many respects unique in the international Communist movement. We are relatively the most decentralized of the Communist parties of the world, with our cumbersome apparatus of language federations and social-democratic form of territorial branches which can be remedied only by a determined ideological campaign for the re-organization and further organization of the party upon the basis of shop nuclei, along with actual organizational measures to accomplish the aim of a Bolshevik party rooted in the shops and mines. Thus we shall have the means whereby a party can be built composed primarily of the workers in the heavy, basic industries: the miners, the steel workers, the metal and machinery workers and the like.

But shop nuclei by themselves do not make a Bolshevik party. To become the party of the masses, to represent their interests in every single strike, lockout, in every progressive movement in the trade unions, to lead and fight for their bread and butter needs every day, to broaden and intensify every issue that affects the workers, to increase their political mass consciousness—to become, in short, the recognized leaders of the aspirations and desires and struggles of the workers is the aim of the party. To become the champion of the interests of



Maurice Becker
Maurice Becker

the millions of brutally oppressed Negroes and to secure an alliance with or the neutralization of broad strata of the poorer sections of the farmers is another condition for victory.

Lenin pointed out that a Communist Party also carries on a consistent theoretical struggle for the purification of its ranks from hangovers of the social-democracy which formed the first reservoir from which most Communist parties drew their strength. In the United States this struggle takes the form of a campaign to eliminate the ideology of Loreism. This does not mean only a struggle against these who avow themselves of Loreist tendencies but also against those who actually express or represent these tendencies while formally repudiating any connection with right-wing deviations. As Bukharin pointed out: many comrades who raise their hands in holy terror at being associated with Trotskyism and vehemently assert their opposition to it, nevertheless follow a purely Trotskyist policy in the peasant question, for example. The building of Leninist circles in the ranks of the party, the creation of a body of functionaries who are well-trained in the doctrines of Leninism, the Bolshevization of the press and all the other instruments of the party is a guarantee against the development of new or old deviations from the line of the Communist International. Especially is theoretical training—at which there is often a tendency to laugh—imperative for the development towards a Bolshevik organization.

Numerous other problems will be before the convention. The intensification of work in the trade unions and the building of a network of fractions within them, a task which the Communist International places at the top of the list for the American party, the problem of the campaign for the labor party, anti-militarist agitation, agrarian work, work among the Negroes and a dozen other questions will have their place on the agenda.

We all recognize the difficulties we face. In a country with such little revolutionary tradition, with numbers of workers eating at the second and third tables of the imperialist banquet and scorning the reds, with other millions poisoned against their own interests by the amazing propaganda machine of the bourgeoisie which is the most cunning, brutal and powerful in the world, our task is surely not an easy one. Ourselves numerically weak, we are faced with a united front ranging from the old reactionary parties of capital, through the "progressive" movement, the most conservative (that is putting it mildly!) trade union bureaucracy of them all, and a host of lesser opponents in the Socialist movement together with a number of petty renegades, like Mr. Salutsky, without whom we breathe more freely.

But we have great progress to record and a known future to strive for. We have built our party from the best elements of the old Socialist and Socialist-Labor parties, and from the I. W. W., as well as from previously unattached proletarians. We are the quintessence of the revolutionary forces of the past. Our movement has been through its underground existence and forced its way again into the open, making itself a factor in the trade unions, on the economic and political field, a factor which is reckoned with by even those who wish to be blind.

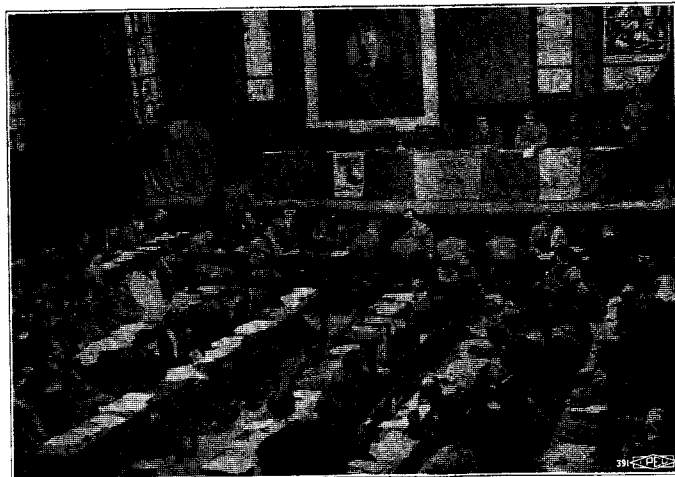
The Socialist Labor Party sits in its dusty attic re-reading and misunderstanding De Leon. The Socialist Party adds a fresh betrayal of the working class to its black record every day, lives in the reflected glory of its more successful brethren in Europe and hopes for the day when it too may crown its infamy by active counter-revolution. The revolutionary blood of the I. W. W. is being drained by anarchist and syndicalist misleaders. The Workers Party stands out as the recognized party of the class-conscious, militant revolutionary workers of America, gaining in prestige and numbers and following. We have a growing Communist movement in the younger generation, the Young Workers League.

Our enemies may yap at our heels and gain small comfort from our internal struggles. Our struggle for clarity and correct principles and tactics in our own ranks is open, and we carry it on without secrecy so that the workers may see that we seek always the right road to working-class revolution and understand that it is in the interests of the proletariat that we so determinedly draw a balance to our past activities and set ourselves firmly against the "priggishness, smug self-content and conceit" which are so typical of the social-democracy.

Our convention goes forward with the enthusiasm and faith which is inspired by the Russian revolution and the growing power of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. We are determined in the knowledge of the inevitable victory of the oppressed. We follow the leader of the toilers of the world, the international of revolution which strikes terror into the heart of the bourgeoisie, the Communist International. We gain new revolutionary fervor to fan the flames of discontent until it blazes as the funeral pyre of the ruling class.

Hail to the Workers Party!

While Police Watched Outside



BRITISH COMMUNISTS IN CONVENTION

Police watched all avenues to head off the special representatives of the Comintern, but the latter quietly slipped by the "bulls" and greeted the convention amidst a thunderous ovation.

Lewis Performs for the Anthracite Miners

By Alex Reid

Secretary, Progressive Miners International Committee

ON July 3 the Scranton, Pa., tri-district convention of the anthracite miners, embracing districts, one, seven and nine of the United Mine Workers of America, passed into history. The Progressive Miners at the convention came forward with a splendid, clear-cut program, part of it being accepted unqualifiedly and part being referred to the next international convention of the U. M. W. of A.



ALEX REID

John L. Lewis himself was on hand from the opening on June 29 to the very end, as was Secretary-Treasurer Kennedy. Lewis graced the chair throughout most of the proceedings, giving free rein to his accustomed bombastic and empty phraseology, posing deliberately, playing to the gallery in such a manner as to capture the imagination of a goodly number of the uninitiated. But despite some successful stunts on his part, he was hardly quite pleased with the unmistakable signs of progressive development among the anthracite miners at the convention.

First of all, the militant elements introduced resolutions calling for a change in the system of payment for coal produced. Under the present system the miners get paid so much per car but as the cars vary in capacity this arrangement can hardly be called satisfactory. The tri-district is one of the few places in the country—in fact in the whole world of mining—where it is still in effect. The progressive delegates demanded that all coal mined should be paid for on a tonnage basis. This demand was adopted unanimously.

The progressives also demanded an increase of wages to meet the increased cost of living and to enable them to give their children an education. The enormous profits of the lords of anthracite in the last nine years, mounting into billions of dollars wrung from the blood of the underground slaves of Pennsylvania, make the boasted wealth of Rome look like the income from a peanut stand. Why then must the miners live in misery? They demand a ten per cent increase in wages. And precisely at this time the operators are insisting upon not higher wages, but another decrease in the pittance now doled out to the coal diggers.

The miners are also demanding other changes, notably more equitable payment for the labor-power they are forced to put into comparatively "dead work."

The following resolutions of the progressive miners were adopted by the convention unanimously, or almost unanimously:

Abolition of Child Labor.

Abolition of so-called Criminal Syndicalism laws.

Endorsement of the Pennsylvania Labor Party.

The check-off system of dues payment in the Miners' Union was indorsed in the resolution calling for complete recognition of the union, as explained by Horne and Kennedy, both acting as "officials to the convention." The check-off of dues from the wages paid out to the miners by the coal companies adds but an insignificant expense to the operators, and results in a great saving to the miners.

It is small wonder that this gathering in the hard-coal field found the miners in anything but a pleasant mood. Unemployment has reached tremendous proportions throughout America, but in the coal mining industry its ravages have been ghastly. The encroachment of cheap coal from the non-union fields of West Virginia, Kentucky, etc., menacing the anthracite market, and the threat of a cut in wages already far too low to meet even the bare necessities of life—with the alternative of a shut-down—aroused the fighting spirit of the miners.

The miners knew that in the bituminous fields the coal operators had wrecked the many parts of the U. M. W. of A. and that the boasted Jacksonville agreement is merely a scrap of paper to be violated whenever or wherever the operators desire.

That this feeling existed in the convention, no one knew better than John L. Lewis. He weighed it well and decided that it must be reckoned with and offset. Understanding the psychology of the coal miners, he is experienced in the ways of demagoguery. It was necessary to play upon the emotions of the delegates in some way or other. Like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, he bellowed out the following declaration:

"If this conspiracy of big business to violate the contract continues. . . it may be necessary to authorize a nationwide shut-down of all bituminous mines in the United States, while the government, the coal operators and the mine workers discuss whether the Jacksonville agreement is to be carried out."

The convention was electrified. The miners were so carried away by the heat of the declaration that they failed for the moment to recognize the joker that was in it.

But the men who knew Lewis of old were not fooled by his theatrical phrases. They realized that the word, "may," tied up the statement so completely as to mean plainly that no action against the operators would be permitted. The observant few in the tri-district convention knew that John L. Lewis, from the moment of signing the Jacksonville nonsense, has openly aided the coal kings to violate and repudiate the agreement by his steadfast refusal to call the American miners out on strike as he now states he may be forced to do. Not only has Lewis refused to fight for the miners' rights under the terms of the agreement, but he has rendered aid and comfort to the operators by sanctioning expulsions of militant miners who have urged action to enforce the agreement.

Symposium of Scabs and Mine-guards



It is a comedy for those who are acquainted with Lewis to watch him perform before the uninitiated but what a tragedy to the trustful miners who give him their confidence only to see it ruthlessly betrayed!

John L. Lewis, international president of the U. M. W. of A., Labor Banker, and ex-committeeman for Co. Cal, the Boston strikebreaker, will never sanction a general strike of the coal miners under any circumstances unless forced to do so by the militant rank and file. The reason for his phrases and his empty gestures is to be found in the 66,000 votes counted for the progressive miners in the last miners' election and the rising resentment against the unconstitutional tactics by which he strives to maintain himself in power.

Anthracite and bituminous miners alike will soon learn that no hope can come from this American king of labor fakery and cast him out of the union which he has nearly destroyed.

The Progressive Miners' Committee of the U. M. W. of A. has the only real solution for the problems facing the miners. In part, it is the following:

Nationalization of mines, with workers control—a policy which Lewis repudiates.

Six-hour day and five-day week, to assure division of the available work among all the miners.

Minimum wage to guarantee the coal diggers a union rate of pay when working or prevented from working through no fault of their own.

Unemployment benefits, to guarantee the miners a living when the mines are closed down, the same to be paid by the coal operators out of the profits from the industry, at union rates.*



Don Brown

* If you agree with the Progressive Miners' Committee, aid the committee by subscribing to the "Progressive Miner," 50 cents per year. Send all subscriptions to the international secretary, Alex Reid, 7020 So. Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

The Makers and Masters of Steel

By Arne Swabeck

THE STEEL PLANT

*BLACK masses upon masses; steel and stone
Girding a Giant's cave, intense with heat;
Labor with brazen arm and sweaty brow
Here slaveth well—ah well indeed!—and long.
Theimps make merry; ceaseless sound and motion
Deafen, yet he slaves on, a speechless tool.
The warm pink metal slides and slides again
In never-ending bars of imprisoned fire,
And mighty bowls briming with molten lava
Turn in the air.—Outside, the pale blue sky
Embraces all, is pure with clouds of pearl,
And sweet with the warm breath of odorous
Spring.*

—DEANE FISHER.

IN the hearth of the Pittsburgh steel district, officially designated by the home boosters, "the work shop of the world" thousands upon thousands of steel workers live lives of hazardous gruelling toil, mercilessly exploited by the strongest capitalist combine ever created, exposed to persecution if they dare to utter rebellious thoughts, sometimes dropping from complete exhaustion and picking themselves up to struggle along through their hopeless existence, finding relief only in an early grave.

The steel workers are in the grip of an overwhelming power ready to crush everything and everybody who does not bend to its will. Yet the heroism and tenacity of the workers in actual combat with their relentless masters has more than once stirred the labor movement and given encouragement to the evergrowing hope for working-class freedom.

In the Steel Towns.

Along the banks of the Allegheny, Monongahela and Ohio Rivers lie the gigantic blast furnaces and steel mills, most of them subsidiaries of the United States Steel Corporation. Down the Monongahela River for a stretch of forty miles on both banks gigantic plants crowd together hammering and throbbing day and night. Old-type tow boats tugging four to five barges plough the murky waters. Long freight trains are in constant motion on the river banks and heavy bridges with their endless load of raw materials and finished products.

A maze of steel and rails everywhere. Smoke stacks of the mills stand out like forests belching poisonous clouds of black and yellow which turn into flames whenever the hot, molten metal is poured and mixed with the various ingredients. This heavy smoke drifts over the filthy hovels which the steel workers call home, falling down as a thick and suffocating blanket. The river water spreads typhoid fever from the ruination due to sulphur acids coming from the mills.

Here are the steel towns whose names have become graven into labor's history never to fade away, Homestead, Rankin, Braddock, McKeesport, Duquesne, Donora, Clairton, Monessen and others. All these towns are owned and controlled by the steel trust. Their dilapidated streets run right alongside the mills and furnaces. Big families squeeze into the wretched houses, the shift system at the mills allowing the introduction of the ingenious arrangement whereby three steel workers often sleep in the same bed, one after the other. Down at River Avenue in Braddock, when the water is high in the Monongahela the first floors become flooded. In

front of every mill gate private policemen are stationed, armed with heavy batons, blackjacks and guns, taking their orders from their master—the Steel Trust.

Coming from Pittsburgh through East End, where stand the palatial dwellings of the plutocrats—the Mellons, the Babcocks, the Olivers and the Heinzes—and continuing on to the towns of Rankin, Braddock and Homestead one sees a contrast that powerfully illustrates the social abyss created by the class divisions of present-day society.

Fat Profits for the "Ironmasters."

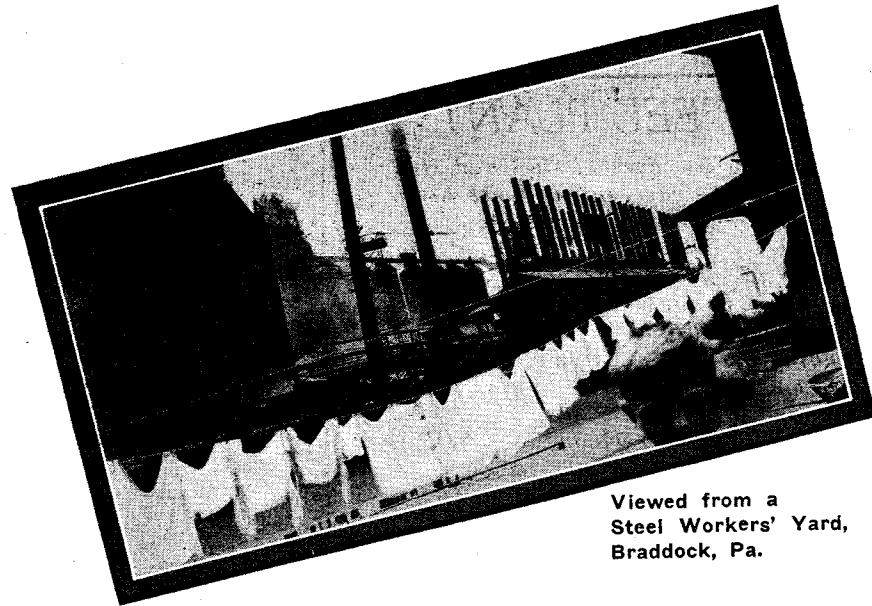
Since the bessemer process became known in 1885 and made possible the production of rolled steel the industry has shown amazing growth, in development of implements, in productive capacity and in the piling up of profits. During 1899 the total steel ingot production amounted to 10,485,745 tons. In 1917 the output was 43,619,200 tons. This was however a war year and the steel business thrives on war; it was in fact a record year in the industry. The last six years have shown an average production of 34,750,000 tons. During the last few months a slackening has set in, production being about 70 per cent of capacity at the end of May.

During 1924, after deducting great sums for depreciation, depletion and bond interest, the net profits of twenty of the biggest steel concerns possessing approximately 85 per cent of the country's ingot capacity amounted to a total of \$134,400,000; the United States Steel Corporation alone realized \$85,067,000.

The total investment in the United States Steel Corporation has today reached the stupendous sum of \$1,562,234,000. And at the last stockholders' meeting Judge Gary stated that the corporation has undivided surplus on hand of \$517,061,308.

Something like 60,000 steel workers employed by the corporation are claimed to have become stockholders of the corporation, including mainly the clerical force, straw bosses and better paid mechanics. They, of course, cannot complain about working conditions. They must not do anything that may harm their "own" company. If in addition they live in a company house, buy in a company store, have a company loan and work toward a company pension they find themselves all "sewed up." But if stock buying by the employes becomes too heavy the next wage cut is prepared. The corporation meanwhile uses their hard earned money for its tremendous expansions and to increase its power. It operates thousands of miles of railroads, owns vast coal fields, limitless metal mines, shipping lines, docks, shipbuilding yards, by-product

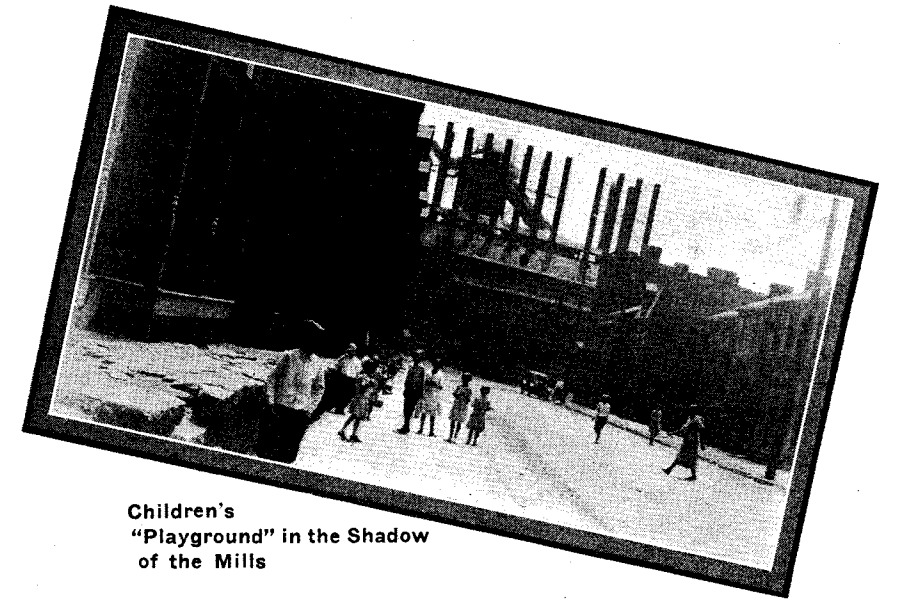
The Makers and Masters of Steel



Viewed from a
Steel Workers' Yard,
Braddock, Pa.



Steel Workers' Children



Children's
"Playground" in the Shadow
of the Mills



Where the Steel-Makers Live
and Slave—Rankin, Pa.



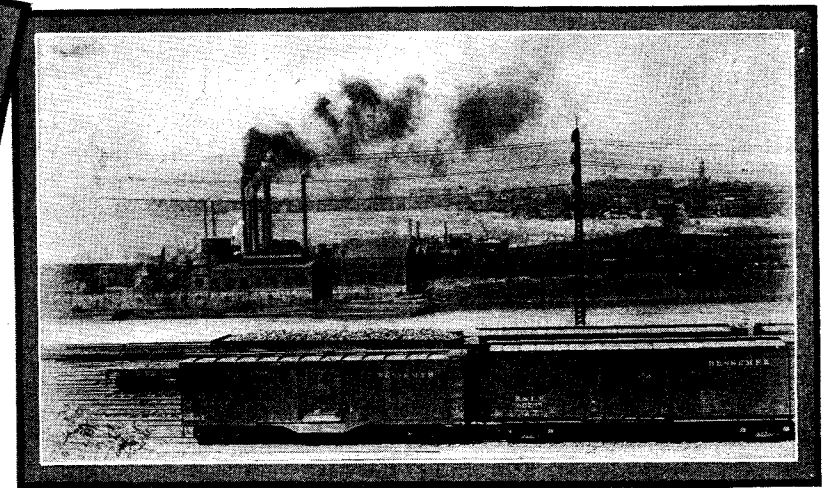
A Newcomer
Inside the Mill Gate



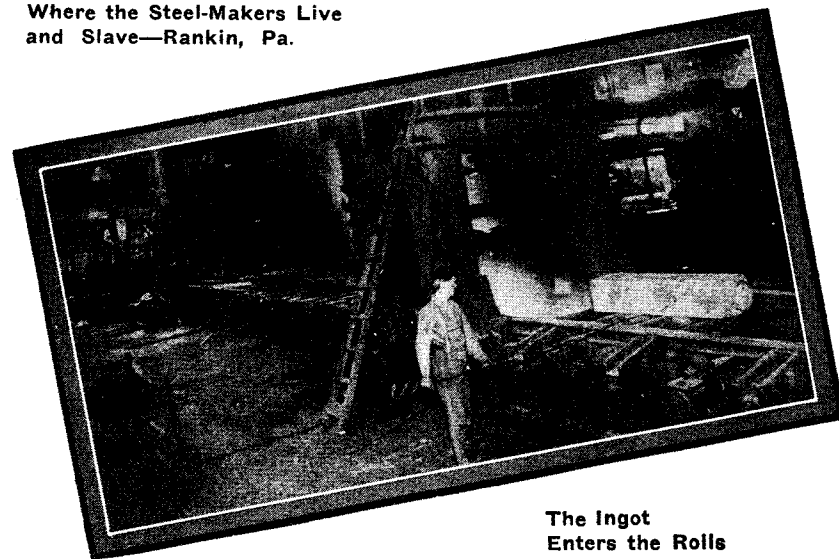
Steel Boss



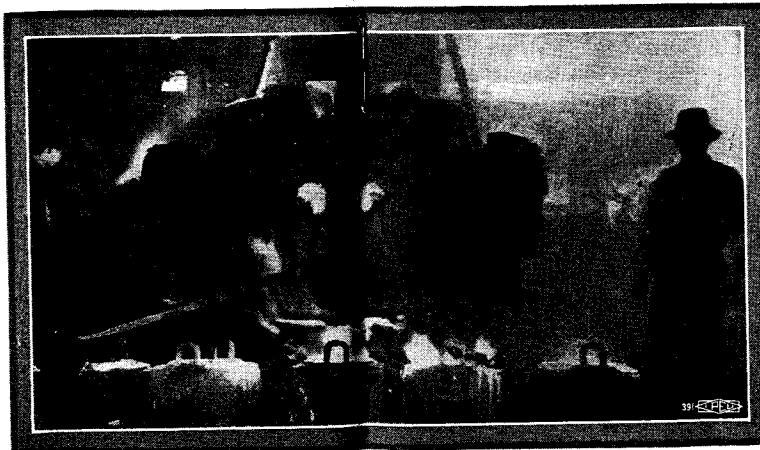
Facing
the Furnace



Wire Mill, Rankin, Pa.



The Ingot
Enters the Rolls



Pouring Steel Ingots



Hammer Crew

plants and is closely tied to the country's biggest banking institutions. Profits are piling up year after year for the owners of the United States Steel Corporation and the Steel Trust as a whole. Through direct investment and interlocking directorates they have become powerful factors in scores of other great industries. Their economic and political power is growing to fantastic heights.

Steel Trust Law.

The Steel Trust dominates the municipalities of all the little steel towns in the Pittsburgh district. The burgesses' chair is invariably occupied by company officials or their near relatives. The chiefs of police are company tools. They cheat the municipalities of taxes. They use their political control to keep the workers unorganized. No working-class expression, no working-class meetings are permitted. Free speech does not exist. The unscrupulous burgesses are given unlimited sway to use their positions to close halls, break up gatherings of workers, place them under arrest if they carry on strike activities, intimidate and terrorize workers and deport those of foreign birth. If any situation arises with which the mill police cannot cope the town or state police will be available, or even the military forces if necessary, as during the steel strike of 1919. The brutalities then perpetrated against the steel workers, the wholesale clubbing, shooting and jailing, equalled the worst white terrorist acts known to history.

All these town officials became notorious in 1919. No outrage was too revolting for them in their mad rush for Steel Trust favors. They have this reputation to the present day. Mayor Lysle of McKeesport, who won his spurs as a steel trust "crusader" in 1919, has made the boast that his record in fighting unionism and suppressing the workers has secured his re-election to office ever since. In 1923, about 1,000 men went out on strike in the McKeesport Tin Plate Company. Many of them were arrested for distribution of dodgers announcing a union meeting and in third degree sessions threatened with long-term imprisonment. Attempts to hold meetings were ruthlessly crushed. This unorganized strike was lost. A free speech fight led by members of the Workers Party at that time in the city of McKeesport brought imprisonment to a number of comrades. In the other steel towns a similar condition prevails.

Mighty Labor Struggles of the Past.

These are but a few incidents in a long series of bitter and bloody struggles. Defeat after defeat has been the lot of the steel workers during the last generation.

The first strike ever recorded was the one of Pittsburgh puddlers in 1849-50. But the beginning of the real struggles only dates back to 1858 with the organization of the Sons of Vulcan. Since then almost every new invention and new introduction of heavy machinery eliminated men from the mills and brought proposed wage cuts, most of them resulting in severe strikes.

The Homestead strike of 1892, extremely violent in character, attracted worldwide attention. Andrew Carnegie and H. C. Frick refused to deal with the union, hired scabs and imported 300 Pinkertons for their "protection." From Ash-tabula, Ohio, where they had gathered they were brought to a point on the Ohio River and at midnight on June 5th embarked on barges to be towed up the river to Monongahela and thence to Homestead where they arrived in the early

morning hours of July 6th to be put ashore back of the mills. Here the striking workers had gathered, with their sympathizers, several thousand strong. A battle ensued, several were killed and the Pinkertons compelled to surrender and leave town. Finally, however, the strike was lost. This strike also marked a turning point in American industrial history. With it the trade union expansion, formerly a feature of the steel industry, came to an end and the day of untrammelled labor control by the employers arrived. The strike of 1901, subsequent upon the organization of the United States Steel Corporation and its determined, ruthless fight against unionism, brought defeat to the workers. However, the final death blow to the earlier trade union organization was administered in 1909 when the union was wiped out, not only in the United States Steel Corporation, but also in the larger independents. The strike at McKees Rocks Pressed Steel Car Company the same year was also extremely bitter in character, several workers being killed along with some state cossacks who attempted to protect the scabs.

Foster's Moral and Practical Victory.

The great organization drive of 1919 and the subsequent strike was a wonderful demonstration of working-class solidarity and mass action. It will live as a great moral victory because it showed that what had been considered impossible was actually accomplished. Despite the half-heartedness and sometimes deliberate sabotage of many of the officials of the international unions entering into the drive, despite the great difficulties of the craft system of unionism and the stupid craft outlook on the part of these officials, for the first time in history a comprehensive and accurately estimated organization strategy was worked out and applied on a mass scale under the leadership of William Z. Foster. It consisted in a simultaneous drive from all directions against the main citadel—Pittsburgh. The strategy worked successfully; one fortress after another fell and the industry was conquered for organization. Then—criminal neglect and final betrayal by many of the union officials turned it into another defeat.

Facing the Furnaces.

There are a total of 399 blast furnaces in the country capable of making pig iron. Most of them are in the Pittsburgh district and the greater part of them are active at present. From these furnaces the iron is tapped as red hot molten metal. Men are constantly at work there, in shifts. When the blast furnace stoves need cleaning from the hardened cinder in combustion, which is performed by pick and shovel, a gang of from six to ten men gets on the job. To protect themselves against the extreme heat, the men put on wooden sandals, tie canvass to their legs and cover as much as possible of the face; but nothing can protect them from breathing in the hot flue dust. Ten minutes to one hour is the limit that a gang can stand the heat inside. If the stove tenders who manipulate the large, clumsy valves while the furnace is active perform the operations in the wrong order they are blown to bits. Sometimes men fall into the furnace and die instantly. Tending to blast furnaces in operation the men get no "spells" but keep on working until they sometimes drop from utter physical exhaustion. As stated by one steel worker from the Carnegie Homestead plant:

"If a man drops they take him to the office and

give him some medicine; if he can he goes back to work, if he can't he goes home. But you know if you go home you get no wages."

There are three methods of converting cast iron into steel, viz., the crucible, the open hearth and the bessemer processes, producing different qualities of steel. The most extreme heat exposure is perhaps at the open hearth furnaces; heat being generated from about a dozen ovens containing from 30 to 75 tons of molten steel. At tap time when the hot liquid is poured into ingot molds, the men make "black walls," which means throwing heavy dolomite across the blazing furnace. Four to five minutes work at which the temperature reaches 180 degrees. When the white hot steel is tapped into a ladle, sometimes 100 tons size, coal and manganese is shoveled into the ladle making flames leap high into the air, while the heat blasts everything to the roof. The motto laid down for the men is: "Get near enough to do the work without getting your whole face burned off." The most exposed parts of the body are almost sure to get minor burns and it is almost always necessary to extinguish little fires from the clothing. Hot metal explosions are common occurrences and generally fatal to the workers.

At the bessemer converter the steel pourer and his helpers work day by day beside a ladle brimming with from 10 to 15 tons of seething liquid steel.

Where Life is Cheap.

The molten steel is poured into ingot molds 18 to 24 inches in diameter and as soon as the ingots are cold enough to stand alone they are stripped of the molds and while still red hot hauled by dinky engines to the rolling mills where they are flattened into shapes suitable for the market. It sounds like a thunderbolt when an ingot hits the rolls and when the cold saws bite into steel plates a deafening screech is produced. The noise becomes a terrible strain on the workers.

At the finishing mills roughers and catchers leap at their work, thrusting red hot billets through the rolls. Real agility is required, a stiff joint or a misstep may mean instant death. At the rod and wire mills the red hot wires dart with lightning speed like snakes through the rolls several at a time and if catchers are too slow with their tongs a limb may be cut off.

Many accidents occur at the heavy machines and huge cranes. It is difficult for men worked to the point of complete physical exhaustion to be sufficiently on the alert to avoid fatalities and the iron and steel mills have taken a heavy toll of human lives. Workers' lives were cheap, particularly those brought in from foreign shores, with no relatives in the country and no one to ask what became of them. According to the "Pittsburgh Survey" an investigation made in 1907 showed that for the loss of an eye in several instances as low compensation as \$48 was paid, the loss of a leg was compensated by as little as \$55 and in some cases there has been no compensation whatever. Out of 42 deaths caused by accidents at the Carnegie mills compensation was paid to 10 families, the amount in each case being \$1,000 or less.

Some safety devices are applied in the Pittsburgh mills but it is found much cheaper to fill the workers up to stuffing with safety lectures. Never a day passes in any of these mills without some accident. One steel worker at Braddock

who had lived for years on Clara Street, told of his family witnessing day by day the injured being carried on stretchers to the company hospital. "Just three weeks ago," said he, "A red hot rail went clean through a man and he was taken out quietly and buried. I was working only a few feet away from him but it was hushed up and I learned nothing of it until a few days after." The company does not care to have accidents known.

The Blacklist.

The blacklist system, although of the crudest kind, works with brutal efficiency in the steel mills. When a man applies for a job the agent first takes his complete description on especially prepared blanks, as well as his fingerprints. The office blacklist is consulted and if the man's name, description or fingerprint is on the list there is no opening for him.

During the great organization drive and subsequent strike of 1919 any worker caught active on behalf of unionism was immediately entered on the blacklist, which was furnished to all the mills of the district. Spies and provocateurs, either directly in the employ of the trust or supplied by private detective agencies, swarmed amongst the workers to provoke them into making definite statements starting disturbances. They would report their unsuspecting fellow workers to the companies as "dangerous radicals", from whence the report would go to the town and state police and federal government to be used to crush any move by the workers and victimize those reported. Whose government it is became quite clear.

Today the spies are as thick as ever amongst the workers and precisely the same methods are being used.

The Lean Pay Envelopes of the Unorganized.

Many steel workers curse the day they first stepped inside the mill gate, but it is not so easy to get out again;—the kiddies must be fed no matter how long the working hours, no matter how miserable the conditions nor how great the suppression. The gigantic Steel Trust runs its plants on a highly militarized basis. The ever growing army of common laborers are treated worse than slaves. Economic division among the workers is deliberately stimulated, while a prostitute sense of loyalty to the company is developed among the straw bosses and some of the more highly skilled mechanics. The latter stupidly believe their economic interests are threatened by the unskilled, blissfully ignorant that their skill is being undermined by the development of machinery.

Working hours in the mills are still anywhere from 8 to 14, and wage rates have a yet wider range. Rollers sometimes receive as much as \$30 a day, doublers \$10 to \$14, heaters \$9, catchers and roughers \$7 to \$8. These are however the highly skilled crafts making up a small minority of the mill force.

The large army of unskilled workers at present receives from 40 to 50 cents an hour. No worker has any say in fixing the rates but must take whatever he receives in the pay envelope or get out. These are the conditions of the unorganized. Unionism is taboo in the steel mills.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: In the September issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY Swabek will have another great steel article, treating the question of organization of the steel workers.)

A Solid Line of Proletarian Defense

By
Thurber Lewis

THE first time a national conference of workers ever convened in this country for the sole purpose of creating a movement for the defense of ALL workers was on June 28th last. It was called the National Conference for Labor Defense and it met in Ashland Auditorium, Chicago. More than a hundred delegates attended representing workers' organizations in all parts of the country. The conference did tangible things for workers' defense that had not been done before.

The delegates who came to Chicago on June 28th, founded a movement whose effect on the current American class struggle is destined to be tremendous and far-reaching. The name of the new movement is INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE.

The Double Need for United Labor Defense.

The Labor Defense Council called the conference. There were two reasons. Objectively, the conditions of Labor Defense showed unquestionable signs of another campaign of jailing and persecution of workers in prospect. Subjectively, Labor Defense generally was not in position to meet a new onslaught. There was too much disunity, there were too many defense committees doing the same thing in different ways. Although the call was issued as late as May 30th, when June 28th came, the response was discovered to be beyond expectation.

The unity slogan was taken seriously. Credentials were presented from local trade unions, central bodies, local defense bodies and workers' fraternal and benent societies. In



addition there were individuals who had distinguished themselves in their efforts on behalf of labor defense. Ex-political and industrial prisoners were invited. They came in force, I. W. W.'s, Communists, trade unionists; all ex-class-war prisoners, were seated in the conference.

James P. Cannon was elected chairman, Andrew T. McNamara of Pittsburgh vice-chairman and Wm. Mollenhaur, representing the Detroit Federation of Labor, secretary. There were few formalities. Only one day was available for deliberation and there was much work to be done. While the credentials committee was out, greetings were read and a few speeches made. The greetings came from all over the world. Eugene V. Debs, Upton Sinclair, Scott Nearing, Alice Stone Blackwell, and other individuals prominent in the labor and radical movements of the country expressed solidarity with the move. Workers' organizations wired their support. Many men sent greetings from prison.

Wm. F. Dunne and others called up memories of older battles in and out of the courts. You felt that, after all, the American working-class has a tradition behind it, young as it is. It was with a full sense of this tradition and the responsibility resting upon them that the delegates set to work.

Founding of "International Labor Defense."

Three committees were elected: Manifesto, Constitution and Resolutions. The first committee reported a document which was unanimously adopted, calling for the founding of an organization to be called "International Labor Defense," non-partisan and non-sectarian. It will defend all workers, regardless of political opinion or industrial affiliation. International Labor Defense is to be built on the firm foundation of individual membership supplemented by collective affiliations from all working-class bodies. The dues are low, ten cents a month. Every worker whose heart is in the right place should stand ready to support it. A great mass organization is in view.

A large national committee representing all shades of working-class belief was elected to supervise the organization. What was more necessary to the progress of the workers' cause in America?

This constitution was adopted unanimously. International Labor Defense, the first non-sectarian workers' defense organization ever created by the labor movement in America, was born.

The first paragraph of the manifesto summed up the general situation: "There are not less than 128 workers confined in American prisons because of political opinions or activity in behalf of the workers' cause. A half-hundred more await trial. No crime has been proved against any of these workers. They are in prison because they fought against capitalist exploitation and because they organized, inspired and led workers in the struggle for class betterment. They are class-war prisoners."

A Broad Program.

The resolutions submitted were more than a mere series of statements. Taken together they made a complete program for the guidance of the new organization. An ex-class-war prisoner, Harrison George, reported the resolution for the release of political and industrial prisoners. It reminded the labor movement in this country of its imprisoned soldiers: Mooney and Billings, Ford and Suhr, Sacco and Vanzetti, Rangel and Cline and many others, and called for a new fight for their release: "The International Labor Defense will take the initiative to organize a wide-spread campaign for the unconditional release of imprisoned fighters of the class struggle."

When Andrew T. McNamara of the Machinists' District Council of Pittsburgh reported the resolution against injunctions and anti-labor legislation he told of a worker in Western Pennsylvania who was arrested for having a red lamp in his parlor. Thirty-five states have criminal syndicalist laws that can send any worker to jail any time the bosses want him there.

The labor movement was warned that the jailing of Communists and I. W. W. members under these laws were mere rehearsals. The labor movement as a whole is next.

"Unknown Soldiers" of the Working Class.

The International Labor Defense was pledged to stand ready to supply legal aid to any and all workers attacked for their activity in the class struggle. Legal defense is necessary. Frame-ups must be made as difficult as possible. Then, publicity: "Not a single instance of labor-baiting shall be allowed to escape the attention of the labor movement."

The question comes: how many "unknown soldiers" of the working class have been hidden away in prison? And what about those living martyrs wasting away in the prisons that we know of: 128 of them? They are to be looked after, "The International Labor Defense will raise special funds for the systematic provision of material comforts and the necessities of life to class-war prisoners." And working-class families will be cared for too.

The delegates to this "National" conference were not unmindful, as delegates to such conferences usually are, that the class struggle is an international affair. Benjamin Gitlow, who any minute expected a call back to Sing Sing, told the story of White Terror that the workers abroad have to contend with. There was a feeling that our own little brand

of terror is gradually approaching it. The conference expressed its unconditional solidarity with all exploited and oppressed workers the world over and promised the support of the International Labor Defense in aid of the victims of capitalism everywhere.

Watchword of the Conference.

The watchword of the conference was unity. "The defense of persecuted fighters for the cause of labor and the fraternal support of their dependents is a common platform upon which all sincere workers who believe in the principle of the class struggle can unite." So begins the key resolution of the conference. It is this sentiment of unity that will make International Labor Defense a vital organization.

A National Committee of 37 was elected in the same spirit. This committee was representative of all shades of opinion and many diverse working-class groups. Eugene V. Debs, Upton Sinclair, Wm. Z. Foster, Benjamin Gitlow, Alice Stone Blackwell, Fred Mann, William Mollenhaur, Andrew McNamara are on the committee.

A Rousing Send-Off.

A word should be said about the mass meeting with which the conference closed. Temple Hall was jammed to

(Continued on page 476)



WHEN "INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE" WAS CREATED James P. Cannon, its elected secretary, and George Maurer, secretary of the "Labor Defense Council" which merged with the unity organization.



BEN GITLOW, FACING SING SING, TAKES PART IN DEFENSE CONFERENCE

Financial Dictatorship In Canada

Our Masters Amalgamate

By Maurice Spector

THE process of consolidation and concentration in Canadian banking and finance goes on apace. The economic and political destinies of the millions of Canadian workers, farmers and people of the middle classes, are becoming increasingly subject to the control of a few great corporations, of a small clique of millionaire financiers. "Democracy" under such conditions is a figment of the imagination of bourgeois liberal doctrinaires.

The recent absorption of the Union Bank by the Royal Bank of Canada, makes the fifth bank merger in the last three years and the thirty-second merger since confederation. In 1901, there were still 34 banks in the country. Today there are only eleven. Nor are these 11 survivors by any means all equal in strength of resources. It is only a question of time when the remorseless law of capitalist concentration will reduce their numbers to proportions of what for all practical purposes will amount to absolute monopoly. The statement recently passed unchallenged in Parliament that three men, the heads of great financial institutions, controlled the credit-power of the whole country. The dominating banks are even now the so-called "Big Four," the Bank of Montreal, the Royal, the Bank of Commerce and the Bank of Nova Scotia, with assets together of over two billion dollars, while the remaining seven dispose of less than six hundred million dollars. After amalgamation with the Union Bank, the Royal itself will have a total of 923 branches and resources in excess of seven hundred million dollars.

Mergers Reflect Crisis.

In addition to exemplifying the tendency towards concentration, these mergers are no less a reflection of the state of crisis of Canadian capitalism—a condition which works by the Biblical precept that "unto him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away." As compared with previous years, bank deposits and loans both declined in 1924. Banks loans to industry last year reached the lowest level since 1918—and this while current loans outside Canada climbed steadily upward. The crumbling up of the Union Bank, in particular, tells the story of the depressing conditions that have prevailed in the agrarian West. Its head office was in Winnipeg and it had more Western branches than the other banks. The latest series of mergers began in 1923, when the Standard and Union banks announced the writing down of their reserve funds provided to meet emergencies. The most glaring failure of these years is that of the Home Bank, bringing in its train the ruin of thousands of small depositors. In the case of this bank, looting on the part of its directors was so obvious that several were sentenced to terms of imprisonment. The reasons the directors of the Union Bank gave to the Acting Minister of Finance, in seeking his "consent" to the merger, were reduced earnings with no prospects of early improvement, making necessary a cut in the annual dividend which would result in a substantial drop in the bank shares.

It is important to observe that the Royal Bank is noted for its investment proclivities, in Cuba for instance, where it

has financed the sugar industry. This Canadian bank, like its brethren of the "Big Four," has followed in the footsteps of the "National City" and "First National" of New York, who first showed how so-called "commercial" banks could invade the field of or rather join forces with the investment banker for the subjugation of large-scale transport and industry. As Lenin vividly reminded us, the domination of finance-capital goes with the shift in the center of gravity of banking activity to investments in securities and loans extended to promote financial (and hence imperialist) enterprises—a development due to the realization of the enormous profits to be obtained from promotion underwritings and security purchases. Incidentally this is an activity that has been carried to its highest point of development by the Morgan firm of New York who have become the directing power in railroads, "public service" corporations, and industrial corporations, in banks, in trust companies and life insurance companies.

Financiers Dominate Politically.

And along with this growth of monopoly on the economic fields goes the open dictatorship of the monopolists on the political field. The financiers no longer think it worth their while to dissemble their aims. It is no longer Marxists only who point out the political implications of capitalist-financial concentration and monopoly. The New York Post last July wrote boldly that "Finance always manipulated political affairs. Previously, the financiers acted under cover, unobtrusively. Now they openly dominate." The "Manitoba Free Press," expressing the petty-bourgeois reaction to the Royal-Union merger in its murky way, writes as follows:

"The Minister of Finance in giving his blessing to the marriage of these banks indulges in the usual jargon about 'great financial stability that will result. Do Mr. Robb or any of his associates ever think about the need of doing something that will induce greater political stability?' The concentration of banking power in Montreal and Toronto and in fewer and fewer hands is becoming a menace to the Confederation."

The Canadian Progressives or their left wing at least, will probably renew their demand in Parliament for a little tinkering to make such mergers "impossible." These are the elements who hark back to the free trade Utopia of Cobdenite capitalism and try to stem the tide of capitalist monopoly by reactionary dreams of the LaFollette order. In connection with the decennial revision of the Canadian Bank Act, various reforms were discussed before the parliamentary Committee on Banking and Commerce. The mountain labored and produced a mouse. The result of the Committee's labors was government inspection of the banks through the medium of an inspector-general (who by the way, is a former Royal Bank man). But for all the difference that an "inspector-general" can make he might just as well be in Timbuctoo as in Canada. Half measures on the basis of capitalism are absolutely towards "controlling" financial monopoly. In 1914 there was appointed in the United States the

Pujo Committee to investigate the existence and ramifications of the "money trust." After laying bare the monstrous financial monopoly in existence, the Pujo Committee proposed legislation prohibiting "interlocking directorates." The Clayton Act to that effect was actually passed, but one must really be an impossible dolt to believe that the power of the Morgans is less and not greater today than it was in 1914.

The only way to combat a monopoly is by a greater monopoly. The only way to combat capitalist monopoly in the interest of the exploiting few, is by socialist monopoly in the interests of the exploited masses. The one desirable feature of the capitalist monopoly is that it unwittingly lays the economic basis of the socialist order—if the workers and poorer farmers actively avail themselves of their force of numbers.

Role of the Labor Fakers.

And here is where the labor bureaucracy which opposes every move of the militants towards amalgamation on the trade union field prove themselves such traitors to working class interests. While the capitalists are merging, amalgamating, consolidating, weeding out the weaker, and seeking

for avenues of more profitable and intensive exploitation—the labor fakery like the Gompers and Greens, the Tom Moores and the Lewis's do their worst to sabotage the class-conscious unification of the workers, nationally and internationally, the only means of resisting and overthrowing the dictatorship of finance-capital.

The workers will carry out their historic mission despite this sabotage. The Communist Party of Canada is pointing to this latest bank merger as additional demonstration of the fact that the economic conditions for socialism are perfectly ripe in this country, where three or four financial corporations control the whole credit-and-money-power, where transport is concentrated in the hands of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the government-owned Canadian National Railway systems where such organizations as the British Empire Steel Corporation dominate the mining and steel industries, etc. Alongside of the demand for the nationalization of the mines and transportation under workers' control, the Communist Party is raising the demand for the nationalization of the banks as the only way to liquidate the domination of the small group of Toronto and Montreal financiers.—Toronto, Canada, 1925.

Coney Island: Municipal Beach

THE sea washes the sand beach,
Wave lapping over lunging wave.

The sea has washed this sand beach,
For many days lapping over many nights.

It is not easy for the sea
To wash away this span of sand.

To this beach come the people,
Whose feet are chained with asphalt streets;

To this beach come the people,
Whose wrists are gripped in the grip of steel;

To this beach come the better people
To plunge into the lunging sea,
And give their bodies to the soft stinging foam and
the strength of salt.

Is there a hope to wash away
The soulless masks their faces are,
Fashioned by the hands of soulless things?

Is there a dream to drown at last
The deathless noise of deathless wheels,
The smoke of weariness within their eyes?

Is there a wish to topple off
The futile years, like leering gargoyles,
Perched upon their broken backs?

The sea washes their tortured flesh,
Wave lapping over lunging wave.

It is not easy for the sea
To wash away the tenement and factory.

—Herschell Bek.

The Communists.

AS ruthless and as bitter in the fray,
As any plotting Jesuit ever was;
And holding to the stern, the Marxian way,
We fight the masters and we plead our cause.

Aye, love and peace! We'll have them—never fear—
When we have banished classes from the earth;
When we have placed the last boss on his bier;
When we have raised the children from their birth.

Till then—we say it now—we are a band
Of zealots stirring up the inert mass,
Dogmatic, narrow, trumpeting the land,
And knowing but one class—the Workingclass!

—Henry George Weiss.

"Workers Ought to Study Evenings"

(Capitalist Paper)

STUDY?
After eight hours swinging a pick,
Not counting the two hours getting to the pick,
Nor the two hours getting away from the pick,
And the eight hours necessary to spend in sleep
So I can keep on all day swinging the pick.
Study?
Oh, hell!

—Henry George Weiss.

History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

1902.

IN April, 1902, another attempt was made to convene an All-Russian Congress. A conference, which was only half successful, met in Bialystock, at which both future Bolsheviks and future Mensheviks were represented, among the latter, the notorious Dan.

On April 4, 1902, Sipiagin, the successor of Plehve, was assassinated by Balmashov: This was the culminating point of the student movement, at the head of which were those students who had, till then, gone with the workers and the social-democrats, but who thereafter began to draw away from the workers, and to go over to the Socialist-Revolutionary party. Parallel with this development the revolutionary movement began to broaden out among the workers. And then the famous Nishni-Novgorod workers' demonstration took place, resulting in the arrest of large numbers of comrades. In connection with these demonstrations there developed the first great political trial, at which Zalomov, Denisov and others came to the fore. In the course of the trial, Denisov, one of the oldest Bolsheviks, and now a member of our party, delivered a speech, which under the conditions of czarist reaction, was truly heroic. His speech was passed from mouth to mouth in the streets of Nishni-Novgorod, and then was read in city after city throughout Russia.

Events in Rostov.

Finally, in November, 1902, events began to take place in Rostov which bore an unmistakably revolutionary character. It must be mentioned here, that 1902 was marked by a great number of strikes, particularly in southern Russia. At the close of the year, the movement, which had at first been economic in character, developed into a powerful political movement. Here, on the First of May, for the first time a meeting was held—40,000 people took part in it—which the police was unable to disperse. For several days a continuous meeting went on, at which inflammatory speeches, animated by the spirit of Iskra, were made. This movement was led by the Bolshevik Stavski, a Rostov worker, today a member of our party, and Comrade Gussev, who is now working for us in a military capacity, and was at that time a member of the Rostov Committee, and the soul of the movement.

The Rostov events marked the limits of a definite epoch. This was the moment of the decisive defeat of the Economists. Movements such as that in Nishni-Novgorod, in the Obuchovsky works, the Viborg district, and in Rostov, were unmistakably political in character, having absolutely nothing in common with Economism, and showed that at last the workers had spoken out as the coming leaders of the revolution.

The First Central Executive Committee.

All these events preceded the second congress of our party, and served as a basis for its preparation. After the arrests in Kiev, and the escape from the local prison, in which Litvinov and Piatnitzky participated, the Iskra organ-

ization created its own organization committee, which was really the first Central Executive Committee of that period. The enumeration of the members of this committee is interesting, clearly showing that the closer we come to the revolution, the more frequently we encounter the names of the Bolsheviks of today.

To the organization committee belonged: the man who is now in charge of the electrification of Russia, Krishishanovsky, whom I have already mentioned; Alexandrova, a Menshevik of the future; Lengnik, at present occupied in the Commissariat for Education; Krassikov, now one of the leading workers in the Finance Commissariat; Krasnucha, delegate from the Petersburg Committee; Levin, delegate from the "South Russian Workers;" Rosanov, of whom more will be said, (he was arrested in 1920, in connection with the affair of the so-called "National Center"); and finally Portnoy from the Bund. A good half of them are Bolsheviks today, and the closest colleagues of Lenin, who directed all this work from abroad.

The Draft of the Party Program.

The task before this Organization Committee was the convocation of an All-Russian Party Congress, capable of laying the foundations for the party, on the basis of a program worked out for the purpose by Iskra. The latter published a draft for a party program, drawn up by the editorial staffs of Iskra and Zarya. (Zarya was a theoretical organ published abroad by the same Plekhanov-Lenin group.)

This original draft, written for the most part by Plekhanov and Lenin, has, through Lenin's influence, in large measure been incorporated into our present program. Its theoretical portion includes theses on the development of capitalism, the concentration of capital, the creation of a proletariat, and the transference of power to the proletariat. This draft was completed by 1903, and at the same time the Organization Committee summoned the party to a congress.

Meanwhile, in various localities the lightning of revolutionary struggle had begun to flash. In 1902, commenced the peasant movement in Saratov, a series of peasant revolts which were suppressed by Governor Stolypin. They showed that in the train of the working class, which had roused up the students, and pushed on the bourgeois opposition, the peasants were now also awakening. At the same time rang out the shots of individual terrorists—Karpovitch, Balmashov, and Hirsch Leckert, who shot Von Wahl. In many towns there was fighting between demonstrators and the czar's police.

The Second Party Congress.

These events formed the background for the second congress of our party, which met in the summer of 1903. It opened in Brussels, but owing to interference on the part of the Belgian authorities, it was transferred to London, where it continued till the close. The congress was attended by about 60 delegates, 48 with deciding votes. Among them were the following; Schatman, of the Petersburg Committee,



SECOND CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS PARTY, LONDON, 1903.

now active in Karelia; Lydia Makhnovetz, the second delegate from Petersburg, and a sister of Akimov-Makhnovetz; one of the most passionate exponents of Economism, and a right-winger; N. Baumann, of the Moscow Committee; from the North Russian Alliance, in which were united a number of committees in northern Russia, came Lydia Knipovitch, who must still be remembered by the old workmen and women of Petersburg, where she was active for many years under the nick-name of "Djadenka". The other representatives of the North Russia Alliance was Stopani, the founder of the workers' movement in Baku, and a leading Bolshevik; from the Ufa Committee there were Makhlin and Lenov, who later became an anarchist; from the Kiev Committee, Krasikov; from the Tula Committee, the brother of Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianov, Dmitry Ulianov, in our ranks today; from the Odessa Committee, Zemlyatchka; from the Crimean Union, the Menshevik, Panin; from the Donetz Union, Maschinski, also a Menshevik; from the Don Committee, Gussev, now a Bolshevik, and the Menshevik, Ackerman; from the Saratov Committee, Galkin and Lyadov, both now Bolsheviks; from the Kharkov Committee, Levin and Nikolaev; from the Siberian Union, Dr. Maldenberg, Menshevik, and a member of the Second Duma, and Comrade Trotsky, at that time a Menshevik; from the Batum Committee, Zurbob, later a deputy to the Second Duma, Menshevik and Internationalist; from the Baku Committee, Bogdan Knuniantz, who participated in the first Workers' Soviet, in 1905, and, during the counter-revolution, went over to the side of the Mensheviks; from the Tiflis Committee, Topuridze; from the

Bund, Kramer, Eisenstart, Portnoy, Liber, Medem and Kossovsky, all Mensheviks; and finally, Comrade Lenin, representing the foreign organization of Iskra, and Martov, representing the editorial board. Plekhanov, Axelrod, Deutsch, and others were also present at the Congress.

The Social Composition of the Party at Its Origin.

The Iskra organization and our committee was for the most part made up of students and of professional revolutionists; there were not many workers in it. The workers were still individual figures such as Babushkin, and Schatman, who were beginning to make their way out of the worker masses. Due to this fact, the second party congress which laid the foundations of the party, was also in the main not made up of workers. But, despite this fact, the Iskra organization was, in reality, the first Bolshevik organization, playing a great and active role in the revolution, the role of the Communist vanguard. Made up of professional revolutionists led by Comrade Lenin, although not purely working-class in composition, it bore along with it, nevertheless, the worker masses, and gave expression to that which was ripening deep within the proletarian masses. And this group, later the creators of our party, was borne on the crest of the waves of the toiling mass.

The Controversy with the Bund.

But to return to the second congress, in which the cleavage between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks was clearly revealed. The first point of divergence was the attitude toward the national question, in other words, to the Bund. Although once again paying tribute to the heroism of the

Jewish worker and artisan, who in the darkest night of reaction arose the first to the fight, at the same time it must be said that the role played by the Bund in history was opportunist and Menshevist. At the second congress, its precise approach to the national question was very definitely brought out.

The Bund demanded that it be regarded as the sole representative of the whole Jewish proletariat of Russia," refusing to take any cognizance of the fact that the Jewish people in general were scattered throughout the whole country, and that therefore the correct course was for them to join the organization of the place in which they lived, just as the Finnish, Esthonian, and other workers. We could not agree to the splitting up of our organization, into separate national fragments, for we were a single international party, carrying on a struggle against international capital. This was the view-point maintained by the Iskrovtsi, conceding only that the Jewish workers have their own benefit societies and special groups, publish their own papers in their mother-tongue, etc. But the Bund, giving the first sign of its future social-chauvinism, pushed the matter to the limit, demanding that the workers be divided according to nationality, and allowed the right of having separate parties of their own.

This controversy, though it might be considered as an organizational one, involved in actual fact, an extremely important political divergence, and bore within itself the germ of future discussions on the national question and on internationalism. The Iskrovtsi acted in a united front—Martov taking his stand with Lenin—in the struggle against the Bund, although in the course of the congress the future Mensheviks and the Bundists, feeling that they stood near to one another, and held the same views on certain other fundamental questions, began to draw together.

The Controversy Over the First Paragraph of the Party Statutes. (Regarding Party Membership.)

The second controversy, no less serious in character, arose over the first paragraph of the party statutes, dealing with the obligation of party members. Comrade Lenin formulated the question in the following manner: a party member is one who participates in some organization of the party, fulfils his duties as a party member, pays his membership dues, maintains party discipline, etc. Martov, on the other hand presented the following formula: a party member is one who works under the control of the party, and gives support of any sort to the party organizations. At first glance, it may appear as though the controversy were of no special significance, at bottom dealing only with phrases, as a number of those present at the congress believed. But, in actual fact, the controversy was not over words but over what the party was essentially to be.

Comrade Lenin said: the worker, if he wants to be a member of the party, must enter a nucleus, and work in some party organization—there is nothing so terrifying in that for a worker; by keeping to this condition, we shall know of whom our party is composed, we shall have, not a porous party mass, not a hodge-podge, but a strong, picked organization, made up of authentic proletarians. Martov, Axelrod, and the other Mensheviks, took a different stand. We are living, they said, through a period of illegality, when to take part in the activities of the party is certainly not without danger. It may be that the worker will come to us,

but beside the worker, there is also the student, the professor, the clerical worker, and they will not come to us. Therefore, if we get a broader formula for the obligations of party members, and say that all those may enter the party who give it support and work under its control, without any obligations as to entering the nuclei and other organizations, then the student, the professor and the clerical workers will come to us as well.

Comrade Lenin energetically fought against this way of stating the question: our arguments, he said, threaten the party with ruin. It is not students, nor professors, nor the clerical-worker that we need in the party: we need workers. We are ready to make use of the students and the professors' movement, we have not refused the services of Prince Obolensky, of his highness, Peter Struve, and the others whom we have fallen in with by the way; but we must understand, that the directing class is the proletariat, and that its party must be a proletarian party.

And thus, it was not a controversy over words or phrases, but over the supremely vital question as to whether our party should be a workers' party, proletarian and revolutionary, or whether it should be a party like that into which the German Social-Democratic party degenerated, after it had admitted thousands and tens of thousands of sympathizers, till it counted in its ranks as many saloon-keepers as workers, and inordinately inflated, fell into complete bankruptcy during the war. The course which Martov and Axelrod proposed to us threatened us with the same fate as that which overtook the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who took in everyone that they fell in with, and had by 1917 become so diluted, that individual revolutionists floundered around in it among a mess of bourgeois democrats like flies in milk.

The congress did not achieve an altogether clear analysis of this problem, which was entirely new to it; moreover the matter was rendered the more difficult by the fact that the party was in a state of illegality. Even so acute and intellect as that of Plekhanov, did not accurately estimate the seriousness of the controversy. Plekhanov made a half-joking speech, in which he said: "When one listens to Lenin, it seems that he is right; when one listens to Martov, it seems that he too is not far from the truth. One feels inclined first toward the one, and then toward the other side." He wished, it appears, to reconcile both sides. But Lenin steadfastly held to his position, and a sharp struggle ensued. In the end, the victory fell to Martov, who, thanks to an insignificant majority, put through the Menshevist formula. The congress decided that everyone might enter the party who aided the party, and worked under its control. In other words, a decision was made to open the door of the party to a non-proletarian element, which, undoubtedly, would have meant its destruction, had not life later on, brought to bear its definite correctives. Martov, writing long after this moment of the congress, said: I gained the victory, but Lenin managed in a short time, with the aid of several other points to so undermine my formula, to take such a revenge, that in the final reckoning, practically nothing remained of my victory."

This controversy in regard to paragraph No. 1, is of peculiar instructiveness, in that it shows, that within the framework of one party, already at that time we had two parties, just as within the framework of legal Marxism, there existed simultaneously two "Weltanschauungen." The third divergence at the second congress was still greater and

more serious. This was the question of the relations with the liberals.

The Controversy Regarding Relations with the Liberal Bourgeoisie.

At this time, the liberal bourgeoisie, having already tried its wings, and, possessing its own organ, was beginning to show the working class its claws. In 1900, the greatest enemy of the liberals was still the autocracy. But by 1903, as new relationships began to be formed more swiftly, especially after the strikes in the south, and the Rostov events, and after the workers began to speak with the voice of a leader-class, which is considering its own interests,—then the liberals began to look askance at the left, and to carry the struggle onto two fronts, not only against czarism, but also against the workers. With their class instinct, they felt that if not today then tomorrow they would have to come to blows with the working class, with the workers' party.

In connection with this situation, at the congress the question arose as to what attitude should be taken toward the liberals. Comrade Lenin, who once said that we must make use of the liberals, and that in a large household even a bit of string may be of use, Comrade Lenin, now that he saw that the liberals had organized themselves, and were showing their claws, declared: "Yes, we shall use the liberals against the czar, but, at the same time we must tell the working class that the liberal bourgeoisie is organizing itself, that it is creating its own party; and that, becoming ever more counter-revolutionary, it will go against the workers, and finally against carrying through of the revolution to a finish. Therefore, insofar as the bourgeoisie move against the czar, we shall hold to them; but we must not forget that this class is our enemy. In other words, at this congress was for the first time clearly and exactly formulated the question of relations with the bourgeoisie, that question which, finally, led to a split between the Mensheviks and ourselves. The former, in the presence of Martov, Potresov, and several others laid down the following proposition: "We must go together with the liberals, setting the condition, however, that they come out for the right of universal suffrage; those who sincerely advocate the latter, will thereby give proof that they are not counter-revolutionaries. The Mensheviks, with Potresov as spokesman, declared that these conditions would constitute a sort of acid test for liberals; but their treatment of the matter clearly showed that they desired not to make use of the bourgeoisie but to go hand in hand with them, to which end they thought up conditions which should be acceptable to the latter.

This standpoint was sharply criticized by Lenin, who pointed out that the test was worthless: a liberal remained a liberal, today accepting a given condition, only to renounce it tomorrow. One must teach the workers mistrust, they said, and not imbue them with naive Manilovian No. 1 ideas, to the effect that by the aid of "conditions" one might make the liberals listen to reason, whose only wish was to make use of the workers in their struggle against the autocracy.

In 1903 the outlook was as follows: There were three fundamental conflicting forces: The czarist autocracy, the working class, and the liberal bourgeoisie. The working class said: Let us use the liberal bourgeoisie against the czar, but tomorrow we shall fight them. The liberal bourgeoisie said:

Let us use the workers against the czar, but tomorrow we shall fight them. In such a situation it was clear, that the problem of the relationship with the liberals, with the bourgeoisie, was the fundamental, the supreme problem, by which the tactical line for a whole epoch was determined.

But the congress did not see these divergencies with the clearness with which we see them today. Martov, who had fought shoulder to shoulder with Lenin for many years, was popular and enjoyed the confidence of the party, and the congress made a Solomon-like decision: it adopted both resolutions by almost the same vote, finding nothing contradictory in them. This shows how vaguely defined these divergencies still were.

In addition to these three differences of view-point there existed others of less significance, the question, for instance, as to whether or not we should construct our party on the principle of strong centralization. Comrade Lenin was for a strongly centralized party. The Mensheviks began timidly to advocate decentralization, the federative principle, and greater authority to local bodies.

The Controversy Concerning the Composition of the Editorial Board of Iskra.

There was also a controversy regarding individuals—in connection with the composition of the editorial board of Iskra. In the latter there were six members: Plekhanov, Lenin, Martov, Potresov, Axelrod, and Sassulitch. When at the congress the differences of opinion were revealed, Comrade Lenin declared, that an editorial board must be constructed, which should carry through the intentions of the majority of the congress, proposing the following trio: Plekhanov, Lenin and Martov. But in this board the majority was against Martov, and the matter was hotly disputed. The proposition of Comrade Lenin was taken as an almost sacrilegious attempt against the oldest and best men in the party, in token of protest against which Martov refused to enter the editorial board, and he was supported in his stand by a large number of his colleagues. The congress could do nothing. Finally Lenin and Plekhanov were upheld, their resolution being passed, I believe, by 25 to 23 votes. From this juncture derive the terms "Bolsheviks," (Majority), and Mensheviks (Minority). As is known, during the revolution often an altogether different interpretation was placed on them. Many thought simply that the Bolsheviks were those who desired the most possible; while the Mensheviks were prepared to be satisfied with less. In actual fact, however, this winged word arose in connection with the fact that the majority, (Bolshestvo) voted for the Plekhanov-Lenin editorial board, the minority (Menshestvo), against it.

(1) Manilov is a land-owner and dreamer, in Gogol's "Dead Souls."

(Continued next month)

You Are In Danger—If You See
NUMBER 43

on the address label of the wrapper of this issue of the Workers Monthly when you receive it by mail. To be sure that you do not miss a single issue

RENEW!

Opportunism Within The Trade-Union Left Wing

By Earl R. Browder

DESPITE the considerable advances being made by the left wing in the American trade unions, it is still a fact that its progress is hampered, to quite an extent, by the remnants of opportunism still existing in the theory and practice of sections of the left-wing movement. This opportunistic tendency is, at the same time, accompanied by an exaggerated "left" tendency which is equally harmful. The two tendencies spring from the same root. They are also directly related (in a political sense and often organically) to the tendency designated by the Comintern as "Loreism," the remnants of the Second-and-a-half International ideology, within the Communist movement of America.

We have had much experience with these deviations within the American left-wing movement. In the struggle against them we have learned to recognize their existence quickly by certain symptoms—resistance to centralized leadership, surrender of initiative to temporary allies, lack of clear definition of left-wing policies, insistence of temporary and sectional over general interests, etc., with an accompanying inclination, on the one hand, to impatiently demand "practical" results before a solid basis has been laid in work, and, on the other hand, to be satisfied with formal victories from which the substance has disappeared by loss of the masses or by surrender of issues—all of them symptoms which accompany, in whole or in part, fundamental deviations from a correct revolutionary line of policy in the labor movement. They are equally characteristic of deviations in trade-union work and in general political problems and constitute a phase of Loreism, which must be combatted equally in the trade-union work as in the Party generally.

How the Deviations Block Left-Wing Progress.

Some comrades are inclined to dismiss such discussions as this as "impractical," "abstract," and "factional." But the problem is of the most enormous practical significance, involving the very life of the revolutionary movement as an effective power. It is the most practical and concrete question before us now, and upon its solution depends the successful liquidation of factionalism within the revolutionary movement. A few illustrations will show how different manifestations of Loreism within the left wing in the trade unions have blocked progress and set back or endangered the left wing.

In the miners' union there is a tremendous left-wing sentiment, which exerts controlling power in hundreds of local unions, and many sub-districts and districts. In the national election a few months ago this left wing was credited, by its enemies, with more than one-third of the total vote and probably cast a majority in reality. And yet, at the convention early in 1924, this strong left wing did not crystallize sufficient power to register itself in concrete results in proportion to its strength. The principle weakness which blocked victory was this fundamental deviation we are discussing—expressed in **resistance to centralized leadership** (avoiding caucus meetings which hammered out united tactics), **surrender of initiative** (allowing, for example, the

Howat issue to be postponed until the last hour of the convention upon the advice of "friends"), **lack of clear definition of left-wing policies** (failure of left-wing delegates to speak clearly upon all their most important resolutions), **insistence of sectional over general interests** (failure to establish a close combination of Nova Scotia and Kansas fights with the whole left-wing fight, caused by the narrow outlook of many delegates). In spite of the most heroic efforts on the part of the left-wing leadership these deviations were so deeply grounded in many delegates that before they could be overcome the convention had been adjourned with Lewis still in the saddle.

The same deviations were strongly in evidence in districts of the miners' union where the left-wing elements are numerous. It is only under the tremendous pressure of the crisis in the coal industry, and the consequent bitter struggle forced upon the left wing, that many of the wrong policies are now being straightened out in the Illinois field. If the left wing had become, two years ago, a solid, homogeneous monolithic body with a centralized leadership and clear-cut policies, the struggle would today be much more favorable for the left wing.

Deviations in the Needle Trades.

It is in the needle trades that our problem is presented in its most acute form at the present moment. Here we have had a struggle going on within the left-wing, between a minority of the needle trades leading committee supported by the National Committee of the T. U. E. L. and by the Central Executive Committee of the Party, and, on the other side, the majority of the needle trades committee containing some of the most energetic and able leaders of the left. This internal struggle occurs at the precise moment when the unions as a whole face an acute crisis, and the left wing is tackling the biggest problems presented to it in years. It is precisely because **every decision on policy** made today by the needle trades committee, will affect the entire development of the American labor movement **for years to come**, that it was necessary to sharply challenge the opportunistic tendencies that had appeared in its work in a magnified form.

The deviations in the needle trades had all of the classic characteristics described above. Resistance to the suggestions and direction of the centralized leadership, present in a mild form for years, strengthened itself (summarized in the phrase, "Let the politicians keep their hands off trade union matters"), surrender of initiative (failure to halt the anarchistic "dues strike" in the A. C. W., launched by irresponsible elements), lack of clear definition of policies (no official statement of complete program of economic demands; support of certain reactionaries for official position on the grounds of "weakening the machine"; etc.), too much concentration upon a few important local unions in the New York market, at the expense of neglecting the other unions and the national phase of the fight (connections with, programs and detailed instructions for, cities outside of New York allowed to lapse into the most casual routine). Only the sharpest kind of criticism and ideological struggle against

these manifestations prevented the movement from drifting into a morass of opportunism.

The Common Root of Opportunism and Sectarianism.

When the tendencies which we have described are allowed to develop unchecked, and keep their connection with the masses of the workers, the result is an opportunism that liquidates the left wing into the amorphous mass and, instead of leading dissolves into the masses. When the left wing reacts blindly away from the destructive effects of this opportunism, if it is not armed with Leninism, with the clearest revolutionary theoretical guidance, it is in imminent danger of lapsing into sectarianism, twin-brother of opportunism. These two evils have a common root.

The common origin of sectarianism and opportunism lies in the lack of a complete revolutionary theory unified in all details with practice. In the absence of an understanding of Leninism, the practical workers in the trade-union left wing develop an idea that there are two sides to their work—the "revolutionary" and the "practical." They know they must have both these qualities, but find that the combination is difficult. An easy solution (so it seems to them) is to be "revolutionary" part of the time and on some issues, while at other times and on other issues they may be "practical." Insidiously there is developed a contradiction, a divergence, between theory and practice which, if allowed to develop to its logical conclusion must inevitably destroy the left-wing movement with which it is permeated.

In the first instance, this divergence between theory and practice is at the expense of the revolutionary theory, which is relegated to ceremonial occasions, formal resolutions, and the like. And in the second place, when a reaction against the disastrous results of opportunism sets in, it gives rise to wild adventures, "leftist" policies, splitting tendencies, etc. The opportunist who has "reformed" (but who has failed to grasp the essentials of Leninism) is almost sure to become the "putschist," the ultra-left advocate. Finding that "being practical" was a failure, he decides to "be revolutionary" without being practical. The result is sectarianism. One medicine required at this moment to combat the infantile sicknesses of opportunistic and sectarian tendencies inside the left wing, is the understanding that it is **impossible to be revolutionary, in any true sense, without being practical at the same time**. It is equally true that it is **impossible to be practical unless the practice, in every detail, conforms to the revolutionary objective**.

Opportunist and Sectarian Illusions.

Opportunist errors are accompanied by illusions, a belief that results can be accomplished by "short-cuts," without preparing the foundation in slow, patient work. There is an old saying that "even God cannot create a two-year-old child in one minute," but the opportunist always believes that, by some trick, he can avoid the pains incident to a struggle for the revolutionary objective. But always the trick that avoids the struggle leads also away from the victory.

In my article last month, "Left-Wing Advances in the Needle Trades," there occurred a peculiar typographical error. I had written that "18 months after Kauffman had caused the leader of the left wing, B. Gold, to be beaten up and expelled—a combination under the leadership of Gold and the left wing was elected to office. . . by a majority of ten to one." The printer who set this into type changed "months" to "minutes," the proof-reader overlooked the error,

and the readers of the WORKERS MONTHLY were either startled or amused to see that "18 minutes" after being beaten up and expelled, B. Gold had swept an election by tremendous majority. When an acquaintance of mine expressed delight at hearing of such a swift and spectacular victory, and I could not detect any twinkling in his eyes or any sign that he was trying to "kibbitz" me, I decided that he was the victim of opportunist illusions. (I will leave it to the pupils of Freud to explain the pathology behind the mistakes of the printer and proof-reader).

Sectarian errors also carry illusions with them, to the effect that if one can achieve the form of one's object, the substance is not of particular importance. It is a mild form of the same general type of petty-bourgeois aberration which, in its more violent aspects, becomes "Christian Science" and spiritualism. Like the illusions of opportunism, those of sectarianism also lead away from the struggle and compromise the interests of the working class.

And there I cannot refrain from pointing out another typographical error which occurred recently (quite embarrassingly) and which may sharpen up the point we are making. In the "Little Red Library, Volume I," entitled "Trade Unions in America," on page 15 is given a list of the publications in 1912 and 1913, by the Syndicalist League of North America. In the pamphlet as it appeared was mentioned "The Editor" of Kansas City. A comrade who knew that the real name of that publication was "The Toiler," and that a certain fellow named Browder had done a deal of editorial work on that magazine and was suspected of ambitions to get his name emblazoned in glory as the "editor," came to me and accused me of having unconsciously gratified that long-suppressed desire in this typographical mistake, in which "the toiler" who did the work was suddenly transformed into "the editor." I hope it is not necessary for me to say that I was not responsible for the proof-reading and, therefore, the amateur psycho-analytic efforts of my comrade did not cause me to blush. But the incident, in addition to being amusing, gives me an opportunity not only to get the historical record straight as to the name of that syndicalistic publication, but also to point out that to change a "toiler" into an "editor" (or to make an editor toil) is a very desirable thing, but it requires something more than a typographical error or a wish. It requires a great deal of long, hard, patient effort and struggle in order to achieve anything substantial; failure to realize this fact leads to closet-philosophy and sectarian illusions. It leads to the illusion that changing the name "sect" into "mass industrial union" will make a sect of more importance in the world of reality.

Leninism versus Loreism.

A prominent characteristic of Loreism, a tendency which must be combatted in all fields of revolutionary effort, is this artificial separation of revolutionary theory and practice—to the destruction of both. This is especially true in the field of trade union work.

Against this deviation, in all its many forms, we must set up the theory and practice of Leninism, and translate this into the very life-fabric of our movement. One of the first things which Leninism gives to us, and which we must make the common property of every revolutionary worker in America, is the complete unity of theory and practice in the struggle for the smallest demand of the workers as well as for the establishment of the working-class state.

BOOKS

Modern Russian Art

MODERN RUSSIAN ART, by Louis Lozowick, Societe Anonyme, 1925, New York.

SOCIAL theory played a determining part in the history of modern art in Russia as it did in her political history. The theory, however, was not merely the brain-child of theorists. It was based on reactions to life and was advanced toward its realization by the contingencies of reality. For this reason any one who is earnestly concerned in the contemporaneous history of Russia will find his interest enhanced by a study of modern Russian art.

Art in the past, and as far as the world outside of Russia is concerned also in the present, has been for the most part the greater justifier of social conditions as they are. It has acted as the smooth and quieting defender of society established and operated in the interests of the governing classes. Russia's bold experiment with a new social order furnishes the one modern example of a change in the governing classes of society. The workers instead of their former employers now rule Russia. And as we turn to Russian art we see it serving the new masters.

For a long time workers have been accustomed to regard art, particularly pictorial art, as either covertly antagonistic to their interests or indifferent to them. Consequently they are prone to either ignore art as the outcropping of bourgeois sentimentality and hypocritical refinement or view it with frank hostility. The history of modern Russian art as it is briefly recorded in Mr. Lozowick's book should convince them of the error of either attitude.

In the flux of events which have recently shaken Russia and finally placed her in the vanguard of nations, art has flowed along with the molten current, variously reflecting the hue and temper of the great upheaval. The Russian Revolution provided the explosive energy that blew the lid off the seething but hermetically closed caldron of art activity in pre-revolutionary Russia, and opened a multitude of unobstructed paths for its expansion. The political and social revolution in Russia thus prepared the way for the revolution in art, and in the history of the latter since 1917 we see an interesting illustration of how one revolution adapted to conditions created by the other. The Russian Revolution was like the onrush of a mighty wave leaving in its wake an infinite number of ripples. Modern Russian art is one of these ripples.

This, however, does not detract from the art's importance. On the contrary, it establishes a relationship with the revolution, which should command the sympathetic attention of the workers. They must read this little book if they wish to inform themselves on how economic conditions become the foundation for various ideological superstructures which were first defined by Marx and of which art is one.

It is significant that in Soviet Russia where the chief need today is the scientific control and industrial exploitation of her immense material resources, the art movement most

characteristic of the country is that represented by the so-called Constructivists. They strive to make art follow the aims of science and the methods of the industry. Their objective is to employ art as an aid in transforming and organizing life. As a means toward that end they create their art in a manner to strengthen group consciousness among the workers. In other words, they are making art Communist in its appeal rather than individualistic, as has been the case until now. It is this form of art that has proved a great aid in influencing the minds of workers and making them conscious of their new position and power in the world, as well as of their new responsibilities and duties.

Many other art currents and groups are discussed in his book by Mr. Lozowick, whose writing is based on first hand knowledge of the subject. The author has met practically all of the artists whom he discusses and has made an exhaustive study of their works. Himself a painter of note who shares the views and aspirations of the working class, he acquaints the reader with the theoretical professions and credos of the various schools of modern Russian art and gives him an insight into the social origins of its divergent trends.

Like the Russian Revolution, modern Russian art is a theme which will continue to engross the interest of mankind for years to come, and Mr. Lozowick's book represents the first illuminating as well as authoritative guide into a field, whose future growth MUST be intimately bound up with the progress of the working classes. It is to be hoped that the author will find an opportunity to follow up his first brief study of the subject with another more leisurely, elaborate and detailed one. There is a real need for such a work.

—L. R.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen

SUN YAT SEN AND THE CHINESE REPUBLIC by Paul Linebarger, The Century Co., New York, 1925.

A COLOSSAL figure, one of the three or four truly great men of our time, Dr. Sun Yat Sen was the awakened, militant and revolutionary East incarnate. He seemed to bear upon his broad shoulders the whole weight of that gathering struggle against native and foreign exploiters which has now suddenly revealed itself as the proudly-lifted burden of the entire Chinese people. In Shanghai today, and in Canton, and in Hangkew, and in Peking—from one end of China to the other—the Chinese are marching forward to national liberation with the name of Sun Yat Sen upon their lips. The movement which today threatens foreign imperialist rule in China did not spring up yesterday or the day before; it is not something that arose circumstantially, out of a local textile strike in Shanghai. It was long preparing, and although its certain ultimate victory did not impress itself upon the consciousness of the many-millioned masses of China until after his death, Dr. Sun was and remains the radiating center of the movement. The liberation of China will be the vindication of his life's work. But what will make Dr. Sun's name live throughout history, not only in China, but all over the world, is the fact that he was great enough to grasp unhesitatingly the extended hand of Soviet Russia. He was the first leader of a people under the heel of foreign imperialism to sense the possibilities of alliance with the world revolutionary

working-class movement. Thus, he forms a bridge to the historic epoch which will culminate in the overthrow of capitalist exploitation in all countries. The volume by Mr. Linebarger was written before Dr. Sun's death and unfortunately gives no information concerning his relations with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The book is painstaking and

attempts to tell the story of "the plowboy of Blue Valley" with fine loyalty but it has many serious defects. Sentimental almost to banality, it resolves itself more than anything else into a series of disconnected personal anecdotes and is in no sense an adequate biography of the heroic founder of the Kuo Min Tang party and the "Dare-to-Dies."

—M. G.

American Mineral Concessions in the Soviet Union

THE concession agreement signed on June 13, 1925, between the Soviet Government and the business firm of Harriman & Company provides for transferring to the latter firm for a period of 20 years the exclusive right to prospect, work and exploit the Chiaturi deposits and to export manganese and manganese peroxide from these deposits, which are located in Sharopan County, Kutais Province, in Transcaucasia.

The concessionary firm is also accorded the right to make use of the land, forests and waters throughout the territory of the Soviet Union for the requirement of the concession under the general regulations in accordance with the prevailing laws of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The concessionaire is exempted from the payment of all taxes and assessments with the exception of minor duties (license, stamp, court-fees and others) as stipulated in the agreement.

The concessionaire receives the privilege of importing from abroad articles and machines needed for the equipment and exploitation of the concession enterprise, such equipment to be importable duty-free during the first four years of the concession period, while articles not produced in the Soviet Union and patented abroad shall be importable duty-free during the course of five years from the date the concession is signed.

The Government retains within the concession region a sector containing ore reserves amounting to 15,000,000 tons, which it has the right to work for domestic requirements. In addition to this, throughout the concession period the Government has the privilege of obtaining from the concessionaire firm at cost price the quantity of manganese requisite for the industries of the U. S. S. R.

The concessionaire engages himself to construct and exploit the concession enterprise in accordance with the latest technical achievements. In particular the concessionary firm is obliged to build new ore washing plants and to mechanize the delivery of ore from the mines to these plants within the first three and a half years, and to erect mechanical loading equipment (an elevator) with an annual loading capacity of 2,000,000 tons at the port of Poti before the end of the fifth year. Within the same term of years the concessionaire has to convert the Chiaturi narrow-gauge branch railroad into a broad-gauge line so that the freight capacity of the branch in question may correspond with the loading installation at Poti. The concessionaire is also bound to provide with additional equipment the railway sector from Chiaturi to the port of Poti, in order to increase its traffic capacity.

The concessionary firm is obliged to expend not less than

\$4,000,000 on the equipment work mentioned above, not less than \$1,000,000 of this total to be spent on the construction of the port loading elevator, \$2,000,000 on the branch railroad, and not less than \$1,000,000 on the equipment of the washing plants at Chiaturi.

As soon as its re-equipment is completed, the Chiaturi railway branch passes into the control of the People's Commissariat for Transports, which will move the concessionaire's freight with special locomotives and rolling stock supplied for this purpose by the concessionaire. The technical specifications for the construction of the railway and the loading equipment at Poti are appended to the agreement, in connection with which the People's Commissariat for Transports is given the right to supervise the building operations. The freight rates to be charged for carrying the concessionaires's freight, before as well as after the branch is rebuilt, are stipulated in detail in the agreement.

The concessionaire guarantees to export not less than 16,000,000 tons of Chiaturi manganese and manganese peroxide during the term of the concession agreement, annual minimum exports being fixed for each year according to a definite sliding scale. Apart from this, the agreement sets a minimum yearly production program, in conformity with which the concessionaire is obliged to produce 300,000 tons during the first year, 400,000 tons the second year, 450,000 tons the third year, and not less than 500,000 tons during each succeeding year.

In return for the concession the holding firm is to make the following payments to the Government in accordance with a system elaborated in detail in the agreement: for manganese—\$3 on each ton exported during the first three years, and \$4 on each ton exported thereafter; for manganese peroxide—\$8 on each ton exported during the first three years, and \$9 on each ton exported during subsequent years. The quantity of manganese peroxide exported may not be less than four per cent of the manganese shipments.

In addition to this, the concessionary firm is to make a payment of two rubles per hectare on the sectors allotted to it for exploitation, and 100 rubles per hectare on the area turned over to it for building purposes.

In labor matters the concessionary firm submits to the general legislation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The agreement also provides that the Government shall participate in the profits of the concessionary firm to the extent of 50 per cent if the price of manganese rises above the fixed sum, in conjunction with which the concessionaire must keep special sales accounts.

The concessionaire must deposit a security of \$1,000,000

in a foreign bank within three weeks after the agreement is signed and \$1,000,000 in the State Bank of the U. S. S. R. within five days after the dissolution of the "Chemo" (Chia-turi Manganese Export Company) as an advance on account of future payments.

Disputed questions between the Government and the concessionary firm concerning the interpretation of the contract in whole or in separate clauses, are to be adjudicated by a court of arbitration consisting of one representative of the Soviet Government and one of the concessionaire, who select an umpire by mutual agreement. If no agreement is reached concerning an umpire, the Government is to name six candidates from among the professors of the Sorbonne University in Paris or of the University of Oslo and the concessionaire is to choose one of these as umpire.

American Asbestos Company.

The Allied American Company stands second to the State "Uralasbest" Trust in the exploitation of the asbestos deposits in the Ural region. This company received a concession covering the Alapayevsk asbestos mines in 1921 and began to work them in May, 1922.

The scale of the company's operations is as yet slight, but its working methods merit attention. Thus, in 1922 and 1923 the company concentrated its attention on mining operations, and the work of sorting was far from exhausting the available stocks of ore. With the beginning of the succeeding fiscal year, 1923-24, mining operations ceased almost entirely,* and old stocks of ore were utilized. At the same time, besides producing asbestos, the company began to turn out asbestite, a demand for which appeared on the domestic market at this period. The output of asbestite was 524.3 tons in 1923-24, and 357 tons in the first half of 1924-25, while the output of asbestos during the same periods was 522.4 and 351.4 respectively. Only toward the end of the first half of the fiscal year 1924-25 was the mining of ore resumed in conjunction with an intensification of operations.

The proportion of asbestos extracted from the ores constituted 26.4 per cent in 1922 and 30 per cent in 1922-23. Similar results are obtained by the Uralasbest Trust; the latter organization handles ores from the deposits in the Bazhenovsk region, which are considered to be richer than those of the Alapayevsk mines.

The following figures clearly illustrate the activities of the American company's operations:

Year	Total Work-day put in by the Enterprise	Output at Average Price in Rubles	Average Daily Output per Worker in Rubles
1922 (5 months) ..	19,722	16,479	0.84
1922-23	128,795	113,801	0.88
1923-24	29,504	157,358	5.33
1924-25 (1st half) ..	17,739	77,974	4.40

*The daily average labor force was 164 in 1922, 441 in 1922-23, 101 in 1923-24, and 140 in 1924-25 (first half).

From Discontent to Organization

WHEN the rapidly-growing left-wing movement in our labor unions is under consideration, the "wise guys" who always know that effort is useless is often on hand to recall the many movements of "discontent" that have sprung up, had their day, and disappeared without affecting the general course of events. They recall the days Homestead, Debs and the A. R. U., the I. W. W. of 1905, the many struggles in the miners union, the "outlaw" movement of railroaders in 1920, and a thousand other examples. All have disappeared and left no lasting marks. "Wh't's the use" say these weary ones; "The movement today will blow over in the same way. Take it easy and look on."

These wiseacres are the short-sighted persons who might live thru a revolution and think it a street brawl until they read about it later in the history books.

Today the left-wing movement in the labor unions is no longer a mere expression of discontent. It is conscious. It is hammering out a program of practical action. It is organizing itself. And it is thereby rising to the level, more and more, of a real class movement. It is transcending all the narrow bounds of craft—it is uniting its forces across the bounds of industries—it is connecting itself intimately with the world movement of the working class. It is this consciously international class character of the left wing of 1925, added to an intensely realistic fighting program, that marks off the modern left wing from its fragmentary and unconscious predecessors as sharply as in biology man is distinct from the worm. The left wing today is organized and conscious. And this guarantees that it will take into its hands the destiny of the labor movement. Let the blind men grumble; the revolutionary workers know that they are writing the future history of mankind in their nucleus in the shop, in their left wing in the union, and in their Communist party.

Heretic Flowers

OUT of their quiet seeds which Life transmutes

Our chickens bloom like humorous daffodils,

And run about upon their rebel roots:

They're flowers whose petals are fluffy, heretic quills!

And surely I believe that they were wise

When, long ago, they broke loose from their stem

To run and fly, not grow, toward Paradise—

Life's revolutionary stratagem.

Ah, little daffodils who've learned to talk—

"Peep!", "Kut-ka-darcut!", "Cockadoodledoo!"—

You would not, now, return to root and stalk:

No sure monstrous daily dirt for you!

And flowers who've wandered from their decorous beds

Are very justly named "Rhode Island reds!"

—E. Merrill Root.

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

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

Official Organ
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

American Imperialist Policy in China.

AMERICAN imperialism has at last made its move in the Chinese situation. For weeks the U. S. state department maintained a puzzling silence, allowing Great Britain and Japan to cope with the revolt of Chinese workers and students in their own jolly, imperial way. Now Mr. Kellogg and Mr. Coolidge have spoken, and the policy laid down has proved to be fully as puzzling as their silence, at least to our friends the "liberals." Actually the policy is just what was to be expected. Couched in the hypocritical bourgeois-democratic phraseology of American "Open Door" diplomacy, and oozing with expressed sympathy for the suffering Chinese people, it is in substance nothing more than a move toward the conquest of China for American imperialism.

The policy as contained in the cables sent out to all American ambassadors proposes the calling of a conference to take up the matter of the Chinese customs' administration (now in the hands of the imperialist powers) and to study and report on the question of extra-territoriality.

Note the words "study and report." Even if the conference should actually be held, which President Coolidge himself admits is doubtful, only the innocent can believe that it will result in abolishing the vicious system of extra-territoriality. It will solemnly study. And some time it may report. If it ever does, it will declare that the restoration of full Chinese rights in their own country is "greatly to be desired but that . . . in view of . . . etc., and until such time as the Chinese people . . . etc., etc."

Why then was the call sent out? Arthur Sears Henning, Washington correspondent of the Chicago Tribune gave a hint of it in one of his recent dispatches. He said that no one in Washington expects to see the conference actually meet "but the proposal will have a calming effect upon the Chinese people." In other words the revolting Chinese people will be calmed by false hopes. They will gradually give up the struggle and wait for their wrongs to be righted at the conference of imperialist states. Then the imperialists will have the whip hand again, they will cry "April fool," and all will be over.

But things are not going to happen that way. The great movement which has sprung up in China under the leadership of the Kuo Min Tang party is not to be calmed with a phrase. It is a movement that cannot die. It will go forward, gaining bigger and bigger impetus, until the last of the imperialist exploiters is driven from Chinese soil. The friendship which is ripening into alliance between China and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is an indication that the oppressed Chinese people have reserves of strength outside of their own territory, and even in the home countries

of the imperialist powers. This unity of the revolutionary proletarian and national liberation movements is the death knell of imperialism.

The Great Powers realize fully the danger to them of Russo-Chinese alliance and are making wild efforts to detach China from Soviet Russia. Mr. Henning's previously quoted dispatch declares one of the reasons for the U. S. "conference policy" to be that the tactics of Great Britain and Japan are "playing into the hands of Soviet Russia."

There is still another and more cunning purpose reflected in the "conference policy," however. It is a two-edged barb and one end of it is aimed directly at England and Japan, American capitalism's rivals in the Far East. It is to Wall Street's interest to parade itself as the friend of China. English and Japanese imperialism are already established there and American imperialism is not. Consequently our diplomatists talk the language of "democracy," of "equal rights for all," of "the Open Door." If—after the Chinese people are duly calmed—we can get England and Japan into a conference and edge them out of some of their special privileges and concessions in China, so much the better; the "conference policy" will have served its dual purpose.

Meantime, the Chicago Tribune, the New York Times, the Washington Post and our other imperialist organs print daily editorials sugared with pious concern for the Chinese people, while our warships range the Pacific waiting for the opportunity when the "Open Door" phase of American imperialist policy in the Far East can be substituted by the roar of cannons.

More "Stabilization."

EUROPE appears to be in for a dose of security. Just who and what are to be secured may be evident from the fact that the armies of the Great Powers are still swelling, munitions are still being stored up and poison gas is still being manufactured; indeed, the very suggestion of a new conference to discuss limitation of armaments has been met with disdain. Capitalist Europe prepares desperately for war, but nevertheless she talks peace. The German reply to France's outline of the so-called Security Pact, "a guaranty of frontiers and a pledge against aggression and for defense," has been given to the French foreign office and Briand, the French foreign minister, says a satisfactory settlement is in prospect. Austen Chamberlain says so, too. Hindenburg says so. The American capitalist press says so.

Whereupon we are tempted to quote from a recent editorial in the Chicago Tribune, as follows: "It is said and believed that Benjamin Strong of the United States Federal Reserve bank and Montagu Norman, governor of the Bank of England, have used financial pressure to bring about an agreement. It is said that they told Germany that further credits would be withheld until Europe indicated it was getting down to a peace basis and a desire for it."

Wall Street, it appears, is as important a party to the Security Pact as France, Germany or England. The pact is in fact a new "stabilization" scheme—an attempt to give political structure to the whole system of international market monopoly typified by the Dawes Plan and the other similar adventures in Europe into which imperialist capitalism has plunged. It will bring no real stability to Europe. It will constitute no effective guaranty of anything. What it does

foreshadow, however, is a gathering of forces for a capitalist united front against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The Versailles treaty is plainly admitted to have failed.

The End of the Great Farm Relief Scheme.

THE great \$26,000,000 Grain Marketing corporation heralded as a sure-fire co-operative scheme whereby the farmers would rid themselves of the middleman in the marketing of their wheat and corn, has come to a sudden end—at least as far as the farmers are concerned.

When the so-called co-operative organization was formed it secured the properties of the Armour Grain Co., Rosenbaum Grain corporation and several other private marketing concerns. Our readers may remember with what an air of pious benevolence the private owners first announced their willingness to sacrifice their properties in order to help the poor farmers. This idea was first thrown out a little more than a year ago by Bernard M. Baruch, as a disinterested scheme to solve farm problems "by giving the farmers control of already established marketing firms." Armour, Rosenbaum, Schaffer and the rest said that they would sell to the farmers, much as it pained them, in order to show their public spirit. The deal was put through. The American Farm Bureau Federation purchased the properties, although fortunately for this organization outright sale was preceded by a trial lease.

At the time the proposition was being negotiated it was pointed out in the "Daily Worker" that the grain gamblers were merely trying to "unload" on the farmers. The Armour Grain Co. was in serious financial straits and love for the farmers offered a way out. It now appears that the Armour concern was not the only one of those going into the merger that had a sordid reason for it. The Rosenbaum Grain Corporation, the second biggest firm entering into the combine is proved to have been practically on the rocks.

For months after the deal was consummated the Rosenbaum partners strove desperately to maintain an appearance of solidity for their firm—until such time as the trial lease should have run out and the farmers' representatives should definitely buy the properties and pay for them. What they did was to buy up their own shares in the stock market, thus artificially keeping the price up. In this way the shares were inflated to more than half their true value. But the Rosenbaum capital ran out; the shares were proved to be inflated; and the crash came—being brought to light in the bankruptcy of the brokerage house of Dean, Onativia & Co., with which the Rosenbaums are connected.

Mr. Baruch's and Mr. Armour's thoughtful plan for farm relief turns out to be a miserable swindle. Consummated with the tacit approbation of the United States government, it is one of the ugliest pieces of business in the whole history of American capitalism's relations with the harassed farmers. The enormity of it should teach the farmers not to expect favors from Big Business.

Buccaneer Bill Johnston's Last Stand.

THE Machinists' Union is now being shaken from top to bottom as a result of the final desperate outrage of "B. & O." Bill Johnston, which ranges him definitely with the rottenest elements of the thoroughly rotten trade union bureaucracy preying upon the rank and file, sabotaging all efforts at struggle against the bosses, disrupting the unions, caring for nothing but its own continued domination. Johnston stole the recent election in the International Association

of Machinists. Although clearly repudiated by the votes of the rank and file, he threw out thousands of ballots and brazenly declared himself elected. Then he printed a hypocritical tragicomic open letter in the Machinists' Journal in which he "thanked the membership for again showing their confidence" and called for a forgetting of past differences and a "getting together for unity and the advancement of the organization." Almost his very next act is to summarily declare Anderson, his opponent in the election, suspended from the Machinists' Union, following this up by starting systematic persecution of every prominent left-winger in the organization. This last reckless act of Johnston's means that he has his back to the wall, that he knows he can no longer hold his own in the Union and has determined to strike out right and left, and try to maintain himself by resorting to the process of getting opponents out of the way by whatever means possible. His fate will be what is already being foreshadowed as the fate of Sigman in the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. The revolt in the Machinists' Union is assuming formidable proportions. Anderson is not a Communist and he did not make a Communist campaign; he is not identified with the left-wing movement; nevertheless the Communists supported him for election against the reactionary Johnston, as did all left-wingers in the organization, and his program was in many respects a progressive one. The summary attempt to suspend Anderson—the man who was rightfully elected to the highest office in the Union—together with the attack on the others, has welded together all the decent elements of the organization in a solid block against the vicious Johnston machine. This is Johnston's last stand. The fight will go on with increasing impetus until the machinists take control of their organization and rebuild it into an all-inclusive, powerful, fighting instrument for the advancement of their interests. And it is not only in the Machinists' Union that such incidents are happening. Despite setbacks, despite frame-ups and expulsions by the reactionary officialdom, the left wing of the American trade union movement is gaining strength everywhere.

A Solid Line of Proletarian Defense

(Continued from page 461)

the doors by two thousand workers who came to give the new organization the send-off it deserved. Here too was the atmosphere of unity. Bishop William Brown spoke for the new organization. Ralph Chaplin of the I. W. W. made a rousing speech for the men in jail. Benjamin Gitlow was there to throw the challenge of the Supreme Court back into its teeth and brand its decision in his case for what it is:

"An edict of the robed executive committee of Wall Street." Andrew McNamara, the newly elected Chairman of International Labor Defense, told of the persecution of workers in Western Pennsylvania. Otto Hall of the American Negro Labor Congress expressed the solidarity of the class-conscious members of his race for this notable achievement. James P. Cannon, secretary of the unity organization, reviewed the program of the International Labor Defense and called for support in the great task to carry its banner into every local union and every working-class body."

This great enthusiastic meeting of workers was a proper setting for the launching of an organization that is destined to occupy a place of honor in the record of the struggles of the working class of America.

The International

ITALY

THE militant elements within the Italian unions are making steady headway in their struggle against the reformist union chiefs. An extremely important victory is reported from Turin, center of the Italian metal industry, where the Communists obtained a conclusive majority in the elections to the F. I. A. T. shop committees over the reformist-Maximalist bloc, the Fascist unions and the Catholic unions. In order to appreciate this victory at its true value, it must be borne in mind that in these elections to these committees, which are allowed to function legally, the Communists have to struggle against three enemies: the police, the employers, and the socialists—(without reckoning the Catholic unions and the Fascists).

The police have been constantly carrying out raids and mass arrests among all those suspected of sympathizing with Communism, with the object of preventing any propaganda activities in connection with the electoral campaign. Moreover the election lists have to be signed by large numbers of workers, who, being thus obliged openly to declare themselves as Communist sympathizers must subject themselves to future reprisals on the part of the employers, who have from time to time discharged thousands of workers known to be Communists or sympathizers.

The yellow socialist union leaders have been attempting to eliminate the militant elements from the Turin unions by representing the Communists, among other things, as the enemies of class organization and labor unity, but the latter have been able to conquer their efforts by steady and energetic resistance.

Another sign of increasing Communist influence is the result of the referendum taken by the Italian Federation of Textile Workers in connection with the refusal of the employers to grant the wage increases asked for by the union, the general strike demanded by the Communists having been decided upon in the face of the opposition of the union bureaucracy.

GREAT BRITAIN

THE recent decision of the British Mine Owners' Association to terminate the present agreement with the Mine Workers' Federation of Great Britain on July 31, and its demand for a wage cut, the return to the eight-hour day, and the substituting of national agreements by district agreements "based upon the economic capacity of each district," has brought Great Britain to the verge of a great industrial war. If the united action planned by the mining, transport, engineering, railroad and shipbuilding trade unions is not sabotaged by their leaders, over 5,000,000 workers will be involved in a tremendous defensive strike movement. Since the leadership of the miners' union is militant in character, and the left wing movement has gained immensely in strength among the rank and file in the other unions within the last years, it seems unlikely that yellow leaders of the Clynes-Hodges type will be able to repeat the Triple Alliance betrayal of 1921.

The deadlock is complete, the miners demanding that

the mine-owners withdraw their notification ending the agreement before they will consent to enter into negotiations. In reply to the demands of the British Mine Owners Association, the Executive of the Mine Workers Federation stated its approval of the action of the miners' representatives in informing the coal owners that they would not consent to longer working hours or submit to any agreement that would reduce the present wages; and declared that the miners would use every effort possible to fight against longer hours or lower wages, and that the Executive would lay the position of the miners before the entire Labor movement, political and industrial.

Following the failure of W. C. Bridgeman, First Lord of the Admiralty, appointed as special mediator by the government to deal with the crisis, to break the deadlock, the government, on July 13, announced its intention of instituting a court of inquiry under the Industrial Courts Act, "to inquire into the causes and circumstances of the dispute in the mining industry." The court, which the bourgeois press greets as "entirely independent," is to consist of the following members—the Right Honorable Hugh Pattison MacMillan, Lord Advocate of Scotland, as chairman; Sir Joseph Stamp, who was British representative on the Dawes Committee on Currency and finance in 1924, and W. Sharwood, Organizing Secretary of the Municipal Workers' Union. The function of the court is to hear witnesses on both sides, and make recommendations, but it is to have no power to enforce its findings; it is probably intended principally to serve as an instrument for mobilizing public opinion against the miners.

On hearing of the institution of the court of inquiry, the Miners Federation, in executive session at Scarborough, telegraphed to the government mediator requesting assurance that if they participated in the court sessions the owners would first withdraw the notice terminating the present working agreement. The owners refusing, the miners declined to accept the government proposal by a unanimous vote of the conference.

The General Council of the Trade Union Congress has issued a manifesto endorsing the refusal of the Miners' Federation to meet the owners' until the latter's proposal for ending the agreement is withdrawn, and pledging active assistance to the miners in every way.

The Minority Movement is taking a leading part in organizing councils of action, to take the initiative in the fight of the miners, as well as that of the metal workers and railworkers, who are also faced with an offensive against their present wage-standards. The latter have been asked to agree to a five per cent wage cut, on condition that the same reduction be applied also to managerial salaries of all grades. Since some 100,000 of the railroad workers are getting about \$15 a week, the hypocritical stupidity of comparing a five per cent cut in their wages with a five per cent cut in a manager's \$25,000,000 salary is obvious—to anyone except yellow leaders of the type of J. H. Thomas, Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, who is calling for

"sacrifices all around" in solving England's industrial troubles.

The Workers' Weekly, organ of the British Communist Party, trenchantly sums up the culpability of the mine-owners in the present crisis, and presents the miners' demands:

"The British coal industry has many advantages. The quality of its coal is the best in the world. The output of its workers is the highest per man on the continent of Europe.

Those advantages are, however, outweighed by the fact that the industry is burdened by the most parasitic system of landlordism that the world has ever known, and the most inept capitalist directorship.

Over £6,000,000 is paid in royalties every year to enable the landlords to continue practising the gentle art of doing absolutely nothing.

Our coal-masters, in the main, are duds. Many of the 1,500 odd colliery companies in Britain are directed in a most stupid and wasteful manner. In many cases the unit of production is too small to enable effective economics to be made. Millions of tons of coal have been wasted by the need for maintaining coal barriers between the pits operated by different owners.

In the 1919 Coal Commission, the capitalist lawyer, Justice Sankey and his three non-mining capitalist colleagues, declared: 'Even upon the evidence already given, the present system of ownership and working stands condemned.'

Now, when their neglect of modern methods of production have brought the industry to a position of acute depression, the mineowners' only idea is 'reduce wages and lengthen the working day.'

The miners' reply must be demands for:

The 1914 wage, plus 2s. Sankey award, and an increase equal to the rise in the cost of living.

The Nationalization of the mining industry (without compensation) with scientific reorganization and workers control."

Twenty Years After

(Continued from page 448.)

yellow reformist parliamentarians devoted to the "civilized plane" of the ballot box. An honest proletarian fighter gagged at their ideas and the I. W. W.'s healthy reaction of scornful hostility to "politics" and "politicians" was just as natural as cause and effect.

But it does not follow because the I. W. W. deleted some words from the Preamble and jeered at "politics," that politics of one kind or another has not persisted in the I. W. W. from that day to this.

Labor organizations do not exist in a social vacuum, and Leninism has clearly proven in the field of action that regardless of the desire of the Syndicalist to eliminate "politics," nevertheless reality poses the question: "What kind of politics, working class or capitalist?" rather than "Will you have politics or no politics?"

Blowing Out the Gas!

This has sufficiently been proven in the I. W. W.'s own experience of recent years, when the theory of "no politics" has turned out to be the breeding ground for a split movement which gathers in great numbers who can see nothing wrong in members of the organization applying to the capi-

talist courts for injunctions to gain organizational office, in pacifism, decentralization, an insane delusion that by howling down all leadership the bad leaders will be eliminated, and a general confusion of anarcho-syndicalism run riot.

The same capitalist class politics which led Delegate MacKinnon at the Second Convention in 1906 to say: "We are not here as revolutionists but as industrial unionists"—today leads Rowan to split the I. W. W., Payne to snarl like a cur at Soviet Russia, Welinder to rant against the dictatorship of the proletariat, Gahan to sneer at "the madness of insurrection," and all to oppose the Communists and Communist programs. Except that in 1906 MacKinnon was greeted with "uproarious and uncontrollable laughter for several minutes," while his modern prototypes parade before the membership as the embodied wisdom of the I. W. W.

"No Politics" Is Capitalist Politics.

The I. W. W. can no more get rid of politics by its resolution wherein it states—"The I. W. W. refuses all alliances, direct and indirect, with existing political parties or anti-political sects,"—than the A. F. of L. has ceased to be a tool for capitalist politics notwithstanding its Section 8, Article 3, wherein it, too, declares—"Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populist, Prohibition or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

It would be one of the most constructive things American labor could do for both these organizations to wipe out the above and in their place assert—"We welcome any worker as a member without regard to his political opinion, but as organizations devoted to the interests of wage workers, we can approve and support only such political party as reflects the interest of the working class in its historic mission to overthrow capitalism."

The writer can easily visualize the highly political minded I. W. W. sectarian who scorns "politicians" reading this far and then snorting angrily that this is another of my well-known "attacks" on the I. W. W. Every analysis, every criticism of I. W. W. policy is, to this type, an "attack."

Such types have led the I. W. W. far afield from its proper mission among the working class. But in view of a swiftly rising mass sentiment wholly indifferent to this dogmatic attitude and even opposed to it, these wobbly politicians are going to be left soon to play the part of generals without an army.

No Disgrace in 1905.

It is no disgrace, however unfortunate it may be, that America in 1905 produced no Bolshevik party and no Lenin. The writer attaches no moral opprobrium to the I. W. W. for having been what it has been for twenty years. It was the product of peculiar conditions which made it what is was—the yellow parliamentarism of the Socialists and the craft union conservatism of the A. F. of L.

Before imperialism sharpened the class struggle and forced the birth of a really revolutionary party of Communism and breathed the breath of Leninist clarity into American unionism through the Trade Union Educational League—the I. W. W. was the best expression the movement offered to the class conscious worker impatient for action.

But the old days are gone and the old I. W. W. has gone with it, and any member of the I. W. W. today who has a

serious desire to advance the interests of the working class yet who fails to shake off the dogmas of the past, take stock of his mental furniture and gather courage enough to strike boldly out for new and better policies is no friend of the I. W. W.

The Primary Need—A Left Wing.

What, then, are those better policies which if actively fought for can bring the I. W. W. into a position of power such as it has never held before? What can unsnarl the existing confusion? Firstly, the formation of a left wing block, just as in other unions, of those who have both the clear vision and the will to act in shaping a program of constructive work and fighting manfully to win the membership for it against the opposition of the drifting, programless dogmatists who look upon the I. W. W. as a church, infallible and unchangeable.

Every member can do his part by propounding to every one of his fellow workers, especially those who aspire to speak and write for the I. W. W. or who run for legislative and executive office in the organization, what program he offers in general to solve the problem of building the I. W. W. better in the future than in the past, and demand an answer to the particular steps suggested to the I. W. W. by the Red International Affiliation Committee.

The writer would like to outline briefly some of the leading policies suggested by the R. I. A. C., commencing with the healing of the existing split by ideological struggle and unity of action and organization with the rank and file of the "Emergency" organization.

Organize the Unorganized.

All organizing forces should be mobilized to organize the unorganized upon a unified plan in agriculture, lumber, general construction, metal mining and marine transport. Where the I. W. W. does not function as a union but as a propaganda group, its members should ally themselves with the revolutionary left wing organized around the Trade Union Educational League and fight for revolutionary industrial unionism by amalgamation and education.

Stubborn fights should be made for better wages, hours and conditions and union control. A united front with any organization willing to aid these fights should be initiated, and the demands of the Marine Transport Conference at New Orleans and the International Conference at Havana next year should be aided by the whole I. W. W.

Unity in Defense and Job Control of Union.

The I. W. W. should co-operate officially and effectively in the International Labor Defense which is now actively entering into the work of uniting all elements willing to aid in the release and relief of all class-war prisoners without regard to opinion or affiliation and the care of their dependents.

The organization should build its foundation upon the job branch and the broader shop or job committee system. The job branch should have the power in practice, and all ballots be valid only when vouched for by job branches, while district and industrial union conventions must be delegate bodies from such branches and not mass meetings of organized chaos.

Free discussion must not be a theory, but a practice, and the vicious censorship existing must be cut out with a surgical operation if those who fill the offices persist in in-

terpreting "control" of the press as the right to censor anything they do not approve.

International Unity.

The I. W. W. should stand ready to aid in every way the movement sweeping the trade unions of the world for complete international unity in one giant international body. This movement, which is launched by the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, finds its chief sponsor in the Red International of Labor Unions, and the I. W. W. cannot be true to its never-old slogan of "solidarity" until it is united with the other revolutionary unions of the world in the Red International of Labor Unions.

Hopeful Prospects—If.

It should be the duty of every member and every friend of the I. W. W. to urge that a delegation, representative of the larger industrial unions of the I. W. W. attend the next World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions and give the membership something they have never had before—a reasoned and truthful report of their findings.

The I. W. W. today is in a condition which can give no pleasure to any revolutionary workers. The decay or death of the I. W. W. or any other union can never be a source of satisfaction to any Communist. And the I. W. W. has a place and a function in the American labor movement. It has failed to attain and maintain power because it followed incorrect policies. If it has the virility within it to hammer out correct policies it can easily go onward to a future more glorious than its past.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHINA?

Will the young workers be called on again to serve as cannon fodder in another world slaughter?

When there is danger of war you will get the latest news in the

YOUNG WORKER

Since the organ of the working class youth is published by the Young Workers League in the interests of the young workers and carries on a consistent fight against capitalist militarism and wars.

Reflecting the life and interests of the young workers in shops, mills and mines, if you are young you will want to subscribe because it is YOUR paper. If you are an older worker you will need the Young Worker to keep informed on all these struggles of the young workers which so closely effect your own interests.

—Rates:—

\$1.50 a Year.

85c for Six Months

THE YOUNG WORKER
1113 W. Washington Blvd. Chicago, Ill.

The most important work in literary and social criticism in many years, presenting a point of view original and valuable to a knowledge of our literature and our time, and all literature and all time.

THE NEWER SPIRIT

By V. F. CALVERTON

Michael Gold wrote the author:

"It delights me to see that we have at last a real philosopher in our revolutionary ranks. Your work is on a plane with the best writings of the Russian critics—the first class men among them. It seems incredible that a man of your insight, scholarship and temperament should be so red and fundamental."

John Dewey, noted philosopher:

"It is by far the best statement in behalf of sociological criticism I have ever read."

Herbert Read, editor, The Criterion:

"That 'the tendencies of art, religion and science are but the interwoven threads of social texture' is a truth that for some years has been growing into our critical awareness, but it has never before been traced with such thoroughness in the sphere of literature. Mr. Calverton draws his evidence from the consideration of three main periods with their parallel types of literature."

Sherwood Anderson, noted novelist:

"One of the few things I have read that has something to say... Remarkably fine."

This is one of the most beautiful books ever published by BONI & LIVERIGHT, Publishers.

The price is \$2.50. Order your copy through

Just a Wee Little Girl Wrote— THIS LETTER:

Dear Comrades:—

My father read in the Lithuanian Daily "Laisve" an appeal to buy a book for children.

He asked us, the children of the family, if we would like to read such a book. Of course we said yes, for we all like fairy tales. We thanked dad for the money which we received.

FAIRY TALES FOR WORKERS CHILDREN

by Herminia Zur Mühlen

Is the best book I have ever read because it tells about the poor peoples' struggle against the rich and it makes me think that some day they will succeed and become the leaders of the world. I also liked this book because it had poor people in it and not kings and queens which I think are very hard to imagine.

I liked the stories of "The Little Grey Dog", "The Rose Bush" and "The Sparrow". The story "Why?" is very interesting because I liked the courage of little Paul when he wanted to know why it was so very hard for the workers. How he found the little dryad who told him she would answer his questions when the workers would awaken from their sleep and become wise. She said that glorious day for the workers would come maybe eighty years from now or maybe tomorrow but it all depended on us, the workers.

Fairy tales for workers children is the best book I ever read.

Fraternally Yours,
Helen Viskočka.

Fairy Tales for Workers Children

Is also the best book that your children will enjoy. The translation by Ida Dailes and the beautiful color plates by LYDIA GIPSON add to the charm and beauty of the stories.

Duroflex Cover 75 Cents—Cloth Bound \$1.25

Science Has Conquered at last! Pyorrhea

Write for Free Booklet on Pyorrhea and Pyradium

—that insidious Disease of the Gums, which not only makes the mouth Horribly Repulsive, Loosens and Destroys the Teeth, but which Medical Authorities now say, "is the source of dangerous internal poisoning as well, often resulting in Rheumatism, Neuralgia, Brights Disease, Intestinal Troubles and Other Afflictions."

WITH A FORMULA NAMED Contains Genuine Radium Pyradium

—a newly Discovered Preparation, used as a Mouth Wash, compounded by an eminent Chemist, specializing in RADIUM Researches, combining with several other proven Healing, Antiseptic and Germicidal agents, the most Novel and Powerful of them all,

PYRADIMUM quickly relieves all infections of the mouth, such as

French Mouth Chancers, Gum Boils, Cold Sores, and Bleeding Gums!

It tightens loose, wabby teeth!

It relieves irritations and sores caused by false teeth!

RADIUM that marvelous and wonderful element, discovered and isolated by MADAME CURIE, the renowned French Chemist, a quarter of a century ago—a discovery that upset many a theory and revolutionized accepted conceptions of Physics and Chemistry—an element that is winning victory after victory in the healing world, now questioning the Medical Fetish, "PYORRHEA CAN'T BE CURED," a fact that is testified to by many former sufferers from this dreadful Infection of the Mouth.

PYRADIMUM is sold under an ABSOLUTE GOLD BOND GUARANTEE: if it does not eradicate Diseased Gum Conditions, Kill the Pyorrhea Germs, Heal the Gums and Save the Teeth, the Money will be Cheerfully Refunded without Hesitation or Quibble.

Price \$2.50 for a four ounce bottle.

Send C. O. D. upon request, otherwise send money order.

COMPOUNDED BY

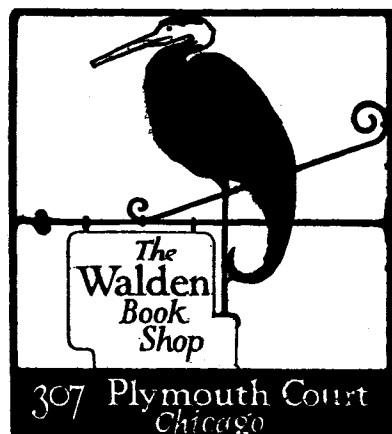
RADIUM REMEDIES COMPANY

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA, U. S. A.

Sexton Building

Cor. 6th Ave. and 7th St.

THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.
1113 W. Washington Blvd. Chicago, Ill.



307 Plymouth Court
Chicago

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.

The Little Red Library



10 CENTS EACH

Twelve Copies for One Dollar.

The Little Red Library

Convenient, pocket size booklets carrying important contributions to the literature of the revolutionary movement.



No. 1

**Trade Unions in
America**

by Wm. Z. Foster, Jas. P.
Cannon, and Earl R. Browder

A brief summary of the development of the American Labor movement and the rise of the Left Wing within it.

No. 2

**Class Struggle
vs.
Class Collaboration**

by Earl R. Browder

A splendid study of the methods of Labor bureaucracy to divert the workers from militant struggle thru the B. & O. plan, insurance schemes and workers' education.

No. 3

**Principles of
Communism**

by Frederick Engels
Translation by Max Bedacht

The first American publication of the original draft of the Communist Manifesto. A historical document and a guide to Communist understanding.

No. 4

Worker Correspondents
by Wm. F. Dunne

Tells what, when, why, where and how to develop this new and important phase of Communist activity.

New Writers

Are sure to develop with the growth of the Communist movement in this country.

To these new writers the Little Red Library presents an unusual opportunity.

Original manuscripts on any subject, from a working class viewpoint will be given the closest attention.

When you write, whether it be on social and industrial problems, fiction, poetry or art—

Be sure to confine the size of your work from 10,000 to 15,000 words.

20,000 Theatres—
100,000 churches, schools, clubs, etc., show

MOTION PICTURES

to

**FIFTY MILLION WORKERS
EVERY WEEK!**

Here are, really and truly,

The Masses!

The workers' side can be told with movies!

What are you doing to help in this job that MUST be done?

Labor pictures, from Russia, Germany and America. Stories, comedies, education, strikes, labor conditions, revolution.

WORKERS' MOVIES

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' AID,

19 So. Lincoln St.

Chicago, Illinois

The Cream of the Week's News

in the

FEDERATED PRESS

Labor Letter

**A digest of news relating to labor's
aims and labor's achievements**

*Compiled and condensed for the busy but
wideawake reader*

Write for sample copy or send \$2.00 for year's
subscription

The Federated Press

156 W. Washington St.

Chicago, Ill.

10 CENTS A COPY — 12 COPIES FOR ONE DOLLAR.

Send one dollar and these four—and eight new numbers, will be mailed to you as soon as they are off the press.

THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.

"The Source of All Communist Literature"

1113 W. Washington Blvd.

Chicago, Ill.