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for WORKERS' CHILDREN by HERMINIA ZUR MUHLEN

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# THE WORKERS MONTHLY

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No. I

## Eight Years of Proletarian Dictatorship

By P. Green

**E**IGHT years are a very small period for the replacement of the capitalist regime by Communism. Eight years are an insignificant period for a transition to Communism in a country like Russia which in every economic and cultural respect is a backward country in which nine-tenths of the population consists of peasants cultivating their acres with very primitive methods. Thus the Russian Communist Party is forced to accomplish its task under extraordinarily difficult conditions. Incomparably easier and simpler would be the replacement of capitalism by Communism in a country like Germany or the United States, in countries with a rich technical basis of production, in countries where there is a highly developed system of transportation and where the proletariat composes a considerable majority of the population.

One must never forget this in considering the progress which was made by the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. This fact must also be taken into consideration in the solution of the question of whether the transition from capitalism to Communism is possible in the present epoch. Every step forward made by the Russian proletariat on the way to Communism must be multiplied ten or twenty-fold if the question of revolution in the highly developed imperialistic countries is judged.

It is more than a century, beginning with the days of utopian socialism, that bourgeois scientists have tried by all means to prove the absolute impossibility of Communism. They found thousands of arguments against Communism. But now the workers of the world have the chance to learn from the Russian experience the incorrectness of all the assertions of the bourgeois scientists. During eight years the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has made the first steps on the road to Communism. (We point out that in the highest developed imperialist countries, where the conditions for a Communist transition exist to a much higher degree than in the Soviet Union, not eight years but eight months will be needed for these first steps.) The experiences of eight years of practice of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia contradict fully the fairy tales of the bourgeois pro-

fessors about the impossibility of Communism and contradict also all the fables about the bankruptcy of the Bolsheviks.

Take for instance, the bourgeois American newspapers like the New York Times and the New York Tribune. These papers cannot be accused of any sympathies with Communism and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and yet lately there appeared a whole series of articles in these papers. In these articles the correspondents are forced to admit the tremendous economic and cultural progress of the Soviet Union in comparison with 1922 and 1923. The main mile-posts in the progress of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia are the quick rehabilitation of the industries as a whole and especially of the light industries (textile, food industry); the re-establishment of the railroads; the growth of the popular educational and cultural institutions; the general improvement of the well-being of the peasants; the tremendous strengthening of Soviet power; the extension of the influence of the Communist Party among the workers and peasants; the rapid growth and the extraordinarily quick development of social initiative and the immediate drawing of millions of workers and peasants into the daily social and political life of the country; and, last but not least, the forced recognition of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics by almost all of the capitalist countries and the strengthening of its international role in foreign commerce. The favorite method of the bourgeoisie of all countries today consists in picking out of the life of the Soviet Union some insignificant occurrence and making a great deal of noise about it with the object in view of hiding the real progress. Everyone who does not want to be misled or cheated must look back upon the whole period of the proletarian dictatorship, and must consider the main tendencies and directions of its development, and then he will see with absolute clarity that during these eight years a tremendous step forward was made.

It is very interesting to compare the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics with Europe for the last seven or eight years. How are things in Europe? Did the rich European countries succeed in solving the problem of reconstructing their industries on the basis of the pre-war level? England, this fortress of European capitalism, suffers continuously from political and economic crises. Its industries go back, its commerce diminishes. The number of unemployed



Fred Ellis

German and American "Labor" Endorse the Dawes Plan

# Capitalism Mobilizes Against the Social Revolution

By C. E. Ruthenberg

**C**APITALISM is mobilizing its forces for a struggle for its existence. Since the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is the outward representative of the forces which are threatening the destruction of capitalism, the mobilization is directed against the Soviet Union.

Since the signing of the Versailles treaty in June, 1919, there have been a dozen principal conferences of the great powers at which the capitalist governments endeavored to find the way of staving off the impending dissolution of the capitalist social order. The adoption of the Dawes plan in April of last year, which was achieved through the pressure of the American bankers and the American government, resulted in a measure of stabilization, of a temporary character, for the capitalist system. Among the capitalist economists, the results of the operation of the Dawes Plan have been hailed as the evidence that capitalism has found the solution to the problem of reparations, debts, and demoralized exchanges.

Now the great capitalist powers have succeeded in signing new agreements in the form of the Locarno Treaty, with which they believe they have solved the question of adjusting their political differences, and the whole capitalist world is ringing with paeans of joy.

The basis for these jubiliations are frankly stated in an editorial in the Chicago Tribune reading in part as follows:

**"It is revealed in London that fear of Russia enables Great Britain to bring western Europe to the new peace of Locarno."**

John Steele, the Tribune London correspondent, says that Austen Chamberlain, British foreign minister, saw another war coming. The question was, where Germany would be in it.

**"Peace with the Soviets of Russia is impossible. It is impossible, just as peace with Napoleon was impossible. War was the texture of Napoleon's existence. It is the first principle of Russian syndicalism or red Communism, which cannot live in peace with the older capitalist individualistic system of social order and government . . . We do not know where or when the whites and the reds, the blacks, tans and yellows, will make a settlement of the issues they have between them. But we know that it is a good thing Germany has not been forced into the Soviet combination, but has been permitted to take a stand with the group which, in such a struggle, includes the United States."**

Here we have a frank avowal of the objective of the great capitalist powers. Through the Dawes Plan, through the many other conferences culminating at Locarno, they are endeavoring to put their house in order so that they may deal with their real enemy, the developing social revo-

lution, which appears in its concrete manifestation in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

## Clashing Social Systems.

From the day that the workers and peasants of Russia overthrew the capitalist Kerensky government and began the work of abolishing capitalism and creating a new social order in Russia, the capitalists have recognized Soviet Russia as their most dangerous enemy. Capitalism threw all its forces into the struggle in an effort to destroy the beginnings of the new social order. The czarist generals who endeavored to overthrow the Soviet government, Kornilov, Denikin, and Wrangel, all had the backing of the capitalist powers. England made war in her own name at Archangel and American troops invaded Siberia. Czecho-Slovakian soldiers in Siberia were supported by the allied powers. Poland had the support of capitalism in its attack upon the Soviet Union.

When counter-revolution and war failed, the allied capitalist powers resorted to the weapons of the blockade and strangulation.

Capitalism realized that if the Soviet Union is permitted to exist and grow strong, the capitalist system the world over is doomed.

There cannot exist, for any length of time, a system of production in which industry is privately owned by capitalists who carry on production of goods for the purpose of enriching themselves through the exploitation of workers who produce the goods, with a government representing the interests of these exploiters and using its power to defend this exploitation through oppression of the workers, side by side with a system of industry which is owned collectively and which produces goods to supply the needs of the people by returning to the workers the full equivalent of what they produce in industry, expressing itself in a government representing the interests of these workers and using the governmental power to defend the workers' interests and to build and strengthen the new social order. Fire and water can as easily exist in the same space as these two antagonistic social systems. One must destroy the other. They cannot exist together.

The rulers of the capitalist countries bitterly accuse the Soviet government of carrying on propaganda to overthrow the governments of the capitalist countries. Particularly here in the United States, we have constant expression of the accusation against the Soviet Union that it is aiming to destroy American institutions. From the Secretary of State, with his exclusion of Saklatvala, down to the meanest of the capitalist newspapers, this accusation is continually hurled at the Soviet government.

It is the existence of the Soviet Union and the new social order which it is developing which is the threat and danger for capitalism and capitalist institutions. The example of a hundred and fifty million people who have thrown off the yoke of their exploiters, taken the governmental power into their own hands, and are creating a social order without exploitation for the enrichment of a few, is an inspiration to the exploited workers and farmers of all capi-



Fred Ellis

## AFTER EIGHT YEARS—THE FRUITS OF VICTORY.

grows and the revolutionary movement develops more powerfully. In Germany industry has reached only forty percent of the pre-war level and the proletariat is weakened by its unbearable level of existence. France is on the eve of complete financial bankruptcy and on top of that has thrown itself into a long colonial war. Poland, Bulgaria, Roumania, Italy,—is it necessary to speak about the ever-recurring political and economic crises of these countries?

While the Soviet Union reconstructs with ever increasing rapidity, Europe rots in continuous crises. One need only read the bourgeois American papers, read what bourgeois economists say—for instance, J. Maynard Keyes—about the situation in Europe. Read, for instance, what is said about European capitalism of the latter days by the daughter of Lord Curzon, and one will see that even the bourgeoisie itself begins to understand that capitalism has reached the eve of its debacle.

Eight years are an insignificant period for the transition to Communism in a backward country like Russia, but its progress during these eight years is so tremendous that the bourgeoisie of all countries is terrified and reacts with fury. Notwithstanding all fables and all slanders the truth about the progress of Soviet Russia can be concealed no longer. A number of workers' delegations that have visited Soviet Russia in the late years have testified to this prog-

ress with citing of facts that cannot be challenged. Although the bourgeoisie and its tail, social democracy, are doing all in their power to refute the reports of these delegations, yet they are so frightened that they are taking measures to prevent further progress. This is the best proof of the progress of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. But this progress becomes a source of new difficulties and new dangers for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The greater the improvements, the greater grows the danger of new intervention and of a new war against the Soviet Union.

That is a serious danger for the proletarian dictatorship. The Soviet Union has quickly developed its defense on the basis of a militia, but a war threatens it with new destruction and new exhaustion. The main task that confronts the workers of all countries who sympathize with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in spite of their political and trade union leaders, must be to prevent a new war against the Soviet Union within the next five or ten years.

If this succeeds and if the Russian proletariat during this period is given the chance to build undisturbed on its new life, then there can be no doubt that the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics will strengthen itself internally to such a degree that no enemies and no wars can endanger it any more. And then the Soviet Union will be the strongest support of the world revolution.



The capitalist nations of Europe and America howl in vain while a proletarian Red Army guards the first workers' state of history.

talist countries to enter into the struggle against the capitalist social order and the government which upholds and protects it. The example of a country which, in relation to the undeveloped countries of the world, follows a policy of friendship and helpfulness and gives up all special privileges and rights of exploitation, as compared to the imperialist exploitation by the capitalist countries, is bound to make this country the rallying point for all oppressed nationalities in the struggle against their imperialist capitalist exploiters.

It is because the Soviet Union must and will inspire the exploited and oppressed workers of Germany, France, Italy, England and the United States in a struggle against their capitalist masters, because the existence of the Soviet Union with its policy of friendship toward the people of China, India, Morocco and other spheres of imperialist exploitation, a policy which springs from the fact that Russia is not a capitalist country, and therefore need not follow an imperialist policy, goes to make the Soviet Union a magnet around which will gather all the oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialist capitalism.

Out of diametrically opposed economic systems of capitalism, and the growing Communist system of the Soviet Union, there develop conflicts which manifest themselves in far quarters of the world and in every phase of human existence. There can be no permanent peace between capitalism and the Communist social order which is being created in the Soviet Union. Either capitalism must destroy the beginnings of the new social order and thus win a tem-

porary respite for itself, or the beginning which has been made in Russia will spread over the earth and destroy capitalism.

#### Fetters on the Capitalist Power

The question which immediately arises in one's mind is, if we accept this analysis of the conflict between capitalism and the Soviet Union as correct, why has not capitalism long before this launched an open attack against the Soviet Union through a declaration of war and an effort to destroy the Soviet Government.

On the surface it appears that the capitalist powers have carried on only a guerrilla warfare against Soviet Russia. They have financed and equipped counter-revolutionary czarist generals, they have endeavored to use Poland as their cat's-paw in an effort to destroy the Soviet Union, they have tried the strangulation of the blockade. What has prevented the hurling of a French, Italian, English and American army against the Soviet Union in an endeavor to crush out the first workers' republic?

It has not been a lack of will to do this on the part of the capitalist government which has saved the Soviet Union from such an attack. It has been the lack of power.

There are three factors explaining this lack of power. The first is the economic conditions which existed in all of the capitalist countries with the close of the war. Capitalist production was in a state of collapse; depreciated money and disordered exchanges, unbalanced budgets, spread the danger of the collapse of the financial structure of capitalism. The hardships and sufferings which these conditions brought upon the people of the capitalist countries, particularly in Europe, expressed itself in the wave of revolutionary struggle which swept over the continent and which threatened to engulf the capitalist governments.

The second factor was the support and sympathy for the workers' and peasants' government of Russia. When England threatened to intervene in 1921 at the time of the Polish war, the ruling capitalist class of England was answered by a Council of Action formed by labor in support of Soviet Russia. All over Europe, the workers went on strike and used sabotage to prevent the supplying of the munitions of war to Poland. It was the knowledge that an armed attack by the armies of the capitalist powers upon Soviet Russia would carry with it the danger of an uprising and revolutionary struggle at home that held the capitalist powers in check.

The third factor was the mutual jealousy and conflicts of interests between the capitalist powers themselves. Germany, beaten and economically raped by the victors of the world war, could not be depended upon to join in a united



"Face to the Village!" is one of the slogans of the Communist Party in Russia. Each big factory in a city takes charge of the political education of some small village nearby. Here we see a Communist speaker addressing a group of peasants.

effort to eradicate the beginnings of the social revolution. All of Central Europe reeked with conflicts which might easily lead to new struggles within the ranks of the capitalist nations.

The Soviet Union gained a breathing spell because capitalism itself was so weakened, so torn with dissension and had within itself a working class sympathetic to the Soviet Union.

#### The Situation Today.

The vital question in relation to the new mobilization against the Soviet Union is whether capitalism has overcome those factors which in the past few years have prevented a united attack upon the Soviet Union. Have the capitalist powers today accomplished what they have been unable to do during the past eight years?

The reparations problem was one of the most serious disturbing factors in the European economic and financial situation. The adoption of the Dawes Plan, under the whip of the American bankers, established a temporary equilibrium in relation to this question. The intervention of the American bankers to settle this problem averted the collapse of the German financial and economic systems. As ex-Chancellor Wirth declared, in his recent speech in Chicago, "I wish to say that your assistance in every form has greatly helped to avert the final social collapse of my country." The staving off of the collapse in Germany and the temporary stabilization of industry there has had its effect in strengthening the whole economic and financial system of capitalism in Europe and the United States. Capitalism has not overcome the forces of destruction generated in the war, but it has obtained a temporary breathing spell.

The settlement of the question of Europe's ten billion dollar war debt to the United States was of equal importance to the reparations problem in relation to the rehabilitation of capitalism in Europe. Here also something has been achieved. Refunding agreements have been signed between the United States government and England, Belgium and

Czechoslovakia. The negotiations with France have thus far been unsuccessful, those with Italy are still to come.

In these settlements of the economic and financial problems of capitalism, the method has been that of postponement. The Dawes Plan postponed the drain of reparations payments upon German industry by comparatively small yearly payments at the beginning, and the debt settlements made by the United States provide for comparatively small annual payments for the immediate future. Capitalism has therefore not solved these problems, but postponed their solution.

The Locarno treaties, which are hailed as the establishment of the peace of Europe, and which are at the same time the unification of capitalism for the struggle against the Soviet Union, may be said to follow the same method on the political field that capitalism has followed on the economic field in order to gain a breathing-space. The treaties provide for methods of achieving settlement of the conflicts, but do not actually achieve the settlement. How far they establish the peace of Europe is indicated by the ironic commentary on the paeans of joy in the form of threatened war between Greece and Bulgaria, American warships steaming towards Syria, and the Riff war going forward with all its intensity in the midst of the songs of joy over the achievements of Locarno.

Treaties have become scraps of paper before when it served the interests of the capitalist powers to consider them as such.

The vital interests of the European powers which signed the various treaties at Locarno will be as effective in making scraps of paper of these treaties as were the interests of Germany in making a scrap of paper of the Belgian treaty in 1914. The best that can be said is that capitalism has secured a breathing spell. The rulers of capitalism may consider that this breathing spell gives them sufficient strength for a desperate struggle to wipe out the Soviet Union and the beginning of the social revolution.

The United States, which has played such an important role in the adoption of the Dawes Plan, has maintained a consistent position of uncompromising hostility toward the



After the political meeting, the Communist workers mingle with the peasants in games and dancing.



During the Lenin Enrollment.

Immediately after the death of Lenin, the doors of the Communist Party were thrown open to the workers of Russia, and over 200,000 new members were taken in. Each applicant was examined as to his fitness for Party membership before the workers of his own factory, shop or mine.

Soviet Union. Both Hughes and Kellogg have declared that there can be no recognition of the Soviet Union while it pursues the policy of abolishing capitalism and creating a new social order.

These are the indications that the capitalist powers feel themselves strong enough for a new struggle against the Soviet Union and that we are on the eve of sharpened conflicts in which capitalism will throw all its powers into an effort to crush the first workers' and peasants' republic and with it the developing social revolution.

#### Forces in the Conflict.

Examination of the relative forces in this impending struggle between capitalism and the new social order, shows that the Soviet Union is in a much stronger position than at any time in the past.

While capitalism has temporarily solved some of its problems, it has not overcome the forces of destruction which the imperialist war generated. We need only to look at Great Britain in order to find proof of this. British industry is still far below the pre-war level. It has not been able to recover the ground it lost as a wealth-producing nation during the war. The taxation required to meet the draft upon its budget and the expenditures growing out of the war is absorbing financial resources. There are more than a million unemployed and the need to subsidize such an industry as the coal industry to prevent a strike. These facts depict the straits in which England finds herself.

With it, there is a swing of labor to the left and the beginning of a powerful revolutionary movement directed at the destruction of English capitalism. Undoubtedly English capitalism became the prime mover in the adoption of the Locarno treaties because of its fear of the Soviet Union. How far can England go in a struggle against the Soviet Union without precipitating the very thing it is seeking to destroy: the Soviet Union—the Social Revolution?

A second factor in the situation is the new attitude

toward the United States which is developing in capitalist Europe.\* By insisting on its pound of flesh in the settlement of the war loans made to the European countries, the United States has established a common bond of resentment against this country on the part of the European debtor nations. This enmity and resentment against the United States is bound to grow as the financial enslavement by American capitalism proceeds. The Dawes Plan increased American investments in Germany. The debt settlements, usually followed by new loans, are similarly increasing American stakes in other European countries. The interests on old debts, new loans and investments in European industry will continue to increase American financial control, for there is no other way in which Europe can pay than by giving to American capitalism greater and greater control of European industry through the re-investments of the interest on old loans, new loans, and profits on investments of the past. As American capitalism becomes the financial master of Europe, the enmity of European capitalism will increase, and this enmity prepares the ground for new conflicts.

World capitalism also has still to deal with the people who are suffering under the yoke of imperialist exploitation. While capitalism hails the dawn of peace, the armies of France and Spain are suffering defeat after defeat in the struggle against the Rifians. Capitalism hails the dawn of peace and the powder-magazine of the Near East explodes in Syria. Throughout Asia, Africa, South America, the victims of capitalist imperialism are stirring and mobilizing to cast off the yoke under which they suffer. Every revolt of oppressed people is a blow at the whole imperialist capitalist system, for capitalism cannot exist today without imperialist exploitation of undeveloped countries. When the Chinese masses unite to cast off their foreign imperialist exploiters, capitalism and the capitalist powers receive a blow which accelerates the operation of the forces let loose by the war which are destroying capitalism.

The Dawes Plan and the Locarno treaty may bring the capitalist powers a breathing space, but they have not overcome the forces which are preparing the destruction of capitalism.

#### The Strength of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union faces its capitalist enemies stronger than at any time in the past. Through the herculean efforts of the workers' and peasants' government, the industries of the Soviet Union are being reconstructed. Production is being improved and with the improvement in industry and in production goes hand in hand the improvement of the standard of life of the workers. Not only mining, manufacture, and transportation have improved in Russia, but also Russian agriculture. It is not a country torn by war and counter-revolution such as Russia was in 1924 that faces capitalism today, but a country that has made great progress in overcoming the destruction wrought by capitalism and which has made great progress in building and organizing its economic powers.

The progress of the Soviet Union in improving the



Work in the Fields in Soviet Russia. The peasants, who have so long been tilling the soil with primitive methods, are now anxious to learn the latest methods and obtain the most improved agricultural machinery.

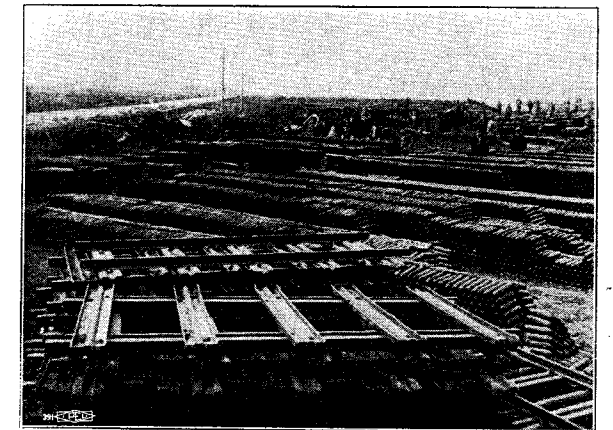
standard of life of the workers and peasants of that country is having its effect within the capitalist countries. The report of the British trade union delegation on conditions within the Soviet Union was a big factor in the movement toward the left and toward the Soviet Union by the British working class. Trade union delegations of practically all the European countries are visiting the Soviet Union and bringing back similar reports to the workers of their home countries. The knowledge that the workers and peasants of Russia are winning their struggle to create a new social order, that they have already made substantial progress in building that social order, will inspire new faith and courage for the struggle for the social revolution in the workers of the capitalist countries of Europe.

Thus, at a time when capitalism is mobilizing for its struggle against the social revolution and its visible expression, the Soviet Union, the forces are gathering within the capitalist countries to strengthen the movement for social revolution there.

#### The Test of the Communist Parties.

The impending sharp struggle of capitalism to overcome the forces of social revolution and to destroy the Soviet Union will be a test of the Communist Parties. The Communist Parties are the outposts of the social revolution in the camps of capitalism. The strength they can muster in mobilizing the workers in support of the Soviet Union will weaken the offensive of capitalism against the Soviet Union. Every mobilization of the workers in the capitalist countries for a struggle against their capitalist masters strengthens the Soviet Union. Every revolt of the peoples of the oppressed colonies against their imperialist masters threatens the strength which can be directed against the Soviet Union by capitalism.

Our Party in the United States faces the task of bringing pressure to bear upon the center of capitalist power. It is American capitalism, which today is reaching out over the world to rehabilitate and strengthen capitalism. It is



Before Munitions Works in Russia.

These works turned out the munitions which helped to beat back the foreign invaders in 1919 and 1920.

American capitalism which forced upon Europe the Dawes Plan and gained for it a breathing space. American capitalism is the leader in the struggle against the social revolution.

The immediate task of the Workers (Communist) Party in relation to the titanic struggle which is developing is to show that even American capitalism is not free from the forces within the United States which can place a check upon its power. The force of the Soviet Union is the strongest issue for an appeal for a struggle against American capitalism. On this issue the Workers (Communist) Party must and will rally the working masses for an attack upon their capitalist rulers.

\* \* \*

The answer of the working class to the capitalist mobilization against the social revolution and the Soviet Union must be a mobilization for the social revolution. The coming attack upon the Soviet Union will bring such a mobilization. Capitalism, in endeavoring to destroy the social revolution, will strengthen the forces of the social revolution which will carry it nearer to its goal.

#### NEXT MONTH

Why a Labor Party? By John Pepper  
Super-Profits. By Bertram D. Wolfe  
Taxation. By Max Bedacht  
The Movement towards World Trade Union Unity.  
By William F. Dunne.  
The Story of the Russian Revolution of 1905

#### COMING!

A series of five articles analyzing five political parties in the United States.

January. The Democratic Party. By H. M. Wicks  
February. The Republican Party. By Jay Lovestone.  
March. The Third Party Movements and the Labor Party. By Max Bedacht.  
April. The Socialist Party. By William Weinstone  
May. The Communist Party. By C. E. Ruthenberg

# Sam Gompers Is Not Dead

By J. Louis Engdahl

THREE flags decorated the platform at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor—the flags of the capitalist republics of the United States and Germany, and the flag of the British Empire. These flags mirrored three views of the gathering—(1) Its attitude toward American conditions; (2) The black picture of betrayal unveiled by the visiting German delegation of fifteen “socialist” trade unionists, and; (3) The inspiring and aggressive spirit of struggle revealed by the British fraternal delegates.

The American flag, standard of Wall Street imperialism, found for its every profit-spun thread a responsive chord in the enslaving class-collaboration schemes of these delegates claiming to speak for the workers of this country; while the Germans likewise upheld the degradation of German labor under the Dawes plan that has been accepted by Von Hindenburg, the late kaiser's most successful mass murderer. Only the British labor spokesmen, coming directly from the Scarborough conference of the British Trade Union Congress, that had closed with the singing of “The Red Flag” and “The International,” stood aloof from the emblem of exploitation that had been raised in the convention hall because of their coming. It was this contradiction that furnished the vital collision in this labor assembly. That ideas personified by William Green, the American, Fritz Tarnow, the German, and Arthur A. Purcell, the internationalist, should clash under one roof made history for this meeting.

## Purcell Stings the Reaction.

IT is well to set forth at the very outset, in Purcell's own words, some of the bombshells that he hurled into this annual meeting of the A. F. of L., that had been brought together at Atlantic City, the so-called “playground of the world,” to bask contentedly in the memory of the departed Samuel Gompers. Purcell said:

I come to make a call for the unity of the world's workers—for the world brotherhood of all those who toil.

In Britain we have twelve percent of our workers permanently unemployed. And our experts tell us that unemployment must grow increasingly worse.

I am proud of the genius for organization and the essential grip of things which my class in Russia has displayed.

I say that you, workers of America, have much to learn from Russia. I do hope that, from now on, the organized workers of America will establish the closest fraternal relations with the organized workers of Russia.

Just as the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, representative of the whole Trade Union movement of Britain, has sent delegations to Russia, so I hope and trust the American Federation of Labor will do the same.

In those few sentences Purcell, the head of the International Federation of Trade Unions (the Amsterdam International), member of the British parliament for the Labor

Party, and member of the general council of the British Trade Union Congress, touched on most of the sore spots of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, stinging it into new outbursts of red-baiting madness. Purcell urged world trade union unity, including the Russians; recognition of the class struggle and the world economic problems confronting labor; favorable recognition, if not acceptance of the Bolshevik victory over czarism in Russia; recognition of and the opening of trade relations with the Union of Soviet Republics and the acceptance of the basis on which the Russians have built their trade unions; in fact, put the Russian workers in the role of the teachers of world labor, with the haughty American labor movement reduced to the humble role of backward pupil.

## Green Only Flushes Red.

The delegates sat aghast as they listened in silence while William Green, their president, flushed crimson as he conjured up a reply to this undaunted British fraternal delegate, whom the capitalist press attacked as a Moscow agent, and demanded his deportation. Thus the official minutes, quoting Green's reply to Purcell, contains the following:

The Trade Union Educational League here in America frankly announces that its policy is to bore within the labor movement, to . . . substitute for our philosophy the philosophy of Communism. We are not ready to accept that, and we wish that our friend, who has so kindly advised us and has offered us such frank suggestions might take back to the Russian Red International this message, that the American labor movement will not affiliate with an organization that preaches that doctrine or stands for that philosophy.

(At this point the delegates arose and vigorously applauded the statement of President Green.)

Our friends will be here during the deliberations of our convention and at some of its sessions the question involved in the remarks I have made will come before you for consideration and action. Some delegate who seems to believe that the philosophy taught by Moscow is better than the philosophy taught by Sam Gompers has introduced resolutions here that will touch deeply upon all these subjects; and when these resolutions come before this convention for consideration I wish you to be here so that you may see and understand the registered opinion of these splendid delegates upon these subjects.

## Incites Prejudice of the Mob.

THUS did President Green harangue his “splendid delegates” in an effort to incite that mob spirit that reaction is seeking to arouse against progress in the whole American labor movement.

Thus the Green regime in the A. F. of L., following in the footsteps of the Gompers dynasty, allies itself with the capitalist bootlicking trade union officialdom of Germany,

and opposes itself to the British labor movement sympathetic to the Russian workers.

Under the Dawes plan Germany lies prostrate at the feet of Wall Street. So these German trade union officials meekly bowed their submission at the feet of the A. F. of L., proclaiming in the words of Tarnow, “We are convinced that we will learn a great deal in this country which will be of immense benefit for our future trade union work at home.” This sentiment was vigorously applauded, so unlike the silent reception given Purcell's militant suggestions.

There were no discussions in the A. F. of L. convention of the effects of the Dawes plan in Europe, or of its repercussions on industrial conditions in the United States. Nowhere was there heard any talk of the Locarno Conference gathering simultaneously in the Swiss city. A. F. of L. meetings do not discuss such questions. Gompers led American organized labor into the League of Nations and put it on record in favor of the world court, so anything that the world bandits who planned the Versailles peace decide, is supposed to be good enough for American labor. Thus fifteen German “socialist” trade union officials declaring for the Dawes plan and Locarno as cure-alls for the establishment of capitalist “peace” in Europe are given wide-open entry to the labor unions of the country. Incidentally Purcell's room in the Strand Hotel in the convention city is mysteriously raided and indications left that all his papers have been carefully scrutinized by the intruders.

## The Playground Atmosphere.

OUT on the boardwalk Ben Smith, co-fraternal delegate with Purcell, beholds the “capitalist swine,” as he calls them, sunning themselves in the roller chairs, pushed by American coolies at twenty cents per hour, the starvation pay received while actually working.

“I wouldn't get into one of those chairs for all the money in the world,” declares Smith, but the purse-proud A. F. of L. delegates, big of paunch and flaunting their badges, ride in them readily.

They fit comfortably into the money-spending surroundings of this American “Deauville,” that needs only the visit of a moron King Alfonso, of Spain, or some other decrepit old-world monarch to give it the final royal touch, so much admired by this nation's rich. In fact, D. D'Alessandro, head of the Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union, did carry the decoration of a chevalier, bestowed upon him by the King of Italy. Then the annual gathering of the American Bankers' Association overlapped the meeting here of the A. F. of L., so that the attacks of both against the Communists joined in a common assault.

That is the atmosphere that surrounded and pervaded the meeting place, Steeplechase Pier, of the convention, announced to all the world as “The Funny Place,” with the letters arranged backwards, and guarded in front by the well known wooden soldiers of the Russian “Chauve Souris.”

This was the fitting setting that the richest and most powerful imperialism in the world had provided for its labor aristocrats, decisively referred to by rank and file workers as “the fat boys.”

It was, in fact, not a meeting of “labor leaders,” but a gathering of labor bankers, happy over their achievements in the financial world, with their little “windows on Wall Street” and now planning to launch insurance companies;

favoring “company unions” on the theory that “if the representatives of the union control any employes representation plan offered by the employers, it ceases to be a menace;” providing for the investment by the workers of their earnings and savings in stocks and other securities of various forms, in the hope that an agency or agencies controlled and directed by the trade union movement, may be developed to gather and supply to the members of organized labor information regarding the value of investment securities, and heralding the “B. & O. (Baltimore and Ohio Railroad) Plan” as the “special contribution of the Railway Employes' Department (of the American Federation of Labor) to trade union methods and progress.”

## Green Loves Coolidge Rule.

NO desire for class struggle here. Only the highest expression yet reached of President Green's declaration that, “It is not our purpose to attack the institutions of our government. We love our government, we love America, we love its history and traditions,”—but not enough to fight for it and take it away from the capitalist masters.

It was into this arena that seven progressive resolutions were hurled, bringing forth roars of disapproval from these rabid defenders of things as they are.

The Labor Party resolution drew the most intensive fire. It came as a challenge to the adoption by the convention of the moth-eaten non-partisan policy of the Federation.

In the discussion of the child labor amendment to the constitution, the delegates had confessed that they had been duped by Republican and Democratic politicians, who had promised support of the amendment. When these old-party-ite legislators were called to account for their betrayals, they merely replied with the statement, “Our promises and pledges are merely fishhooks to catch suckers.” Through the endorsement of the Gompers' nonpartisan policy of “reward your friends and punish your enemies,” the A. F. of L. officials voted to continue in the role of suckers.

The Labor Party resolution was stigmatized as containing “a revolutionary philosophy branded and repudiated. It demands that organized labor in its political activities associate itself with ‘all other political organizations of a working class nature,’ undoubtedly intending thereby to advocate political cooperation with the socialist and Communist Parties; it refers to the government as a thing apart from the American people and as having been hitherto entirely out of their control.”

## Hayes as Peacemaker.

MAX Hayes, delegate of the Printers' Union, former “socialist” but since 1919 a factor in the farmer-labor party movement, tried to quiet the fears of his fellow delegates by declaring that the revolutionary elements could be kept on the outside. Since it is the belief of the makers of A. F. of L. policies, that all things good have been achieved by industrial action, Hayes got into deeper water when he began to argue as follows:

“I want to repeat what I have said before these conventions in the past, that this labor question is not going to be settled upon the industrial field.

“True, we can ameliorate conditions temporarily, but there can be no permanent solution of the injustices that have been complained about in this convention ever since it

has been in session and in many previous conventions, under the present system."

Delegate James M. Lynch, head of the Printers' Union, former Tammanyite, declared that he refused "to substitute this Labor Party movement for the alleged apathy on the industrial field."

But all of the machine orators confessed that they beheld the spectre of the Labor Party looming in the not far distant future. Here are interesting admissions by two of them:

Delegate Lynch:—"It may be that some time in the future, when all of the people of this country speak the same language, when all of them have the immense and conclusive realization of industrial conditions that my friend has, it will be possible to organize with some degree of success, a distinct Labor Party, but that time is not now."

President Green:—"There may be a time when we in America can organize an independent political party, when our nation becomes an industrial nation, as Great Britain now is, when the centers of population have grown and increased and the distances between our villages and our cities are greatly reduced . . . There is no need here of a class war or a class struggle. The power of government is inherently vested with the voters of America."

Thus do these "labor" chiefs accept the Labor Party in principle but conjure up utopian dreams in which the labor party is to leap full-grown from ideal economic conditions. There is no conception of the Labor Party developing out of the daily struggles and needs of the masses, a weapon forged in the heat of conflict.

#### A Resolution Favoring Amalgamation Is Rejected.

"AMALGAMATION of the various trade unions, so that there will remain only one union for each industry" was rejected. On this resolution no official of importance cared to speak. They must have spent their energy arguing jurisdictional disputes growing out of the fact that the organized labor movement is divided into a multitude of craft unions.

The resolutions committee reported that, "The executive Council has had the wisdom not to try to superimpose conformity to a theory instead of practical facts. We do not recommend any form to the exclusion of others but leave each group of workers free to choose methods best suited to the situation under consideration. This decision was declared for by the Scranton convention."

Nearly a quarter of a century has passed since the Scranton Convention was held; in that time great trusts have been organized, while mighty mergers of capital continue to be formed. But the A. F. of L. clings to the dead past, and hands out its jurisdictional decisions to the unions that can muster the largest number of friends.

The plea to "Organize the Unorganized!" went to the executive council, the burial ground for organization resolutions. The convention decided to launch an organization campaign, and has prepared a movie for that purpose. But the drive as outlined is purely a propaganda affair with no ambitious attempt being made to carry on an organization struggle. In fact, facing the organizational problem in the non-union automobile industry, some of the highest officials in the unions involved, in discussing organization, admitted, "We don't know how to proceed." Yet the organizational drive in the steel industry, for instance, showed that they

knew how not to proceed. And they have not profited by their experiences enough to correct their mistakes.

The resolution attacking class collaboration was killed by the convention with no comment by the committee nor contrary argument by any of the delegates. The demand for a "militant policy of struggle against the employers" was rejected.

#### Reject Trade Union Unity.

THE resolution on world trade union unity, as predicted by President Green, did come up. The committee headed by James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters, with Matthew Woll, of the Photo Engravers, as secretary, both small organizations, declared the resolution "an impudent proposal." Yet it can easily be predicted that the recommendation of the committee will return in the days ahead to plague its authors, as American labor advances in spite of them. It is in this recommendation that the A. F. of L. proclaims its suzerainty over the organized workers of this western world, just as the United States government, in the early days of the nation, proclaimed its premier position through the Monroe Doctrine. It may, therefore, be well to quote at some length as follows:

"The British workers have sent to us a message urging our sympathetic consideration contained in this resolution.

"We convey to the world the most solemn warning of which we are capable that we will not willingly tolerate in the Western Hemisphere any old-world movement which seeks to impose itself upon American peoples over the will of those peoples. What the United States government, through President Monroe, expressed to Europe as a warning against armed territorial aggression, we convey in equally emphatic terms regarding aggression by propaganda. The Americas stand for democracy. The Pan-American Federation of Labor is the recognized international labor movement of the Americas. Through it the American republics give expression to the aspirations and ideals of their wage-earning masses and the American peoples are determined that it shall so continue. Neither the Red International of autocratic Moscow nor any other international may in complacency ignore this definition of American labor policy."

But in the very hour that this bit of cheap demagogy was being inflicted upon the delegates, American marines were shooting this much-vaunted "democracy" into native workers of Panama City, in the Republic of Panama, who had dared strike against the high rents and bad housing conditions, while at the same time reports came drifting into the convention of the shooting down of fourteen defenseless agricultural workers on Sunday, Aug. 30, at the town of La Cruz, District of Rio Grande, Republic of Nicaragua. The victims of this wholesale murder were employed by the Cuyamel Fruit Company and their only crime was striking for higher wages. It is enough to mention that the American Fruit Trust rules undisputed in Central America. The A. F. of L. voted to investigate. It didn't do even that much in response to the plea of Porto Rican labor, enslaved to Wall Street's dollar chariots. The plight of these workers was merely referred to the executive council for such consideration as it may care to give. The A. F. of L. extends its hand

to the blood-dripping grip of American imperialism, cementing its compact with the anguish and misery of the oppressed peoples of this western world. No wonder that that hand is paralyzed and refuses to function as Russian labor extends toward it the hand of the world fraternity of all labor. It will require more than the fraudulent phrases of a resolutions committee to cover up this crime against the world solidarity of the workers.

Similarly, in reporting on the demand for the recognition of the Union of Soviet Republics, the resolutions committee again rushed to the side of the American imperialist regime, and vented its wrath on the Russian Workers Republic. Here are strange words coming from a labor organization:

**The American Federation of Labor urges the government of the United States to maintain the position it has taken in favor of the non-recognition of the Soviet regime.**

Yet the chairman of the foreign relations committee of the United States senate, Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, is an ardent advocate of Soviet recognition. In the recognition struggle between the "Strikebreaker" Coolidge and the western liberal, Borah, the heads of organized labor take their stand with the New England "open shopper." It looks as if Wall Street's government will recognize the Soviet Union before the A. F. of L. demands this step under pressure from the American working masses.

#### Sidestep Organization of Negro Workers.

ON the resolution for the organization of Negro workers, the Green regime dodged again. It refused to vote "yes" or "no" on the demand that "the most effective and sincere manner by which the American Federation of Labor can ensure a response to its efforts to organize the Negro workers is to take up in an aggressive and whole-hearted manner the cause and defense of the Negro against legal and social discrimination and abuses, such as lynching, segregation, disfranchisement, etc.; so that organized labor becomes the champion of the Negro's social demands as the demands of the most abused and exploited section of the working class."

To be sure it was claimed that the "American Federation of Labor from its birth favored and advocated the organization of all wage workers irrespective of race, color or creed." It is also argued that 100 of the 107 affiliated national and international unions admit colored workers to membership. But the proof of the failure of the A. F. of L. in this respect is that the door of race prejudice in nearly all union halls is slammed in the face of the Negro workers, resulting in very few Negro workers being organized in the recognized unions.

Delegate Purcell had his experience with the Negro waiters in the Atlantic City hotel where he stopped. He quoted one of them stating to him that, "We want to be organized. We want to join the union. But they won't take us in. They don't want us in the unions."

#### Left Wing Is Small.

IT is an uphill, desperate fight, battling for these progressive measures in the A. F. of L. conventions. This was more true of the Atlantic City gathering than any preceding it. The left wing was very small and almost inarticulate. This was due to some extent to lack of preparation; something that must not happen again.



William Gropper

#### FIGHTING THE LEFT WING AT THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION.

So-called "socialist" and militant elements of yesterday lined up solidly with the official machine in this convention. Thus the role of the "socialists," especially the heads of the needle trades unions, is especially interesting.

All through the gathering Sigman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Kaufmann, of the Furriers' Union, and Zaritsky, of the Capmakers' Union, with all their retinue, sat like dumb animals, incapable of thought. On no issues that came before the convention did they have anything to offer. Their thoughts were, of course, back in New York City, where the left wing was strengthening its hold upon these needle trades organizations, especially in the I. L. G. W. U.

Not even on resolutions that the last convention of their own organization forced them to introduce in the A. F. of L. gathering did the Sigman group have a syllable to utter. These resolutions attacked the Citizens' Military Training Camps and urged a renewal of the struggle for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti. In reply to the plea on behalf of the two workers facing death in the electric chair in Massachusetts, the convention's resolutions committee declared:

"Your committee feels impelled to utter its dissent to the constant presentation of resolutions at each succeeding convention on subjects previously affirmatively acted upon . . ."

Polite words to excuse the desertion of the fight for the lives of these two victims of the New England textile profiteers. And no one protested. Not even Antonini. Similarly the Moulders' Union offered no demand for the release



of its member, Tom Mooney, serving a life sentence in a California prison. Discussions of the plight of class war prisoners make labor bankers feel uneasy. Except where the Communists are directly concerned, as in the anthracite coal strike, there the labor aristocracy openly allies itself with the capitalist class. All of which the "socialists" condone or openly support.

#### "Socialists" in the Limelight.

ONLY once did these "socialists" occupy the limelight at this seashore labor affair. That was in their toe-kissing role during the special memorial services held for the late Sam Gompers.

Morris Sigman, head of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, couldn't wait until Gompers died. So he presented "the old man" with a bust of himself at the El Paso, Texas, convention last year. This year Max Zaritsky, on behalf of the "socialist" needle trades officials, presented a bust of Gompers, who fought socialism during all the years that he headed American organized labor, as a gift to the convention. President Green announced the bust would be turned over to some museum, no doubt a fitting place for the preservation of such relics.

But it is from these very needle trades organizations that the greatest encouragement comes in the present struggles between the left and the right wings. It is against the Sigman terror in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union that the left wing has consolidated its power and is marching forward to victory. Similarly in the furriers' and capmakers' unions. The same ferment develops within the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, but this union is still without the A. F. of L., although it had scouts at Atlantic City feeling out the possibilities of getting on the inside. These needle trades unions can be depended on to send some left wing delegates into the A. F. of L. in the near future.

Only once did the tinder of an idea strike fire in the convention that was not of left wing origin. That was when John P. Frey, editor of the Moulders' Journal, and president of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, who claims he has had Karl Marx's "Capital" in his library for the last twenty-five years, wanted to get a statement on wages adopted by the gathering. "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work" has always been the A. F. of L. slogan, and when the executive council made its report on "wages" it certainly did not intend to change it. The report dealt exclusively with wage reductions in the textile industry, where organized labor had failed utterly to put up a successful struggle against repeated slashes in the pay envelope. Now it pleaded with the employers that "wage reductions diminish purchasing power of the group of workers in the textile industry which is reflected in the business of the whole community and extends out into the industrial fabric of the whole nation." Instead of wage reductions the labor officials offered as their solution of the problem, the elimination of waste through more efficient management, to be achieved through "intelligent co-operation" between the capitalist and the wage worker.

It was here that Delegate Frey injected himself into the proceedings by offering an amendment declaring that, "Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power

of their wages, is increased in proportion to man's increasing power of production."

Frey declared that, "We never could discover what the fair wage was or what the fair day's work might be, because we differed with our employers. Only within recent years many of our representatives adopted a still more unsound statement of the basis on which wages should be computed—a living wage. I don't know what a living wage is. It is unfair that we should base our wages on our own conception of our cost of living rather than upon the value of what we are creating."

Delegate Lynch of the printers, who tipped the right wing of this reactionary gathering, rallied to the defense of Frey in part as follows:

"The productive power in this super-age in which we live, this abundance which we are enjoying, is due to a very great extent to labor saving machinery and the effect of labor saving machinery will not be regulated entirely by the wage. This definition should include not only increases in wages, but also be accompanied by further reductions in the hours that the wage earners work."

Since the Duncan-Woll group at the head of the resolutions committee felt itself tied up in a knot, it pleaded that the question of "wages" be referred back to it. This wish was complied with and the committee came back accepting the Frey-Lynch suggestions.

#### See Far-Reaching Implications.

THERE are far-reaching implications indeed in this declaration that the worker's real wages must keep pace with his increasing power of production. The contrary is everywhere the actual case. Wages are being reduced in the textile industry in spite of increased production. The convention knew this; heard the bitter story from the lips of Thomas F. McMahon, head of the United Textile Workers of America. Efforts to cut wages in the face of increased production, was the burden of the story brought to the convention by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, in reviewing the bitter industrial war in the anthracite coal fields in the neighboring state of Pennsylvania. Steaming fresh from the financial pages of Wall Street's pet organs, the delegates of the Bakers' Union brought the news of the new \$600,000,000 merger of mergers in the bread industry, with its increased prices for bread and the "open shop" war against its workers resulting in lower wages. Everywhere labor-saving machinery is reducing skilled labor to the role of unskilled workers, with higher productive capacity, but at reduced compensation. But no effective steps were taken by the convention to combat this situation. Words of sympathy for the anthracite miners, promises to beg the government at Washington to make an investigation of the bread trust for the bakers, to probe conditions in the textile industry for the mill slaves of New England. Nowhere even the faintest symptom of class action that might carry even this theory of wages into practice. Everywhere signs of militant aggressions on the part of the great exploiters to tear down all wage standards.

But that is the price of loyalty to the flag of Wall Street. Sam Gompers, who kept the A. F. of L. loyal to American capitalism for forty-three years, still lives. Only the growing, militant left wing will be able to shatter this power of the grave that paralyzes labor's fist, so that it falls but gently upon the head of the class foe of the workers.

# Why the Anthracite Strike?

By Benjamin Gitlow

ONE hundred and fifty thousand miners are out on strike in the anthracite industry. The strike started when their two-year agreement with the anthracite operators ended on September 1. The strike is mainly for the establishment of the check-off system and a 10 percent increase in wages for contract miners and one dollar per day increase for day laborers.

There are no evidences of a strike in the whole 160 miles of anthracite territory. The industrial war is as peaceful as are the idle mines with the smoke languidly rising out of the high chimneys and dying slowly out in the air. The mules are in the open, unshod, munching hay and enjoying the freedom of fresh air, sunshine and no work. The miners hang around the corners in the mining towns in groups, talking and evidently unconcerned about the fact that they are not working and not earning any wages. The capitalist newspapers call it a vacation. John L. Lewis, the president of the United Mine Workers of America, calls it a suspension. The operators call it a conspiracy to ruin the anthracite business.

#### Lewis Guards Bosses' Property.

When a strike takes place in the bituminous fields there follow violence, struggle, pickets, sheriffs, injunctions, arrests, militia, mass demonstrations. In the anthracite, there is nothing of the sort. The ten thousand maintenance men who handle the power houses, the boilers, the pumps and the drainages, and do all the work to keep the mines in good shape, are on the job. J. L. Lewis has agreed before the strike began that they should remain in order to take care of the property of the operators. These ten thousand men are not worried. For their part the strike could go on forever.

Are the miners in the anthracite different from the miners in the bituminous fields or are the operators unwilling to use the same methods that are used by the bituminous operators? "Why the Anthracite strike?" is a question the answer to which should be illuminating to all and especially to miners and members of the United Mine Workers of America.

Anthracite is hard coal. It is found and dug in the United States only in the anthracite field that lies in the state of Pennsylvania. It covers approximately 160 miles of territory from Scranton on the north to Shamokin on the south. In the 480 square miles of anthracite territory there are billions of tons of anthracite coal. It is estimated that there is under ground in the anthracite enough coal at the present rate of consumption to last at least two hundred years. About 70,000,000 gross tons (2,240 pounds to a ton) are sold every year. Seven large coal companies own and control between 75 and 80 percent of all the anthracite coal mined. These companies own about 90 per cent of the future supply of coal. The companies are owned by the railroads, or controlled by them. The railroads are owned and controlled

by the powerful financial interests of Wall Street. The gigantic anthracite coal industry is therefore a link in the chain of gigantic monopolies that have grown up in the United States. There are many independent mine operators. Most of the independent small operators are at the mercy of the railroads and the large land estates. They must ship their coal by the same railroads that are engaged in the coal mining business. They must pay royalties to the landed estates for every ton of coal mined because they do not own the land wherein the mine is situated but lease the privilege of digging coal from the large land estates that do own the land.

#### Morgan and Rockefeller Run Coal Mines.

That the Morgan and Rockefeller interests own the United States is proved by the anthracite coal mining industry. The Morgan group of banks in 1922 had directors on the boards of practically all the large anthracite coal companies and railroads. The First National Bank of New York in 1922 had five directors on the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad, two on the Lehigh Valley Railroad, two on the Wilkes-Barre Coal Company and one each on the boards of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company and the Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Company, the New York, Susquehanna & Western Railroad, the Erie Railroad, the Central Railroad of New Jersey and the Pennsylvania Coal Company. The grip of this Morgan Bank on the anthracite industry is quite complete.

The Rockefeller interests, however, are not left in the cold. The National City Bank of New York had connections with seven other large producing, transporting and distributing firms. The decision of the United States Supreme Court ordering the dissolution of monopolies in anthracite has been as effective as its decision against the Standard Oil Company. The anthracite industry is only another proof of the fact that industry in the United States is being concentrated and centralized mainly in the hands of two powerful financial groups, the Morgan and Rockefeller groups.

#### Huge Profits for Bosses—No Raise for Miners.

It is estimated that in 1922 the coal companies made a profit of \$1.48 per gross ton and \$1.32 per net ton. A fair profit, considered at the rate of 6 percent, would give a profit of 22 cents on the gross ton. This gives a profit to the coal mining companies of approximately 40½ percent. This profit does not include the profits of the railroads for hauling coal and the profits of the wholesale and retail distributors. The large wholesale distributors are part of the monopolistic chain of the anthracite industry.

It is difficult to get the figures showing the profit made by the railroads in hauling a ton of coal. To New York City the average freight charges, including lighterage charges per ton of coal, is \$2.95 per gross ton and \$2.63 per net ton. Some estimate that to haul a ton of soft coal over the same distance would cost only 85 cents. The independent com-

panies in particular complain about the high freight rates. The railroads interested in the coal mining industry have 70 per cent of the tonnage they haul made up of anthracite. These railroads have earned an average of 13 percent on their capital stock in 1919 and 16.12 percent in 1920. During the same years all the steam railroads in the country were earning six and one-third percent in 1919 and six and one-half percent in 1920. The railroads which represent only another branch of the anthracite monopoly are evidently making very handsome profits on each ton of coal hauled over their lines.

Now let us consider the handsome profits realized by the wholesalers and retailers. In 1922-23 the wholesalers and retailers together charged \$3.97 per ton extra as their charge for getting the coal to the consumer. The handsome profits realized by them are accounted for by this big charge. These figures are startling, and they prove to what an extent the workers are being robbed and exploited. In 1919 the wholesalers increased their profits from 25.5 percent to 66.6 percent in 1920. The retailers increased their profits from 16.1 percent in 1919 to 25.4 percent in 1920.

Add to this the interest that goes to the bankers on bonds, mortgages, etc., and you add still more to the enormous profits made out of the industry.

In 1909, \$7,969,785 were extracted as royalties from anthracite mines. In 1919 the royalties jumped to \$11,405,158—an increase of 43.1 percent. The story of the Stephen Girard Estate that has its office in Pottsville should be food for much thought to every worker. In 1830 Stephen Girard purchased 30,000 acres of anthracite coal land at about \$6.00 per acre for a total of \$178,000. A. C. Dodson, testifying before the Senate Committee on January 24, 1919, stated that in the Locust Mountain lease (which comprises 390 acres of the original Girard purchase) there were ten million tons to be mined with the expectation of a mining profit of one dollar per ton. At that date the royalties averaged \$1.04 a ton. Eight million tons remained to be taken out at that rate. The figures are as follows:

390 acres at \$6.00 per acre.....	(\$2,340)
10,000,000 tons at \$1.00.....	\$10,000,000
8,000,000 tons at royalty of.....	8,320,000
2,000,000 tons already mined.....	660,000
	<hr/>
	\$18,980,000

An investment of \$2,340 can return in its life time approximately \$18,980,000 or over eight hundred and ten thousand percent.

All the facts presented indicate that the anthracite coal industry is a very lucrative business. Bankruptcy is not staring it in the face. All the claims of the coal companies that an increase in wages will ruin the business unless it is accompanied by a corresponding increase in prices is nonsense. The anthracite business is an unexcelled business for big profits. It is no wonder that the Morgan and Rockefeller interests can induce the government to prevent for a long time the publication of the report of the United States Coal Commission wherein the facts herein stated are made known.

**Lewis Strikes—to Raise Coal Prices!**

When an industry of this kind, owned by monopolistic interests that are most aggressive in their opposition to striking workmen, rests idle while 158,000 men are out on strike, something must be involved. The Morgan and Rockefeller interests are not friends of labor. The victims of their wrath

and their bloody regime on the field of industrial warfare are many. One has only to consider the bitterness of the struggle of the miners in West Virginia against the same interests in comparison with the pacific calmness of the anthracite struggle, in order to ask what are the reasons for such an unusually peaceful strike in a basic industry of such wealth, power and arrogance?

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, in a speech on the anthracite strike before the convention of the American Federation of Labor, charged the anthracite operators with mulcting the public of over 15 million dollars by mixing the sizes of anthracite coal in a way to enable them to dispose of the small sizes at a handsome profit. Mr. Lewis, however, did not tell the whole story. Anthracite coal is divided into two classes, the big sizes and the small sizes. The big sizes are called domestic sizes and the small sizes are called steam sizes. The big sizes constitute about 75 percent of the total production. The demand of the market is mostly for the big sizes and the prices paid for them are much higher than for the small sizes. For many years there was no market whatsoever for the small sizes. Any one going to the anthracite district can see mountains of black dirt around the mines. These are the culm banks. Later it was discovered that by washing out this dirt the smaller sizes could be sold. It costs very little to wash out the small sizes from the culm banks. In addition, the coal companies have recently been stocking the smaller sizes, waiting for a favorable opportunity to unload them upon the market for favorable prices which would mean handsome profits that could otherwise not be realized. It is estimated (the coal companies have taken great care to prevent checking up on culm banks) that about twenty-five million tons of culm bank coal is on hand. Only during abnormal situations can the coal from the culm banks that has been lying around for years be disposed of at very handsome prices. During the war a lot of culm bank coal was sold. The temptation to realize, out of waste, profits that will mount into millions of dollars is too good to be left out of consideration.

**Poorest Coal Goes to Miners.**

The only way to unload this coal upon the market is to create an abnormal situation. Raise the bugaboo of a scarcity and the job is done. Millions of dollars will then be mulcted from the workers who will be freezing because the inferior grade coal, having been washed by the rains and baked by the sun for years, does not possess the heating and burning qualities of freshly mined domestic-size coal. In addition no one will complain if you adulterate the good coal with a large percentage of culm bank rubbish. The buyer will be satisfied just as long as he is able to get coal. Then prices can be raised by the distributors and the public can be gouged. How to create the abnormal situation is not difficult. All one has to do is to get a strike called in such a manner that the mine properties will not suffer and everything will proceed according to plans.

When President Lewis talks about a shortage of coal he should not forget that the coal pockets, in addition to the enormous stocks of culm bank coal, were filled with domestic sizes at the railroad loading yards before the strike was called. Besides, the wholesale distributors, who are a link in the anthracite monopoly, had stored their bins and pockets with coal to capacity. The anthracite coal strike is a con-

spiracy between the officials and the coal operators. It will benefit only the coal interests. The strike will not benefit the miners out on strike. It will cause untold hardships to the workers in the eastern states that depend upon anthracite coal. The anthracite strike is the logical outcome of the policy of class collaboration.

**Classes Cooperate—Workers Give, Bosses Take.**

John L. Lewis is a firm advocate of the policy of class collaboration. John L. Lewis does not recognize the nature of the class struggle. He pretends to be firmly convinced that the interests of the workers are compatible with the interests of the bosses and that a friendly partnership is not only possible between them, but a goal for the labor movement in the United States to attain. In the bituminous fields, the John L. Lewis policy has resulted in cultivating the growth of the non-union fields and in eliminating the union fields. Every soft-coal miner knows that John L. Lewis' present policy is not building up the organization, but ruining it. John L. Lewis best expresses his policy of class collaboration in his book "The Miners' Fight for American Standards," as follows:

"The policy of the United Mine Workers of America is neither new nor revolutionary. It does not command the admiration of visionaries and utopians. It ought to have the support of every thinking business man in the United States, because it proposes to allow natural economic laws free play in the production and distribution of coal. . . . Real cooperation between the men and the ownership can be attained, all the more so because they have a common interest in resisting the onslaught of the irresponsible elements which dominate the industry in regions where labor is virtually enslaved. Once the operating side casts aside the shop-worn cant as to the responsibility of the union for all the maladjustments in the business, and that every inefficiency traces back to the miners, or their working and wage contracts, they will be surprised to find what a degree of cooperation will be theirs for the asking."

John L. Lewis is convinced that the policy of the United Mine Workers of America should have the support of every business man in the United States. It is a policy that looks out for the interests of the business men. It does not interfere with the natural economic laws of capitalism which in the anthracite coal industry make it possible for the most fabulous profits to be wrung out of the sweat and toil of the workers. John L. Lewis further states that if the ownership only desire, they will be surprised what cooperation will be theirs for the asking. The miners, according to Lewis, have a common interest with the ownership of the mines. The anthracite industry is owned and controlled by the Rockefeller and Morgan interests. What common interests can the workers in that industry have with the owners? The workers, through the John L. Lewis policy, have the right to strike during a strike that will last months. In that period the anthracite monopoly will pocket millions of dollars in profits that would otherwise be unrealizable.

John L. Lewis in that very same book further elaborates on the policy of class collaboration to point out that the policy of the United Mine Workers of America is in the interest of the economical mines, with good equipment and competent management. In other words the policy of John

L. Lewis is in the interests of those mines that can afford good equipment and management. It is in the interest therefore of the mines supported by big capital. It is in the interest of the mines in the hands of Wall Street. The policy pursued by John L. Lewis in the anthracite strike proves that conclusively.

John L. Lewis is as much interested in protracting the anthracite strike as are the mine operators. That is why he concluded an agreement with the operators to keep the ten thousand maintenance men on the job. Let him take those men off. The moment he does, a struggle of intense bitterness will flare up in the anthracite. But why do that? That would not be in the interest of the mine owners. Their properties would suffer. Their profits from higher prices and culm-bank coal would be eaten up.

**Lewis Gets His Stick of Candy.**

What will be the reward for John L. Lewis? The reward for John L. Lewis will be the check-off. The coal companies will collect the dues for John L. Lewis. This will be a fine arrangement and one that will greatly benefit the anthracite operators, because of the numerous strikes that take place in the various collieries, the greatest number of which happen to be "button" strikes called by the men to force the non-union workers to join the union, pay their dues and obtain buttons which indicate that the worker has paid his dues for the month. The button strikes are a source of constant irritation to the operators. John L. Lewis is anxious for the check-off. It assures him that the flow of per capita tax from the anthracite will be steady. With the closing down of the union fields in the bituminous the check-off becomes of vital necessity to the money chests of the United Mine Workers of America. With the check-off enforced there is no need to worry about the condition of the miners! The flow of per capita to the union office will go on uninterrupted.

**Lewis and Operators Win, Miners Lose.**

The anthracite strike will therefore help the Morgan and Rockefeller interests to eliminate some independents in the anthracite and will enable them to pocket millions of dollars of profits while the mines are idle. The miners will remain out on strike for many months. They will probably go back to work without any material advantages gained. The check-off will be won by Lewis. The strike is a John L. Lewis strike, a strike led by the policy of class collaboration. It is cooperation between the officials of the union and the owners of the mines for mutual self interest. It does not in the least help the worker or attempt to solve their intolerable conditions.

Ever since 1902, when President Roosevelt interfered in the anthracite strike of that year, the anthracite industry has been in the care of the United States government. The government has taken care to protect the interests of the owners of the industry. In 1902, machinery was established for the settlement of disputes in the industry. The board of Conciliation was formed. It has been most unsatisfactory in the settlement of disputes. It provides for a policy of class collaboration. The United Mine Workers Union does not ask for the elimination of this board. The United States Coal Commission asks for its continuance.

**Government Suppresses Coal Facts.**

The United States Coal Commission was appointed by the president for the purpose of determining the facts in the anthracite industry. It was given a sum of \$600,000 dollars. It has not yet published its report. A few mimeographed

copies have been distributed, but the reports have not yet been made available to the general public. The reason is obvious. It is to the interests of the anthracite mine owners that the facts should not be known.

The United States Coal Commission, in its recommendations on the anthracite controversy, proposes nothing that would benefit the miners or hurt the operators. That it is looking out for the interests of the whole coal industry (soft as well as hard) is evidenced in its last recommendation that the renewal date for the anthracite agreement shall be sufficiently far from the renewal dates of the bituminous agreements that suspension in both industries at once shall not be invited.

This division of the miners' forces advocated by the United States Coal Commission is in line with the policy of John L. Lewis. No general strike in the coal industry. While the anthracite is striking and the West Virginia fields are in the throes of a bitter struggle, the bulk of the coal industry is working and producing coal. This policy of John L. Lewis is fostered by the government and plays right into the hands of the coal barons.

#### Lewis Machine Helps Jail Progressives.

That the government is keeping its watchful eye on the anthracite strike is evidenced by the reception that was given to the campaign started by the Progressive Miners' Committee in the anthracite. The Progressive Miners' Committee revived many of the issues that were once advocated by the United Mine Workers but which have been relegated to oblivion since the assumption of the presidency by J. L. Lewis. The six-hour day and the five-day week, and the nationalization of the coal mines are among the demands once raised by the United Mine Workers. These, together with other proposals, were raised by the progressive miners in an effort to make the anthracite strike a real struggle in the interests of the workers. Some of the other demands were, a minimum wage, a general strike of all the coal miners, unity of the railroad

workers with the anthracite strikers, no settlement without an increase in wages, and the calling out the maintenance men to prevent the prolongation of the strike.

The moment the campaign started for the raising of these demands, authorities began to suppress it. Inciting the local authorities were none other than the agents of John L. Lewis in control of the district union organizations in the anthracite. The meetings of the progressives were broken up and their speakers arrested. Patrick Toohey and Alex Reid were sent to prison as vagrants for six months. The reactionary officials of the Lewis machine appeared in court and testified against the progressive miners and urged that they be jailed. The Federal authorities were on the job also to see whether or not some of the progressives could be deported. The capitalist press raved against the reds. When the progressive miners were sent to prison, Rinaldo Cappellini, president of District One, the largest district of the United Mine Workers in the anthracite, sent a letter congratulating the chief of police of the city of Scranton. The anthracite strike is a clear demonstration of where the policy of class collaboration leads to. It leads to the unity of the reactionary bureaucrats with the employers and their government against the militant progressive workers. It works to the advantage of the union officials and the capitalists. In the anthracite it means millions in the pockets of Morgan and Rockefeller, it means a guaranteed per capita through the check-off for the Lewis bureaucratic machine, and for the miners it means months of idleness with suffering and starvation. For the progressive militants, it means persecution and jail.

The anthracite strike is a powerful argument for the elimination of the policy of class collaboration and the adoption of a militant fighting policy. The anthracite strike clearly demonstrates that the advocates of class collaboration are the agents of capitalism and that their rule must be eliminated from the American labor movement.

## Class Divisions in the United States

By Jay Lovestone

**A**N analysis of the class divisions in the United States is timely and instructive for two special reasons at this moment.

The World War destroyed the last shreds of the "happy isolation" that American capitalism once boasted of. The rapid development of Yankee imperialism within the last decade has made the conditions of the United States and those of the rest of the world more closely interdependent than ever before. Hence, the rapidly crystallizing realignment of classes, of political forces, in the United States assumes today a paramount international significance.

#### A Cross Section of America.

Since the United States is the world's leading financial and industrial country, many tend to have a distorted picture of the proportions of its urban and rural populations and its class composition. It was not until 1920 that the

American census showed a majority of the population residing in cities and towns of 2,500 or more inhabitants. In 1920 the census reports disclosed that 51.4 percent of the total population reside in cities and in towns of 2,500 or more inhabitants. That is, 54,304,603 of the population was urban and 48.6 per cent or 51,406,017, was rural. Even today there are only fourteen out of the forty-eight American states the majority of whose population is urban.

But with the rapid American industrial progress the tendency towards the majority of the population in the United States being urban has become marked in recent years. In the last decade America's urban population has increased 28.8 percent and its rural population only 3.2 percent. The severe agricultural depression which the United States had recently experienced for five continuous years strengthened this tendency considerably. In 1922 alone there was a net

migration of 1,200,000 from the country to the cities, largely because of the dire economic straits in which the farmers found themselves.

#### The Gainfully Employed Population.

According to the 1920 census, there are in the United States 41,614,248 persons, ten years of age and over, engaged in gainful occupations. This marks an increase of slightly more than 9 percent over the total gainfully employed in 1910. The persons engaged in gainful occupations now constitute 39.4 percent of the total population.

If we examine the industrial distribution of the gainfully employed we find that 12,818,524 or 30.8 percent of the total are engaged in the manufacturing and mechanical industries; 10,953,158 or 26.3 percent in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry; 1,090,223 in the extraction of minerals; 3,063,582 in transportation; 3,126,541 in clerical occupations and the remainder in trade, professional, domestic and personal service, and public service (not elsewhere classified).

#### The Trend of Industrialization.

In the last decade America's population increased 15.6 percent. At the same time the persons engaged in manufacturing industries increased 31.6 percent and those engaged in agriculture decreased 13.5 per cent.

An examination of this tendency over a longer period of years is illuminating. Since 1870, there has been a steady decrease in the proportion of those gainfully employed in agriculture. In 1900, 35.7 percent of the total gainfully employed were found in agriculture. In 1910 the proportion fell to 33.2 percent and in 1920 it declined to 26.3 percent. With the continuous development of capitalism there came, not only the start of huge industrial establishments drawing the farming population to the cities, but also the end of free land.

Production in American industry has been taking on an ever-greater social character and more and more resorting to the use of highly-developed labor-saving machinery. In this respect American agriculture has been lagging far behind. The development of labor-saving machinery in agriculture has been limited by the individual production which prevails in American agriculture—the individual farm unit. The world war has only increased the gap between the development of efficiency and organization in American agriculture and industry. Thus the individual farmer is growing more and more helpless before the powerful bankers and manufacturers who are securing a stifling strangle-hold on the land as well as the means of production and exchange. The increasing proportion of deserted habitable farm houses, the rising migration from the country to the cities, the mounting rural bankruptcy figures of recent days are further eloquent testimony of the pauperization of the farming masses and of their consequent exodus to the industrial centers.

From 1910 to 1920 the number gainfully employed in agriculture decreased 1,705,924. In this period the number gainfully employed in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, extraction of minerals, transportation and clerical occupations increased 4,130,497.

The proportion of persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries rose from 22.5 percent in 1900 to 27.8 percent in 1910 and 30.8 percent in 1920. In transportation

the proportion of gainfully employed rose from 6.9 percent in 1910 to 7.4 percent in 1920; in mining and quarrying from 2.5 percent to 2.6 percent and in the clerical occupations from 1,737,053, or 4.6 percent of the total gainfully employed in 1910, to 3,126,541 (7.5 percent) in 1920. The development of large-scale production and of vast systems of exchange tends to create a need for clerical help and primarily accounts for the increase in the last category of the gainfully employed population.

#### The Tendency Towards Proletarianization.

The gigantic strides made by the United States in its industrial development have brought in their wake thoroughgoing changes in the class composition of American society:

Recent years have seen a positive rise in the numerical strength of the wage-earners. From 1910 to 1920 the total number of wage-earners—manual and clerical—rose from 22,406,714 to 26,080,689—an increase of 3,673,975. Today these elements constitute 62.7 percent or the decisive majority of those gainfully employed. These are the wage-earners engaged in the manufacturing industries, extraction of minerals, building trades, transportation, as stationary engineers and stationary firemen, in trade, clerical occupations, as hired-out farm hands, etc. In 1910 these elements constituted only 58.7 percent of the total gainfully employed.

Of these wage-earners the industrial proletariat forms the largest and the constantly growing section. The United States census shows that the industrial proletariat—the wage earners in mining and quarries, manufacturing, building trades, transportation and stationary engineers and firemen—increased from 12,800,325 in 1910 to 15,540,486 in 1920. Within this decade the proportion of the total gainfully employed which was found in the ranks of the industrial proletariat mounted from 33.5 percent to 37.3 percent. Today the industrial proletariat is nearly sixty percent (59.5 percent) of the whole wage-earning group. In the preceding census year the industrial proletariat was 57.1 percent of the wage-earning masses.

While the industrial proletariat has been increasing, the agricultural proletariat—the farm-laborers hiring out—has been decreasing absolutely and relatively. From 1910 to 1920 the latter decreased from 3,143,773 (8.2 percent of the total gainfully employed) to 2,600,612 or 6.3 percent.

Similarly, the wage-earners engaged in domestic and personal services have been decreasing absolutely as well as relatively. In the period 1910-1920 such wage-earners declined in number and percentage from 3,185,907 (8.3 percent) to 2,902,955 (6.9 percent) of all those gainfully employed. These wage-earners, like the agricultural workers who are hired out are steadily being absorbed into the ranks of the industrial, the unskilled, the machine proletariat. Such wage-earners seldom become clerical workers or small business men.

And a consideration of the non-wage-earning elements reveal further instructive evidence of the change in the class alignments in the United States. The group of employers and self-employed among whom are to be found the farm-owners, the manufacturers, bankers, railroad magnates, merchants, etc., has also fallen absolutely and relatively in the last census period. In the years 1910 to 1920 this group engaged in gainful occupations decreased from 13,175,711

(34.7 percent) to 11,974,369 (28 percent of the total gainfully employed). Here we have a loss of 1,201,342 in the decade. The heaviest casualties in this group were suffered by the farm-owners and the capitalists in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. The number of the latter fell from 989,396 in 1910 to 652,308 in 1920—a loss of 337,088 in the period.

Concurrently with the development of industry and the growth of the industrial proletariat, the number of salaried professional and supervisory persons for a certain length of time, increases. The technical experts, chemists, mining engineers, transportation directors, farm managers, physicians, certain types of middle-men, etc., constituting this section of the gainfully employed, have increased from 2,482,478 (6.5 percent) in 1910 to 3,540,698 (8.5 percent) in 1920. It must be remembered, that in this group there is also to be found the "public service" section, largely the government officials. The trend towards industrialization and proletarianization with a consequent sharpening of the class conflicts brings with it the rise of a towering governmental bureaucracy—a huge state apparatus to be used by the bourgeoisie against the workers. This "public service" section rose from 476,347 in 1910 to 801,826 in 1920—an increase of 325,479, or 68.3 percent.

#### The Birth of the American Working Class.

The development of America's gigantic industrial machine has naturally served as the basis for the rise of a big and definitely crystallized working class. The marked tendencies towards industrialization and the pauperization of the farming masses are serving to increase steadily and rapidly the urban population of the United States.

While the gainfully employed population is increasing at a slower rate than the general population, the industrial proletariat is increasing at a faster rate than the general population. This sharp trend towards proletarianization of the country is of tremendous significance. Side by side with the growth of the industrial proletariat there has grown the tremendous army of government bureaucracy, a huge centralized state apparatus with a powerful army, national guard, officers' training corps, navy and naval militia. Both of these tendencies are manifestations of sharpening class divisions in the composition of American society.

Add to this development the fact that the overwhelming majority of the bankrupt farming population driven off the land to the cities and into industry are not foreign-born, but native. These Americans deserting the land and individually organized agriculture, have been streaming into the basic monopolized industries organized on a social basis. It is true that the restrictive immigration legislation and the world war have proved potent factors for the development of a homogeneous working class in the United States. But this driving of the native farming masses into the industrial centers should prove an even stronger and more effective stimulus towards the development of a native proletariat. It has been conservatively estimated that within the last ten years no less than 6,500,000 have left the farms for the cities.

Once in the industries, these native workers tend to assume a different social and political outlook. Their psy-

chology as well as their economic status undergoes a process of thorough change. Not being skilled as a rule, the pauperized native farmers tend to drift into those industries that require heavy, semi-skilled and unskilled machine labor. Here they come into contact with the foreign-born workers massed in the basic industries. The inestimable political significance of this mass migration of native groups into the basic industries can only be realized when one considers the extent to which the foreign-born workers dominate the gainfully employed in the basic industries.

The foreign-born workers constitute seven-tenths of the bituminous coal-mining operatives, do seven-eighths of all work in the woolen mills, supply nine-tenths of all labor in the cotton mills, make nineteen-twentieths of all the clothing, produce more than half the shoes, build four-fifths of all the furniture, refine about nine-twentieths of all the sugar, and compose at least sixty percent of all the steel workers. It is obvious that the introduction of great numbers of the less politically restricted and the more experienced in American political affairs, the expropriated agricultural masses, into this new economic environment, is of revolutionary meaning to the development of a native, politically conscious, revolutionary working class.

#### Revolutionizing Forces in American Life.

When one considers the extent to which recent years have seen the rapid rise of a powerful centralized government in the United States, then only does he become aware of the new, the post-war revolutionizing factors making for the development of the political consciousness of the American proletariat. We need but examine the strike-breaking role of the government in the national textile, railway and coal strikes of 1922, to get an idea of the brazenness, the brutality and the frequency with which the American government throws in its full military, financial, and judicial powers and resources in behalf of the bourgeoisie and against the proletariat in the class struggles in the United States.

In a subsequent article the writer proposes to deal with the marked trend toward the political radicalization of the American proletariat in the United States as a result of the new class alignments in American society,—of the America that the world knew before the imperialist war, before the Dawes Plan, before the rise of a mighty centralized government apparatus, before the crystallization of a big industrial proletariat, before the worst agricultural crisis in the history of the United States—of the America that is no more.

## THE WORKERS MONTHLY

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# The Marx-Engels Institute

By Alexander Trachtenberg

THE Russian Communist Party decided in 1920 to establish a Marx Museum where everything pertaining to the life and work of Marx would be collected and preserved as a monument to the man whose ideas and efforts came to fruition in the victorious Proletarian Revolution. At the suggestion of Comrade D. Riazanov, who was made its head, and who is one of the best informed Marxian scholars, the scope of the Museum was broadened to include scientific research into the origin and development of Marxism and the Socialist movement. The Museum was re-named "The Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Institute," and by special decree the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet government declared it a national institution under its own authority. A palatial building which was formerly the Moscow residence of Prince Dolgoruky was turned over to the Institute for its activities.

As its first task the Institute began to build a library of books and other material dealing with Socialism and related subjects. The various nationalized private libraries and literary collections were combed for appropriate published works, and a good deal of valuable material was obtained for the Institute. To this nucleus were later added several important collections which Comrade Riazanov had bought during his travels in Austria, Germany and England. The Institute's library now boasts of having over 100,000 volumes and, in some fields, it claims precious collections which can be rivaled only by those in the British Museum and the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.

#### The Institute's Program.

The Institute has set for itself the following program:

1. To collect and properly classify all published writings of Marx and Engels. First editions which were brought out under the direct supervision of the authors and in the original languages are particularly sought, as errors may have crept into later editions or translations, not to speak of omissions, excisions, or other editorial changes which were perpetrated upon the writings of the founders of scientific Socialism by those who were responsible for the later editions. In addition to first editions of books and pamphlets the Institute has been searching for copies of newspapers, magazines and other periodical publications to which Marx and Engels contributed articles. This fugitive material is harder to obtain. Where they are known to exist and cannot be secured for the Institute, photostatic copies are made of the printed articles in order to preserve under one roof everything that was published by Marx and Engels during their lifetime.

2. To collect all unpublished writings, notes, and original letters of Marx and Engels. Upon Engels' death in

\*At the last Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America the writer made a short report on the activities of the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow and the possibilities for Marxian research in this country. The delegates received the report with marked interest and voted unanimously to endorse the work of the Institute and to extend the Party's co-operation in its endeavors. The Convention also instructed the reporter to write an article for the Workers' Monthly in order to acquaint the Party membership with the aims and activities of the Institute. The present article is an attempt to comply with that instruction.—A. T.

1895 the German Social-Democratic Party became the guardian of most of the literary heritage of Marx and Engels. Eduard Bernstein and August Bebel were made the executors. As Bernstein was then living in England he kept a portion of the material in London, sending the rest to the archives of the German Party in Berlin. Laura Lafargue, Marx' daughter, took some material with her to France. Thus at the very beginning the personal libraries of Marx and Engels, their manuscripts, notes, letters, etc., instead of being carefully preserved in one place, were distributed over three countries with no record of the entire heritage having been made in advance. Much of the material was lost on account of this gross neglect and will probably never be retrieved. It is hard to understand how men like Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Kautsky and Bernstein, personal friends of Marx and Engels, who were entrusted with their literary heritage, did not treat it with the care it deserved. Later events showed that they treated with the same respect the ideas and policies promulgated by Marx and Engels.

When the German Party later began to publish the material left by Marx and Engels, it did not publish everything that was available. The most significant posthumous publications are Marx' *Theories of Surplus Value*, edited in three volumes by Kautsky; *From the Literary Heritage of Marx and Engels*, edited by Franz Mehring in three volumes and containing a great deal of important matter not published before, and the *Marx-Engels Letters* in four volumes which were edited by Bebel and Bernstein. Sorge's volume containing a great many letters from Marx and Engels to him and others was published independently the year following Engels' death. The *Neue Zeit* published from time to time letters and other material from the manuscripts which were in the German Party archives.

Comrade Riazanov spent many years studying the writings of Marx and Engels. He was particularly searching for everything that was left unpublished of Marx' and Engels' works. He worked in the German party archives and followed up every clue for other available unpublished manuscripts. He was particularly successful in extracting some manuscripts from Bernstein who had grown to consider them as his personal property. Some valuable manuscripts were discovered by Riazanov accidentally among other papers turned over to him for inspection. Had it not been for the tenacity and perseverance of Riazanov during the past twenty-five years some very important manuscripts, or portions of them, such as *The Holy Family*, *German Ideology*, etc., would have been considered "lost" or "eaten by mice"—Bernstein's usual excuses when Riazanov hounded him for some material which he knew ought to have been preserved.

The original manuscripts could not be brought to Moscow. The German Social-Democratic party would not part with the heritage, though it cared little about its safety, nor was it interested to have it all properly edited and published. When I saw Riazanov in Berlin in 1923, he was engaged in photographing a great deal of that material. Riazanov then

claimed to possess about 10,000 photostats of the original writings and rare printed material of Marx and Engels.

#### Publishing Activities.

The collection of all published and unpublished writings of Marx and Engels, including letters, notes, addresses, etc., properly classified, edited, and annotated by the various research workers of the Institute will offer an opportunity to reconstruct as completely as possible the great scientific achievements of Marx and Engels. Thirty years after Engels' death there appears the possibility of seeing in print the material which Marx intended for his *Capital* and other economic treatises; also important writings of Engels on natural science, physics, chemistry, military science, etc. the publication of which was neglected by Engels on account of his work on *Capital* and other Marx manuscripts after Marx' death. Letters of Engels to Bebel, Adler, Kautsky and Bernstein dealing with important tactical questions will be brought to light. Probably the fact that the Marx-Engels Institute was preparing to publish Engels' letters has caused Bernstein to bring them out recently in Germany.

The complete edition of all writings of Marx and Engels in Russian will consist of thirty-six volumes. There will also be an international edition in which the writings of Marx and Engels will appear in the languages in which they were written. The smaller works, pamphlets or articles will

be arranged chronologically, Marx' writings beginning in 1837 and Engels' in 1839. This will take seventeen volumes. Volumes 18 to 25 will contain the correspondence between Marx and Engels and letters from Marx and Engels to Lassalle, Wedemeyer, Kugelmann, Freiligrath, Liebknecht, Bebel, Sorge, Becker, Bernstein, Adler, Kautsky, Zassulitch, etc. Volumes 26 to 34 will contain the economic works of Marx; *Capital*, *Theories of Surplus Value* and some unpublished economic writings. The last two volumes, 35 and 36 of this ambitious collection, will be devoted to a complete index of names, subjects and cross-references, and will contain a great deal of biographical and bibliographical material. The completion of this stupendous undertaking will be an event of great significance to our movement. In addition to this definitive edition of the writings of Marx and Engels, which will be primarily for students of Marxism, the Institute is also preparing popular editions of the most important works with explanatory notes in order to make these works more accessible to the masses.

#### Extensive Research Planned.

4. If the Marx-Engels Institute had set for itself only the task above described it would have earned the lasting gratitude of every Marxist, and we could take additional pride in the Russian Revolution for having made it all possible. But the Institute has still a larger program in view.



William Gropper

THE PHILOSOPHERS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL TRYING TO DE-REVOLUTIONIZE MARX AND ENGELS.

In thorough Marxist fashion, it wants to give the labor movement Marx and Engels, not only as they are mirrored in their writings, but the living Marx and Engels, tackling the various sciences, acquiring knowledge and storing it for future use, working out methods of thought and action, dealing with burning problems of the day.

The Institute is a research institution par excellence. Since Marx and Engels closely followed and were influenced in their social philosophy by the study of the social and economic history and conditions of Germany, France and England where they lived, the Institute has collected all available published material dealing with those countries. As the fields of history, economics, philosophy and sociology were the particular domains in which Marx and Engels specialized, the Institute has established for each of these fields special departments, where all material upon which Marx and Engels drew for their studies is properly classified and studied in order to reconstruct the intellectual road which the two great scholars and leaders traversed. The Institute plans to publish a bibliography of the material in the various fields which Marx and Engels studied. This will be gathered from the various references in published and unpublished works and notes left by them. All the works quoted by Marx and Engels in their writings are being collected for the library of the Institute where they will be studied by the various research workers. The Institute has also a department devoted to the history of the political and economic phases of the labor movement. The Utopian Socialist schools, which were especially studied by Marx and Engels, and the activities of the First International, in which Marx and Engels took a very active part, have been singled out for special attention in the history of Socialism and Labor. There is also a special department on Russian Marxism.

All these departments have been organized for research and study and not for exhibition purposes. As a result of the work of these departments the Institute plans to give the revolutionary movement, besides the thirty-six volumes of collected writings of Marx and Engels, twenty-seven volumes of Plekhanov's works, sixteen of which have already been published, twenty-five volumes of Kautsky's works, two of which have already been published, and the complete works of Lassalle, Lafargue, Labriola, Mehring, Luxemburg, and Zassulitch. All these will be edited by Comrade Riazanov.

As the materialist school of philosophy exerted a great influence over Marx and Engels, the writings of Democritus, Feuerbach, Holbach, etc., are being studied and prepared for publication in a Library of Materialism under the joint editorship of Riazanov and Deborin. An edition of Hegel's writings in eight volumes is also contemplated.

While the Marx and Engels writings are being studied and prepared for publication, certain material which is coming to light and which the Institute believes should not be withheld any longer, is being published periodically in the *Archive of the Marx-Engels Institute*. Two volumes of this *Archive* have already been published. The first volume contains the letters from Engels to Bernstein and several drafts of a letter from Marx to Vera Zassulitch dealing with the land problem in Russia, and theses on Feuerbach by Marx and Engels. The prize contribution in this volume is, how-

ever, that of Comrade Riazanov, who reveals to us the true character of the literary executors of Marx and Engels.

#### German Socialists Falsify Engels.

Among the manuscripts secured by Riazanov there was the original Engels' Introduction to Marx' *Class Struggles in France 1848-1850*. By a careful comparison of the manuscript with the published text Riazanov discovered certain excisions intentionally made by Bernstein before it was published. It was this garbled introduction that Bernstein utilized in giving the world the impression that Engels had forsaken the path of revolutionary action, and had joined the reformist and pacifist camp. In the introduction to his *Evolutionary Socialism* Bernstein writes as follows: "In 1895 Friedrich Engels stated in detail in the preface to *War of the Classes* (Class Struggles) that the time of political surprises, of the "revolution of small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses" was today at an end, that a collision on a large scale with the military would be the means of checking the steady growth of Social-Democracy and of even throwing it back for a time—in short, that Social-Democracy would flourish far better by lawful than by unlawful means and by violent revolution. And he points out in conformity with this opinion that the next task of the party should be "to work for an uninterrupted increase of its votes or to carry on a slow propaganda of parliamentary activity." (Bernstein's emphasis).

Riazanov recalls how Kautsky was then furious about this and publicly questioned the veracity of the views ascribed to Engels. Kautsky demanded in the *Neue Zeit* that Bernstein publish the original manuscript of the Introduction, which Bernstein never did. (This was at the time when Kautsky was fighting Bernstein's revisionism). Riazanov also quotes letters of Engels to Lafargue and to Kautsky protesting against the interpretation of certain passages in the Introduction which was written during the time when the exception laws against the Socialists were being considered in Germany. Engels was particularly furious at Liebknecht, who was then editor of the *Vorwaerts*, for printing garbled excerpts of his Introduction, making him appear a "pacifist supporter of legality."

After giving this historical polemic of 1895, the year of Engels' death, Riazanov tells how he found the original manuscript of the Introduction in the archives of the German Social-Democratic Party. The result of his close scrutiny and verbatim comparison between the manuscript and the published Introduction of the German edition revealed the following surgical operations performed on a very important introduction by Engels to a very important monograph by Marx. In order to show exactly how the literary executors intentionally falsified and adulterated this Introduction I shall quote from the latest German edition of the book *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848-1850*, published by Buchhandlung Vorwaerts, Berlin, 1920) printing in bold type the portions which were omitted. In the parallel column appears the translation of this portion, quoted from the English translation published in this country by the Socialist Labor Party in 1924 with a translation of the omitted parts printed in bold type.

## THE CLASS STRUGGLES IN FRANCE.

## Page 21

"Therefore, even during the classic period of street battles, the barricade had a moral rather than a material effect. It was a means to shake the solidity of the military. If it held until that had been accomplished, the victory was won; if not, it meant defeat. This is the point of view to be borne in mind, even . . . in an investigation of the prospects of the future street-battles."

## Page 23

"And finally, the newly built quarters of the large cities, erected since 1848, have been laid out, in long, straight and wide streets as though made to order for the effective use of the new cannon and rifles. The revolutionary, who would himself select the new working class districts in the north and east of Berlin for a barricade battle, would have to be a lunatic. Does this mean that the street-battles will play no part in the future? Not at all. It simply means that conditions have become far more unfavorable for the civilian fighters since 1848, and far more favorable for the military forces. Street battles in the future may be successful only if this unfavorable situation can be neutralized by other factors. Such fights will therefore be far less usual in the earlier stages of a great revolution, than in its later course, and will have to be fought with greater resources of strength. Such battles will rather resort—as in the great French Revolution, and as on September 4th and October 31st, 1870, in Paris—to open attack than to the defensive tactics of the barricades."

## Page 24

"In the Latin countries, too, it is being realized that the old tactics must be revised. Mere unprepared random fighting has everywhere been relegated to the background. Everywhere, the German example of the utilization of the franchise and of the conquest of all possible positions has been imitated."

## Page 26

"To keep going this growth (Reference is here made to the increasing parliamentary influence of the German Socialists—A. T.) without interruption until it swamps the ruling governmental system, not to use up this daily increasing accumulation of force, but to preserve it intact for the decisive day, that is our main task."

## Page 27

"To shoot out of existence a party numbering millions, that is not possible with all the magazine rifles in Europe and America. But normal development would be hindered, the accumulated forces would perhaps not be available at the critical ('decisive' stricken out by Engels) moment, the decisive struggle (English translation gives decision) delayed, prolonged and coupled with heavy sacrifices."

## Page 28

"But do not forget that the German Reich (Engels addresses here the Prussian reactionaries—A. T.), like all small states, and indeed like all modern states, is the product of a covenant; first of a covenant among the rulers themselves, and second of a covenant of the ruler with the people. If one party breaks the agreement, the whole of it falls, the other party being no longer bound by it. As Bismarck has so neatly shown the way (in 1866). If you vio-

late the Constitution of the Empire, the Social-Democracy will be free to act or not act with regard to you as it may choose. But what it will do—there is hardly any fear of its telling you about that now."

## DIE KLASSENKAEMPFER IN FRANKREICH.

## Page 18

"Selbst in der klassischen Zeit der Strassenkämpfe wirkte also die Barrikade mehr moralisch als materiell. Sie war ein Mittel, die Festigkeit des Militärs zu erschüttern. Hielt sie vor, bis dies gelang, so war der Sieg erreicht; wo nicht, war man geschlagen. Es ist dieses der Hauptpunkt, der im Auge zu halten ist, auch wenn man die Chancen . . . künftiger Strassenkämpfe untersucht."

## Page 19

"Und endlich sind die seit 1848 neu gebauten Viertel der grossen Städte in langen, geraden, breiten Strassen angelegt, wie gemacht für die Wirkung der neuen Geschütze und Gewehre. Der Revolutionär müsste verrückt sein, der sich die neuen Arbeiterdistrikte im Norden und Osten von Berlin zu einem Barrikadenkampf selbst aussuchte. Heisst das, dass in Zukunft der Strassenkampf keine Rolle mehr spielen wird? Durchaus nicht. Es heisst nur, dass die Bedingungen seit 1848 weit ungünstiger für die Civilkämpfer, weit günstiger für das Militär geworden sind. Ein künftiger Strassenkampf kann also nur siegen, wenn diese Ungunst der Lage durch andre Momente aufgewogen wird. Er wird daher seltener im Anfang einer grossen Revolution vorkommen, als im weiteren Verlauf einer solchen, und wird mit grösseren Kräften unternommen werden müssen. Diese aber werden dann wohl wie in der ganzen französischen Revolution, am 4. September and 31. Oktober 1870 in Paris, den offenen Angriff der passiven Barrikadentaktik vorziehen."

## Page 20

"Auch in den romanischen Ländern sieht man mehr und mehr ein, dass die alte Taktik revidiert werden muss. Ueberall ist das unvorbereitete Losschlagen in den Hintergrund getreten, überall hat man das deutsche Beispiel der Benutzung des Wahlrechts, der Eroberung aller uns zugänglichen Posten, nachgeahmt."

## Page 21

"Dies Wachstum ununterbrochen in Gang zu halten, bis es dem herrschenden Regierungssystem von selbst über den Kopf wächst, diesen sich täglich verstärkenden Gewalthaufen nicht in Vorhutkämpfen aufreiben, sondern ihn intakt zu erhalten, bis zum Tage der Entscheidung, das ist unsere Hauptaufgabe."

## Page 21

"Eine Partei, die nach Millionen zählt, aus der Welt schiessen, dazu reichen alle Magazingewehre von Europa und Amerika nicht hin. Aber die normale Entwicklung wäre gehemmt, der Gewalthaufe wäre vielleicht im kritischen ('entscheidenden' durchgestrichen) Moment nicht verfügbar, der Entscheidungskampf, (Printed German text gives Entscheidung) würde verspätet, verlängert, und mit schweren Opfern verknüpft."

## Page 22

"Vergessen Sie aber nicht, dass das Deutsche Reich, wie alle Kleinstaaten und überhaupt alle modernen Staaten, ein Produkt des Vertrages ist; des Vertrages erstens der Fürsten untereinander, zweitens der Fürsten mit dem Volk. Bricht der eine Teil den Vertrag, der andere Teil ist dann auch nicht mehr gebunden. Wie uns das Bismarck 1866 so schön vorgemacht hat. Brechen Sie also die Reichsverfassung, so ist die Sozialdemokratie frei, kann Ihnen gegenüber thun und lassen was sie will. Was sie aber dann thun wird—das bindet sie Ihnen heute schwerlich auf die Nase."

The above quoted excisions show that the leaders of the German Social-Democracy have not only betrayed a personal trust which Engels, before his death, bestowed upon them, but have also conspired to adulterate and falsify his views on a very important and vital tactical question. Comrade Riazanov and the Russian Communist Party under whose direction he worked, deserve the gratitude of the entire revolutionary movement for having "excavated" from the archives of the German Social-Democracy that part of the Introduction which the literary executors of Engels have so traitorously and flagrantly suppressed, and which he is now able to restore to us. Under the able and devoted leadership of Riazanov the Institute is continuing these researches and we may expect more important contributions of Marx and Engels which the German Socialists concealed either in part or in their entirety.

This tremendous undertaking of the Institute to reconstruct Marx and Engels in their full scientific greatness and revolutionary glory is bound to redound to the benefit of the revolutionary labor movement. The Communist parties of the various countries which will spread the works of the Institute among the masses will find thousands of workers who still follow Socialist leadership coming over to them when they learn of the dastardly betrayal of the memory and principles of Marx and Engels by that leadership.

## Marx and Engels in America.

Not very many of our American comrades know of the great interest which Marx and Engels took in the early American Socialist and labor movements. There is a great deal of Marx and Engels material available in this country which must be "excavated" and brought to light. There are several libraries in this country which have buried writings of Marx and Engels. Some writings, though published, are little available to the membership. The writer reported to

the last Convention about his photographing of over two hundred original letters of Marx and Engels which are in the files of the New York Public Library. Those letters dealt to a great extent with American problems. They should be translated and made available for our movement. How many of our comrades know of Marx' and Engels' continued contributions to the New York Tribune for about ten years, of their reactions to our Civil War, of their contact with people active in the early labor and Socialist movement through the American sections of the First International and through private correspondence? And what about the atrociously translated and poorly published writings of Marx and Engels which we have in the English language?

The Marx and Engels Institute does not belong to the Russian Communist Party alone. It belongs to the revolutionary working-class movement of the world. It is the gift of the Russian Revolution to us all. The Communist International has pledged the support of all the Communist parties to the work of the Institute. By doing our share in bringing to light a great deal of material dealing with the early Socialist and labor history which can be easily made available, we shall aid the Institute and ourselves learn something of the traditions of the American labor movement.

Besides encouraging Marxian and Socialist research our Party should stimulate serious study of the fundamentals of Marxism. To our demand that every Party member should be a Leninist we must insist that he should also be a Marxist. In fact one cannot be a true Leninist without being a thorough Marxist.

The Marx-Engels Institute is doing yeoman's work in salvaging the heritage of Marx and Engels so that we may be richer in tools with which to sharpen our minds and steel our energies. Let us make the most of this opportunity.

## The Left Wing in the Needle Trades

By William Z. Foster

DURING the past month two events of prime significance took place in the needle trades. These occurred simultaneously. They were the reinstatement of the expelled three local unions of the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the holding of the third national conference of the needle trades section of the Trade Union Educational League.

When the revolt of 30,000 members of Locals No. 2, No. 9, and No. 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in New York took place in the middle of June, it was the inevitable result of the policy being followed by the Sigman administration. Briefly this was, on the one hand the policy of class collaboration with the employers, involving as usual the surrender of the workers to the bosses, and on the other hand a policy of wild terrorism against the left wing elements who proposed a program of union reorganization and of militant struggle against the employers. Driven to desperation by the advance of the left wing, and forced to try to win a base of operation in the New York unions against the rival Breslaw group, which is deeply entrenched among the skilled workers, the Sigman machine tried to cap-

ture the rebel strongholds, Locals No. 2, No. 9, and No. 22, by a coup d'etat of expelling the entire Executive Boards, 77 members, of the three locals upon the ridiculous pretext that the local unions, at their May Day meetings, were addressed by Communist speakers.

Revolt followed. Immediately the leaders of the 30,000 workers found themselves confronted with a multitude of problems. The first and foremost was the time-honored tendency toward dual-unionism, which always manifests itself in such situations. It is the crude, instinctive reaction of goaded workers against union bureaucrats who have betrayed them. It was necessary, if the fight were to be conducted according to Leninist tactics, that this dual union tendency be checked and the struggle directed towards the goal of reestablishing the unity of the union under a more advanced type of leaders. This objective was achieved. The dual union tendency was killed. One of the most important victories over it was the decision for the expelled members to stand trial before the Joint Board. This trial reacted all to the advantage of the victimized local officials, as it showed

up all the rottenness of the Sigman administration. Similar maneuvers, all directed towards maintaining contact with the International Union, had the final effect of completely eradicating dual unionism and of making the masses of workers realize that their hope of victory lay in the fight to consolidate all the union forces together.

Another tendency that menaced the movement in its early stages was that of taking the struggle into the courts. At first the leaders of the workers tended too much to take the advice of lawyers. The proposal to get out against the officials of the International an injunction restraining them from having members of Locals No. 2, No. 9 and No. 22 discharged from the shops, from seizing the funds of these locals, and various other acts, would have been a disastrous mistake had the left wing leaders yielded to it. The left wing has nothing to gain in capitalist courts. In the first place, it is idle nonsense to believe that the capitalist judges would side with Communists and their close allies as against reactionary trade union officials; and in the second place, even though the impossible happened, and the left elements were able to get a decision against the bureaucratic officialdom, they would only succeed in discrediting themselves in the eyes of the rank and file of the union. The lefts stood to lose either way if they took their case to court. In such situations the recourse of the left wing must be to spread solidarity and militant methods on the part of the masses involved. Fortunately the leaders of the movement finally understood this. They avoided the mistake of going to the courts, and they won the fight by an appeal to the masses against the corrupt and reactionary Sigman and Breslaw machines.

Another problem was to prevent the Sigman and Breslaw machines from breaking the united front between the Communists and the progressives, which was the backbone of the movement. Sigman especially left no stone unturned to make the question of Communism the issue and thereby to isolate the Communists from the masses. But in this he failed signally and thus was defeated in the whole struggle. The Communists were able to keep the attention of the workers focused on questions of immediate issues in the struggle and thus avoided isolation. They made the issue of the elimination of Sigmanism, with all the corruption, gangsterism, and reaction which Sigmanism implies, the center of the struggle. They made a serious mistake in not bringing more prominently to the front the economic demands of the workers, but in spite of this they managed to maintain control of the masses. The demonstrations in the Yankee Stadium, and the gigantic hall meetings will remain as landmarks in the history of the New York labor movement. The needle workers could not be frightened by the "red scare."

In the face of the unbreakable mass uprising of the workers, the Sigman machine collapsed. The first real sign of its collapse was the resignation of Perlstein and Feinberg, the two most contemptible figures in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, both of whom were the most active leaders in the expulsion policy. The next was the adoption of the fake peace proposals by the General Executive Board,—proposals which fell flat and which made the Sigman machine look ridiculous. The last step was when Sigman faced a meeting of the shop chairmen, which elected a so-called non-partisan committee, dominated by left sentiment, to negotiate a settlement of the dispute. The creation of this committee under the very nose of Sigman, regis-

tered for him the most striking defeat of his whole policy of expulsion. After that the only question was how much of a victory the left wing could crystallize over the conference table as against the tottering Sigman machine, and the forces of Breslaw, who had succeeded in organizing most of the right wing elements behind him during the course of the struggle.

The principal demands of the Joint Committee of Action which conducted the left wing struggle were as follows:

1. All persecutions for political opinions shall immediately cease and all suspended and expelled members shall be reinstated.

2. The principle of proportional representation shall be applied in the election of delegates to the Joint Boards and the International Convention.

3. All workers who have been taken off their jobs through the actions of the international officials, shall be reinstated.

4. A general election shall be held in all locals of the New York Joint Board. All members shall be eligible to run as candidates. The election to be supervised by a committee representing the International and the Joint Committee of Action.

5. All officers of the Joint Board and International shall be elected directly by the membership.

6. Repudiation of the Governor's commission award and the development of a movement against the bosses for better conditions in the industry.

7. Establishment of lower dues and economy in the management of the union.

8. Development of an organization campaign to bring the unorganized workers into the union.

On nearly all of these points the settlement resulted in substantial victories for the representatives of the Joint Committee of Action and the membership of the union at large. Point 1 of the agreement adopted unanimously at a great mass meeting on September 24, in Cooper Union, says:

**"On the question of tolerating political opinions in our union, it is unanimously decided by all parties at the conference that a spirit of tolerance must be established in our union, and that all discrimination for political opinions must immediately cease."**

To force the Sigman machine to sign such a statement was a real victory for the left wing. It was an open acknowledgement, also confirmed by Sigman in his speeches that the policy of expulsion in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union was a complete failure. It is a warning to bureaucrats in other unions who are now embarking upon the policy of expulsion which was initiated in the American labor movement two years ago by Sigman.

In the matter of reinstatements, the agreement was not so satisfactory. All the suspended members of the Executive Boards of Locals No. 2, No. 9, and No. 22 were reinstated, which was an important victory. Other expelled members throughout the country are to appeal their cases to the General Executive Board, and under the agreement will be reinstated, with the exception, however, that those members who have already appealed their cases to the General Executive Board and whose cases have been acted upon unfavorably must let their cases go to the convention for settlement. How the union feels on the question of general amnesty, however, was evidenced by the unanimous adoption

by the Cooper Union meeting of a resolution endorsing the immediate reinstatement to full membership of all the workers victimized in this long and bitter struggle. The left wing must categorically insist upon the Sigman machine's yielding to this universal demand for a general amnesty.

Point 2, the demand for proportional representation, was of the most vital importance. As the Joint Boards and Conventions are now organized, the great masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers are largely disfranchised to the advantage of the skilled workers and the bureaucracy. Proportional representation would eliminate this evil and tend to throw the union more under the control of the left elements. The question was referred to the Convention in November, with the provision that the proposals for proportional representation (there will probably be two or more of them) shall be submitted to a general vote of the membership, the referendum to be supervised by representatives of the various plans proposed. With an active struggle by the left wing to carry the referendum, this makes it almost certain that the union will have a much higher degree of proportional representation than heretofore. In order to safeguard the make-up of the national convention, the candidates for election as convention delegates shall have "the right to take care of the elections."

The demand under Point 3 resulted in a complete victory for the left wing. The workers discharged from their jobs during the struggle were reinstated to their positions. This was a bitter pill for Sigman to swallow.

On Point 4 the left wing was only partially successful. Instead of elections in all the local unions, as demanded, the agreement called for elections only in Locals No. 2, No. 9, and No. 22. These have since resulted in sweeping victories for the left wing, the old officers, leaders of the Joint Committee of Action movement, being returned to office by votes of about ten to one against the Sigman candidates. Breslaw, through pressure upon Sigman, succeeded in preventing elections in the other New York locals and thus for the moment saved himself from defeat.

On Point 5 the left wing secured the concession of electing the General Manager of the New York Joint Board by a referendum vote. Hitherto this powerful position, which is next in importance to that of International President, has been filled by appointment. The new arrangement means that almost certainly one of the leaders of the Joint Committee of Action will secure the position.

On Point 6, the left wing failed to make an effective fight, so it got few concessions. The best that was done was to secure an agreement that immediately after the elections in the union the whole matter of economic demands will be taken up afresh.

On Point 7, the question of dues was referred to a referendum vote of the New York membership. This means that the left wing proposal of 40 cents a week dues will almost certainly carry, and thus will mark the successful end of one of the bitterest fights in the history of the International. On the economy demand, the matter will be taken up after the elections by the New York Joint Board, with the almost certain result that many of the evils complained of in the management of the union's finances will be rectified.

Point 8 was not greatly stressed by the left wing. Consequently only a vague agreement was reached that "after the elections of the three locals, a plan for organization shall

be worked out which will draw in the active membership into the union activities."

From the foregoing it is manifest that the united front of the Communists and progressive elements in the Joint Committee of Action, supported by the great masses in the union, has won a substantial victory. A death-blow has been struck to the expulsion policy, and the union has been started off on a new track towards a better leadership and more militant policy. Some mistakes were made. One of these was not to have brought the economic demands of the workers more strongly to the front, a mistake made all through the movement and repeated at the settlement. Another was in not having raised the question of amalgamation of all the needle trades unions. The necessity for combining the various needle trades unions is fundamental. Without this, no real policy of struggle is possible. The representatives of the Joint Committee of Action in the negotiations, should have made this an issue by demanding a general amalgamation convention of all the needle unions. The overwhelming masses of workers in the clothing industry believe in industrial unionism. If they are not now aggressively demanding it, it is simply because, on the one hand, the union bureaucrats have actively combated amalgamation, and on the other hand, the left wing leaders have not really conducted a fight for it. At the big Cooper Union meeting of shop chairmen, a speech for amalgamation by any of the leaders of the Joint Committee of Action would have swept the gathering by storm. It was a great mistake not to have seized the occasion for the launching of a real amalgamation movement. In the future these weaknesses of policy must be corrected. A militant movement must be launched in support of the left wing economic demands, for the organization of the masses of unorganized in the industry, and for the consolidation of all the needle unions into one powerful industrial union.

Although it has undeniably scored a victory in the great movement which reached its climax in the settlement on September 25, the left wing still has hard struggles ahead of it in its inevitable march to control the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. The right wing, supported principally by skilled workers, is strong and well organized. Although Sigman and his group have been weakened in the struggle, Breslaw and his followers, supported by the reactionary Jewish Daily Forward and the socialist party, are powerful. They represent the real enemy of the left wing in the union. But if the Joint Committee of Action group rises to the possibility of the situation, they should be able, at the coming convention, to defeat both the Sigman and Breslaw forces and to start the union, under new leadership, into a new era of progress and development.

#### The National Conference of the Needle Trades Section.

THE third national conference of the needle trades section of the Trade Union Educational League was held in New York City on September 21 and 22, just in the midst of the negotiations for the settlement of the controversy in the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. There were present 90 delegates coming from all the important garment centers of America, including New York, Chicago, Montreal, Rochester, Baltimore, Cleveland, Boston, Philadelphia, Toronto, etc.

The conference, which was one of the most important ever held by the Trade Union Educational League, mapped

out elaborate programs of work for the industry, including campaigns in support of the left wing economic demands, the organization of the unorganized, the relief of unemployment, the reorganization of the unions upon the basis of shop committees, the foundation of a labor party, the establishment of the **Needle Worker**, the broadening out of the League groups and their establishment upon a firmer basis financially. Resolutions were adopted condemning the policy of class collaboration now being so energetically promulgated in the labor movement, condemning the exclusion of Saklatvala, demanding the recognition of Soviet Russia, world trade union unity, and the release of class war prisoners.

A feature of the conference was the great stress laid upon amalgamation in the program of work presented by Comrade Zack. It has long been one of the weaknesses of our work in the needle trades unions not to have laid greater stress upon the consolidation of all the craft unions into one industrial organization. This conference of the needle trades section, bids fair to mark the beginning of the first real struggle of the left wing in the needle industry to amalgamate the unions. Comrade Zack showed how the whole future of unionism in the clothing industry is directly bound up with the problem of joining the present scattered and demoralized organizations into a single unified movement. The conference clearly recognized that the amalgamation movement has been greatly neglected in the needle trades.

But the high light of the conference was the discussion of the concrete policies to be applied in the actual struggle to win the unions from the control of the reactionary bureaucrats. These policies involved questions of the propagation of our program as a whole, the formation of united front blocs against the reactionaries, and especially the war against right wing deviations in our own ranks. This was a conference which dealt with the living problems in the industry.

The needle trades section of the Trade Union Educational League has held three national conferences, each marking a new stage of development of the left wing in the needle trades. The first took place in 1922. At that time the left wing had hardly a trace of real organization and but little understanding of the correct policy to be pursued in the unions. The first conference, therefore, dealt with the elementary questions of policy and organization. The question of amalgamation was dealt with, but not in a manner to make it a living issue in the left wing.

The second conference took place in 1923. Already the left wing had made rapid progress in understanding and organization. It had become a real power in the industry, with the result that the bureaucracy had declared the most ruthless war against it. The great question at the second conference was how to combat the expulsion policy, how to cling to membership in the unions in spite of the terrorism of the officials, who saw themselves menaced by the rising wave of revolt.

The third conference marked the defeat of the expulsion policy, and the entry into power of united front combinations in which the left wing exercises a powerful influence. In the Fur Workers' Joint Board the revolt had taken place some months previously and had resulted in an overwhelming defeat for the Kaufman machine and the expulsion policy. And now, just as the conference was in session, the negotiations were on foot between representatives of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and the Joint

Committee of Action, for a settlement, which was bound to register a defeat for the Sigman machine and the expulsion policy in the International. The beginnings of such movements are also taking shape in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Capmakers. The problems of the third conference were the problems of actually assuming control of the needle trades unions.

The conference emphatically declared for the application of united front tactics to combine the revolutionary and progressive forces in blocs against the reactionary bureaucracy. But it was unsparing in its criticism of right deviations practiced by left wingers in carrying out such united front movements. In this respect Comrades Wortis and Zimmerman, who headed the national committee of the needle trades section until they resigned recently under sharp criticism, were the storm center. Their policy of maneuvering was attacked. It was demonstrated that they tended to ignore the broader issues of the League program and to concentrate too much upon the securing of official position of the left wingers in the unions. Many speakers pointed out the dangers of such opportunism. The report of the national committee of the needle section, which dealt extensively with these points, was overwhelmingly adopted.

The reports to the third national conference of the needle trades section showed that a revolution is taking place in the leadership and policies of the needle trades unions. Under the pressure of the bosses, who are decentralizing the industry and scattering it out of the big clothing centers, the masses of workers are moving to the left. They are fast becoming more revolutionary and are demanding a higher type of unionism and of struggle against the employers. Their political horizon is rapidly broadening. The old leadership, long dominated by the socialist party, is bankrupt and is breaking up into various warring factions. Its class collaboration policies are hopelessly inadequate to meet the situation. To the front is coming a new left wing leadership, made up for the most part of members of the Workers Party. These new leaders are bringing with them a new policy of class struggle. The whole industry is in a process of ferment and change.

The fate of unionism in the needle industry is bound up with the success of the revolutionary upheaval now taking place in the unions. The left wing must find ways to fight its way to control and to break the power of the incompetent right wing, which has absolutely nothing to offer the workers. In this situation much responsibility rests upon the growing group of new young left wing leaders in the unions. If they have the understanding to follow a real Leninist policy, the progress of the left wing will be greatly facilitated. During the past year these leaders have made many mistakes, such as the failure to emphasize the economic demands in the big struggle in the International Union, the failure to make amalgamation an issue in the needle industry, and the over-stressing of the importance of official positions at the expense of the League program. These mistakes must be remedied in the future. The needle trades section program is the program necessary for the regeneration of the unions in the needle industry. It must be prosecuted vigorously and all deviations from it resisted. The fourth needle trades conference should show a needle trades unionism regenerated and pointing the way that all American trade unions must go.

## U. S. S. R., 1921-1925

By A. A. Heller

**B**ROADWAY is reaching out across the Atlantic—London, Paris, Berlin continue Broadway attractions with their incessant rush after enjoyment. The streets, the shops, the cafes, the theaters join in a noisy appeal to live for the moment. "Bread and sights" as in old Rome—abundant signs of a decaying civilization reaching the last stage before its downfall. Sharp contrast between wealth and poverty never before so openly, so brazenly displayed. In England—mass unemployment has become a permanent institution. Neither the government nor the old labor leaders offer any solution, or seem to know what solution to offer. Labor meekly accepts its dole, continuing to live a sort of benumbed existence, not knowing whither to turn. In Germany the "upper classes" openly advocate a return to monarchy, to the Strong-Arm System, to the suppression of all rights gained by labor in decades of struggle. Speculators and schemers amass wealth only to squander it in ostentatious, riotous living—for the moment. The working class bears a double burden of low wages and uncertainty. . . . In France—a wave of superficial prosperity. Nevertheless the mass of the people complain bitterly of the high cost of living, of the difficulty to make ends meet, of the hopelessness of the future.

There isn't an optimistic note to be heard in any of these countries. In England, Bertrand Russell advocates a return to primitive civilization and puts forward Nirvana as life's ideal. French literature has become more erotic than ever—the pains and pleasures of the flesh are the writers' concern; not an appeal to an ideal, not a vision of a better future. Excepting Barbusse and one or two others whose voices cry out in the wilderness. German public men battle between fear of France and England and the secret desire to get even with the conquerors for their present humiliation.

This widespread pessimism among journalists, statesmen, philosophers who reflect the mind of the upper classes, is further augmented by a very real and tangible fear: the rising power of the Soviet Union. Truly the eyes of the world are on Soviet Russia—with fear and hatred on the part of the ruling classes, with hope and inspiration on the part of the militant working class.

Along the "great white ways" of London, Paris, Berlin, and in the dark working-men's quarters of these great cities the last acts of an old civilization are being staged.

Across the border in the U. S. S. R. it is just the reverse.

The moment you cross the border into Russia you feel as though you had left an old stuffy house and walked out into the fresh open air. You breathe freely, there is space and freedom about you; you are glad the old, the staid, the cramped life is behind you.

I was in Moscow in 1921; when I was approaching it this time, nearly four years later, I had my misgivings. Moscow was not gay in '21. Life was very difficult then; it was just at the moment of the introduction of the New Economic Policy. People were living on short rations, there was lack of

essentials everywhere. The town itself had a bedraggled appearance. The effects of the severe fighting in the streets of Moscow—destroyed buildings, broken up streets, pierced walls—were still in evidence. Beggars swarmed; every railroad station in Moscow was jammed full of people, camping there, as for that matter in every other railroad station in Russia. At that time, in the spring of '21, the military phase of the revolution had just come to an end; the final flare-ups, in Kronstadt and elsewhere had been liquidated. But what remained? An enormous task of upbuilding the vast country with practically bare hands, and the threat of an approaching famine. Obviously help must come from outside: in the form of loans or concessions from the capitalist states of Europe or America, or in the form of a Social Revolution by the workmen of those countries. It was hard to believe that Russia could save itself. In spite of the stout faith of the leaders, in spite of their super-human effort, the air was full of misgivings, the immediate outlook was anything but cheerful. One felt the uncertainty of the moment, the tenseness of the struggle that was still on.

And now, four years later, what a change! What a different Moscow greeted me.

Already at Sebej, the Russian station on the Latvian border, which four years ago was a desolate refugee camp, there is now an orderly customs house, with a government money exchange office, where for our dollars we obtained Chervontzi (at 1.93 roubles to the dollar). The little station restaurant supplied tea and food, very reasonably. . . . The Russian train started from here, composed of "soft" and "hard" carriages, and a restaurant car. Traveling is slow but comfortable; later, on other lines I found sleeping cars on the European model, some brand new, made in Russia, irreproachably clean and comfortable.

Arrived in Moscow we found porters eager to carry our baggage, hotel porters inviting us to their respective hotels, and droshkis and even automobiles to carry us there. I went to the Savoy, which was recommended as the best hotel for foreign citizens. Having settled in my room I went to the telephone to call up some of my old friends. Lo and behold, it worked! The young lady at the Central—call her comrade, or she'll be offended—repeated the number I wanted and in a twinkle of an eye said: "I rang"—to which I should have replied "Thank you," had I learned Russian manners, and I heard my friend at the other end of the line say: "Sloosha-you"—I am listening. I mentioned my name; a peal of laughter greeted me: "Welcome, stranger." "You haven't forgotten how to laugh," I said. "Why, of course not, don't you laugh in America?" "No, we don't," I said, "we're too busy working to be gay." "Well, get the Moscow spirit," said my friend, "come and have some tea as soon as you can."

Such is the Moscow spirit. The people laugh and sing. The young boy and girl comsomols, marching in the streets to the beating of a drum (or their still younger brother and sister-pioneers) laugh and sing. The crowds filling the streets



of an evening laugh and sing. It is contagious—this young, vigorous, gay laughter of Moscow.

Where is the gloom of '21? The change in spirit is so apparent—had there really occurred, a transformation in the four years I was away? Yes, surely, the town is clean and well kept, the streets are lined with shops displaying in tasteful array all sorts of wares: foodstuffs, fruits, ready-made clothes and ladies' fashions, flowers, even jewelry, and above all, books; so many bookshops one encounters in no other city. Books of all sorts, from the most serious works of the Leaders—Lenin, Trotzky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and others, picture books for children, and foreign translations. Sinclair, London, O. Henry, to mention a few of the most widely read Americans, also translations of the latest French, German and English literature. Periodical literature in abundance, weeklies, monthlies, serious and comical, profusely illustrated, some with colored pictures, and pictures of fair maids on the covers, almost as at home. . .

The streets are busy with leisurely walking and hurrying people. The trolley cars and autobuses clang on their way, and izveschiks (buggydrivers) and motor cars go swiftly by. There is an air of constructive occupation all about; houses and streets are being repaired, and painters are busy plying their trade. The boulevards—the old pride of Moscow—are being put in order, and flower beds grace the small parks in the center of the city. In front of the opera house (The Great Moscow Theater) is a mound covered with flowers. Lenin and the Hammer and Sickle, designed by a skilled horticulturist, stand out from the green background. Pictures and statues of Lenin are to be seen everywhere; in the humblest home there is a "Lenin Corner," in every shop and office tribute is paid to the great Captain of the Russian Revolution. His tomb on the Red Square, a low square mausoleum, in red wood, is crowded daily by visiting throngs.

"Lenin is gone, but his work goes on." This legend, profusely displayed, expresses well the spirit of the time. With indomitable will, with unyielding courage, with an iron determination to pull through, the successors of Lenin have brought the ship of state out into clear waters. When in the spring of 1921 the course was uncertain, there were menaces all about, there was lack of food and fuel; in the spring of 1925, the situation is completely changed: the leaks have been stopped, the ship is well provisioned, the hidden reefs are past, the course is open—full speed ahead.

But what has caused this transformation, what is there to prove it? I might point to the statements of Rykov, Djerzinsky, Kalinin, Kamenev. I might point to the statistical bulletins published by each commissariat showing the constant growth of every branch of industry, trade, banking, agriculture. I might quote rows of figures to sustain the claims made. But that is not enough. Rather let us get out into the streets, into the country, talk to the people and see how they live.

I stopped for a while in Rostov, in the south of Russia, the town that had suffered greatly in the Civil War. Signs of it are still visible all around—in the wrecked buildings, slowly recovering life and industry, and yet there isn't a factory in the town that isn't working, perhaps not to capacity, but getting rapidly under way. The villages thereabouts

look tidy and show signs of returning prosperity. In fact, the country all the way from Moscow to Rostov is well cultivated, with a promise (in June) of abundant crops. The fisheries on the Don and the Black Sea—around Taganrog—make great hauls of fish which is salted and sun-dried right there. The small hotel in Rostov where I stayed lacks the appointments of the Moscow or Leningrad hotels, but it is kept clean and accomodating. The authorities of the section—the North Caucasion region—are alert and active. Industry and trade show marked signs of progress; the pre-war volume is being approached and in another year or two will be surpassed. They talk of building new factories in the region, extending railroad facilities; a canal to join the Volga with the Don and thereby with the Black Sea is an early possibility, and the deepening of the mouth of the Don is planned, to permit seagoing vessels to dock at Rostov.

Another beehive of industry is Kharkov, the Capital of the Ukraine. The town is assuming greater importance than it had under the Czar. Most of the South Russian industries of the Donetz coal basin, the great steel mills and chemical works, the sugar industry that supplies all Russia, are directed from Kharkov. The industries of Ukraine maintain a permanent exposition in Kharkov, where their products and methods of manufacture are exhibited. Farmers come there, we are told by the attendant, to look and price the new agricultural machinery including tractors made in the shops of Youngostal (Southern Steel Trust), or imported from abroad.

Tractor is a magic word in Russia. The thousands of Fordsons purchased in America do not begin to satisfy the demand. Villages cooperate to obtain one, and the communal farms must be supplied. The tractor has already won a place in song and story; the peasant woman sings: "With my character I cannot manage a tractor"—or "What good is a tractor? It consumes food, but gives no manure"—etc. Thus the tractor becomes a household word in the Russian villages.

The American communes that have emigrated to Russia in the past three or four years, use tractors and American agricultural machinery and are great schools of modern farming for the Russian peasantry. They are frequently visited by delegations from near and far, who beg for instruction in the new ways of farming.

Many experimental and model farms are being established, by various government agencies, also by the Joint Distribution Committee of New York, under the able direction of Dr. Rosen. Thus methods centuries old are giving way to new.

Much has been done in the way of electrification. A number of power stations have been completed, many more are in the course of construction. Power in the large cities is being supplied at 6 to 9 kopeks per kilowatt, not an excessive rate considering that the demand greatly exceeds the supply. Several large power stations have been completed, or are at the point of being completed this year, such as Volchovstroi in the north, Schterovka in the south, Kisel in the Urals; a large power station is under way at Petrogavodsk, in the republic of Karelia; and many others. Certain sections of railroads are being electrified, in the suburbs

of Moscow and Leningrad, and in the Caucasus. Electrical industry is rapidly expanding.

The metal industry—one of the most difficult to organize and put on its feet, is making rapid strides under the able direction of Djerzinsky. Its present output is still considerably below pre-war; but every effort is made to increase production; in 1926 it will reach the pre-war volume, and in a year or two more it should produce enough to cover all of Russia's needs in this field.

The oil industry is one of the bright spots of Russian achievements. Some fields are already exceeding pre-war production; the internal consumption is rapidly increasing, and a substantial volume is being exported.

Similarly the textile industry, which has practically reached pre-war production. Yet the growth of the demand for textiles is more rapid than the supply, which shows that the population is actively buying. And since peasants form the bulk of the buyers, it is evident that they are accumulating a surplus, to permit themselves the luxury of purchasing manufactured articles.

This is true not only of textiles, but of every manufactured article. The cooperative stores which are rapidly covering the length and breadth of the Union, cannot supply quickly enough all the goods that are demanded of them. The vast population of the Union must be clothed and sheltered—a limitless market exists there; with the growth of earnings, and a desire for better things, the consuming power of the population will grow enormously.

It is true that the earnings of the workers, manual and office alike, are comparatively low. Wages run from 60 to 300 roubles a month. Yet as rapidly as possible, increases are granted, as recently a ten to twelve per cent increase in the metal trades. And there is considerable unemployment. Yet as compared with the condition of the working class under the old regime the present situation is not only as good, but in many industries a great deal better. The workers have better housing, are dressed better, have material and mental privileges which were not dreamed of under the old regime. Social insurance—which is compulsory—is taking care of times of distress, illness and old age—sanitariums and rest homes provide relaxation and rest. Clubs, people's houses, libraries, factory-schools provide mental food and amusement. Besides, there are numerous theaters, concerts and movie houses to which workers receive tickets—at something like 60 per cent off the scheduled prices.

Anyone who doubts the intellectual growth and improved morale of the Russian people since the Revolution should have been present in Russia on May first, second and third of this year—the annual May Day festival. I was in Leningrad on April 30 and in Moscow the next day; in the former I saw the preparations for the celebration; the whole town was being decorated with bunting, flags and green foliage; all factories were preparing floats—their actual products, as tractors and other machinery, or symbols of their work; the whole working population was preparing to take part in the parade through the main streets of the city. A vast tribune was erected in front of the Winter Palace—a fit place to celebrate red May Day—the same place where the Little

Father shot down his beloved children like dogs, on Jan. 22, 1905. In the outlying sections, for the women and children who couldn't take part in the parade, local festivals were planned, with bands, moving pictures, etc.

But May first in Moscow was a day of days. From early morning—the day turned out warm and clear—processions with banners flying and bands playing, collecting in every part of Moscow, started towards the Red Square. There the Red Army sections, fully equipped, assembled at 9 a. m. As they marched in front of the grandstand, they were greeted by Frunze, the Commissar of War and Navy, and other leaders. Group after group marched by, workingmen and women, the youth of Moscow—the Comsomols and Pioneers. "Are you ready?" sounded from the platform. "Always ready!" came the thunderous reply. And so it went on till late in the afternoon. All traffic was stopped in the city until two o'clock, so as not to interfere with the paraders. Then came the people's turn; the entire population of Moscow, it seemed, was on the streets. Tverskaia and other main thoroughfares were literally black with moving masses. At the Squares, loud-speakers attached to poles, issued forth songs and stories, to the great amusement of the crowd. Then, on May 3, another parade was staged on the Red Square, that of the physival culture societies. Again in every part of the town, from early morning, the sound of music and marching was heard. They all came to the Red Square, thousands of them, clubs, societies, schools, young and old. Each group in distinctive colors, red, blue, green, black, white—every color of the rainbow, in blouses and breeches and a great many without blouses, just in knee breeches, exposing chest and legs to sun and wind. Strong husky boys, handsome girls, spirited, healthy, each one apparently conscious of his or her mission in the world. Now they come to a stop and begin their games; they get hold of one of their fellows, boy or girl, and throw them up high in the air; or they run races, or fall in line, a mass of color, and march in front of the grandstand. Bicycles, motor cyclists, automobiles and trucks gaily decorated and filled with children, pass on. A happy crowd: "Are you ready?" "Always ready!" The young Lenintzi, the hope of New Russia.

I've seen these Pioneers and Comsomols at their games in their own districts, at their meetings and entertainments. It makes one's blood run faster, and one's heart glow with joy and warmth, to see a boy and a girl of ten or twelve conduct a meeting. To one such meeting the parents of the children were invited. The chairman, a boy of twelve, opened the meeting with the greeting: "Comrade-Parents and Comrades!" and proceeded in most serious fashion to the business of the day. . .

This social spirit, this universal tie of equals, this interest in the common good, beginning practically at the cradle, is so marked a feature of Russian life that to a stranger coming from a highly individualistic country like England or America, it is almost incomprehensible. But it is this feature, more than anything else, that assures the future of the Proletarian State. It is this new generation of socially minded pioneers who will carry on the work of Lenin, who will make the Soviet Union secure and powerful.

(Continued in the December issue)

# Marx and Engels on the Role of the Communists in America

By Heinz Neumann

IN the imperialist epoch the United States assumed the role of the economically and politically predominating country of the bourgeoisie, which England had played in the period of the capitalism of free competition. America is the most powerful mainstay of imperialism. The European revolution cannot be successful without the help of the masses of the American working class.

Leninism always combatted the theory of the Second International, according to which the course of the revolution in the various capitalist countries was dependent upon the "stage of development of the forces of production." Lenin demonstrated theoretically and practically that the proletariat is not first victorious in those countries where the productive forces are most highly developed, but in those countries where the world system of imperialism is weakest and the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and of its allied peasant masses are strongest.

But Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution means more than this. In his polemic against Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution, which maintained that the victory of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia was only possible "with the state aid of the working class in the more highly developed countries," Lenin pointed out repeatedly that the proletariat of the highly developed capitalist countries already become the strongest allies of the victorious proletariat in the backward countries even before the establishment of their own dictatorship. Not only the "state aid" but the very revolutionary struggle for the seizure of power in the capitalist countries renders the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship possible and the development of socialism in the existing Soviet Republics.

When applied to the perspectives of the European, especially of the Central European and primarily the German revolution, the Leninist theory requires the correct estimate of the role of the American proletariat and consequently the establishment of a revolutionary mass Party in America as a decisive factor in gaining and defending the dictatorship of the proletariat in Germany. The development of imperialism after the first world war made America the metropolis of the capitalist world. Germany and a constantly increasing number of other European states which formerly were amongst the older and dominant capitalist countries, sink to the level of economically and politically backward countries, to industrial colonies of American finance capital. Although these countries had already accomplished the bourgeois revolution a long time ago, they play a role with respect to American finance capital similar to that which Russia played with regard to West European capital.

The Dawes regime lends this development not only historical, but immediate political significance for Germany. The German proletariat can only then conquer in its fight against American Dawes rule, if it be supported by an extensive revolutionary mass movement in America. As long as the rule of American finance capital does not meet with resistance in the metropolis itself, as long as the Com-

munist Party of America remains a small sectarian party, as long as the great organizations of the American working class remain unchallenged in the hands of the representatives of the most reactionary labor aristocracy—in short, as long as no revolutionary mass party exists in America—the strength of the German bourgeoisie, supported by American finance capital, and the difficulties of the German revolution are increased ten-fold.

To deny this fact signifies the rejection of the Leninist viewpoint of the direct support of the revolution in comparatively backward countries, by the class struggle of the proletariat in the imperialist metropolis. It signifies renouncing the revolutionary estimate of the role of the American proletariat in the present stage of the European revolution, and the recognition of the Trotskyist theory of "state aid," which, as an inseparable component of the theory of the "permanent revolution," in this case ends in nothing else but Kautsky's "doctrine of productive forces."

Marx and Engels clearly realized the future role of America in the class struggle of the proletariat. In his third preface to the "Communist Manifesto" in 1883, Engels stated: "The limited extent of the spread of the proletarian movement at the time the Manifesto was first published (January, 1848), is best demonstrated by the last chapter: 'The Attitude of the Communists to the Various Opposition Parties.' First of all, Russia and the United States are missing in this chapter. . . ." Engels calls both countries "the great reserve of European reaction." He recalls the period "in which emigration to the United States absorbed the surplus of the European proletariat." The United States, like Russia, supplied "Europe with raw materials, and at the same time served as a market for the sale of the latter's industrial products." Engels then continues:

"Both functioned thus, in one way or another, as pillars of the European social order.

"How all this has changed today! European emigration has rendered possible the colossal development of North American agriculture, which, through its competition, is shaking the foundations of large as well as small land ownership in Europe. At the same time it enabled the United States to begin with the exploitation of its rich industrial resources with such energy and upon such a scale THAT WITHIN A SHORT PERIOD THE INDUSTRIAL MONOPOLY OF WESTERN EUROPE MUST BE BROKEN. (Emphasis here, as well as in all following quotations, mine—H. N.)

"And both these circumstances REACT UPON AMERICA IN A REVOLUTIONARY DIRECTION. The small and medium property of the farmer working for himself, the foundation of America's whole political system, falls more and more victim to the competition of the giant farms, while at the same time, is formed for the first time a NUMEROUS PROLETRIAT in the industrial districts together

with a FABULOUS CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL."

This utterance immediately precedes the famous prophecy that "the Russian revolution will be the signal for a workers' revolution in the West." Both of these statements fall in that period of Engels' work, in which he had already recognized the decisive changes characterizing the transformation from the capitalism of free competition to imperialism. With the Paris Commune, the period of the First International had to all intent concluded, although it continued to exist formally. Marx and Engels continue to view the problems of the labor movement from the standpoint of the basic principles of the International Working Men's Association. However, at the same time, they seek a new form of labor movement which, corresponding with the changed historical form of development of capitalism itself, rises above the level of the past. In "The Civil War in France" and in the "Letters to Kugelmann," the Marxian theory of the State is developed to its utmost issue; at the same time the leading role of the Communist Party in the struggle of the proletariat is definitely expressed. Lenin always refers to these works in his own writings; he looked to them for guidance upon the most important problems of the proletarian revolution. There is no doubt that the passages in the correspondence of Marx and Engels dealing with the American labor movement, ought to come under this head. These letters cover the historical content of an entire generation—from 1868 to 1895.

Leninism is not, as several opportunists maintain, only a sub-division of Marxism. It is neither the Marxism of the "early period" nor the Marxism of the "mature period." Leninism is the whole of Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. But no Chinese wall separates the epoch of imperialism from the epoch of the capitalism of free competition. Between the epoch of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the epoch of the proletarian world revolution there lie no insuperable barriers. Between them there lies a period of transition. In the ranks of revolutionary Marxism this period of transition in its broadest sense is embodied in the left, revolutionary wing of the Second International. In a narrow sense it is expressed in the work of Marx' and Engels' concluding years, which historically already tower over the period prior to the Paris Commune and almost directly intertwine with the foundations of Leninism.

For this reason it is not admissible to consider the statements of Marx and Engels upon the problems of the American labor movement as "quotations from a bygone period." They belong rather, just as their deductions from the Paris Commune, to the tactical doctrines of Marx and Engels, which on all essentials of method agree with the tactics of Lenin and which in the main still apply today to the problems of our tactics.

## II. Method.

IN his letter to Sorge dated September 16, 1887, Engels wrote as follows upon the American labor movement:

"In spite of all the masses can only be set in motion in a way suitable to the respective countries and adapted to the prevailing conditions—and this is usually a roundabout way. But everything else is of minor importance if only they are really aroused."

The method with which Engels approached the prob-

lems of the American labor movement required, therefore, firstly, the consideration of these specific national characteristics of the country, without the schematic application of the "ways" which had been tested in other countries, as the only correct ones; and secondly, shifting the tactical focus of interest to the "real arousing" of the American laboring masses, in which connection all doctrinary questions are of "minor importance."

In his letter to Mrs. Wischnewsky, dated September 15, 1887, Engels remarks:

"Fortunately the movement in America has now got such a start that neither George, nor Powderly nor the German intriguers can spoil or stop it. Only it will take UNEXPECTED FORMS. The real movement always looks different to what it ought to have done in the eyes of those who were tools in preparing it."

That signifies, thirdly, that European experience does not suffice to decide a priori upon rigid forms of the American labor movement. These forms can only be developed in the course of American practice itself. There is no recipe for them. They will be "unexpected."

In Engels' letter to Sorge dated April 8, 1891, he writes:

"It proves how useless is a—theoretically for the most part correct—platform if it is unable to get into contact with THE ACTUAL NEEDS of the people."

Engels here wants to demonstrate to the sectarians of the Hyndman group in England as well as to the German emigrants of the "Socialist Labor Party" in America, the necessity of gaining primarily the support of the workers organized in the trade unions. Of importance methodologically in this connection is, fourthly, the fact that Engels sets the actual requirements of the labor movement higher than the theoretical platform. In his letter dated June 10, 1891, he states expressly that the transition from a sect to a mass party is even more important than an "orthodox" Marxist platform:

"The comical phenomenon is very significant that here, as in America, those persons who parade as orthodox Marxians, those who have reduced our IDEAS OF MOVEMENT to a rigid dogma which must be memorized, that those people figure here as well as over there as a pure sect."

The method, by means of which Engels determined the tactics of the American Communists, contains the following four salient points: The point of origin is the specific national peculiarities of American conditions. The principal task is, to begin with, the "real arousing" of the workers. The forms of tactic can only be found through the practice of the movement itself. Linking up with the actual needs of the working class is of more importance than the theoretical platform.

He sums up this method in a classic form in his letter to Mrs. Wischnewsky dated January 27, 1887:

"The movement in America, just at this moment, is I believe best seen from across the ocean. On the spot personal bickerings and local disputes must obscure much of the grandeur of it. And THE ONLY THING that could really delay its march, would be the consolidation of these differences into established sects. To some extent that will be unavoidable, but the less of it the better. . . . Our

theory is a theory of evolution, not of dogma to be learned by heart and to be repeated mechanically. The less it is hammered into the Americans from the outside and the more they test it through their own experience . . . the more will it become part of their own flesh and blood."

### III. The Historical Peculiarities of the American Labor Movement.

BOTH England and America have always offered a number of particularly knotty problems for the exponents of Marxism. In practice, both countries were characterized by the absence of a revolutionary workers' party; in the theoretical field, they led Marx and Engels to utter the well-known epigram—that the proletarian revolution could take place in a peaceful manner in England and America. Kautsky employed this phrase against Lenin in the polemic about the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin replied in his pamphlet against Kautsky:

"In the 'Seventies, was there anything which made England and America . . . exceptions? It should be a matter of course for anyone in the least degree acquainted with the requirements of science in the field of historical problems that this question must be raised. Not to put this question signifies falsifying science and being satisfied with sophistry. If this question is raised, however, there can be no doubt of the answer; the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat signifies the rule of force against the bourgeoisie. The necessity of this rule of force is, as Marx and Engels repeatedly and at length . . . pointed out, primarily conditioned by the existence of militarism and of bureaucracy. At a time when Marx made this statement, in the 'seventies of the nineteenth century, these institutions did not exist in England and America! (However, they are now to be found in England as well as in America)."

The causes of the late development of these typical phenomena of the capitalist state in England were the existence of the industrial monopoly and the century-old tradition of parliamentarism. In America, the historical period of feudalism had never existed; America has been democratic from the very beginning of its existence as an independent state. While in England capitalist monopoly delayed the development of a bureaucratic-militaristic state machine, in America the diametrically opposite cause, the immaturity of capitalist development, acted in the same direction. Engels was already able in the 'eighties to state that on the one hand England's industrial monopoly had been shaken to its foundations while on the other hand, the United States was changing from an agrarian country into an industrial power. Thus, almost simultaneously the harmonizing of the most developed and the least developed capitalist countries took place, with the general legal line of development of the bourgeois state as analyzed by Marx. The premises for the "exception" to the Marxian theory of the state, thus vanished.

In a similar fashion, but much more slowly, the approach of the American labor movement to the European type is in

process. The British worker already began this assimilation to the proletarian class struggle of the continent in the 'nineties. At that time Engels established the fact of the development of a "new unionism." This new tendency in the British labor movement required forty years to mature—its most recent fruits are the radicalization of the British trade unions through the Purcell group. The class struggle of the American proletariat has had to travel a much more difficult path. The after-effects of the downfall of an industrial monopoly were easier to overcome than the influence of bourgeois ideology in America, the derivation of which from the feudal period is not evident to the American workers in consequence of the lack of an American feudalism. The penetrating eye of Engels sees in this specific characteristic of America's history the reason for American workers' well-known "contempt for theory," which was one of the greatest obstacles to the formation of a revolutionary mass party. He writes to Sorge on September 16, 1886:

"In a country as elemental as America, which has developed in a purely bourgeois fashion without any feudal past, but has taken over from England a mass of ideology surviving from the feudal period, such as English common law, religion and sectarianism, and in which the necessity of practical work and of the concentration of capital has produced a general contempt for all theories, which is only now beginning to disappear in educated and scientific circles, —in such a country the people must come to realize their own social interests by making mistake after mistake. Nor will the workers be spared that; the confusion of trade unions, socialists, Knights of Labor, etc. will continue for some time to come, and they will only learn by injuring themselves. But the chief thing is that they have been set in motion . . ."

In another letter, dated February 8, 1890, Engels draws the conclusion that this "elemental conservative" ideology of the American workers can be overcome "only through experience," and only through getting in contact with the trade unions:

"The people of Schleswig-Holstein and their descendants in England and America, cannot be converted by preaching; this stiff-necked and conceited crew must learn through their own experience. They are doing that from year to year, but they are elementally conservative—just because America is so purely bourgeois, has absolutely no feudal past, and is therefore proud of its purely bourgeois organization—and therefore will only be freed through experience from old traditional intellectual rubbish. Hence with trade unions and such like, must be the beginning if there is to be a mass movement, and every step forward must be forced upon them by a defeat. But, however, after the first step beyond the bourgeois viewpoint has been made, things will move faster, just like everything in America . . . and then the foreign element in the nation will make its influence felt by its greater mobility."

From the rise of a mass movement, therefore, Engels hopes not only for the revolutionization of the "native" work-

ers, but at the same time the overcoming of a sectarian spirit and of doctrinairism amongst the foreign-born proletarians. The shifting of the center of gravity to the native workers in the trade unions is in no way intended to limit the historical role of the "foreign element," but to extend it by the exploitation of the latter's "greatest mobility" and by linking together the two elements of the American working class.

#### The "Native" and the "Foreign" Elements.

Engels considered the antagonism between the native-born and the immigrants one of the principal obstacles to the development of a mass party. The danger of this antagonism consists in the fact that it coincides with the class antagonism between the labor aristocracy and the mass of unskilled wage workers. The connection of the national with the social distinctions within the working class is for him the most important reason for the slow development of the American labor movement.

"It appears to me that your great obstacle in America is the privileged position of the native-born worker. Until 1848, a native-born, permanent working class was the exception rather than the rule. The scattered beginnings of the latter in the East and in the cities could still hope to become farmers or members of the bourgeoisie. Such a class has now developed and has organized itself to a large degree in trade unions. But it still assumes an aristocratic position, and leaves (as it may) the ordinary, poorly-paid trades to the immigrants, of whom only a small percentage enter the aristocratic trade unions. These immigrants are, however, divided into nationalities, which do not understand one another, and for the most part do not understand the language of the country. And your bourgeoisie understands even better than the Austrian government, how to play off one nationality against another . . . so that, I believe, there exist in New York differences in the standard of living of the workers such as are out of the question anywhere else . . ."

In the same letter to Schlueter, dated March 30, 1892, Engels explains the rhythm of the American labor movement through the coincidence of this national and social line of demarcation within the proletariat:

"In such a country repeated starts, followed by just as certain relapses, are unavoidable. The only difference is that the starts grow more and more vehement, and the relapses less and less paralyzing, and that on the whole things do go forward. But I consider one thing certain: the purely bourgeois foundation without any fraud behind it, the correspondingly gigantic energy of development' which manifests itself even in the insane exaggeration of the present protective tariff system, will some day bring about a change, which will astonish the whole world. When the Americans once begin, they will do so with an energy and virulence, in comparison with which we in Europe will be children."

Therefore, Engels considers as of the greatest importance, not the formation of a purely immigrant party, but "of a real mass movement amongst the English speaking population:"

"For the first time there exists a real mass movement amongst the English-speaking (Engels refers to the preparation for strikes to obtain the eight-hour day and to the enormous growth of the order of the Knights of Labor in spring, 1886—just before the bomb-throwing affair in Chicago. H. N.) It is unavoidable that this, at the beginning moves hesitatingly, clumsily, unclearly and unknowingly. That will all be cleared up; the movement will and must develop through its own mistakes. Theoretical ignorance is the characteristic of all young peoples, but so is practical speed of development.

"Just as all preaching is of no avail in England, until the actual necessity is at hand, so too in America. And this necessity is present in America and is being realized. The entrance of the masses of native workers into the movement in America is for me one of the great events of 1886 . . ." (Letter to Sorge dated April 29, 1886).

In his correspondence with the American Socialists, which lasted for decades, Engels repeatedly emphasized that the German Marxist Socialist Labor Party is of much less importance than the development of a mass party of the native-born workers, even if the latter is not consciously Marxist. On the other hand he replied to the objections which were already then raised by the German immigrants, to the effect that he was thus "denying the role of the Party," and was "showing preference for the 100 percent Americans," with the sentences of the above-quoted letter; that amongst the conscious Marxian immigrants, there still remains

"A nucleus, which retains the theoretical insight into the nature and the course of the entire movement, keeps in progress the process of fermentation, and finally again comes to the top."

Engels writes even more lucidly to Mrs. Wischnewsky on February 9, 1887:

"As soon as there was a national American working class movement independent of the Germans, my standpoint was clearly indicated by the facts of the case. The great national movement, no matter what its first form, is the real starting point of American working class development; if the Germans join it in order to help it or to hasten its development, in the right direction, they may do a deal of good and play a decisive part in it: if they stand aloof, they will dwindle down into a dogmatic sect, and will be brushed aside as people who do not understand their own principles."

The Skilled Workers and the "New Trade Unionism."

The problems of the mass party and of its relation to the trade unions, is dealt with by Engels in close connection with the, at that time, equally acute trade union problem in England. In his letter to Sorge dated December 7,

1889, he reminds the American socialists of the Hyndman Social-Democratic Federation in England—which should serve them as a warning—which was “Marxist,” it is true, but which became a sect in consequence of its fanatic aversion to the trade union movement:

“Here it is demonstrated that a great nation cannot have something hammered into it in such a simple dogmatic and doctrinaire fashion, even if one has the best theory, as well as trainers who have grown up in these special living conditions and who are relatively better than those in the S. L. P. The movement is finally under way, and, as I believe, for good. But not directly socialists; and those persons amongst the British who have best understood our theory, are outside of it; Hyndman, because he is an incorrigible brawler, and Bax, because he is a savant without practical experience. The movement is first of all formally a trade union movement, but entirely different from the old Trade Unions of the skilled laborers, of the labor aristocracy.

“These people are attacking the problem in an altogether different way, are leading much more colossal masses into battle, are shaking the foundations of society much more profoundly, and are making much more far-reaching demands; the eight-hour day, a general federation of all organizations, complete solidarity . . . moreover, these people consider their demands of the moment as only provisional, although they themselves do not yet know the goal towards which they are striving. But this vague notion is deeply enough embedded in them to influence them to elect only declared socialists as their leaders. Just as all the others, they must learn through their own experience, and through the consequences of their own mistakes. But that will not last very long since they, in contradiction to the old Trade Unions, receive with scornful laughter any reference to the identity of the interests of capital and labor.”

Eighteen years prior to this letter, Karl Marx wrote in his letter to F. Bolte, a member of the New York Provisional Federal Council, the following famous passage:

“The International was founded in order to set the real organization of the working class for the struggle in the place of the socialist or semi-socialist sects: The original statutes as well as the inaugural address show that at a glance. On the other hand, the International would not have been able to maintain itself, if the course of history had not already destroyed sectarianism. The development of socialist sectarianism has always been inversely proportional to that of the real labor movement. As long as the sects are justified (historically), the working class is still not ripe enough for an independent historical movement. As soon as it reaches this maturity, all sects are essentially reactionary. Meanwhile, there has been repeated in the history of the International what history proves everywhere. The obsolete endeavors to re-establish and to maintain itself within the newly gained form.

“And the history of the International was an incessant struggle of the General Council against the

sects and the endeavors of amateurs, who try to maintain themselves against the real movement of the working class within the International.” (Letter to Bolte, dated November 23, 1871.)

As examples of these sectarian tendencies, which time and again attempt “to re-establish and to maintain themselves,” within the International Working Men’s Association, Marx mentions the Proudhonists, in France, the Lassaleans in Germany, and the Bakuninists in Italy and Spain. He adds in the same letter:

“It is a matter of course that the General Council does not support in America what it combats in Europe. The decisions 1, 2 and 3 and IX now give the New York Committee the legal weapon to put an end to all sectarianism and amateur groups, and in case of need to expel them.”

The decisions, 2 and 3 of the London Conference of the I. W. M. A. forbid all sectarian names of the sections, branches, etc., and provide for their exclusive designation as branches or sections of the International Working Men’s Association with the addition of the name of the locality. Decision IX emphasizes the necessity of the political effectiveness of the working class, and declares that the latter’s economic movement and political activity are inseparably united.

This dialectic relationship of the economic and the political aspects of the labor movement, were already at that time one of the chief problems in the tactical discussion in America. In a postscript to the same letter to Bolte, Marx again defines the inseparable unity of the economic and the political struggle in one of those famous passages, which are again and again quoted by European Marxists, but which today very few know are written for the socialists of America, just like Marx’ criticism of the sects.

“N. B. to political movement: the political movement of the working class naturally has as its goal the conquest of political power, and to that end is necessary of course, a previous organization of the working class, developed to a certain degree, which arises of itself from the latter’s economic struggles.

“On the other hand, however, every movement in which the working class as a class faces the ruling classes and attempts to force its will upon them by pressure from without, is a political movement and in this manner there everywhere arises from the scattered economic movement of the workers a political movement, that is, a movement of the class, in order to fight for its interests in a general form, in a form which possesses general, socially compulsory force. When these movements are subordinate to a certain previous organization, they are just as much means towards the development of the latter organization.

“Where the working class is not yet sufficiently advanced in its organization, in order to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e. the political power, of the ruling classes, it must under all circumstances be trained for this by incessant agitation against the hostile political attitude of the ruling class towards us. Failing, it remains a plaything in the latter’s hands . . .”

(Continued in December Workers Monthly)

# “Whither England?”

A Review by Jay Lovestone

“Whither England?” By Leon Trotsky. International Publishing Company, New York.

IN these days of Locarno pacts and hundred million dollar investments in African (Liberia) rubber prospects, the key to the international situation is to be found in the relations between England and the United States and in the role of the Soviet Union.

Every important problem facing international capitalism is tied up with the consequences of the growing power of the Soviet Union and Anglo-American relations. The debt settlement, the Dawes Plan, the gold standard, security pacts, commercial and financial rivalry and hegemony, capitalist stabilization, the struggle in the Far and Near East, the coming war, the situation in Latin America, the colonial crises, and the proletarian revolution are all inextricably bound with the dealings between the two most powerful imperialist cliques and with the condition of their most dangerous foe, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Consequently any serious book in which there is a discussion of the question of Anglo-American relations, the situation in England, and the future of England really approaches the core of the present world situation. Comrade Trotsky’s “Whither England,” is a contribution to the rapidly growing literature on the subject of Anglo-American relations and the future of England.

For some months I have been following up the literature on this subject. Most of these recent volumes have their pages stamped with the gold either of Wall Street or of Downing Street, or of both. In the main, these writings are propaganda hailing the “permanent peace between the great Anglo-Saxon peoples.” The bourgeois vulgar political analysts merely repeat and reaffirm the false theories of Anglo-American harmony and Anglo-American supremacy as the forces saving “civilization” from ruin.

In this literature on Anglo-American relations, the reader time and again is treated to the hackneyed prattle of the innate virtues of the Anglo-Saxons in settling, at least all their domestic, if not all their foreign problems, peacefully. This threadbare hoax is again and again employed in an effort to convince the reader that this myth has been a reality and that it today is above all a redeeming force, an inspiration, to the whole world.

After one has waded through such balderdash, Comrade Trotsky’s book is a relief. With all his skill for literary presentation and keen ability for political analysis, Comrade Trotsky shatters these illusions of Anglo-American harmony and Anglo-Saxon innate peacefulness in the development of social movements, the relationship of classes.

“England is rapidly headed toward an era of great revolutionary upheavals . . . England is headed for revolution because she has already entered the stage of capitalist disintegration. If the guilty must be found, if we must ask: what accelerates England’s progress on the path of revolution, the answer is not Moscow, but New York.”

This sums up the graphic and thorough analysis of the economic and political trend of England’s future. Comrade Trotsky goes on to say: “Under cover of what is called the pacification and rehabilitation of Europe, immense revolutionary and military conflicts are preparing for the morrow.” Morgan and Dawes are labelled by Trotsky as “the artificers of the approaching European revolution.”

Anglo-American collaboration is synonymous with the loss of England’s independence and with the growing dependence of England upon the United States, in the eyes of Comrade Trotsky. He very well says: “The common action of the United States and England is the cloak for a profound world-wide antagonism between these two powers, by which the threatening conflicts of the perhaps not remote future are being prepared.”

## A Change of Mind.

It is quite clear that in expressing this attitude towards the development of Anglo-American relations, Comrade Trotsky definitely indicates that he has had a change of mind on this subject. In the relations between England and the United States there are both forces making for the consolidation of capitalism and at the same time forces making for the disintegration of capitalism. The question is, which group of forces is in the ascendancy; whether the consolidating or the disintegrating forces are stronger.

Prior to the last sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International, Comrade Trotsky along with, though not so outspokenly as, Comrade Radek, maintained that we had entered upon a period of peaceful Anglo-American relations; that is, that we had entered upon a period in the international situation in which the influences of the Anglo-American relations would make for the consolidation rather than the disintegration of world capitalism. Comrade Trotsky’s old theory of Europe on rations and of Europe “being converted into a dominion of America” was intertwined with his estimate of Anglo-American relations, the key to the international situation.

Certainly, no one could picture Trotsky’s theory of “Europe placed on rations” by America—Europe quietly and peacefully doing America’s bidding,—without seeing a complete Anglo-American understanding for a long period.

The latest developments in the Chinese situation reveal a sharpening conflict of interests between Great Britain and the United States in the Far East. The cold shoulder given to President Coolidge’s last Disarmament Conference plea, the recent energetic attempts to endow the League of Nations with new life, the results of the Locarno conference in increasing the prestige of the British ruling class at the head of a more unified group of European imperialist cliques, are among some of the multiplying signs that Europe will not accept American domination without serious military and naval resistance. All of these events indicate a sharpening trend in Anglo-American relations towards war, and not towards world peace or Anglo-American peace. The estimate of the world situation given by the last sessions of the Enlarged

Executive Committee of the Communist International, has been proved by the developments in international relations since last March to be correct. The characterization of the relations between England and the United States, given in "Whither England?" is different from the position once maintained by Trotzky and Radek, and tends towards agreement on the most basic points with the estimate of this crucial point in the international situation made by Comrade Pepper and developed and endorsed by the March sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern.

America is not immune from the forces enhancing the development of a revolutionary situation in Europe. Says Comrade Trotzky: "But the inevitable hour will strike for American capitalism also; the American oil and steel magnates, trust and export leaders, the multi-millionaires of New York, Chicago, and San Francisco are performing—though unconsciously—their predestined revolutionary function."

#### Towards the Decline of England.

In this book we are treated to an analysis of the forces making for the decline of English capitalism. England's role as the industrial school for Europe and America is traced. Germany's challenge to British supremacy at the close of the nineteenth century and the development of giant class conflicts in England, in 1911-13 as a result of the undermining of the aristocratic position of English industry are analyzed and estimated. In the years 1914-18 we see a temporary interruption of this process of English decline, the smashing of German competition; only to see the English decline accelerated by the post-war factors.

But the rise of the economic preponderance of the United States is a new cause for the sharpening of the internal and external grave situations confronting England. America is rapidly overtaking England in every field. Anglo-American co-operation only beclouds the fundamental world antagonism between these two imperialist powers. The productive forces of England no longer correspond to the position of England in the world market. Hence the chronic unemployment in England. The diverging interests of the dominions threaten the unity and preservation of the Empire. England's insular isolation as a defensive asset is brought to an end by the advance of military technology and aviation. This loss of "the advantages of an inaccessible isolation" is the basis of England's being mixed up more and more in European affairs and military entanglements.

With this situation as a background we are able to understand the breakdown of British Liberalism and the increasing signs of disintegration in the upper strata of the British Labor Party leadership which is very close to the Liberals.

The pith of the question involving the entire destiny of England is, according to Comrade Trotzky: "Will it be possible to organize a Communist Party in England which shall be strong enough and which shall have sufficiently large masses behind it, at the psychological moment, to carry out the necessary practical conclusions of this ever-sharpening crisis."

#### The Illusion of "Gradualness."

The author is merciless in unmasking the old yarn of "gradualness" in the development of social movements in

England. A speech delivered by Prime Minister Baldwin on March 12, 1925, is Trotzky's inspiration on this occasion. Mr. Baldwin attempts to quote Trotzky in an admonition to the English working class to shun revolution.

Trotzky's reply is caustic and damaging. He reminds Baldwin of the fact that in the first days of the Russian revolution the British Ambassador Buchanan preferred to aid the movement for the violent overthrow of the Czar rather than help the "gradualness" of Rasputin. Furthermore: "For three centuries England has waged an unbroken chain of wars, aiming at an expansion by the methods of piracy and force against other nations . . . As a whole, the history of England is a history of violent changes introduced by the British ruling class—into the lives of other nations." It was Lord Salisbury, once the leader of Mr. Baldwin's Conservative Party, who declared: "India must be bled." The campaign against Ireland, the "peacefulness" of General Roberts in the campaign against the Boers, the events in the Mosul and in China are cited as only a few of the typical examples of British ruling class policy giving the lie to the innate Anglo-Saxon virtue of "gradualness."

Then Trotzky proceeds to show that the development of English policy of class relationships at home, adds further proof of the falsity of the theory of "gradualness." He says: "The tradition of the Conservative Party itself is based on this revolution in the middle of the seventeenth century." The Civil War between the Roundheads and Cavaliers forged this "character of the English people." And then "with the heavy hammer of military force Oliver Cromwell forged, on the anvil of civil war, this same national character." Charles I. was beheaded.

Nor does the author forget that England spent at least half a billion dollars to foment and support counter-revolution in Russia. Trotzky politely reminds Mr. Baldwin that the cause of the English proletariat is as much the cause of the Russian worker as the cause of the Russian bourgeoisie was and still is the concern of the British bourgeoisie.

#### The Labor Leaders.

One might ask what use is there in spending so much time and energy in discussing the role of the revolution with a reactionary like Baldwin. Trotzky's rejoinder is very effective to this query when he declares that his reason for such a discussion is to be found in the fact that the philosophy of MacDonald, Webb and Snowden is really the theory of the conservative prime-minister—the theory of so-called gradualness.

"The peculiarity of the English labor leaders" is the next logical theme for analysis. Thomas, Mr. and Mrs. Snowden, Lansbury, Wheatley and Kirkwood are among those dissected. The words of Trotzky on this question are applicable to the Greens, the Wolls, and other reactionary leaders infesting the American labor movement. In fact, this analysis is timely and instructive even for those comrades in the ranks of our Party who are still suffering from the ideology of trade unionism. I have in mind the attitude manifested towards the labor party several months ago by some of our leading comrades. We quote:

For decades "the leaders of the British working class imagined that an independent labor party was a sad privilege

of continental Europe." Then the proletariat "forced the trade unions to create an independent party." Today the Liberal and semi-liberal leaders of the Labor Party still believe "that the social revolution is a sad privilege of the European continent. Here again the event will show the backwardness of this view."

To continue: ". . . history turned her back to these gentlemen and the chronicles they read in history became their program . . . The characteristics of conservatism, religiosity, national conceit, will be found in varying degree in all the present day official leaders, from the extreme right Thomas to the left Kirkwood." The program of Fabianism is very properly characterized as "the philosophy of the socially minded philosophic bourgeois."

MacDonald may be fretting very much against violence and force when he preaches to the workers. But when he was in power the same MacDonald did not dismiss the police, tore down no jails. He built new ones. In practice these sermons of MacDonald regarding the use of force simply mean that "the oppressed must not use force against the capitalist state: the workers against the bourgeoisie, the farmers against the landlords, the Hindus against the British administration."

Mr. MacDonald is flayed mercilessly when he pleads that the lesson of the Russian revolution is "that revolution means destruction and poverty and nothing else."

Mr. MacDonald is told that he does not understand the Russian revolution, that he knows nothing of English history. In reality, "MacDonald would never have been prime minister in 1924" if it had not been for the influence of the proletarian revolution in Russia on the world situation. The Fabians are the most reactionary group in England and they "think that their Fabian molehill is the universe." The English proletariat must free itself from this mental baseness of Fabianism, "the chief support of British and European imperialism, if not of the entire world bourgeoisie."

The effects of the poison of Fabianism are unfortunately still very powerful on the ranks of the American proletariat.

#### The Problem of Revolutionary Force.

Trotzky tells us, that to renounce the use of force for the purposes of the liberation of the proletariat and oppressed peoples is tantamount to giving support to the policy of using force for the oppression of these masses by the bourgeoisie, by the imperialists. Let some one try to practice brotherly love in a general strike, in meeting the Ku Klux Klan, in dealing with the Italian Fascisti. Boldness is absolutely necessary in a revolutionary struggle.

English history shows that even the mere "fear of revolutionary violence gave birth to the law for government insurance of the unemployed." Here we have the utility of revolutionary force, says Trotzky. This problem is analyzed from every angle. The opponents of the use of force by the proletariat under some or under all circumstances are dealt with very adequately. The present English parliament is correctly branded as "a monstrous distortion of the principles of bourgeois democracy."

#### Three Possible Developments.

Trotzky proceeds to analyze the possible results of the coming British elections and concludes that they are pregnant

with revolutionary possibilities. What can happen? he asks and then answers: 1. A conservative victory. 2. No absolute majority for any party. 3. A labor party victory with an absolute majority.

The aftermath of a conservative victory will translate itself into a campaign of relentless hostilities against the workers, a series of attacks which would "prepare for a renewal of the class struggle at the next stage, in more decisive revolutionary forms, and consequently under a new leadership."

In the event of no party receiving a majority "parliament would fall into a state of prostration." There is very little likelihood of a Labor-Liberal coalition under these circumstances. A Conservative-Liberal government is, then, more probable. But a weak parliament can only breed revolutionary possibilities.

The problems of taxation, nationalization, true democratization of the administration, etc., would, after a Labor Party victory, promote considerable enthusiasm among the workers and "appetite increases with enthusiasm." Reaction would forthwith mobilize all its energies and resources. Financial panic would follow. Strikes, lockouts, the rapid rise of English Fascism, the influence of which has already been seen in the recent raids on the Communist Party of Great Britain, would be the logical consequences. Between these two determined class forces the MacDonalds and the Clynes would be a sorry sight. They would be compelled to yield to a Fascist reaction or to a revolutionary dictatorship. A conservative victory then would mean nothing else but a merciless destruction of the workers' organizations. A proletarian victory would mean the use of crushing measures by the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat against the exploiters.

"An uncompromising struggle with the corrupting spirit of MacDonaldism" is absolutely essential to the success of the workers' movement. Trotzky's conclusion is that "Revolutionary force is useful whenever it strengthens the position of the proletariat, weakens or repels the enemy, accelerates the socialist evolution of society."

#### English Traditions.

There are two great English traditions; that of Cromwell and that of the Chartist movement. The workers of England have learned much from both. From Cromwell the English workers can learn much more than from MacDonald, Snowden, Webb and the other "conciliation brethren." "Cromwell was the great revolutionist of his time, who learned to hesitate at nothing, to defend the interests of the new bourgeois social order against the old aristocratic order. This must be learned from Cromwell; in this sense, the dead lion of the seventeenth century stands infinitely higher than many dogs still alive."

The Communist attitude towards dictatorship is thus stated: "For us the question is decided by the fact that one dictatorship pushes society forward while another holds it back."

The Chartist movement was purely proletarian in nature. It failed because it was too early. "The English working class can and should read in Chartism not only its past but also its future," because "it affords us an abbreviated and

systematic view of practically the entire course of the proletarian struggle—from petitions to parliament, down to armed insurrections."

#### Bolshevism and the Trade Unions.

Further evidence of the bourgeoisie mobilizing Fabianism against the working class is to be found in their attitude towards the trade unions. Trotzky takes up the hypocritical cry raised by the bourgeoisie in behalf of the "right" of workers to vote for any party they may wish despite their belonging to trade unions affiliated with the Labor Party. These same bourgeoisie forget all about the rights of the workers and the question of "individual liberty" when the bureaucrats throw Communists out of the unions. The fact of the matter is that, as has been shown by the findings of the Conservative member of Parliament, Macquisten, it is the workers in the backward branches of industry, where petty-bourgeois conceptions and traditions still prevail, who refuse to pay political contribution. Such an attitude is rarely, if ever, displayed by the proletariat in concentrated industry.

Then the English imperialists also utilize the ideas of Fabianism when they resort to their new methods of organizing engineers, managers, etc. as a sort of "third party in industry" against the working masses.

To the bourgeoisie the danger of the trade unions sums itself up in the fact that these organizations though "hitherto only partly, irresolutely and in a half-and-half manner,—are advancing the principle of a workers' government which is impossible without a workers State, as opposed to the capitalists' government which can continue its existence at present only under the guise of democracy." Trotzky then recalls the significant words of Cromwell when he thus appealed to his Puritan cohorts: "Whatever enemy I may be facing, whoever he may be, I shall shoot at him with my pistol, as at any other enemy; if conscience prevents you from acting thus go serve elsewhere."

#### The Role of the Independent Labor Party.

It is only the imperialists' fear of the collapse of capitalism that makes them now-a-days so eager for "orderly relations," for the preservation of the gold standard, security pacts, the renewals of commercial treaties, etc. But these measures "will not of themselves solve a single one of the contradictions that brought about the imperialist war and have been further aggravated by the war."

In considering the outlook for England Trotzky analyzes the why and the wherefore of the dominant role played by the Independent Labor Party leaders in the labor party movement. The working class was historically faced with the task of creating its own party. Besides, the war and post-war period awakened in the masses a mood receptive to labor pacifism and reformism.

The very establishment of the Labor Party was a sign of the masses moving towards the left. But behind the democratic pacifistic illusions there stands the "awakened class will" of the proletariat. The moment that this MacDonald centrism became a political force, the moment it assumed governmental responsibilities, it was no more centrism. It had to speak in terms of **yes** and **no**. Then "the pacifist MacDonald began to build cruisers, jail Hindus and Egyp-

tians, to engage in diplomatic manipulations with the aid of forged documents."

For the Marxist it is not difficult to understand why it is that the very profound movement of the masses towards the left, the movement which brought the Labor Party into power, should bring a shift to the right inside the party, should reduce centrism as such to a political zero. The practical program of the Labor Party led by the Independent Labor Party is fundamentally of a Liberal character at home, and "a belated repetition of Gladstone impotence in foreign policy."

Trotzky's discussion of the role of the Independent Labor Party in the Labor Party should prove very instructive to some of the American Communists who have at one time or another misunderstood the relations of the Communists to, and the role of the Communists in, the Labor Party. Comrade Trotzky sarcastically raps the MacDonald bogey of the "dictatorship of the minority" by posing a situation in which the Labor Party with its many millions comes to power while it is itself dominated by a handful of Independent Labor Partyites. Thus poor Mr. MacDonald is confronted with a situation where 3,000 I. L. P. members would be the rulers over forty millions in England and where his purest English democracy would lead him to the horrors of dictatorship!

#### The Significance of the Left Wing Movement.

The Communist Party is destined to assume the role now played by the I. L. P. The I. L. P. is preparing and clearing the road for the Communist Party. The present domestic and foreign situation of Great Britain will not improve, according to Trotsky. The Communist Party will prepare itself for leadership only through merciless criticism of and relentless warfare against the policies and practices of the anti-proletarian, the imperialist, monarchic, dominating group of the British labor movement.

The nervousness and left phrases of a certain section of the labor bureaucracy are to be attributed to the movement of the English working class towards the left. Trotzky, in the opinion of the writer, underestimates the significance and the possible role of this movement towards the left when he says: "The left wing of the Labor Party represents an effort to recreate centrism within the social imperialist party of MacDonald." This characterization is only partly correct. The left wing movement in the British labor party means this. But it also means much more. We must distinguish more sharply between the Left Wing leaders and the masses constituting the Left Wing. The differences between the leaders and the masses should not be overlooked in our estimate of the possibilities for developing the Communist Party. Without question many of these leaders will not and cannot serve the working class in decisive struggle. Only the Communist Party has the will, the plan and the courage to lead the English working class towards decisive and successful conflict with the British bourgeoisie who have for centuries been trained to mercilessness. But the mass support of the left wing in the Labor Party, as well as the mass character of the trade union minority movement, are to be accounted for by fundamental changes in the domestic conditions and international position of English capitalism. Comrade Zinoviev at the Enlarged Executive Sessions of the Comintern held last March, accurately estimated the significance of the left wing movement in the Labor Party and the trade union

minority movement which has rallied hundreds of thousands of workers around Communist ideas when he said: "A new breeze is blowing in the British labor movement . . . The failure of the old fighting method of the labor party . . . is not accidental. The failure of the old trade unionist tactics is also not accidental. It is not due to the defects of the leaders nor to the errors they committed, but to the fact that Great Britain is losing her monopolist position in the world market and that her influence and the influence of her colonies is meeting with greater and greater opposition, which is accelerating the pace of the class struggle in Britain and is awakening the masses of the British proletariat to a new life." The masses now surging to the left in the Labor Party and in the trade unions are the candidates for the Communist Party in the very near future, in the opinion of the reviewer:

Wrong estimates of the Left Wing in the Labor Party have also manifested themselves elsewhere and the attitude toward the whole Labor Party problem has received the careful attention of the Communist International on several occasions. In his illuminating analysis of the March sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern Comrade Pepper has thus stated the position of the Communist International on this vexing question which is also of great importance for the American communists:

"A section of the British comrades opposed for a time the tactics of the crystallization of a Left Wing in the Labor

Party on the plea that this would be tantamount to cultivating a rival organization to the Communist Party. A section of the American comrades opposed participation in the establishment of a Labor Party in America for similar reasons. Comrade Zinoviev's report and the resolutions of the Enlarged Executive on the American question expressed themselves with unmistakable clearness on the Labor Party problem in Great Britain and America and provided the basis for the correct tactics of the British and American (and thereby also for the Canadian, South African and Australian) Communist Parties."

#### The Future of England.

Trotzky says the future holds in store for England frightful forms of civil war. The British bourgeoisie have ruled for a long time and the American capitalists will spring to their defense. The English proletariat will draw its strength from the working class in Europe and in the colonies. If The Communist Party will supply the English proletariat with a resolutely revolutionary leadership, then the revolution in England is bound to win.

Finally Trotzky answers the question "Whither England?" when he says: "The Communist Party will expand and come to power as the party of the proletarian dictatorship. There is no round-about way . . . That is the most important lesson to be drawn from this analysis."

## History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

#### The Controversy Over Democracy Within the Party.

IN 1904-5 the question of inner-party democracy played an important role. This is an exceedingly interesting episode, throwing as it does a clear light upon certain controversies of our own times. The Mensheviks were strong advocates of "progressive democracy" in the party, for a rigid elective principle, while the Bolsheviks, headed by Comrade Lenin, took a decisive stand against it at the time. At the present moment it may seem strange to our young comrades that the Bolsheviks were against democracy, against the elective principle, and the Mensheviks for both the one and the other. But their astonishment can easily be dispelled.

The fact is that the Mensheviks did not believe in the independent role of the proletarian party in the revolution; neither did they believe that we would succeed, under the autocracy, in the creation of a serious proletarian party. As I have already said, they wanted a party to which student and professor might have easy and free access; they thought that our party would always be a party of intellectuals, and strove for a complete organizational form wherein "his majesty the intellectual" might receive his full due, where none would "oppress" him, where he would vote and listen to reports,—in a word, where there would be "real democracy," just "like in Europe."

The Bolsheviks, through the lips of Comrade Lenin,

answered them as follows: We also stand for democracy, but only when it is really a possibility; but at the present time democracy would mean just playing a childish game. And this we do not want, for we have need of a serious party, which shall be capable of breaking Czarism and the bourgeoisie. At the present time, when we are leading an underground existence, we cannot realize genuine party democracy; we must have an organization of tried professional revolutionists who have shown by long years of work that they are ready to give their lives for the revolution and the party; these are the type of men into whose hands we can entrust our fate. Under the autocracy, under its bestial persecution, if we should chase after the elective principle, after democracy, we should only be helping the Czarist gang to smash our organization, and make it easier for the Czarist spies and provocateurs to hunt down our comrades.

The Mensheviks, like skillful demagogues, went after all the inexperienced workers, printed their letters, and shouted: "You see! These are workers, and they demand the elective principle, and you insult them, by not agreeing to it!" In Petrograd there is a worker, Glebov-Putilovsky by name, (he was then a Menshevik), who wrote, in this spirit, an exceedingly confused brochure advocating democracy. The Mensheviks immediately printed it, with a foreword by Axelrod himself, declaring: here, you see,—through the lips of this

worker speaks the whole proletariat, all the workers demand the elective principle, and you will not give it them.

Comrade Lenin replied with an article entitled "It's No Use Preaching to a Hungry Belly." The sense of the article is as follows:

We also know the workers: they are for democracy, as we are, but for a democracy such as we really need; and when it shall become possible, we shall be the first to usher it in. But you, with your fairy-tales, are only trying to charm away a tooth-ache with magic formulae. The really serious worker understands that democracy and the elective principle are not an end in themselves, but a means for the liberation of the working class. We are building the party in the way that will render it most efficient for the struggle at any given moment. And just now a rigid hierarchy and centralism are an absolute necessity.

Today it is of course evident that at that time the Mensheviks were trying to make use of "democracy" to bluff the workers, using it as a bait to catch them with. They cried aloud from every house-top: "We advocate the elective principle, and the Bolsheviks are against it, this means that they are against you, and so—come over to us." But it did not take the workers long to see through their game.

Organizationally, events developed in this connection in the following manner.

#### The Mensheviks in Power.

At the Second Congress, as you know, the Bolsheviks got control of the Central Committee of the party and of its central organ, which was edited by Plekhanov and Lenin, and the Party Council. The latter was composed of two representatives of the Central Committee, two from the central organ, which was appearing abroad, and the fifth, a representative chosen at the Congress itself. As this fifth member of the Council, Plekhanov was elected. We had the majority on the Party Council also. However, in the course of a few months, when Plekhanov changed front, and some of the Bolshevik members of the Central Committee were arrested in Russia, the following situation arose: first the central party organ "Iskra" fell into the control of the Mensheviks, then the Central Committee slipped out of our hands, when, after the arrest of our comrades, Mensheviks were elected to take their places; and finally Plekhanov, going over to the side of the Mensheviks, brought them the Party Council as a dowry. In a comparatively short time we lost all these central positions. The Mensheviks were in control of the Central Committee, the central party organ and the Party Council; and Martov could strut about and stick a skull-cap on each of his hands—for was he not the Trinity: the Party Council, the Central Committee and the central party organ?

This situation was extraordinarily difficult for us. It must be said that at that time the whole weight of authority in the party was on the side of the Mensheviks. Comrade Lenin, with all the weight that he carried in the party was, nevertheless, in comparison with Plekhanov, still young in leadership. And this fact was naturally of great importance. I remember, for example, my first conversation with Plekhanov, (at that time I was just a "Young Communist"), when he scared us by saying: "With whom are you? Just reckon up who are on our side! I (Plekhanov), Martov, Zassulitch, Axelrod and the others, and on yours—only Lenin. Matters will finally take such a turn that within a few months every

sparrow will laugh at your Lenin. And you are siding with him!" And in fact, a part of the Party did fall under the hypnotism of the authority of these old-timers, whose services (those of Plekhanov for instance) had really been tremendous.

The situation of the Bolsheviks, was, I repeat, exceedingly difficult, and was rendered even harder owing to the fact that there was no possibility of an appeal to the Party, which was condemned to an underground existence and subject to savage persecution on the part of czarism.

#### The Bureau of the Committee of the Majority (B. K. B.)

In connection with this whole situation, the necessity for organizing separately and definitely fixing this organization became more and more acutely evident to the Bolsheviks. Comrade Lenin, whom many, and especially the Mensheviks, proclaimed to be a furious and indefatigable "splitter," although the fact was that he would decide on such a step only very painfully and after long thought, when no other way out appeared,—Comrade Lenin, after long thought and consideration of the question from all angles, decided on this split. He was also influenced toward this step to a certain extent by pressure on the part of the Russian committee, and partly as well by the more impatient Bolshevik youth, who said: Time does not wait; the revolution is drawing near; great events are approaching, (this was not long before the Ninth of January); it is necessary for us to organize our own party. And a whole series of regional party conferences—northern, southern, Moscow, and others,—advanced a plan for creating in Russia a "Bureau of the Committee of the (former) Majority," to counterbalance the Menshevik Central Committee. And thus, when an All-Russia central organization of the Bolsheviks was established, entering into direct struggle with the Menshevik Central Committee, Comrade Lenin finally agreed to the organization of a separate party. Thereupon we launched, abroad, the first Bolshevik paper, which under the name of "Vperyod" (Forward) appeared in Geneva at the commencement of 1905 and was maintained by the pitiful funds gathered penny by penny among the Bolshevik sympathizers. "Vperyod" continued the work of the old Leninist "Iskra" (though in changed circumstances) and laid the basis for the fundamental tactics of the Bolsheviks. And thus by the beginning of 1905 the Bolsheviks had the Bureau of the Committee of the Majority in Russia, and the Bolshevik organ "Vperyod" abroad. The Mensheviks, on the other hand, had at their disposal the Central Committee, the central organ, and the Party Council.

#### The Ninth of January ("Bloody Sunday"—Jan. 22, 1905, New Style).

This was the situation—the party still split and still leading an underground existence while within it was going on a violent struggle between two crystallizing tendencies—when the events of the Ninth of January were enacted. I shall not speak about them in detail, since you are already familiar with them. Their fundamental content consists in the fact that, over the head of the formal party organization the non-party worker masses went out into the streets; they thronged the square before the Winter Palace and demonstrated that the Mensheviks were mistaken when they said that only two forces were active: the Czarist monarchy and the opposition of the nobles. The Ninth of January showed

that there was yet another force, which (like the elephant in the Russian fable) the Mensheviks had not noticed—the working class. It is true that the worker mass did not know clearly what it wanted, it was unorganized and lacked leaders of its own, using chance individuals in this capacity; it is true that it marched with ikons, that it was not conscious, and that it was shot down like a flock of wild ducks,—all this was true, but the fact was that this mass did exist and that it was the most powerful political factor. The uprising of the Ninth of January shook all Russia, and this was worth far more than all the liberal resolutions and petitions. On the ninth of January the working class showed that it was alive, and that the task of true revolutionists did not consist in running to Gubernya (state) assemblies, or to the ante-chambers of noted Zemstvo members, not in making peaceful speeches "that wouldn't scare anybody," but in placing themselves at the head of the movement of the workers that had broken out so stormily—a flood that was bursting through its dam—which during its first days was without either leaders or a clear political program. It was, in other words, a torso upon which a head had to be placed: there was need of a party to mingle with these masses, to take in tow this tremendous movement and to bear it along the historical path of the working class.

The Ninth of January and the events following it brought to the fore, as you know, several non-party figures. This fact is altogether understandable, and it can be explained by the fact that the party at that time was leading an underground existence and had no proper connections with the restless worker masses. Among these chance figures were Gapon, Khrystalev, and Lieutenant Schmidt—men who were strongly differentiated from one another, but all three of whom were very new to the revolution. Gapon, who played a leading role in connection with the Ninth of January, revealed himself afterwards as a provocateur, and was put to death by the revolutionists; and Khrystalev who later on broke away from the party, showed himself to be half adventurer. As for Lieutenant Schmidt, although a very magnetic figure, he was not a really conscious revolutionist. There recently appeared letters of his to close friends, which I recommend every one of you to read, for they are of great interest as human documents dealing with, among other things, certain questions of personal ethics. In the pages of this book Schmidt appears to us as a man with a deep devotion to the revolution, calmly going to his death for it; but at the same time we see that in his political relations he was a ship without sails or rudder. This can be said with all deference to his memory. In a letter to his most intimate friend, Schmidt writes: "I must get together with Miliukov and take up matters of great importance with him. I hope to come to an agreement with him. We shall go together with him." Thus, from the first, he was half a Cadet. But this does not hinder us from paying homage at his grave: he was a man who heroically went to his death for the sake of the revolution.

#### The Significance of the Ninth of January.

I have brought up these names just to show what amazing figures the movement brought into the foreground at that time, casting up to the surface individuals who neither had a clear program nor knew how to direct the masses which were getting into motion. This same Schmidt, who led the

insurrection of the Black Sea Fleet, dreamt at the same time of coming to an agreement with the Cadets, i. e. with the landowners and the monarchist party, who were the "Constitutional Democrats" of that time. It is not at all surprising that these three figures which came to the fore in 1905, each striking in its own way, remained merely episodic, since they did not have their roots in the working class.

The Ninth of January put upon the order of the day the general question as to how the party should direct the mighty movement of the workers, who were rushing into battle but who had no program, nor knew what they wanted, and who went to the Winter Palace with ikons and holy banners. At the same time the Ninth of January, the rumbling of which reverberated throughout the length and breadth of Russia, destroyed belief in the monarchy. This is no exaggeration. The workers, who only yesterday had had faith in the monarchy and who had believed that only the ministers were bad, saw that their worst enemy was just the monarchy—just the Czar.

#### The Controversy Over the Slogan of a "Provisional Revolutionary Government."

The Ninth of January confronted our Party with the question of power, or—as they then put it—of participation in the provisional revolutionary government, in its full significance. The Bolsheviks with all their strength advanced the slogan: the organization of armed insurrection and the creation of a provisional revolutionary government. But the Mensheviks energetically opposed it. And once again, it is extremely characteristic that they should have brought forward so-called "Marxian" arguments against our participation in a provisional revolutionary government. They said: How can we, socialists, enter a government which will not be socialist? They alluded to recent events in western Europe which were fresh in everyone's mind. Only a short time before, the epoch of what was known as "Millerandism" had come to a close in France. This word comes from the name of Millerand, the present president of the French bourgeois republic. In those days he was a socialist, and even at one time a Left. But then the bourgeoisie bought him, and persuaded him to participate in the government. He entered the French bourgeois ministry, saying: "I am coming here to protect the interests of the workers." But he did not and could not do that there; he gradually became an agent of the bourgeoisie. All orthodox Marxists fought against Millerand and against Millerandism, and at its Amsterdam Congress even the Second International came out against him. A duel took place at this congress between Jaures who defended Millerand's tactics (although only half-way) and Bebel, who was opposed to participation in a bourgeois government. Bebel won, and it was decided that the participation of socialists in a bourgeois government was under no conditions permissible, since every such socialist would in fact become a hostage, an employee of the bourgeoisie, and as such would be made use of by them. And this was in fact what happened in France. Within a year Millerand shot down workers on strike, and now—he is President of the French bourgeois republic.

The Mensheviks did not let the opportunity pass of bringing this French experience into our controversy. They said:

## Reviews

"And what about Millerandism? Look, what has come out of it. Can we, after this, participate in the provisional revolutionary government of Russia?" And we replied to them, "Pardon us, but aren't you forgetting one little detail? In France Millerand entered a stable bourgeois government, when there was no sign of revolution at all,—to speak plainly, he sold himself to the bourgeoisie. But here, with us, in the year 1905, the question is one of overthrowing the Czar, whose throne is already tottering; and to this end it is necessary in the midst of the struggle to create some sort of central revolutionary workers' and peasants' organization, in other words—a provisional revolutionary government."

### The Menshevik Viewpoint in Relation to the Slogan of "A Provisional Revolutionary Government."

But the Mensheviks stuck to their viewpoint, making use of sophistry, changing around the facts in the case, and pointing to Millerandism, that is, injecting something that had no relation at all to the case in point. What would have happened if their standpoint, i. e. the standpoint that we must not enter into the provisional revolutionary government, had conquered? It would have come about that after the downfall of Czarism the bourgeoisie would have taken over the government (since some one or other had to organize a government). And this is precisely what the Mensheviks desired. Their point of view was the following: The workers must not intrude into politics; theirs is only a small task—the economic struggle or the support of the liberal Zemstvo representatives; and as to the provisional revolutionary government—or rather, the provisional unrevolutionary government—leave it to Miliukov, he will understand how to organize it. And, in actual fact, in 1917 they were beside themselves with joy that they had found a Miliukov to make them happy by agreeing to take out of the hands of the Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks the power that had been conquered by the workers.

From the above it is clear why the Mensheviks came out against the slogan of "a provisional revolutionary government." What at first glance appeared to be their purest arguments were actually nothing but opportunism. True to their unchanging tactics, they made use of everything, including Marxist terminology, in order to drag the workers from power, and rob them of their role as the leading class. Menshevik puritanism was in fact the whole time opportunism. They cried out against the rapprochement of the workers with the peasants, giving as their motive "class purity," at the same time that they were forming a bloc together with Chernov, Savinkov, and Kerensky, i. e., with the rottenest and most counter-revolutionary portion of the "Peasants" party.

(Continued in the December issue)

### St. John's Cathedral

**FIFTEEN MILLION DOLLARS**  
For a church.  
Fifteen million dollars  
For a church!  
"Verily, verily I say unto you  
The Tower of Babel  
Wasn't half as high."

—A. W.

"DECEMBER 14th," by Dmitri S. Merezhkovsky. International Publishers, New York

ONE hundred years have passed since the "Decembrists" rebellion in St. Petersburg on December 14, 1825.

The great French revolution had swept Europe with its ideas of bourgeois liberties and democracy. Even where the armies of the revolution, or of its heir, Napoleon, failed, its ideas penetrated victoriously and threatened to uproot traditions and institutions seemingly built for all times. The armies of Suvarow fought in Switzerland and in Lombardy against the forces of Massena and Jourdan. But Suvarow's officers returned to Russia as proselytes of the ideas that Massena's and Jourdan's armies had carried into Europe on the points of their bayonets.

In France the slogan of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" was the battle cry of a revolutionary class, the newly developed bourgeoisie, in its struggle against the absolutism of the monarchy which fettered its economic interests. The economic interests of the bourgeoisie were at the same time the economic interests of society itself. Therefore the revolutionary French bourgeoisie became the banner-bearer of social progress. While the revolutionary bourgeoisie forced upon its newly conquered world its "Liberty" of unlimited and unfettered exploitation, it set free all the latent productive forces of society and gave important substance to its slogans.

Imported into the Russia of those days, the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, these slogans became mere ideas, empty phrases without any revolutionary pushing power. It is not the slogan that makes the revolution but the class which represents social progress. This class must blast the way for such progress by dynamiting away, by means of a revolution, all the obstacles of antiquated social institutions and traditions. Where such a class does not exist there is no basis for a revolution and the slogan which in one country is a driving force for a social upheaval and for revolutionary conquest, is reduced to a mere phrase in another country.

This wisdom must yet be learned by those who think that the suppression of an idea prevents a revolution; or that the importation of an idea makes a revolution.

The slogan of the French revolution inspired the educated and intelligent strata of officers of Suvarow's army. Sent out from Russia to combat the armies of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie, they returned to Russia as propagandists of the very slogans of this same French bourgeoisie. But in Russia these slogans lost their revolutionary significance. There was no bourgeoisie. The slogan lacked an economic base and was reduced to a question of morality or virtuousness.

The influence of the French revolution on these Russian officers manifested itself in the formation of a "Tugend-Bund" (Society of the Virtuous). These virtuous "Tugend-Buendler" were opposed to autocracy because it was immoral. But at the same time they were also opposed to fighting an autocracy which was armed to its teeth, weapons in hand, because that would mean killing—and killing was immoral, too.

The "Tugend-Bund" was under the leadership of high aristocrats and army officers. Prince Troubetzkoy, Prince

Lopukhin, Prince Obolenski, Colonel Pestel, Adjutant Jakubovitch, etc., were among the most prominent members.

None of the classes in Russia supported the movement. The absence of a clear class basis prevented also a unity of purpose and tactics among the "Decembrists." A class basis would have supplied a firm foundation. But morality could only supply a basis for philosophical disputes in which this movement of the "Decembrists" excelled.

In 1825 Czar Alexander I. died without leaving an heir to "his" throne. His brother Constantine was next in the line of succession. But Alexander had chosen his younger brother Nicholas as his successor. This choice was hidden among personal and state papers of Alexander and was unknown to the public. Thus a great uncertainty prevailed as to who was the "rightful" czar. Constantine was acclaimed by the multitude, while the initiated courtiers promoted Nicholas.

The men of the Tugend-Bund chose this issue as the ground of battle. Under the guise of raising the banner on behalf of Constantine they raised in reality the flag of revolt. A constitution was their aim. But even in this action they were not united. The radicals among them wanted a republic, while the rest were satisfied with a constitutional monarchy.

The author of "December 14th" chose this event of the rebellion of the "Decembrists" as the theme of this historical novel.

I consider historical novels, as a rule, an objectionable kind of fiction. Far too many people draw their fund of historical knowledge from historical novels. And because almost all historical novels are too much novels and too little historical, therefore more than half of the historical knowledge of the masses is a fictitious knowledge.

By this statement I do not mean that the novelist who treats a historical event must be absolutely accurate in the description and sequence of the events he deals with. But we must demand of him to be accurate in the description of the economic-historic background and of the moving forces of the events he uses as a theme. Because, after all, to know history one must understand those things rather than to know exact dates, personages and the escapades and adventures of these personages.

In "December 14th" many objectionable features of historical novels are fortunately absent. The novel is more of a history than a novel. Merezhkovsky, who is a famous Russian author of a number of historical novels, follows the historical annals of the "Decembrists' putch" with painstaking accuracy. Although the work lacks analytical qualities, yet it shows the purely philosophical character of the movement and makes it easy for the reader to find for himself that the movement completely lacked revolutionary substance.

The book gives a vivid description of the helplessness of these "rebels" who set out to overturn Russian autocracy and who stood shivering in full view of the enemy discussing the advisability and morality of using their guns.

Without unnecessary comment, the reader learns from this novel something of the role of force in social upheavals. The philosophical discussions of the "revolutionary" Russian princes of 1825 will sound like political nursery prattle.

At the same time the novel gives a gripping historical view of the degeneracy of Russian autocracy and the autocrat of that time. Nicholas I. in his historic role of a

detective is a fit caricature of the useless parasite he was.

The publication of "December 14th" for the American reader was well timed. The novel is not a new one, but the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the hundredth anniversary of the "Decembrists' putch," December 14, 1925, make the novel a welcome newcomer in the book market.

—Max Bedacht.

### STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of THE WORKERS MONTHLY, published monthly at Chicago, Ill., for April 1, 1925.

State of Illinois, County of Cook.  
Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Moritz J. Loeb, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the WORKERS MONTHLY and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:  
Publisher, Daily Worker Publishing Co., 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago; Editor Max Bedacht, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago; Managing Editor none; Business Manager, Moritz J. Loeb, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago.

2. That the owner is: (If the publication is owned by an individual his name and address, or if owned by more than one individual the name and address of each, should be given below; if the publication is owned by a corporation the name of the corporation and the names and addresses of the stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of the total amount of stock should be given.) Daily Worker Publishing Co., 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.; William Z. Foster, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, W. F. Dunne, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, C. E. Ruthenberg, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, J. L. Engdahl, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., E. R. Browder, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., B. Gitlow, 108 E. 14th St., New York City, Max Bedacht, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, J. P. Cannon, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Martin Abern, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, F. Burman, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, J. Lovestone, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, A. Bittelman, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago.

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is—(This information is required from daily publications only.)

Moritz J. Loeb.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of March, 1925.

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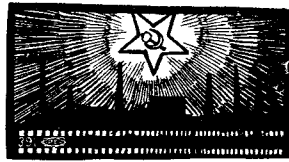
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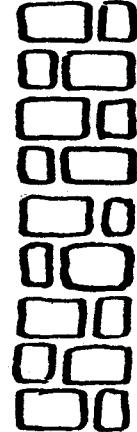
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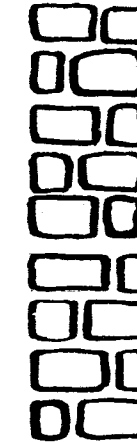
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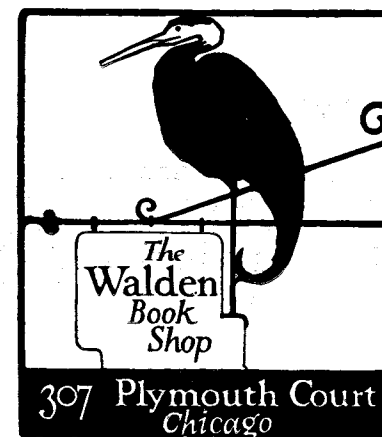
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