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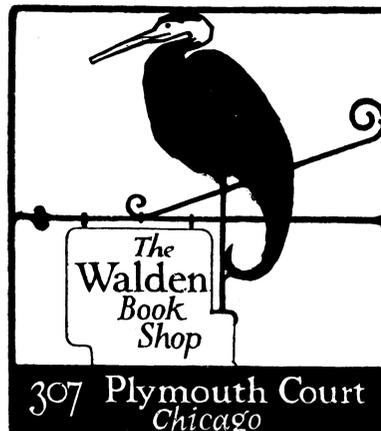
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the crystallization of a Progressive Bloc in the trade unions. This means united-front efforts by the Workers Party with the opposition elements in the unions and with progressive unions for joint action against the reactionary bureaucracy.

**Re-organization on the Basis of Shop Nuclei and a More Centralized Party Apparatus.**

It will take the Party several months of intensive propaganda among its own membership and of deep-going organization work to bring about the complete re-organization of the Party. But this will be done. The convention as well as the Party seems to be in a mood which guarantees the success of the re-organization.

There will undoubtedly be opposition to this radical change in the form of Party re-organization. The non-proletarian and opportunistic elements in the party will offer all kinds of resistance. Loreism, that is the opportunistic wing of the Party, may find a new resting place in opposition to the abolition of federations. This, however, should cause no misgivings regarding the success of the re-organization. The Party is well aware of the difficulties confronting it and will be able to devise effective means to overcome these difficulties.

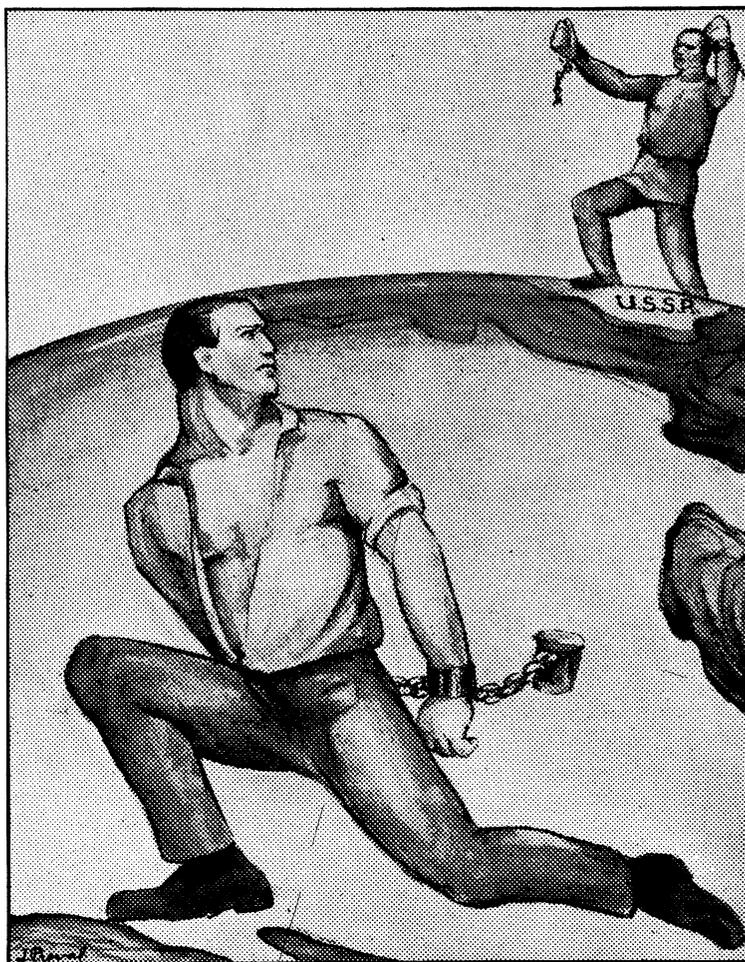
The successful re-organization of the Party will be of tremendous significance for its future work. When this is achieved the party will become a really unified Communist Party, and will have acquired for the first time in its history a really centralized apparatus. Through its shop nuclei it will at last begin to function where a working-class party really should function—in the shops and factories where the workers live, suffer and struggle.

**The Unification of the Party and the Liquidation of Loreism.**

And last, but not least, the unification of the Party and the liquidation of Loreism. The convention has contributed greatly towards this end. The Party, under the leadership of its new Central Executive Committee, will have to complete the work.

The liquidation of Loreism is inseparable from the Bolshevization of the Party. A party which has a strong opportunist wing can not be really Bolshevik. To Bolshevize the Workers Party means first of all to liquidate its opportunist tendencies. This is what is meant by the liquidation of Loreism.

The success of the process of Bolshevizing the Party depends in a large measure upon the unity of all Communist forces within it. There can be no successful attempt at the liquidation of Loreism as long as there is disunity in the ranks of the Communists in the Party. Only in the measure in which such unity is established will opportunism in our ranks be defeated. The idea that dominated the convention was as simple as it was correct: through unity of the Communists to the Bolshevization of the Party!



Drawing by Juanita Preval.

THE AMERICAN WORKER LOOKS TOWARD RUSSIA!

## His Grave

THEY say no stone or cross doth mark  
The spot where Wesley Everest lies,  
That vandal feet have stamped the ground  
Into his wide and staring eyes.

They say the place is near unknown,  
That rarely red-eyed mourners come  
To leave their wreaths of flowers on  
That lonely and deserted tomb.

Perhaps—but ah, what matters it!  
We say to them who tread him down,  
Six feet of earth is not the grave  
On which we lay the martyr's crown!

—Henry George Weiss.

# The International Battle Front in the Coal Industry

By Alex Reid

"NOTICES suspended. Continue work."

This message flashed across Great Britain on July 31 as a signal to the miners that the enemy had capitulated. The strike of more than a million coal miners had been averted almost at the last moment by the government's promise of a bribe to the owners in the form of a "subvention." The British government dared not face the consequences of a giant labor upheaval, in which the railway and other transport workers would have supported the miners in a solid alignment of some six million men.

However, no one believes that the "settlement" reached is more than temporary. The inquiry which is to be instituted—the fourth in the last few years—is not designed to better the terrible conditions under which the miners work, but to find a way to improve the productive efficiency of the mines for the purpose of meeting competition in the world-markets. Elemental capitalist disorganization—that is the disease from which the coal industry is suffering, not only in England but in every coal-producing country in the world.

The coal industry is experiencing the international crisis. Unemployment is rampant. Wage-cutting is the order of the day. As a result the miners, who form one of the most advanced detachments in the great army of organized labor, are everywhere pitted against their exploiters.

The Belgian miners are facing a big lockout.

In Germany and France the coal-diggers are offering militant resistance to attacks on their standard of living.

In Canada a condition of persistent warfare exists, featured by the outrages against the miners committed by Dominion troops at the behest of the British Empire Steel Corporation.

And in the United States, the wage-slashing program of the operators has aroused the indomitable fighting spirit of the anthracite miners to such a pitch that even John L. Lewis saw himself obliged to approve an industry-wide strike call

for September 1. Something of the fire of the British miners has spread to this country. There is a strong sentiment for support of the anthracite miners among the coal-diggers of the bituminous fields, although the yellow officialdom is attempting to discourage it. Throughout the country the condition of the miners has been getting worse from year to year. They have their backs against the wall and cannot retreat much further. Struggle is in the air.

It is no accident that these rumblings of conflict in England, in Belgium, in Canada, in the United States, blend with each other and are heard all at the same time. An international strike situation has developed out of the international crisis which capitalism brought upon the coal industry. Now as never before, the international solidarity of the workers becomes an immediate practical necessity of the class struggle. This is, in fact, the only way to a solution of the problems confronting the miners.

The United States and England are the two main points of focus in the present situation. The next move is up to the miners of the United States, and all eyes are on the date of September 1, when the anthracite walkout is scheduled to take place. The British miners have already given an account of themselves.

The temporary agreement entered into by the British miners carries a government subsidy of \$50,000,000 to help the coal owners maintain the present profit rate until next Spring. A new wage cut had been set for August 1 and only the determined stand of 1,200,000 miners averted it. Four years ago the miners faced the operators under similar circumstances—a fight over wages and working conditions—with the Triple Alliance of Miners, Railwaymen and Transport Workers apparently backing them, but their aims were not achieved at that time, due to the treachery of Hodges, then leader of the miners, and J. H. Thomas, chief of the railroaders, on what has become notorious throughout the world as Black Friday.





—Cartoon from the "Sunday Worker."

**GENERAL COUNCIL OF BRITISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
ESTABLISHES COUNCIL OF ACTION TO SUPPORT MINERS.**

In the present crisis a new agreement was concluded, taking in the Locomotive Engineers. The railroaders agreed not to move a ton of coal that might in any way be used to defeat the miners. This meant that, unless Black Friday should be repeated, the millions of tons of coal on the ground and in cars on sidings could not be moved.

Led by A. J. Cook, the left-wing leader who a year or so ago was chosen secretary of the British Miners' Federation, a committee representing the General Council of British Trade Unions proceeded to Paris, where a conference was held with representatives of the miners of France, Belgium, the Ruhr region, the Saar Basin, and Germany. Germany has 10,000,000 tons of surplus coal above-ground, Belgium has 4,000,000 tons, and France also has a large surplus. This surplus might have been unloaded in Britain to the satisfaction of all capitalists concerned, and incidentally to break the impending British strike. But the representatives of the miners said no. They concluded an agreement in Paris whereby they pledged that in the event of a strike in Great Britain, no surplus coal would be produced in the other countries, that only an amount equal to the domestic demand would be mined. An understanding was then arrived at with the marine transport workers, who assured the delegation that no coal would be transported across the North Sea or the British Channel.

On July 30, the German Miners' Union met in Berlin and pledged full support to the British coal-diggers.

Never before in the history of the mining industry did such a titanic struggle face a nation, which the workers supported both nationally and internationally.

A threat to slash the wages of the British railroaders was made about the same time as the attack upon the miners, and this bound the two organizations more closely together than ever.

A feeling swept Great Britain that the nation was about to be shaken from top to bottom. A member of the House of Lords shrieked hysterically that the whole British Empire was face to face with its greatest trial and it was brought

out in Parliament that arrangements had been made to give soldiers and sailors treble pay for strike duty. Plainly, the government was disposed to use any means to break the strike if it should eventuate. In the closing days of July, government officials were in almost continuous session with naval and military chiefs, mineowners and representatives of the miners.

Stark fear finally seized Prime Minister Baldwin and his associates at the probability of class war throughout Britain. A temporary respite was won for the British coal-diggers.

There is no denying the fact that the British mining industry is in crisis. Production has been steadily curtailed since the war with the result that 150,000 miners are unemployed and many of them are lacking the most elementary necessities of life. Meantime, the owners are living on the fat of the land. Secretary Cook, of the Miners' Federation, points to the fact that their profits for the last year exceeded \$873,000,000. This does not take account of the heavy "royalties" with which the industry is burdened. Royalties paid

to the dukes of Hamilton and Northumberland give them a higher tonnage rate on coal produced than the coal-diggers who mine it.

But the crisis in the British coal industry cannot be analyzed and understood without taking into consideration the state of the industry in Germany, France and Belgium. Every conceivable means has been applied to bolster up the failing system of private ownership of the mines, but to no avail. "Uneconomical" mines have been closed down, miners and day laborers have been laid off, day labor has been speeded up—and yet the industry is on the toboggan, with the owners unable to arrest its headlong plunge.

"Whether or not we believe in Nationalization," declared Herbert Smith of the British Miners' Federation recently, "we will be driven to that as the only way to save the mining industry."

The Berlin "Statist" declares that 30 per cent of German coal is being exported to former British markets—as a result of the famous Dawes' Plan in Germany. Approximately a million tons of coal were exported during the ninth of December, the report shows. Low production costs (based upon the suffering of the German workers) have enabled the German operators to win contracts in Scandinavia, France, Italy, Argentina, etc.

"Why does Germany seemingly pursue this destructive policy (of undercutting prices)?" asks the Manchester Guardian. And then answers its own question as follows: "To meet her own obligations under the Dawes' scheme, Germany is forced to accumulate funds by export business. This largely explains



**A. J. COOK, BRITISH  
MINERS' LEADER**



### FOR CIVILIZATION.

have as their aim, to penetrate to the Spanish zone." ("Le Peuple" of 23rd of May, 1925.)

As you know, a struggle is proceeding in Morocco between the Riff people on the one side, the Spanish bourgeoisie on the other side and the French bourgeoisie on the third side. When the war between the Riff Kabyles and the Spaniards had come to complete standstill, the representative of the Left Bloc, Malvy, a member of parliament, who had been sent to Spain, endeavored to kindle the war afresh. Now, when a bold word requires to be spoken against the capitalist plunderers who have attacked a small people and who are prepared to kindle a new European war for the sake of their predatory interests, the so-called representatives of the proletariat, the French Mensheviki, attack the Third International and issue the slogan: "We do not want any extension of military operations which would have as their aim to penetrate to the Spanish Zone."

Ten years have passed since the outbreak of the first world war. In this war the imperialists sacrificed ten million human lives. One of the greatest sufferers was France, where today there is hardly a village which has been able to maintain anything approaching an appropriate proportion between the number of the male and female population. As a result of the first imperialist war, the French village has been devastated and destroyed. And now, at the very first attempt of the capitalists to inaugurate fresh slaughter, these mensheviki literally repeat what they said in the year 1914. You have here a sample of what the Second International would do to-morrow if a new war were to break out. From this example it is quite clear that the bourgeoisie and the social democracy now represent one camp as regards main questions, and that one cannot vanquish the bourgeoisie without having to defeat the treacherous leaders of the Second International.

But the Morocco war has served at the same time as a certain testing of those new forces which have grown up in the past few years. When the war of 1914 broke out, in France, in the first period there was hardly a single man who ventured to oppose it. The first protests in France against the war were made in the year 1915. And then people came forward with a confused and vague program. In

The imperialists? Oh no. The Communists! "The so-called internationalism of the leaders of the Third International is, in fact, only an appeal to the narrowest nationalism. The workers do not support it, in the same way as they are not minded to follow those who wish to extend an adventure and those who dream of fresh conquests. The workers of our country pronounce themselves categorically against any extension of military operations which would have as their aim to penetrate to the Spanish zone." ("Le

Germany at that time Liebknecht stood alone in his opposition to the war. The events in France have shown that should the bourgeoisie now attempt to resort to a fresh war, we would not see one but thousands and thousands of Liebknechts in all the prominent countries of Europe. (Applause.)

I am happy to be able to say that the Communist Party of France, a Party which has grown strong in the last few years, has in this matter proved itself a Party worthy of the Communist International. There have been found people in this Party who succeeded in the French parliament in flinging a protest, full of contempt and indignation, in the face of the bourgeoisie, as well as of their lackeys in the menshevik camp. Especially worthy of note is the fact that, in the name of the Communist Party, a young comrade came forward, who only recently emerged from the ranks of the Young Communist League, a typical representative of the new generation of revolutionary leaders, Comrade Doriot (applause), who delivered a splendid speech in parliament. After the speech of Comrade Doriot, the Central organ of the Communist Party of Germany quite rightly published an article under the title: "Liebknecht lives"; yes, he lives in the new generation of workers!

The attitude of Comrade Doriot is, so to speak, a small example of how the new forces which are ripening among the working masses would speak and act if events should develop and the bourgeoisie decide to kindle a new imperialist war on a large scale. French democracy, supported by the Men-



DORIOT, "THE FRENCH LIEBKNECHT," WHO HEADS COMMUNIST OPPOSITION TO THE RIFF WAR IN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

sheviki, has carried out hundreds of arrests throughout the whole country. Communist workers who post up bills and leaflets against the war are being arrested, fresh proceedings are being brought against them. It would be a good thing if

we were to send from this meeting brotherly greetings to all who have been arrested on account of the fight against war. (Applause.)

“Join Hands  
and Crush  
Your  
Exploiters”

---Slogan of the  
Communist  
Party of France



## Expropriation of American Farmers

By O. Preedin

FOR social-democrats, this question relates solely to the competition of large farming enterprises with moderate and small farms. Economic struggle between farms of different sizes—that is the whole secret of farm expropriation as far as they can see; and they may thus very conveniently devote themselves to endless and fruitless discussion concerning the strength and fate of small enterprises in agriculture. Communists cannot consider the question so narrowly, divorced from all awareness of the multiple and complicated mechanisms which capitalism has developed for exploitation of producers in agriculture. There are other relationships to consider besides those of the different agricultural producers with each other. It would be both incorrect and foolish to deny that competition among farmers exists, and that cases of absorption of economically weak farms

by their stronger neighbors occur. But we must note that the apologists of finance capital are always very glad to see such examples pushed to the foreground, so as to conceal the violent attacks of imperialist capitalism upon the property of producers.

Present agricultural statistics do not furnish us a direct answer to the question: to what extent are poor farmers expropriated by their brothers? We are obliged to seek indirect information. The best that may be found is in the classified statistics of mortgage loans.

According to the Farm Mortgage Bankers' Association of America, farm mortgages about the end of 1921 amounted to \$8,044,000,000, and were held by the following groups, as indicated (000,000 omitted):

increase the number of farmers but simply replace others hides the savage rate at which expropriation of farmers is going on.

Instead of seeking to find the rate of expropriation it is in place to conclude from the cited figures only approximate decrease of existing capital owned by agricultural producers, a decrease created by such "advanced" methods of expropriation that even the recruiting of new farmers with their investments could not replace all of what was expropriated and destroyed.

It is highly necessary for us to perceive this process in its true features and true dimensions.

#### 4. Growth and Substance of Control of Financial Capital Over Agriculture.

Capital investments of non-producers in agriculture are increasing all along the line. We find corporation farms organized and operated by financial institutions with the help of hired managers directing hired labor—in short being both in form and substance capitalistic enterprises in agriculture. No less than 7,428 farming corporations filed federal income tax returns. Farm building is not the direct aim of capitalists in general or of financial capital in particular. What they are after is profit. So long as the exploitation of small producers offers them good profits (both in the matter of surplus products and direct acquisition of properties), financial capital will be very careful about starting its own farming enterprises.

It is useful to note here that available information—returns from 1,689 corporation farms out of 7,428, and therefore not a very large basis—indicates that corporation farms are established nearly exclusively in stock farming (42 per cent of them) and in fruit farming (56 per cent). From the point of view of intensification, stock farming and fruit farming are at opposite poles; in one case the most extensive farming, where constant capital in the proper sense and expenses for labor are negligible in comparison with land required, and in the other case a type of farming requiring heavy investment of capital. The first type may be of particular interest in transactions of landholders—as a means of using land temporarily while waiting for a favorable opportunity to get hold of farmers with their properties. The second is not within the reach of small producers.

We cannot take up here the peculiar conditions of Ameri-

can agriculture in the period of imperialism which are responsible for some differences in the matter of concentration of agricultural enterprises from other countries in periods of competing capitalism. That question would not only lead us from U. S. territory into the sphere of "agriculture under the flag of the United States," but would oblige us to follow our imperialists still further. Here it is only necessary for us to note that "agriculture under the flag of the United States"—a term met with more and more frequently in official reports—does not imply merely territorial expansion, but includes a special form of agriculture, which for over 50 years has engaged in competition with certain specialized farms in U. S. territory, and victoriously. The history of the sugar cane farms offers an eloquent example.

Conditions for the extension of large-scale capitalistic farms in the United States are difficult and complicated. As a rule such farms appear not side by side with small "independent" farms but on the graves of the small producers.

## Our Bourgeoisie



## A Great Deed Was Needed

By Michael Gold

**M**IDNIGHT on the hills. Black as a mine-shaft, the world. Immense, strange, with shadows great as lost continents.

And a mine-lamp hangs from the sky. The huge, strong Moon. A white tower-lamp all night, lighting the great mountains,

Coal-mountains, old stone mountains that have given birth to trees, rocks, bears and men.

Peg-Leg Johnson is standing under a black tree. Look at him. He is thinking. "We gotter—we gotter—O, we gotter—"

This is thinking. It hurts and chokes a miner's brain,  
A miner alone in midnight on the black mountains,

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