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1905



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DECEMBER, 1925

No. 2

1905—The Rehearsal for 1917

By Alexander Trachtenberg

LAST month the revolutionary workers throughout the world celebrated the Eighth Anniversary of the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia. Once more workers everywhere gathered to review the year's achievements and to renew pledges of solidarity with the proletarian and peasant masses of the Soviet Union.

This month two other Russian anniversaries will command the attention of all revolutionists. Both events, which the Russian worker will celebrate, are recorded in the annals of their revolutionary history, one as an episode, the other as an epoch.

The Decembrist Revolt.

The first event was the attempt to de-throne Czar Nicholas I. on December 14, 1825. The plot was engineered by some Guard officers and civilians who, influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution, sought to limit the powers of the Crown through a constitution. The movement was restricted to a few conspirators who were not anxious to establish contact with the masses. Even the soldiers whom the rebellious officers intended to use for the coup were kept in ignorance of their aims and programs, lest these peasant soldiers develop ideas inimical to the interests of the landowning classes to which the conspirators belonged. Nicholas defeated the rebels because on the day of the "uprising" they were still not agreed upon their aims and methods, and because of their failure to organize a popular movement in support of their program.

Viewed from present-day standards, the events of December 14, 1825, may appear only as a revolutionary flare. At the time, the shooting down of the soldiers whom the rebellious officers brought to the Senate Square in Petersburg to demonstrate against Nicholas, the execution of the leading conspirators and the fiendish reprisals of the Czar against all suspected of harboring disloyalty, produced a marked effect. The revolutionary ideas which the "Decembrists" kept to themselves became the heritage of larger groups who came to consider the executed or imprisoned rebels as martyrs. Celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the Decembrist revolt, the Russian workers will draw the proper lesson from the failure of that historic event.

1905—A Revolutionary Epoch.

The second occasion for reminiscence is of much larger proportions. It was not an event of a day; it was a series

of events which are recorded in red letters throughout the calendar of that year. Until eight years ago, 1905 stood out pre-eminently as an epoch-making year in the history of revolutions. In the nineteenth century only 1848 and 1871 could compare in revolutionary significance with 1905. The revolution of 1905 was not only the rehearsal for 1917, but it had affected the political destinies of many peoples. The popular movements for wider suffrage in Austria and Belgium; the revolutions of Persia, Turkey and China, were some of the outstanding events which took place during the revolutionary era inaugurated in 1905.

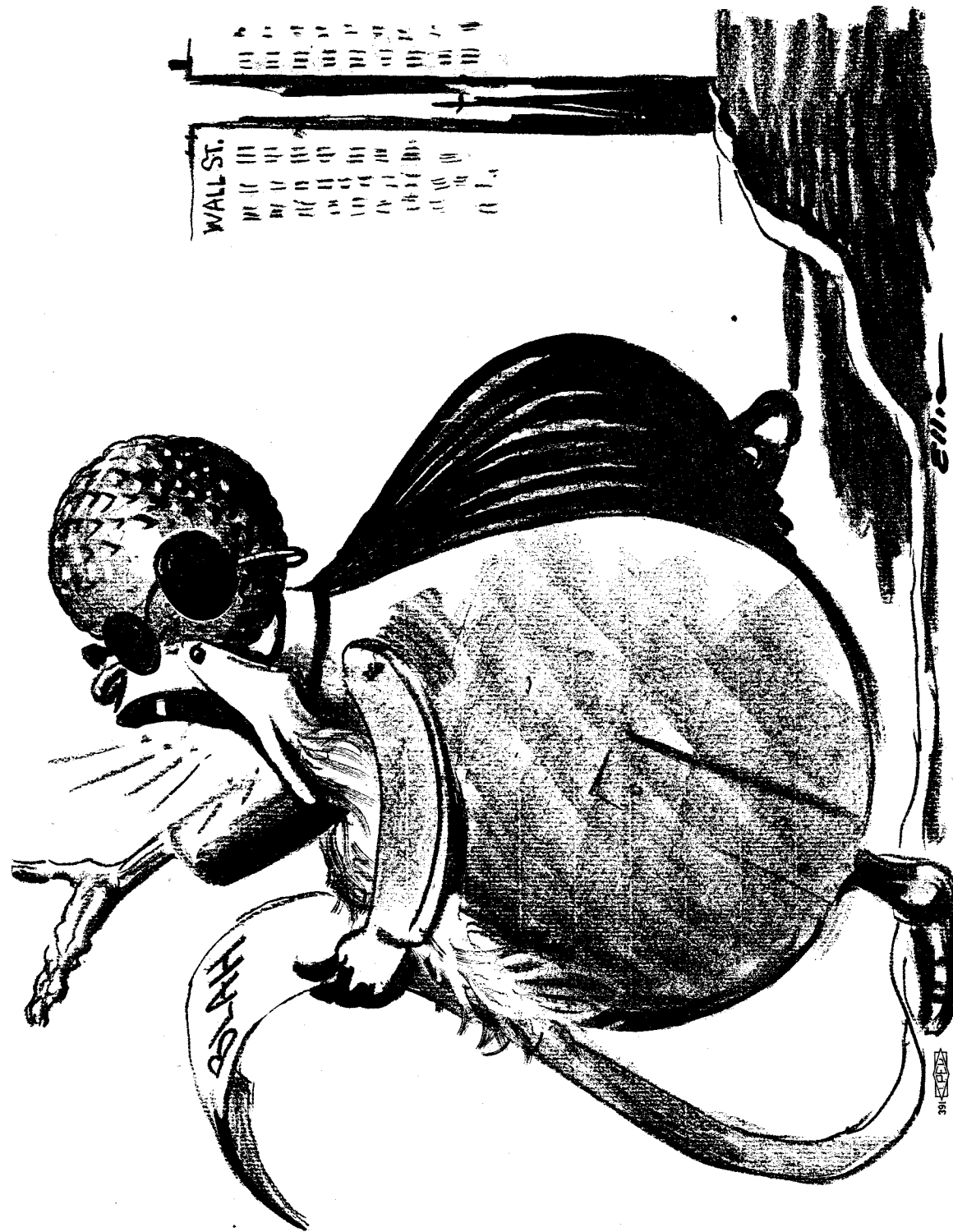
The Background of 1905.

Nineteen hundred and five was the cumulative effect of sporadic and isolated revolutionary outbreaks of preceding years, particularly those beginning with 1900. The landless and poor peasants who were suffering on account of the transition from the feudal to the capitalist methods in agriculture and were groaning under heavy tax burdens, were rising against the landlords, setting fire to estates and expropriating agricultural products and machinery. Between 1900 and 1905, nearly seven hundred outbreaks occurred in different parts of the country, which brought punitive military expeditions to the villages and helped further to widen the breach between the peasantry and czarism.

The sporadic strike movements in the cities were affecting more and more workers. Long hours (twelve to fourteen); low wages (six to eight dollars a month); intolerable conditions of employment, mistreatment by foremen, prohibition of labor unions, drove the workers to resort to strikes, which, however, were usually broken with the aid of the police and Cossacks. It is estimated that during the five years prior to 1905, over 200,000 industrial workers were affected in these strikes. The socialists, though as yet small in numbers and only beginning to gain a foothold among the masses, were utilizing the strikes and the government interference in behalf of the employers in the attempt to turn the economic outbreaks into political demonstrations against the government.

The Police Unions.

To cope with the growing influence of the Socialists among the workers the government decided to permit the formation of benefit organizations and even promised to intercede in their behalf with employers in order to reduce



"Blah!"

The coming Congress will discuss at length all questions—except those of importance to the welfare of the workers!



BLOODY SUNDAY, JANUARY 22, 1905.

The priest Gapon leads the masses to their slaughter on the square before the Winter Palace.

somewhat the working day, raise their wages a bit, and remove some of the objectionable working conditions. These organizations, in fact, were formed under the aegis of the government, and are known in Russian labor history as **Police Unions**.

These "labor unions" were to be the Russian counterpart of the classless unions existing in other West-European countries—namely the Hirsh-Dunker unions of Germany; the Catholic unions of Austria and Belgium, and similar de-revolutionized labor organizations. Instead of yellow unions, as they are known in other countries, the czarist government was going to have them altogether black. Mussolini took a leaf out of Russian history when he formed his fascist labor unions. This, however, is not the only resemblance that his regime bears to the czarist order of old Russia.

Zubatov, the chief of the secret police in Moscow, became the organizer of such unions, in which he succeeded in enrolling large numbers of workers. Siding with the work-

ers on a few occasions in their conflict with the employers, Zubatov gained an influence and for a time proved the efficiency of unions organized under government patronage. During the celebration at the monument of Alexander II. in 1902, Zubatov was able to corral about 50,000 workers.

Under Zubatov's tutelage, similar "labor unions" were organized among the workers of Odessa and Minsk, where renegade Socialists became the willing aides of the Moscow chief spy. Zubatov was particularly anxious to win the Jewish workers who started earlier in forming illegal labor unions. His endeavors among them met with little success from the very start.

Large numbers of workers in Petersburg were later inveigled into joining these police unions. As in Moscow, the Socialists warned the Petersburg workers against joining these organizations, pointing out their true nature and purpose, but some of the immediate results, mostly irrelevant, which they had secured through them, and particularly the right to assemble at their factory clubs to discuss matters

of mutual interest, proved more convincing at the time. It was in these organizations that the priest Gapon, who was later destined to play a historic role, was active in educational and other capacities. Gapon's direct contact with the police was not known then. He was looked upon as a peculiar character with a burning ambition for leadership.

The Russo-Japanese War.

The government had imperialist designs of extending its domains in the Near and Far East. On February 16, 1903, General Kuropatkin said to the future Count Witte: "Our emperor carries around great plans in his head. He wants to take Manchuria, annex Korea and Tibet, occupy Persia, and secure not only Bosphorus but the Dardanelles as well." (Quoted by Professor Pokrovsky from Witte's Memoirs.—A. T.) In 1901 Nicholas informed Kaiser Wilhelm, whom he met in Danzig, that he was preparing to fight Japan. In 1903 he again told Wilhelm about the impending conflict with Japan, but was sure that he would be the one to choose the time.

The concessions of Admiral Bezobrazov on the Yalu river, in which some members of the royal family were interested and which Japan considered as preparatory to the occupation of Korea, were the immediate casus belli. Japan, however, knew of Russia's designs and didn't care to wait till Nicholas would decide when it would be most convenient for him to strike. Japan opened hostilities and found the Russian government prepared only on blue prints, and even those were faulty. Since it has always been the practice of governments to inaugurate a "vigorous foreign policy," i. e., start a war somewhere, when pressed by internal troubles, and since the Russian government was planning to fight Japan some day for the supremacy in the Far East, Japan's ultimatums were not heeded and Russia entered upon a war which contributed a great deal to the Revolution of 1905. Kuropatkin's continuous "orderly" and "strategic" retreats with great losses of killed and wounded, constant lack of ammunition and supplies when needed, graft scandals, quarrels between various military and court cliques, orgies and debauchery among the commanding staff, and reports of peasant and labor disturbances at home, contributed a great deal to the revolutionizing of the soldiers at the front.

The Bourgeoisie and the Revolution.

The war in the Far East helped to expose the inherent weakness of the czarist regime. Not only were the revolutionists hoping for a complete humiliation of the much-advertised Russian military prowess, but even the liberal bourgeoisie was evincing distinct defeatist tendencies. The defeat of the government at the front, it was expected, would undermine its prestige at home and abroad. The objectives of the bourgeoisie included then a weakening of the influence of the feudal aristocracy in the government. This could be achieved by a crushing defeat in the Far East at the hands of Japan and by continuous disturbances at home organized by the revolutionists. The burning of estates by the peasants, the outbreaks in the cities led by workers and students, and even the terrorist acts against high government officials (Ministers Bogolepov, Sypiagin, and Plehve) were applauded by the bourgeoisie. It was

at that time that Milyukov was continually referring to "our friends on the left."

It is claimed (Professor Pokrovsky) that in some cases employers did not object to strikes, particularly if they showed a tendency to develop into political demonstrations, and embarrassed the government. Some employers even helped their workers to tide over during the strikes so that the strikes could be prolonged. The young capitalist bourgeoisie was having visions of an approaching revolution like the revolution of 1848, when the workers would go forth to fight the entrenched feudal aristocracy in their behalf.

The Mensheviks fell a prey to the flirtations of the bourgeoisie with the revolution. The questions of properly evaluating the role of the bourgeoisie during the revolutionary period and of the attitude of the Socialists towards it, were the first important differences which arose between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks after the second Party Congress of 1903, when these factions were formed. When the bourgeois liberals began actively to organize their Zemstvo and other public campaigns in 1904, the Mensheviks proposed that the workers participate in those movements and support the bourgeoisie in its effort to undermine czarism.

The Menshevik "Iskra" wrote then: "When we survey the arena of struggle in Russia, we perceive only two forces: the czarist autocracy and the liberal bourgeoisie which has already constituted itself and is a power to be reckoned with. The laboring masses are divided and can accomplish but little. We do not exist as an independent force and our aim therefore should be to support the other force—the liberal bourgeoisie, to support and encourage it and under no circumstances attempt to scare it with our independent proletarian demands." (Quoted by G. Zinoviev in his "History of the Russian Communist Party." The American Socialists, in thorough Menshevik fashion, have adopted this policy for the United States, and have "justified" it in about the same language.)

The Bolsheviks attacked the proposed policy of self-effacement. To deny the existence of the worker as a moving revolutionary force was considered by Lenin tantamount to a capitulation and turning over of the workers to the service of the bourgeoisie. The Bolsheviks admitted revolutionary aims on the part of the bourgeoisie at that time, but they proposed that the workers utilize them rather than the other way around, as the Mensheviks wanted to do. The Mensheviks never recovered from that original sin and during their later career they sank deeper and deeper in the mire of bourgeois collaboration and disbelief in the creative forces of the proletariat.

"Bloody Sunday."

The year 1905 opened with the Russian armies still retreating "in orderly fashion" in Manchuria, and with the government trying to disguise its autocracy through the liberal (sic!) regime of Prince Sviatopolk-Mirsky who was called to power after a couple of ministers were despatched to their forbears by the bomb route. Mirsky's entrance into the government was advertised as the beginning of a new era—a "Spring" after the cold and dreary Winter under the late but unlamented von Plehve. It was during this "Spring" regime, when the government was supposed to have reformed, and officially foreswore any excesses, that the first



Street Fighting in Moscow, December, 1905. The mounted soldiers are charging the workers' barricades.

act of the revolutionary drama of 1905 took place. Decried by the fate of the Revolution, the workers who were under Gapon's tutelage and government protection, were chosen to be the performers in that first act.

It began with a strike at the Putilov Mills. The strike was conducted by the Society of Factory Workers—the Petersburg police union, with economic demands as the original cause. The leaders of the Society and of the strike who were employed at Putilov's were discharged by the administrators. Sympathetic strikes followed, first in different parts of the Putilov workers and later spreading to the factories until they embraced about 140,000 workers.

It was then that the grandiose plan to present the czar with a petition was put forth. Gapon, sensing a dramatic opportunity for himself, urged this plan upon the masses of striking workers who were getting beyond control. The Socialists tried hard to dissuade the workers from adopting the plan. They warned the workers not to go into the trap which the government was spreading for them. But it was of no avail. Gapon and his lieutenants had the control over the masses. The petition was drawn, in which, in humble and pious language, the Little Father was importuned to take pity on his suffering children and improve their miserable lot. Not being able to stop the proceedings, the Socialists tried to introduce some political demands into the movement upon which they looked with apprehension.

Gapon organized the parade to the Winter Palace in grand style. He got thousands of workers—men, women

and children—to join the procession with church ikons and portraits of the czar carried at the head, attesting to the religious and political reliability of the masses. The parade was set for Sunday, Jan. 22. Gapon claimed that he had notified the Minister Mirsky about the intended presentation of a petition to the czar at the Winter Palace. When the procession reached the square in front of the palace, it was met, not by the Little Father, but by his picked soldiers, who sent a volley of shots into the crowd, with the result that thousands lay killed and wounded on the snow-covered stones, before the masses could realize what had really happened.

The government knew of the proposed manifestation and petition. It knew the contents of the document, which was devoid of any revolutionary sentiments. The petition was full of humility and resignation. It ended as follows:

"These, Lord, are our main needs which we want to call to your attention. Decree and swear to carry them out—and you will make Russia glorious and powerful; you will imprint your name on our hearts and the hearts of our progeny forever. If you will not accept our prayers, we shall die here on this square in front of your palace. We have no place to go to, and there is no purpose in it. We have only two ways, either to liberty and happiness, or to the grave. Point out, Lord, either one and we shall go to it without protest, even if it shall be the way to death. Let our lives be the sacrifice for suffering Russia. We are prepared to make this sacrifice. We shall gladly make it." (Quoted in L. Trotsky's "1905").

The butchery was a clear provocation on the part of the government. The workers were fooled into the undertaking so that the government might administer a "rebuke" which would be remembered by all those who might want to embark on a similar course of action. The murder on Palace Square was the apotheosis of the "Spring" regime. The autocracy bared the claws which it had kept hidden, and served notice on the people that it would brook no opposition, nor even loyal prayers for partial reform. Governor Trepov's orders to the Petersburg garrison "not to be niggardly with bullets" was the defiant answer of the czar to the approaching revolution.

The Revolution Is Born.

Almost two generations of revolutionists have come and gone before January 22, 1905. Many of them have swung from the gallows and still more were buried alive behind prison walls, or were laboring in Siberian mines for having dared to dream about a rising of the people against autocracy. Bloody Sunday opened the flood-gates of the revolution. The fiendish betrayal of the masses on the Palace Square destroyed in the Petersburg workers every vestige of trust in the "Little Father" and his government. They entered the square humble and servile subjects of the czar. Those who remained alive left the Square with their minds cleared of the age-long illusions and with a consuming vengeance in their hearts for the murder of their fellows.

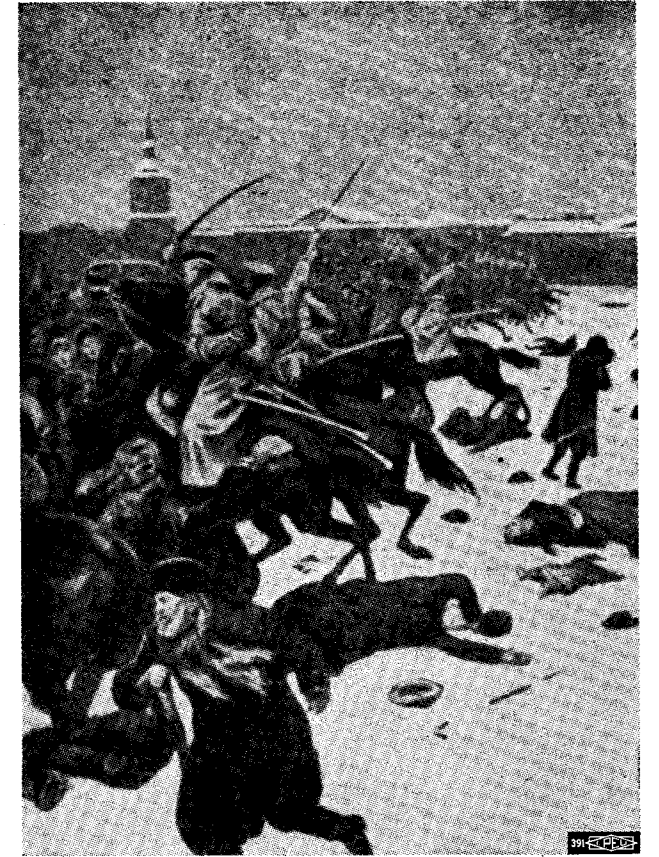
Not only in Petersburg, but in all industrial centers, a revolutionary class began to assert itself, realizing the conditions under which it was living and conscious of its power to alter those conditions. The blood of the murdered Petersburg workers cried out for revenge and action, and the workers everywhere rose in a mighty protest against the crime perpetrated upon their class. During the following

month one hundred and twenty-two cities were in the throes of strikes and political demonstrations of workers.

It was while these events were taking place that the crafty Witte was writing Nicholas to end the war with Japan because of lack of funds, and because "we need the army in Russia to fight our own people." The Moscow workers were none too gloomy when they heard on February 4 that Grand Duke Sergius, the czar's uncle, was blown to bits in front of the Kremlin. Outbreaks were occurring everywhere. The peasants were also rising against the landowners and the government which was squeezing the very lifeblood out of them. In the army, particularly in the fleet, unmistakable signs of revolts were being observed. During the summer, when it looked as though the government had succeeded in arresting the disturbances, the sailors on the battleship "Potemkin" of the Black Sea fleet, rose in revolt and attempted to get the rest of the fleet to follow their example. This rebellion frightened the government, and it made public a proposal of one of its ministers to establish a parliament with consultative powers to which only representatives of the capitalists and landowners could be elected. This proposal for a parliament was met with derision everywhere and nothing came of it. The middle classes, particularly the professionals—teachers, lawyers, office workers, engineers, etc., were also being drawn into the welter of the revolution. Organizations of these elements were being formed and national conventions were held in which sympathies with the aims of the revolution were expressed. The revolution was beginning to penetrate all sections of the population. While it was broadening out it was also striking its roots deeper into the social fabric.

Revolutionary Theory and Revolutionary Action.

The revolution was marching in seven league boots. The Social-Democratic party was the leading political factor in the revolution. The Socialist-Revolutionists had little influence among the workers. Among the Social-Democrats the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions, though in the same Party, were developing different ideas regarding the various problems affecting the revolution. The Mensheviks were in control of the Central Committee of the Party. Immediately after January 22, the Bolsheviks began to demand the convocation of a Party congress to analyze what had happened and chart of the course for future actions. The Mensheviks refused and the Bolsheviks issued a call for a congress which was held in London. No Menshevik delegates came to the Congress, this faction having called a conference of its own people in Geneva. Since the majority of the Party organizations were represented at the London Congress it was considered as a regular Party Congress. The Mensheviks never accepted that. This was really the first Bolshevik Congress at which a homogeneous group gathered to evaluate the changes in the conditions of the country and the ideology of the workers. It was the most significant congress in the history of the Party. It laid the foundation for the most important policies, which later marked the Bolsheviks as a distinct group in the Socialist movement. Most of the best-known Bolshevik leaders participated at this Congress—Lenin, Kamenev, Rykov, Lunarcharsky, Krassin, Litvinov, Vorovsky and others were there to formulate the policies which not only were carried out during the 1905 revolution,



The revolting workers are massacred by soldiers of the Czar.

but were at the basis of the revolutionary activity of the Bolsheviks up to and during 1917.

While the Mensheviks were already getting scared that the revolution was going a bit too fast, the Bolsheviks were boldly and optimistically looking forward to the natural unfolding of the revolution in which the Russian workers were destined to cover themselves with glory. It was at this Congress that the Lenin formulation of the dictatorship of the workers and peasants was adopted.

Only a chance discussion of democracy took place at the previous Congress. This discussion became historic, because Plekhanov sided with Lenin in the analysis of the attitude of the proletariat toward democracy. A Bolshevik delegate, Pasadovsky, raised the following question while some editorial changes of the program were being adopted: "Shall our future policy be subordinated to this or that fundamental democratic principle, or shall all democratic principles be subordinated entirely to the advantage of our Party," and continued: "I am for the latter position. There is no democratic principle which shouldn't be subordinated to the welfare of the Party." Plekhanov replied by expressing solidarity with Pasadovsky's position. It is worth while quoting his opinion somewhat at length on this very impor-



The Czar sends his Cossacks into the village.

tant point. It would be well for our American Socialists who are enamoured of democracy to read carefully the following lines:

"Every given democratic principle," said Plekhanov, "must be considered not as an isolated proposition, but in relation to that principle which can be called the fundamental principle of democracy—*salus populi suprema lex*—(the welfare of the people is the supreme law). Translated into the language of a revolutionist it means that the success of the revolution is the supreme law. If it were necessary for the sake of the revolution temporarily to limit the operations of this or that democratic principle, it would be

criminal to question such limitations. My personal view is that even the principle of universal suffrage can be looked upon from the democratic principle just enunciated by me. It can be hypothetically conceived that we, social-democrats, may declare against universal suffrage. The bourgeoisie of the Italian republics sometimes denied political rights to members of the nobility. The revolutionary proletariat could limit the rights of the upper classes in the same way as the upper classes limited its rights. The worthiness of such a measure could be considered entirely from the rule—*salus revoeutiae suprema lex*."

The draft program carried a provision for the election

of parliament every two years. In discussing this provision in connection with the whole question of democracy, Plekhanov said: "The same point of view should prevail regarding the question of the duration of parliament. If the people, imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm, elected a very good parliament, it would be our duty to make it a long parliament. If, on the other hand, the elections proved unfavorable we should try to disperse it, not within two years, but within two weeks." (Quoted from Report of Second Congress of the Russian Communist Party.)

These golden words, coming from the father of Russian Marxism, were enthusiastically acclaimed by Lenin and his followers, who left this Congress nick-named "Bolsheviks." When Zinoviev writes about this period of Russian Party history, he cannot refrain from speaking about the "Bolshevik Plekhanov."

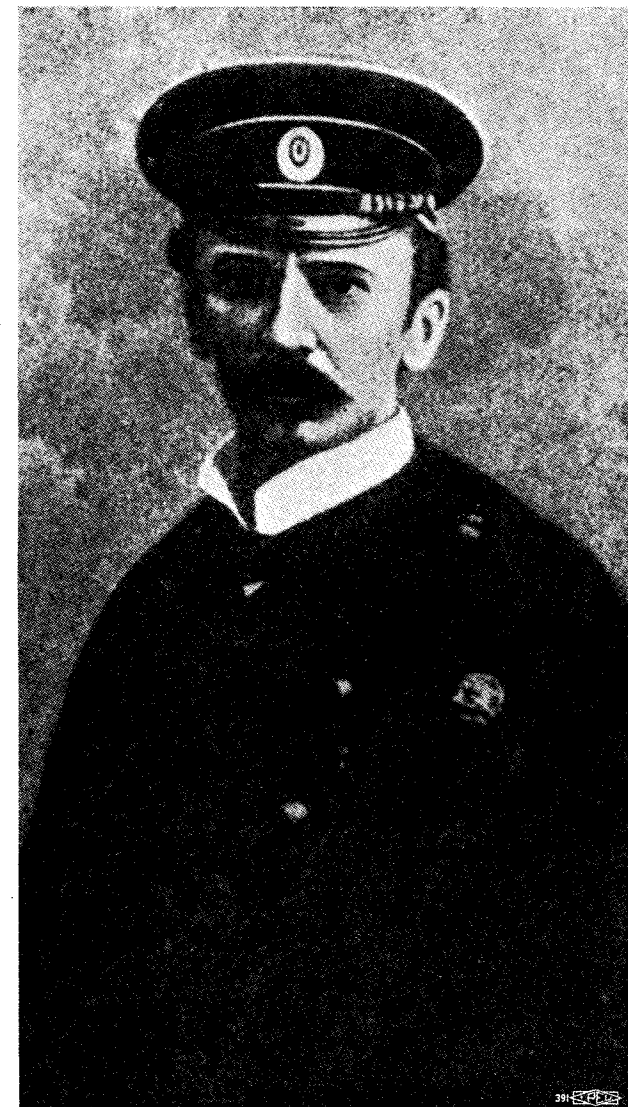
The Third Congress met during the Revolution. It not only formulated the theory of workers' and peasants' dictatorship, but raised the slogan for an armed uprising as the only means of carrying the revolution to a favorable conclusion. The relation to the existing government on the eve of its overthrow, the attitude towards the provisional government which would come in its place, and toward the bourgeoisie, were among the important policies adopted at this Congress which was sitting as a revolutionary war council.

The General Strike.

The General Strike in October was the natural outcome of the strike movement which was gaining momentum during the year. The political character of these strikes became their dominant feature and the workers began to look upon the isolated stoppages as preludes to greater demonstrations.

A general strike was originally contemplated for January, 1906, when the so-called Bulygin Duma, referred to above, was to convene. The railway workers of the Moscow district began to strike October 20, with a view to testing their strength. Other districts followed. In the meantime, demands for the 8 hour day, amnesty for political prisoners, and civil liberties were being advanced. The strikes began to spread and to affect not only the railway workers all over the country, but other industries as well. Within one week the strike became general. Economic life was paralyzed as a result in all industrial centers. After trying to liquidate the strike by the force of arms in several cities, the government admitted its defeat and "granted," on October 30, a constitution with the promise to convene a parliament. Although the civil liberties granted in the Manifesto remained on paper, and the Duma was a restricted legislative assembly, the capitulation of the government proved the power of the general strike employed for political purposes.

The liberal bourgeoisie declared itself completely satisfied with the October Manifesto. They wanted a share in the government and the constitution gave them that. They were anxious to see the strike liquidated. In this they were supported by the Mensheviks and some labor unions who were afraid that the strike might go "too far," and endanger its achievements. The Bolsheviks insisted on the continuation of the struggle and counselled further preparations as the enemy was not entirely beaten. Within three days of the calling off of the strike, the government, in league with



LIEUTENANT PETER SCHMIDT.
Leader of the mutiny of the Russian sailors in Odessa in 1905.
Executed on March 6, 1906.

the so-called Black Hundreds organized a come-back. The counter-revolution stalked through the land in the form of Jewish pogroms organized simultaneously in over 100 cities. Playing upon the religious prejudices of the ignorant and superstitious people, hired bands of criminal elements proceeded under police protection to pillage and massacre Jews, aiming in this manner to terrorize the population. Under the cover of these instigated disturbances the government was preparing to liquidate the revolution.

The Soviet is Formed.

While the general strike marked an epoch not only of the Russian Revolution but of the international labor movement as well, it fell on a by-product of this strike to become the single outstanding contribution of the revolution. When the general strike was spreading in Petersburg it became evident that a body would have, to be formed

to take charge of the conduct of the strike and exercise other functions which the exigencies of the moment might demand. There were two revolutionary parties which were appealing to the laboring masses:—the Social-Democratic and the Social-Revolutionary. In addition, the first was divided into two distinct groups which to all intents and purposes were functioning as separate parties. No single political group could then claim complete control, though the Bolsheviks were the most active driving force. It was also thought advisable that the workers directly from the shops and factories be drawn into the administration of the strike. It was then that the idea of a delegated body of workers representing all striking establishments was formulated. Between October 23 and 26 about forty delegates were chosen who assembled in the Technological Institute and constituted themselves the **Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies**. The basis of representation was one deputy to every 500 workers. The Soviet elected an Executive Committee upon which the revolutionary political parties were represented.

The first meeting of the Soviet issued a manifesto in which it called upon all workers to stop work and elect delegates to the Soviet. "The working-class chose the final powerful weapon of the international labor movement—the general strike," the manifesto informed the workers after reciting the reasons for the strike. It also warned the workers that "in the immediate future Russia will witness decisive events that will determine the fate of the workers for many years. United in our common Soviet we must be prepared to meet these demands." Although less than a year had passed since Bloody Sunday, the workers had learned to speak a different language than they used in January under Gapon. Not only the industrial workers, but clerks, teachers, engineers and other professionals were represented in the Soviet. The Soviet became the center of all strike activities. Although within the framework of the Czarist regime, the Soviet became the labor parliament, and the workers began to look upon it as their class government. It not only dealt with problems arising within the labor movement and conducted the strike, but it became the spokesman of the workers in their relation with the outside world. Following the Petersburg example, other industrial centers organized Soviets which took charge of the strike situation.

When the Czar issued his manifesto on October 30, the Petersburg Soviet countered with a declaration: "The workers don't want the knout even though wrapped in a constitution." The Soviet served notice on the government that only its complete destruction would satisfy the workers. The Soviet continued to function when the counter-revolution raised its head. The defeat of a provoked uprising of the Kronstadt sailors, the state of siege declared in Poland, and in many industrial centers, was met by the declaration of another strike on November 13. Notwithstanding that it was only two weeks after the general stoppage, the workers answered the call of the Soviet, and the strike which lasted seven days forced the government to recall the court-martial proceedings against the revolutionary Kronstadt sailors.

On December 8 the Chairman of the Soviet, Chrustalev-Nosar was arrested. The Soviet continued to carry on under the leadership of the Presidium of three delegates, one of whom was Trotsky. It was only after the arrest of

the Chairman, that the Soviet began to consider decisive action. In a resolution dealing with Nosar's arrest, the Soviet declared in favor of continuing and "to prepare for armed insurrection." By this time the revolution was already at a low ebb.

The Petersburg workers had gone through two general strikes within three weeks and the unsuccessful attempt to establish the 8 hour day by revolutionary means after the November strike, had further dissipated the energies of the workers. The decision to prepare for an armed uprising came too late. Within a week after the Chairman's arrest, the government considered itself strong enough to order the arrest of the entire Soviet. The defeat of the Moscow uprising gave the government courage to take this step in Petersburg.

The Petersburg Soviet existed fifty days, from October 26 to December 16, and during this time the government was forced to allow it to function openly in one of the public buildings. The Soviet was representative of the entire laboring population of Petersburg. It consisted of 562 delegates and represented over 200,000 workers. The delegates came from 147 factories, 34 shops, and 16 trade-unions. Representatives of the Social-Democrats and Socialist-Revolutionists served on the Executive Committee of the Soviet. The Soviet published an organ—the "Izvestia"—which reported all activities and proceedings of the Soviet.

The Moscow Uprising.

The Moscow Soviet was led by the Bolsheviks, though the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionists were represented there. Following the third Congress of the Party described above, the Moscow Bolsheviks developed an energetic campaign for a more resolute policy than was practiced in Petersburg. Armed insurrection as a means of the revolutionary struggle was advocated among the workers and armed units were formed in different factories under the supervision of the Bolsheviks. As the counter-revolution was spreading, the Moscow Soviet called for a political strike on December 7 "aiming to develop it into an armed uprising." As the Moscow garrison was unreliable, a loyal Guard regiment was sent from Petersburg as a punitive expedition to clear the city of revolutionists. Troops were brought from other cities. The Moscow workers accepted the challenge, and for ten days they fought like lions an enemy far superior in numbers, ammunition and training. The instructions of the military commanders to their soldiers were not to arrest any revolutionists but to kill them on sight. When a bomb was thrown from some house into a detachment of soldiers, orders came to fire the house, irrespective of the fact that there were women and children and others who may have had no relation to the uprising. One proletarian section, Presnia, particularly distinguished itself. Barricading themselves in the yards of the Prochorov textile factory the small armed force held the Guard regiment for several days. When they realized that they would have to give up fighting, they retreated in orderly fashion and, covered by the sympathetic workers, were soon outside of the environs of Moscow.

The military expedition was successful in putting down the uprising. Not only the government but the bourgeoisie breathed freely. The Moscow uprising gave them the greatest scare. If they had any sympathy for the revolution prior to the December uprising, they quickly parted with



it, and were grateful to the government for its determined action in Moscow. And Plekhanov, too, joined the chorus by declaring that "this (the defeat) was not difficult to foresee and therefore there should not have been a resort to arms." Lenin, on the contrary considered the Moscow uprising as a highly important achievement of the revolution. He recalled Marx' letters to Kugelmann written during the French Commune in which the latter glorified the "storming of the heavens" by the Paris workers.

The Lessons of 1905.

If the Russian workers were born as a revolutionary class in Petersburg, it was in Moscow that they came of age. The Russian Revolution began after Bloody Sunday: it reached its highest form during the December uprising in Moscow. During 1905 the Russian working-class had run the whole gamut of revolutionary action. The Mensheviks considered the defeat of the 1905 Revolution as irreparable. They counselled new methods, peaceful and democratic, to avoid sacrifices in the future. They proposed

the liquidation of the underground movement and favored coalition with the bourgeoisie which was going to function within the framework of the October constitution. The Bolsheviks on the other hand were not down-hearted. They counted the losses during the counter-revolution. They saw numerous mistakes which were made, but they realised that during the revolution, during the "storming of the heavens," the Russian workers became conscious as a revolutionary class which was destined to assert its revolutionary will in Russia. While the Mensheviks were engaged in funeral rites over the revolution, the Bolsheviks maintained that Czarism won only a Pyrrhic victory; that the revolution only retreated to reorganize its broken lines and to prepare itself for new action when the opportune moment arrived. Instead of calling off the struggle, as the Mensheviks proposed, the Bolsheviks threw into the teeth of the government the defiant declaration that the revolution had only begun, and that it would continue until every vestige of autocracy and capitalism was destroyed. The Bolsheviks put themselves at the head of all those elements of the

working-class who had faith in the living forces of the revolution, notwithstanding the defeats and even temporary demoralization.

During the years of reaction which followed (1906-1917), the Bolsheviks were studying every phase of the revolutionary occurrences of 1905. All the major policies and tactics which were utilized during the stormy days of 1917, were in the main based on the experiences of 1905.

The old revolutionary Plekhanov formula stated by him ten years before 1905 that "the Russian Revolution will win as a workers' revolution or it will not win at all," was improved by the Bolshevik amendment, including the peasants as a factor in the Revolution. The tremendous revolutionary effect of the peasant uprisings did not contribute as much as they might have to the 1905 revolution because they were isolated and apart from the occurrences in the cities. The Bolsheviks saw the need for a link between the two basic forces of the revolution—the exploited workers and peasants, if the revolution was to be victorious.

The slogan "All Power to the Soviets" raised by the Bolsheviks immediately after the March, 1917, revolution, was the natural result of the experiences with the Soviets which came into being during the general strike of 1905.

The betrayal of the 1905 revolution by the liberal bourgeoisie taught the Russian workers the lesson to share the revolution only with the peasants—their natural allies. Even Kautsky, when he was still a Marxist, wrote in "The Road to Power" in 1909—a work inspired by the 1905 revolution, in favor of the Bolshevik attitude towards the bourgeoisie.

He was sure that coalition with the bourgeoisie "can only compromise a proletarian party and confuse and split the working-class." Kautsky, who then still knew his Marx and Engels, referred to the authority of the founders of scientific socialism to prove his contention. "However willing Marx and Engels were to utilize the differences between capitalist parties towards the furtherance of proletarian purposes, and however they were opposed to the expression 'reactionary mass' they have, nevertheless, coined the phrase 'dictatorship of the proletariat' which Engels defended shortly before his death in 1891, as expressing the fact that only through a purely proletarian political domination can the working-class exercise its political power." (Quoted from A. M. Simon's translation of "The Road to Power." In his translation Simons rendered the word 'Diktatur' into 'dictation' instead of 'dictatorship.' A. T.).

The attitude toward democracy which Plekhanov formulated yet in 1902 and which we quoted above, the Bolsheviks carried out in toto. Following Plekhanov's advice, they sent the Constituent Assembly, which included Plekhanov's followers, home "because the election proved unfavorable" to the interests of the revolution, and as Plekhanov said: "Salus reipublice suprema lex."

The armed attempt to seize power on November 7, 1917, proved successful, because the Bolsheviks had the armed uprising of December, 1905, as an example.

The revolution of 1905 made the victorious revolution of 1917 possible, for as Lenin said: "1905 was the general rehearsal for 1917."

Wall Street's Congress Convenes

By J. Louis Engdahl

CONGRESS assembles again this month—convincing spectacle of the complete bankruptcy of even the forms of capitalist parliamentarism in this country. Senators and representatives are returning to Washington, D. C., with a few making the journey for the first time, not because any great issue impends, even for the profit class, but because the United States constitution, adopted September 17, 1787, more than a century and a quarter ago, declared:

"The congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day."

The day has never been changed. The halo of superlative reverence thrown about the two sacred documents—the declaration of independence and the constitution—forbids that. American "democracy" is supposed to stand out unrivaled "for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," among all the forms that the capitalist dictatorship takes anywhere. No ruling class anywhere seeks so assiduously to inculcate this idea, "that all men are created equal," in the minds of the masses as does the American brand of profit takers. And no master class has been so successful in saturating the mind of a subject class with this ideology that governments derive "their just power from the consent of the governed," as the big business interests that guide the

governing power of the United States—today's richest imperialist nation.

Worship of "Democracy."

America so worships its "democracy" that few, except revolutionaries, ever rise to question it. It is accepted by the millions, mentally poisoned by capitalist class propaganda, who voted so overwhelmingly last year for continuing Cal Coolidge in the White House. There has been only scattered resentment, here and there, especially in some hard-hit farming communities, that this congress has not been called into session until thirteen months after its election. For such is the belief, deep rooted and well-nigh universal, in the United States, that congress can and will exercise a remedial influence on the side of the oppressed, that even radical elements look to it hopefully in their despair. The socialists, in the Albany trial for the ousting of their legislators from the New York state legislature, announced their preference for the American as against the Soviet form of government.

It is this fact, that American capitalism stands unchallenged by any great organized power of workers and farmers, that made it possible for President Coolidge to announce last year that there would be no special session of congress just elected, that it would not convene until "the

first Monday in December, 1925." This is an indication of the growing power of the executive department of the government at the expense of its legislative wing.

To be sure there was a hangover session of the old congress, that met in the December after the November in which the present congress was elected. It lived until the president was inaugurated last March 4; a date that does come in for some discussion. March weather isn't good for the visiting hosts of politicians and their friends in Washington, so sage discussions are carried on for a change to a balmy month. Washington business men, notably hotel proprietors, will succeed in this demand in time.

While Other Governments Fall.

While this congress, therefore, has been sitting around for more than a year, ready to windjam on any subject allowed, a whole epoch has swept past in European politics. Great Britain has gone all the way from labor party rule under MacDonald to Baldwin's tory government; in France, the Herriot government that recognized the Union of Soviet Republics, is displaced by succeeding governments until another Painleve cabinet comes to juggle frantically with the falling franc and growing colonial wars; while in Germany the "socialist" Ebert is followed as president by the militarist and monarchist, Von Hindenburg. This has been a year of swing from a short-lived era of democratic pacifism to a period of bold reaction. This year has seen governments in Europe come and go, new elections held or demanded, while in Germany today new clamors arise for the dissolution of the reichstag, to be followed by a new appeal to "the people," on the issue of Germany's acceptance of the Locarno "security pact."

Congress in the United States is not permitted the enjoyment of this participation in government. Under the dollar slogan of "less government in business, and more business in government," it is told that the less it meets to discuss the day's issues, the better. This while the disciple of big business, Charles G. Dawes, vice-president, as head of the senate, tours the country in the demand that the talking rights of senators be curtailed. Dawes demands less talk and more efficiency in doing the bidding of business. In the mind of the Chicago banker that is the prime issue to come before the senate.

The Third Wheel of the Chariot.

It is not because there are no vital problems for the American capitalist class to solve that no special sessions of congress are called. It is rather because congress has ceased to function as a vital part of the capitalist state. It is an almost useless third wheel on capitalism's chariot. Big business puts its chief reliance, not on the legislative branch of the government, but on the executive and the judicial branches. It is safely entrenched with the strike-breaker, Coolidge, as president, and William Howard Taft, the arch-reactionary, as chief justice of the United States supreme court, dominating the whole American judicial system. The government by "checks and balances" has resulted in a balance being struck between court room and executive mansion, with congress effectively checkmated.

Even a cursory analysis of the theory of government by "checks and balances," with the gradual evolution in its workings, must convince growing masses of workers and poor farmers that they live under a cleverly constituted

tyranny. In spite of all the fine phrases of both the declaration of independence and the constitution, the so-called "fathers" of America had a deep-rooted distrust of "the people." Every possible measure to curb the popular will was wheeled into action and many of these continue to the present day, some of them with improvements.

It is not an accident that the present congress gathers thirteen months after its election. All this was carefully provided for back in the eighteenth century. Dollar statesmen, through the passage of time, must be allowed to forget promises to the multitudes made during the heat and fervor of the election campaigns. No echoes of popular applause for radical utterances must be allowed to enter the parliamentary hall. There must even be time for dickerings with a Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., chosen to his father's senate seat, so that no stone may be left unturned to ease his way into the regular republican ranks.

But even a congress so tempered against the slightest influence of the multitudes is not considered safe. When the British house of commons passes a law, it goes on the statute books. But the acts of the United States congress, after passage by both houses, must be sent from Capitol Hill to the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, where stands the White House, for the approval or veto of the president. Coolidge has often used this check upon congress. To be sure, congress has several times come back and wiped out the presidential veto, with the required number of votes, but this is usually difficult. The president thus becomes a powerful legislative factor in spite of the fact that he is only supposed to be an executive officer of the government. On the other hand, if the president is not to the liking of congress, it can refuse to enact his recommendations into law, another balance and check. But even after both the president and congress have finally managed to agree on some bit of legislation, there stands the judiciary with the power to declare it "unconstitutional." Thus congress may pass legislation in response to, or as a sop to the labor constituencies of its members, knowing full well that it will be outlawed by the courts. Two recent notable instances are found in the fate that has been meted out to the women's eight-hour law and the anti-child labor amendment. The U. S. supreme court has developed into a most excellent check on congress; in fact, with its majority vote of five to four, one member may assume a dictatorial power exercised by no other individual in any capitalist government anywhere. It was, therefore, quite necessary that a man of the reactionary type of Taft, who had been defeated overwhelmingly for the presidency in 1912, should be elevated to the high position of head justice of the exploiters' most important assembly. No Mussolini, seeking to entrench his fascist power, could desire a class government more suited to his purposes. It has not mattered, whether democrats or republicans were in office, the process of strengthening the grip of the powerful few upon the government has proceeded rapidly.

The Dictatorship of Capitalism.

Workers and farmers in America, in spite of intensive "Americanism" campaigns are beginning to realize that they are confronted with a class government, that they can expect no quarter from this capitalist dictatorship. As that realization grows, the sham of "democracy" must fall away. The viewpoint of Coolidge is openly stated to be, and it will be his position during the sessions of this congress,

that he is out for the interests of big business and he doesn't care who knows it. It is certain that the wealth producers will not be compelled to strain their eyesight in the days ahead to see that Coolidge is the president of the wealth takers. Coolidge, as the nation's chief executive, in whom an increasing degree of power is being lodged, feels the responsibility of administering that power on behalf of his big-business backing, and he is not backward, and will continue to be less backward about saying so. One witty paragrapher was not far wrong when he wrote that Coolidge is merely submitting a message to congress to give the senators and representatives something to talk about.

Congress may protest, feebly or loudly. But it will do little good. Coolidge, as president, has little responsibility to congress. He submits his message to it. The writing of that message is now receiving more attention in the profit press than all the goings and comings of all the senators and representatives. Coolidge speaks for the republican administration.

If congress doesn't like what Coolidge does, it cannot overthrow his cabinet, which is responsible only to Coolidge. No Coolidge cabinet member will go before congress to account for his stewardship. If congress wants information regarding the internal affairs of any department, then Coolidge's cabinet member can refuse to give this information, charging it would be "against the welfare of the government." Through the use of the espionage act, Postmaster-General Burleson, in the Wilson cabinet, beat down all dissenting opinion on the war, and congress looked on helpless, if it did not applaud. Caillaux lost his job as finance minister of France when he was unable to negotiate the proper agreement for the payment of debts owing to the United States. But congress may override Coolidge's veto repeatedly, or bring the gravest charges against his cabinet members, as in the case of the Teapot Dome oil scandal, but the Coolidge republican administration goes on just the same. A Fall, a Denby, or a Daugherty may be dropped overboard, to lighten the load of public displeasure and make the "dear people" believe that something has been accomplished, but it is not written in the law of the land that even this concession is necessary.

Promote Unity for Wall Street.

Coolidge is evidently trying to promote unity in the republican party, in order to avoid some of the disastrous calamities that befell some of his recommendations in the last congress. Even entrenched power dislikes being assailed. Coolidge, therefore, is having numerous conferences. He has talked with Nicholas Longworth, from Cincinnati, son-in-law of the late President Roosevelt, but a republican politician par excellence in his own right. He is scheduled to be speaker of the house when it is organized. Coolidge also confers frequently with the obstreperous Senator Borah, of Idaho, who typifies another anomaly in the national political headquarters of the capitalist state.

Senator Borah is head of the powerful foreign relations committee of the senate, and as such he is heartily in favor of the recognition of the Soviet Union. The republican administration from the days of Harding and through the Coolidge regime has been officially through its two secretaries of state, Hughes and Kellogg, bitterly opposed. It is claimed that Coolidge, in order to win support of some republican indus-

trialists, who find a mouthpiece in Borah, Raymond Robbins, and men of their type, pledged himself to send a mission to Soviet Russia if elected. Whether the visit of Governor Goodrich, of Indiana, and the recent tour of investigation of Russian conditions by Colonel William N. Haskell, U. S. A., a right hand man of Herbert Hoover, secretary of commerce, have anything to do with carrying out this pledge, the future will reveal. Soviet trade with the United States is rapidly increasing and the question of recognition will be an issue before the next congress. It will come up in a manner much different than in the last congress, where the late Samuel Gompers, as head of the American Federation of Labor, and with energetic support from a selected assortment of renegade "socialists," made up the chief opposition in hearings before Borah's committee. The A. F. of L. officialdom has not changed in its hostility, but Green will not be able to make it effective, as Gompers succeeded in doing to some extent.

The Coolidge-Borah differences on Soviet recognition, instead of widening the breach between the two, can easily help bring them together. It is the basis for trading. Borah is against the world court, an extremist in demanding payment of the war debts, and he must get concessions for the western farmers, in order to maintain a face before his constituents and get their votes. Above all, Borah is a "politician," which means that he is willing to concede on something he doesn't want, to get something he desires very much.

All Eyes on 1926.

Successful political trades are now very important since the 1926 congressional elections are rapidly approaching and the harvest of votes must again be gathered in. In fact, it has been repeatedly pointed out that the presidential message to congress, now being written, has its eye not so much on the senate and house of representatives, but on next November's ballot boxes. In the words of an authoritative Washington correspondent, the message will be the basis on which "the administration will ask for a vote of confidence in the congressional election next year."

Equally the president's message, therefore, and every act of this congress becomes the basis for an attack by class conscious workers and farmers in their war against this Wall Street government that schemes so carefully, through the Coolidge administration, to maintain itself in power.

Fighting the Coal Miners.

It was no accident that the above correspondent, when he listed nine principal points to be covered by the Coolidge message, put "The creation of machinery for dealing with strikes of coal miners," as the ninth and last. It is a fair indication of the degree of contempt with which the ruling class looks upon the workers. There will be little attempt in this congress to placate the workers; not much additional defense is felt to be necessary by the capitalists against the workers. To be sure, legislation may be offered in an effort to outlaw strikes of coal miners. But the indications are that Secretary of Labor Davis, the Pittsburgh multi-millionaire banker and mine owner, will content himself with urging legislation against "foreign-born workers" who make up seven-tenths of the mine workers and six-tenths of the

steel workers, the two basic industries in which Pittsburgh is most interested. Peace-time sedition legislation will no doubt also be urged by the same source against the revolutionary press, especially those publications appearing in foreign languages. It is only at this point that the A. F. of L. clashes vitally with the capitalist state; the recent Atlantic City convention declaring that the governmental attacks on the foreign-born was an effort to crush the labor unions. Thanks to the left wing, organized labor is learning this important lesson.

Any additional legislation against the anthracite strikers is really not necessary. There is enough now for all purposes. Coolidge's "Hands Off!" policy is dictated by the big capitalists, chief among them being John Hays Hammond, who want to handle the situation themselves, at least for the time being. The political office boy in the White House will be called on when needed.

Coolidge did raise a whimper against wage cuts in the textile industry of his native New England, where his campaign manager, the mill baron, Butler, is the dominating power. Coolidge thought it bad politics. But Butler thought it good business. So one cut follows another. There is no indication that "Cautious Cal" will mention this subject in his forthcoming message, nor the slightest symptom that congress will concern itself with this matter, although it is the outstanding problem confronting labor today.

Acquiesce in Greater Mergers.

This congress may become historic in that no voice will be raised against the era of greater mergers, recording the bitter cry of a middle class facing gradual extermination. Coolidge rule has approved consolidations in the packing and other industries, and congress will favor the merging of all railroads into a few large systems. This proposition catches the well-to-do farmers with the promise that consolidations will result in lower rates. Old-party "progressive" politicians, like Sen. Cummins, of Iowa, chairman of the senate interstate commerce commission, who formerly appeared as militant battlers against monopoly, are now reconciled to what the development of capitalism offers them. LaFollette, Jr., is said to have deserted his father's demand for government ownership. The only voice against the trusts that can be heard comes from those trade union officials who refuse to industrialize their organizations through amalgamation and thus develop strength to overcome new economic conditions, thinking instead to force employers into line through threats of congressional "investigations." The bakery, textile and telephone workers, among others, appeared in this pitiful role at the last A. F. of L. convention.

Thus the workers will be caught between the scissors of growing monopolies on the one hand, financially and organizationally able to carry on the most bitter warfare against their workers, and on the other the eager capitalist state, straining at the leash in its readiness to do the bidding of the exploiters in the war on labor.

Something for the Public.

With congress as its forum, the Coolidge crowd will do its best to propagandize the public into believing that the administration's "economy measures," resulting in reduced taxation, will benefit everybody. It will be good "campaign stuff." Reduction of taxation has always been one of the prize lines of the old-party orator. Instead of the

stump, Coolidge now heralds it through the radio. The Workers Communist Party, however, opens the eyes of labor to the fact that this is all camouflage for shifting the tax burden more effectively and completely from the owning class to the working class.

While capitalist rule in Washington feels no effort necessary to appease the workers in industry, the same cannot be said of the farmers. The plundered irrigation farmers of the far west are up in arms, it being declared that the reclamation policy of Secretary of Agriculture Jardine is bringing financial ruin on thousands of hard-pressed settlers. The grain farmers of the near northwest never cease in their complaints against the board of trade bandits in the big cities; while the cotton growers of the south now join in with the charge that government officials have actually aided the cotton speculators, through government reports on the cotton crop, to plunder them to the extent of a quarter of a million dollars. Add to this the reports coming from Georgia that 1,000,000 farmers there are facing starvation as the result of crop failures, and it is easy to understand why the administration at Washington concerns itself a little with the agricultural situation. But the "farm relief" measures offered tend to be the time-worn propositions that aid the small bankers and little business men in the farming communities, and not the lowest strata of the farm population that carries the heavy burden of suffering. Such measures as are offered, will be to fool the farmers and not to help them.

Nobody to Make the Fight.

No actual fight will be made for the workers and poor farmers in this congress because there is no one there to do the fighting. Representative Victor L. Berger, the Milwaukee "socialist" will be there, to be sure. But he will spend his time telling his fellow republicans and democrats that he has absolutely nothing in common with the Communists. Florello H. LaGuardia, the New York city republican, elected on the "socialist" ticket under the LaFollette banner, will spend his time arguing that he is not a "socialist." Three farmer-laborites, O. J. Kval, William L. Cares and Knud Wofald, all in the house of representatives, come from Minnesota, where the farmer-labor officialdom seeks continually to divorce the movement from all class-struggle actions. It followed LaFollette. It may do worse. All the others are democrats and republicans. The LaFollette bloc has drifted back into the republican camp, while the presence of any other "insurgents" of days gone by, passes unnoticed.

The senate has one farmer-laborite, Dr. Hendrik Shipsted, the St. Paul dentist. The former Non-partisan League farmer, Lynn J. Frazier, passes as a republican from North Dakota. So will LaFollette, Jr., and others who flirted with the third party movement last year.

One must not forget the forlorn-looking lobbyists of the American Federation of Labor, hovering about the cloak rooms for a word or two with this senator or that representative. In this connection one finds an item in the annual report of the A. F. of L. as follows:

"Legislative expenses, including salaries and traveling expenses of three legislative committeemen: W. C. Roberts, Edward F. McGrady and Edgar Wallace, \$14,986.35."

Money thrown away. "Bill" Roberts, the chief lobbyist, was formerly "labor editor" of Hearst's Chicago Herald-Examiner until, during the newspaper strike of 1912, that

started in the Hearst plant, this Roberts was ruled off the floor of the Chicago Federation of Labor. That is Gompers' non-partisan political action at work. A pitiful picture! In this congress, without Gompers, more so than ever.

The democrats will oppose the republicans only for the sake of producing 1926 campaign material. Thus the republicans plan to cut taxes \$350,000,000.00 while the democrats propose to make the cut a clean half billion. The democrats are in the position of being on the outside looking in, thus being able to promise almost anything to get in. Once in, their promises will vanish into air. On the question of the world court and other measures, Coolidge will get as much support from the democrats as from the republicans, if not more.

The Calm Before the Storm.

Aside from a few flurries, therefore, everything will be calm in this session of congress; almost as the recent annual convention of the American Federation of Labor on Steeplechase Pier, Atlantic City. The class cry of America's oppressed will not be heard, through labor's class spokesmen, in this stagnating appendix of Wall Street's highly effective capitalist state. But the events that there transpire must speed the crystallization of sentiment for independent class political action through a Labor Party.

While this congress is in session the working class attack must be carried on from the outside, in the trade unions, through the farmers' organizations, wherever the exploited can be brought together.

The A. F. of L. and World Trade Union Unity

By William F. Dunne

"The drawing of monopolistically high profits by capitalists of one of the many branches of industry, or of one of the many nations, enables them economically to bribe separate strata of the workers, and temporarily even a considerable minority of them, and thereby draw them into supporting the bourgeoisie of a given branch of industry or a given nation against the bourgeoisie of all nations. The increased antagonism between the imperialistic nations over the division of the world strengthens this tendency. In this way there is effected a union of imperialism with opportunism, which expressed itself the earliest and the most glaringly in England, due to the fact that certain traces of imperialist development could be perceived there much sooner than in any other nation." (Lenin, "Imperialism, the Latest Stage in the Development of Capitalism.")

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WHILE the effects of the debauching of certain upper strata of the working class through the development of imperialism appeared first in England, we see at this time the counter-development coincident with the decay of the

There are growing indications that labor is rallying for new efforts. Coolidge confessed this in his attempt at "liberalism" in his address to the American Legion at Omaha, Nebr., and in his recent effusion on the freedom of the press. Capitalist politicians only talk that way when they see clouds on the political horizon. Oklahoma has had a farmer-labor conference. Arkansas and Texas are making plans for similar gatherings. William Bouck, the militant executive of the Western Progressive Farmers, is planning a tour through Montana, at the special request of the workers and farmers of this state, struggling to build their own independent political power. Even the officialdom of the A. F. of L., blind to most industrial and political phenomena, admits the growing possibility of the Labor Party. This class sentiment will find an expression in attacks even on this congress.

The day will also come when labor's class representatives will invade congress, in increasing numbers, to use it as an effective forum to explain to the laboring multitudes the real nature of this capitalist state, how great wealth uses it as an instrument of oppression, and why it must be swept away to make room for the Soviet state of the workers and farmers, so that those who do the work of the world can make real progress along the highway leading to their complete emancipation.

But that will be Communism, against which capitalism musters all its powers of resistance.

It will be fairly calm in congress this session. But it will be the calm before the storm; the storm of growing class struggles.

British empire. This counter-development is expressed by the report on Russia of the British Trade Union Congress delegation, the entry into the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee of representatives of decisive sections of the British trade unions, the anti-imperialist resolution passed by the Scarborough Trade Union Congress by an overwhelming majority, the militant resistance to wage reductions by the miners, the rallying to them of other powerful unions, and the seamen's strike.

These developments in Great Britain are the more significant because the Communist Party of that country constitutes but an extremely small minority within this left wing movement.

There is additional significance attached to the rise of the movement for world trade union unity in Great Britain when we remember that its cardinal object is the waging of a relentless struggle against world imperialism and imperialist war.

Imperialism Creates Need for World Unity of Workers.

In the United States the American Federation of Labor testifies to the growing strength of American imperialism—the deadly rival of the British brand.

American imperialism developed later than the imperialism of Great Britain, but its paralyzing effect on the labor movement is just as apparent as was that of British imperialism in 1915, when Lenin wrote the sentences quoted at the beginning of this article.

Imperialism creates the necessity for world trade union unity. It sets in motion also the forces which oppose it. Nowhere in the capitalist world are these forces more powerful than in the United States. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the most merciless enemy of world trade union unity is the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor.

At the Atlantic City convention there occurred an event of historic importance to the American working class. Just as the publication of the British Trade Union Report on Russia marked the sweep of the tremendous influence of the Russian revolution into the British labor movement, so did the visit of Purcell, as fraternal delegate from the British Trade Union Congress to the A. F. of L. convention, mark the beginning of a new period in American labor history. Chairman of the International Federation of Trade Unions with its 20,000,000 members, vice-chairman of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, chairman of the British trade union delegation to Soviet Russia, member of the House of Commons, Purcell is the most influential figure that ever appeared as a fraternal delegate of the A. F. of L.

Purcell Pleads World Union Unity, Russian Recognition.

Purcell appeared as an advocate of world trade union unity, an enemy of imperialism and he urged recognition of Soviet Russia.

It is impossible to quote extensively from his speech in an article of this length, and some outstanding sentences will have to serve to show that he challenged the entire attitude of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy:

"The call I want to make . . . is a call for the unity of the world's workers—for the world brotherhood of all those who toil. I make no apology for making that call. I consider it my highest duty and finest privilege at this great convention of American workers . . . In London, Berlin, Moscow and Vienna . . . I have watched the serried ranks of the hosts of labor go marching past . . . a vast, tremendous, vital force, a gigantic Confraternity of Labor . . . the call I want to make is to join with us . . . we need the American Federation of Labor in our International. . . . I TELL YOU THAT THE POLICY OF

ISOLATION IS A MISTAKEN ONE . . . THE MONROE DOCTRINE NO LONGER HOLDS GOOD FOR YOUR GOVERNMENT—AS ITS IMPERIAL POLICY IN THE PHILIPPINES, IN CHINA AND ELSEWHERE DEMONSTRATES—AND NO LONGER HOLDS GOOD FOR YOUR CAPITALISTS. IT CAN NO LONGER HOLD GOOD FOR YOU!"

Purcell will probably never know the depth of the black hatred he aroused by these words in the hearts of the labor agents of American imperialism. To them, accustomed to disguise their servility to Wall Street and its robber policy by voicing sympathy for the colonial workers while selling the unions of these colonials to Wall Street, as in Mexico, Purcell immediately became "an agent of Moscow," the most approbrious term they can hurl at an opponent.

But worse was to come. Purcell continued:

"I have been to Russia. There I have seen the workers assuming vast responsibilities and duties . . . I am proud of the genius for organization and the essential grip of things which my class in Russia has displayed . . . The Russian people are a great people . . . strong, patient, hard-working, clever . . . I SAY THAT YOU WORKERS OF AMERICA HAVE TO LEARN FROM RUSSIA . . . I HOPE THAT FROM NOW ON THE ORGANIZED WORKERS OF AMERICA WILL ESTABLISH THE CLOSEST FRATERNAL RELATIONS WITH THE WORKERS OF RUSSIA . . ."

Green Insults Delegate of British Labor.

Purcell's eloquent plea for world trade union unity and fraternal relations with the Russian workers was answered by a re-affirmation by the convention of the "Monroe Doctrine of American Labor" first endorsed at El Paso. A thinly veiled insult to Purcell was conveyed in the denunciation of "aggression by propaganda." This "Monroe Doctrine of American Labor," if the words of the resolution are to be taken at their face value, is just another weapon in the arsenal of American imperialism:

"Neither the Red International of Autocratic Moscow nor any other international may in complacency ignore this definition of American labor policy."

The weapon is to be wielded against the slaves of Wall Street everywhere.

A. F. of L. Bureaucrats Enemies of Workers' State.

To Purcell's request for fair treatment and recognition of Russia, the Atlantic City convention replied with a reso-



A. B. Swales, (left) Chairman of the British Trade Union Congress, and Tomsky, head of the Central Committee of the Russian Trade Unions.

lution in which its enmity to the first workers' and peasants' government was set forth as follows:

"The American Federation of Labor declares its hostility not merely in a defensive manner, but in a vital and aggressive manner." Says Losovsky in his pamphlet "The World's Trade Union Movement:"

"... influence of the bourgeois state, has in every country, its peculiarities. Each country has its method for the corruption of the working class, and the bourgeoisie of each country uses these methods very successfully for its own interests. But the opportunity itself of having such an influence on the working class, proves that the bourgeoisie has a foothold within the working class... Thus, the power of the bourgeoisie is contained not only in its army, police, courts, but also in its ability to influence and control a section of the working class, and to undermine the labor organizations which should conduct a struggle against it. FOR IF THE WORLD'S 50,000,000 MASS MEMBERSHIP OF THE TRADE UNIONS WAS A REALLY UNITED ARMY, THE BOURGEOISIE WOULD LONG AGO HAVE BEEN SMASHED TO PIECES."

Workers' Unity Menaces Slave-Holders.

The progress of world trade union unity menaces in particular those nations which hold in bondage great numbers of colonial slaves, because the very essence of world trade union unity is a welding of the colonial labor movements into an indivisible whole with the labor movements of the imperialist nations.

The trade unions must either fight imperialism as a world system, destroy its influence over the leadership and upper strata, free the proletarian masses from this deadening weight, or see themselves divided, the upper sections turned into fascist militia and the organizations of the lower ranks completely crushed.

The characteristics of such upholders of imperialist domination as Green, Woll, Lewis and company are their loyalty to their capitalist government and hostility to any unification of the working class on a fighting basis in the colonial regions and other sections penetrated by their imperialist masters.

Betrayers of Labor Feted.

The effusive endorsement and lavish courtesies extended to the Dawes' plan labor officials of the German trade unions are a case in point, and are in sharp contrast to the cold shoulder given Purcell. These betrayers of the German workers have been taken on personally conducted tours throughout the United States "to inspect American industry" while Purcell, who is speaking to American workers on world trade union unity, is left severely alone to find his way about as best he can. His only official meeting was that at the Atlantic City convention.

Says Losovsky:

"In America there is a whole system invented by the bourgeoisie for the corruption of labor leaders and for crushing the class struggle and diverting it into another channel."

I have heard American trade unionists dismiss this statement with the remark that "all these Russians are prejudiced." But what remains of this criticism after Atlantic City, where world trade union unity was spat upon and ground into the filthy dust of the convention floor under the feet of labor officials whose four and five figure salaries are themselves proof that at least one method exists "for the corruption of labor leaders"? (President Green draws \$12,000 per year as "wages" alone.)

Trade Unions Must Choose—Imperialists or Workers.

The cold fact of the relationship of forces in the world today is that every trade union movement must choose whom it will serve—imperialism or the working class. To be passively or actively against world trade union unity is to be against the working class. The officialdom of the American Federation of Labor is, as we have seen, militant in its opposition.

Does the A. F. of L. support the plunder schemes of American imperialism with the same militancy?

It does.

To conduct imperialist adventure efficiently a ruling class needs the closest kind of organization at home—capital must be concentrated, control centralized and at least a section of the labor movement brought into active support of this scheme of things.

America is the land of concentration and centralization, but the rapid extension of investments in Europe, China and Latin-America makes new demands on the domestic apparatus.

Labor Bureaucracy Shares Slave Profits.

The A. F. of L. bureaucracy is obliging. It shares the profits.

The Atlantic City convention endorsed the plan of Herbert Hoover, the petted darling of American imperialism's organization corps, for the calling of a national conference of "farm organizations, TRADE ASSOCIATIONS AND TRADE UNIONS, to consider the elimination of difficulties PREVENTING THE CONSTRUCTIVE ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY." (Emphasis mine—W. F. D.)

A dispatch in the Chicago Daily News of October 16 says:

"Secretary Hoover, who finds constructive efforts in this direction impeded by legislation, judicial rulings and interpretation, is understood to view with favor this new policy of the labor movement, which is being initiated by Matthew Woll, Chicago, vice-president of the federation. Mr. Woll was the initiator of the movement for constructive organization of industry through co-operation of employer and employe promulgated at Portland two years ago by the federation."

The language of the resolution is of the frankest kind and its meaning therefore subject to no misrepresentation. It declares:

"Sustained progress in industry is possible only through functional organization of all the various factors, employers and employes... Constructive activities are hampered by legislation, judicial rulings and interpretation which attempt to limit or restrict the helpful co-operation between the essential elements within industry. Without this co-opera-

tion there can not be the necessary avoidance of economic waste and full opportunity for industrial development based on scientific production plans.

"The American Federation of Labor therefore calls upon congress for the modification of existing legislation tending to prevent the co-operation between the essential elements within industry."

The corollary to the above scheme of capitalist concentration facilitated by the removal of all legislative obstacles, is the removal of all restrictions for combination for the purpose of foreign trade.

U. S. Imperialism Holds Whip Hand.

The acquiescence of the A. F. of L. convention apparently removed the last barrier, for in the New York Times of November 3 we find the following editorial comment:

"Secretary Hoover repeats his warning of three years ago. There is a steadily increasing tendency among the governments of the world to regulate production and fix prices of raw materials of which they control the output, with results deeply injurious... to us. The case of England and rubber... many indispensable articles are similarly capable of control—jute, sisal, antimony, tungsten, nickel, tin, quicksilver, asbestos, quinine, iodine, silk... HITHERTO WE HAVE SUFFERED PATIENTLY. BUT THE LAW AGAINST TRADE COMBINATIONS HAS BEEN SO MODIFIED THAT WE MAY IF WE WILL TAKE PART IN SUCH ECONOMIC STRIFE, AND WE HOLD THE DOMINANT POSITION WITH REGARD TO OIL, COTTON, COPPER—TO SAY NOTHING OF THAT PARTICULARLY RAW MATERIAL CAPITAL."

One cannot be much mistaken as to the meaning of the above. It is that American imperialism holds the whip hand and is going, with the enthusiastic assistance of the subsidized labor aristocracy, to contest for absolute domination in every field of capitalist endeavor. And in case we are a little dull—as dull, for instance, as those who believe in the beneficent promises of American capitalist democracy—the New York Times' editorial writer furnishes a very lucid explanation. He says further:

"M. Loucheur urged upon the League (of nations) the calling of an economic conference... when it convenes we shall have a vital interest. ITS OUTCOME WILL LARGELY DETERMINE THE ABILITY OF OUR CREDITORS (sic) TO PAY... THE QUESTION WILL BE DECIDED WHETHER... THE NATIONS UPON WHICH THE HEALTH OF OUR COMMERCE DEPENDS ARE TO BE GOOD OR BAD CUSTOMERS." (Emphasis mine.—W. F. D.)

Nations which have trade union movements committed to the militant struggle against imperialism in all its forms and everywhere are very likely to be "bad customers."

A. F. of L. Supports Capitalists, Wars on Left Wing.

It is here that the close connection between the warfare on the left wing of the International Federation of Trade

Unions, (which is for world trade union unity) on the part of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, and the line of American imperialism, becomes plain as day.

The A. F. of L. is against world trade union unity because it interferes with the schemes for world domination by Wall Street and the American government with which Wall Street is synonymous. This is the real basis for the repudiation of Purcell at Atlantic City.

Collaboration with capitalism and war on the left wing at home, unity with the traitors to labor in every country in which American imperialism operates, support, moral and financial, for the tools of American imperialism—French, German and colonial—this is the program of the American Federation of Labor.

Interests of Masses Opposed to Bureaucrats.

But the interests of the great bulk of the American working class, even of the majority of those organized in the A. F. of L., are in direct contradiction to such a program.

Most of the workers do not as yet realize this contradiction of interest, and it is therefore all the more necessary that Communists work with great care and energy so that the significance of Purcell's visit, the reasons for it and the treatment accorded him be not lost but explained and made the basis for a broad left-wing organization in the labor strongholds of American imperialism—the backward and treacherously-led unions of the American Federation of Labor.

Death in the Lumber Camp

WHEN Jim and John and Jack and Joe Had trotted in and stamped their feet, They bent with hands on knees and so Stared down at Will upon the sheet... They heard a gas pump piston throb, The booming pine trees' windy sob, And three heard little Joe repeat, "God damn! God damn this job!"

So stark and sprawling, snaky-still, Not breathing, on the tousled bunk There lay that night the silent chill White skin and bone, the rib-drawn trunk, The tongue and teeth and spindling limb, The stiff black hair and stretched and slim Long Adam's-appled neck of Will,— The lanky last of him.

Sterling Bowen.

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The First Negro Workers' Congress

By Robert Minor

FOR the first time in the history of the United States (or practically for the first time), an American Negro labor convention has been held. Never before, with the exception of the years just after the Civil War, has there been even a pretense of a big national congress of Negroes on the basis of their class character as workers.

Negro conventions and Negro societies have been many and frequent, especially since the world war. But always these "conventions" have belied the real character of the Negro masses. There have been church conventions which reflected of course the blight of organized superstition taught to the Negro by the white master class. Or there have been conventions of Negro business men in which all of the realities of the Negro's situation in American society were ignored in order to give a few Negro small merchants, lawyers and bankers a chance to pose in the attitude of "optimism" of the white Babbit-bourgeoisie. There have been conventions also of "classless" Negro associations, in which the same small merchant and professional class (representing no organizations but possessing the railroad fares) took the lead and also struck unreal poses; and conventions of Negro teachers suffering under the sorest grievances but fearfully avoiding all suggestions of the only remedies which exist. Then there have been the conventions of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—an organization resembling in its pattern the ancient Abolition society and breathing the spirit of the white philanthropist in benign collaboration with colored bishops and lawyers, and, of course, the white Republican politician of the border states and other parts where Negroes vote and where anti-lynching speeches can be made.

Class Basis of Race Problem Previously Ignored.

All of these past conventions have belied the real position of the Negro masses in American society—have belied the class character of the Negro masses, have necessarily ignored the causes of the Negro's oppression. In one instance a Negro convention made a gesture in the direction of recognizing the class character of the Negro's problem; and strange to say, that was the convention (in 1924) of the most bourgeois of all of these organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It did make a demand on the American Federation of Labor for the organization of Negro labor in the trade unions—which may partly be accounted for by the strained relations between the white bourgeois politicians and the Negro petty-bourgeoisie at the time. There was one other instance in which a gesture was made in this direction—the case of the Universal Negro Improvement Association which in 1920 made a demand for the Negro's rights in the trade unions, but which has since entirely forgotten the demand under the influence of a reactionary "Zionism." With the exception of the African Blood Brotherhood, which had and still has a splendid "theoretical" program but which never attained mass influence, all movements among Negroes have ignored the class basis of the

Negro's problem, or have purposely evaded it, and as a consequence have been sterile or deliberately reactionary.

Subsidized "Negro" Press Attacks Labor Congress.

The American Negro Labor Congress which met in Chicago the last week of October, was immediately recognized as a breaker of traditions. It created more excitement in the so-called Negro press, I believe, than any other Negro convention that ever convened. Instinctively this congress was recognized as a fundamentally different thing, representing a rising danger to something or somebody, somehow. Among the most powerful of what pass for "Negro" newspapers, almost all confined their treatment of the affair, before its opening, entirely to veiled or open attacks. Anyone who knows that the lines of control of these most prosperous "Negro" newspapers lead through the Republican party, and through Washington and hence indirectly into the financial regions of Manhattan Island, will understand this. The American Negro Labor Congress represents objectively and ultimately a danger to those who profit by things as they are, because any movement which really takes the working class approach to the Negro masses' problems has found the key by which those problems can be thrown open to solution. Hence the "master's voice" spoke through most of the Negro newspapers (there were some notable exceptions), warning the Negro masses against the Congress or at least publishing as "news" Mr. William Green's warning without publishing the answers of the Negro organizers of the congress.

But it is notable that not one of the most virulent enemy newspapers even attempted to deny the great importance and substantiality of the congress. Mr. Abbott's "Chicago Defender," the biggest of the Negro newspapers which push the white masters' propaganda among Negro readers, took an attitude of complete but cowardly hostility toward the Negro workers' congress, but did not even dare to deny that it had a great mass significance. Mr. Roscoe Conkling Simmons' new paper, the "Chicago World," which apparently lives on the lucrative trade of terrorizing Negro sleeping-car porters for the Pullman Company, published a vicious attack during the congress, but by the very prominence of the attack and the admissions in the article, acknowledged that the congress had wide importance as a mass phenomenon. And other papers more or less accordingly, although we must remember that some of the Negro newspapers were honest, sincere and fair.

What Mass Character?

But what mass character did the congress really have? The answer to this question is the important thing.

Anyone who regards the matter of the American Negro masses as one of deep, primary importance, and not as one of secondary importance—not as a thing to be judged by the scale of tempests in teapots—will not be ready to say that this movement is as yet a mass movement. The practically universal admission of antagonistic newspapers (both the white capitalist and Negro newspapers) that this congress was a large mass affair, must not be taken too seriously by



One of the evening mass meetings held by the American Negro Labor Congress during its first convention. This picture was taken on the night devoted to a discussion of race persecution. The banner stretched across the hall reads: "Organization is the first step to freedom."

the earnest young men and women who are at the head of the movement. The fact that its enemies called it a mass movement shows what a low standard has been set for "mass" movements among such enemies. This makes a curiously interesting and profitable study.

A look behind the scenes of all Negro movements shows that they have practically all been nothing more than periodical conferences of "prominent persons," delegated by nobody and present only by virtue of a vague general recognition and the possession of the price of a railroad ticket. This is painfully true, and it shows the fatal weakness which has spelled sterility for previous Negro "movements." The essential fact was that behind such conferees there was no organizing of the masses. Bishops would be present because they were bishops, doctors because they were doctors, lawyers because they were lawyers, business men because, having succeeded in becoming business men, they were assumed to be the "natural spokesmen" for the Negro masses. No masses of hard-pressed Negro workers had gone through the organized process of selecting them. They were not delegates, which means that they were not a product of the process of organizing the masses. This was naturally so: doctors, lawyers, bishops and business men do not organize workers; and the Negro masses are workers.

That method of constituting Negro "conventions" was the outgrowth of old traditions. And how easily it was assumed to be the only method was rather humorously proved at this Negro Labor Congress, which reversed the method. A Mr. Reed appeared at this congress asking to be seated. Having realized that some sort of credentials would be required, he presented a document signed by the governor of the state of Oklahoma which certified that he was appointed as a delegate to the Negro Labor Congress. It was a perfectly serious document, and strictly in accord with pre-

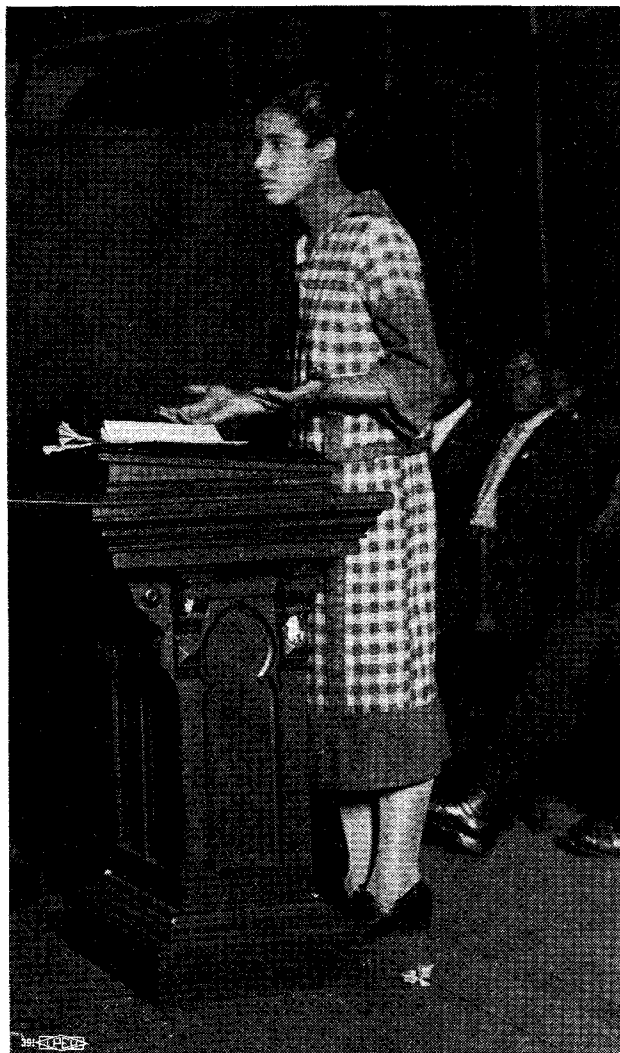
cedent. It meant that Mr. Reed was a prominent Negro citizen, and according to all tradition this was the sole requisite entitling him to voice in any Negro convention or congress. (He was seated as a fraternal delegate.)

Such traditions are clearly traceable to the Negro church, which for a full century was the only form of organization existing among Negroes. This trace is found also in the business proceedings of all previous Negro conventions, which have been mere "preachings" in which a leader, acting as chairman, ruled everything, decided everything, and hardly ever even thought of allowing a vote to be taken on anything.

Real Organization New Phenomenon Among Negroes.

It must be said that organization, in the true sense of the word, is a new phenomenon among the Negro masses. And when we understand this, and when we see the reversal of the traditions and forms of the past, we get closer to the answer as to whether there was a mass character to the American Negro Labor Congress.

A hard-boiled organizer will have to say that there were only a very few thousand of organized Negro workers behind the delegates who sat in the American Negro Labor Congress. There was only a small handful who directly represented trade unions, and to anyone who appreciates the essence of this as a Negro labor congress, the matter is highly important. Undoubtedly, however, the significance of this weakness is mitigated by the fact that many Negro "federal" labor unions which wanted to send delegates and which were watching with earnest sympathy its results, were finally terrorized out of sending their delegates by the threat of the president of the American Federation of Labor, who implied that these unions would be deprived of their charters if they participated. (A considerable number of unions were repre-



Abolition of all customs which result in economic and social discrimination, was the demand put forward by Correne Robinson, delegate to the American Negro Labor Congress from the Young Workers League of America.

sented indirectly through the delegates of "local councils" in which they participated.)

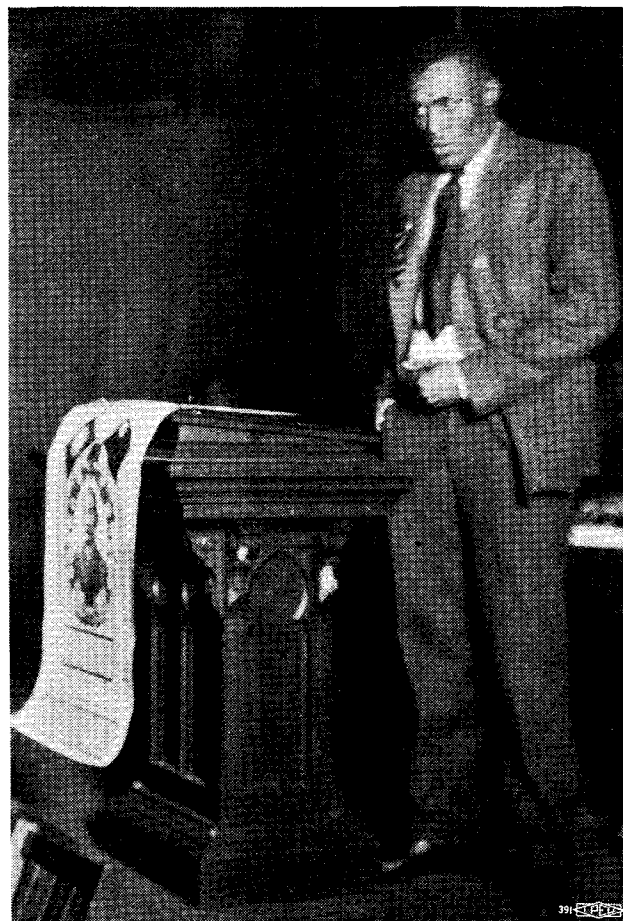
Another very serious weakness lay in the complete absence of representation of Negro farmers.

Must Build on New Foundation.

However, none but the blindest of fools could say that this Negro Labor Congress has no large significance. Whether the movement has or does not have a mass character is a question which was not conclusively answered by this convention, and which will be settled according to whether the young Negro leaders who have started it will now proceed to utilize the great beginnings which they have made. Unquestionably this convention resulted in forming a strong nucleus for a mass movement, and a nucleus which already has the begin-

rings of mass connections. The fact that it has succeeded in drawing together half a hundred young Negro leaders of exceptional ability—not "prominent persons," but young working class men and women with the gift and urge for organization and a clear goal, and having behind them at least a frame-work of mass organization—this fact will be ignored only by skeptics who know nothing of present day history.

The successful formulation of a clear program, and the reception of this program by the crowds of Negro workers who attended the congress, are also matters of much importance. This writer sat through the sessions of the congress from day to day, observing with keenest interest the development of the program, the uncompromising drive for what they wanted on the part of the delegates, the complete and enthusiastic unanimity of all delegates, ranging from Negro officers of A. F. of L. trade unions to the delegate "representing the State of Oklahoma," and the reverberations of the program among the un-picked local Negro working-class



"The American Negro Labor Congress marks the beginning of a new era in the history of American labor. A new day is dawning for the oppressed." — Lovett Fort-Whiteman, National Organizer of the Congress, at the opening session of the Convention.

audience which attended the mass meeting sessions by many hundreds. From these observations the writer can say with complete assurance that the program is not only one which gives the Negro movement the key to the problem, but that it is also one which spontaneously and completely captures the loyalty of the hitherto untouched Negro workers to whom it is offered.

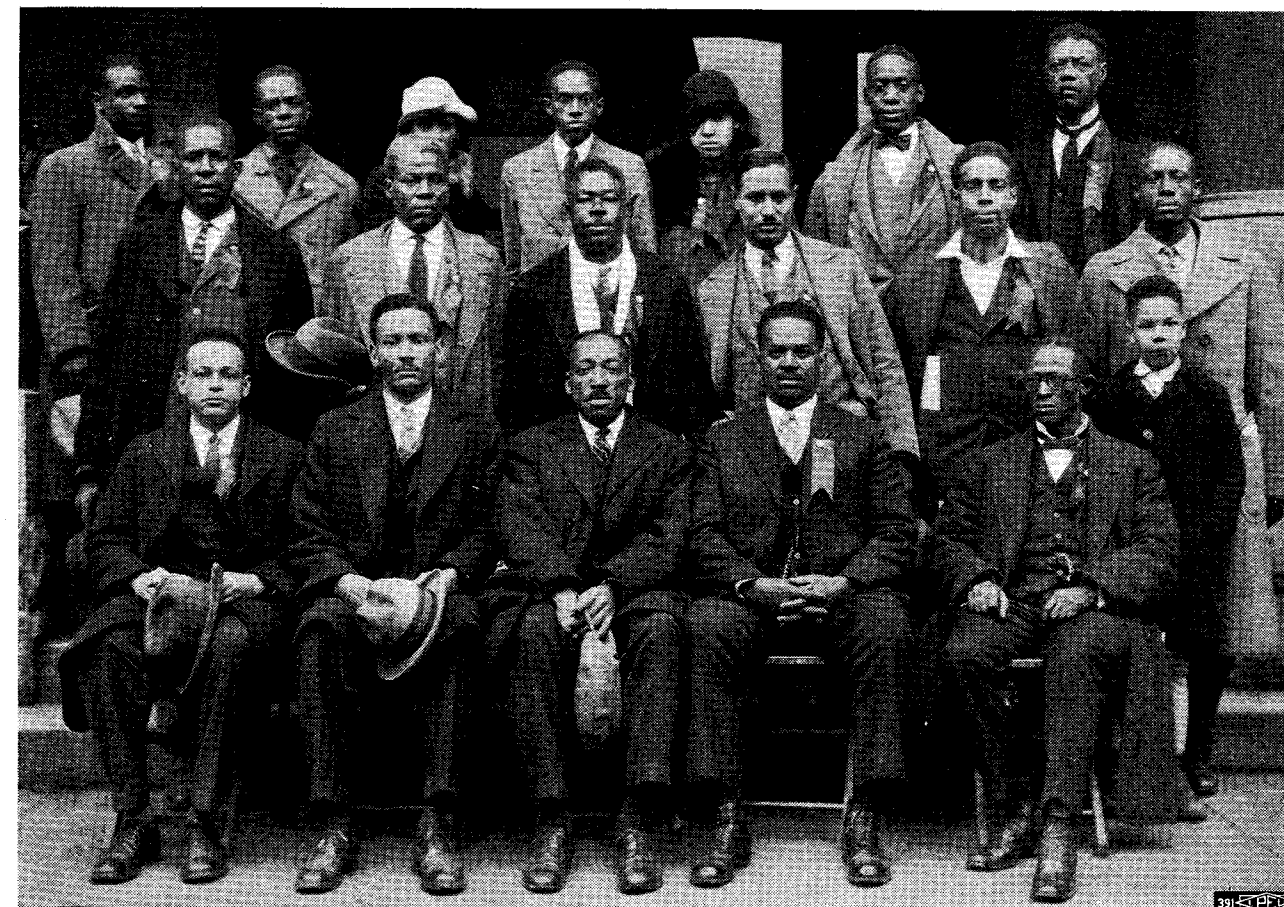
Dicks and False Race Leaders Fight Congress.

In this respect a severe test had been put upon the convention by the attacks which had been directed against it. Universally it had been condemned as "red," as Bolshevik. The entrance to the hall was crowded every day with about a score of Mr. Coolidge's federal dicks. Influential Negro politicians (under the direction of their white masters in the Republican party) worked overtime to terrorize the Negro population away from the affair, and newspapers with scare headlines virtually threatening the arrest of all who attended, were hawked at the door. Both the delegates and the big crowds of auditors were psychologized in advance to be suspicious and skeptical of any program that might be offered.

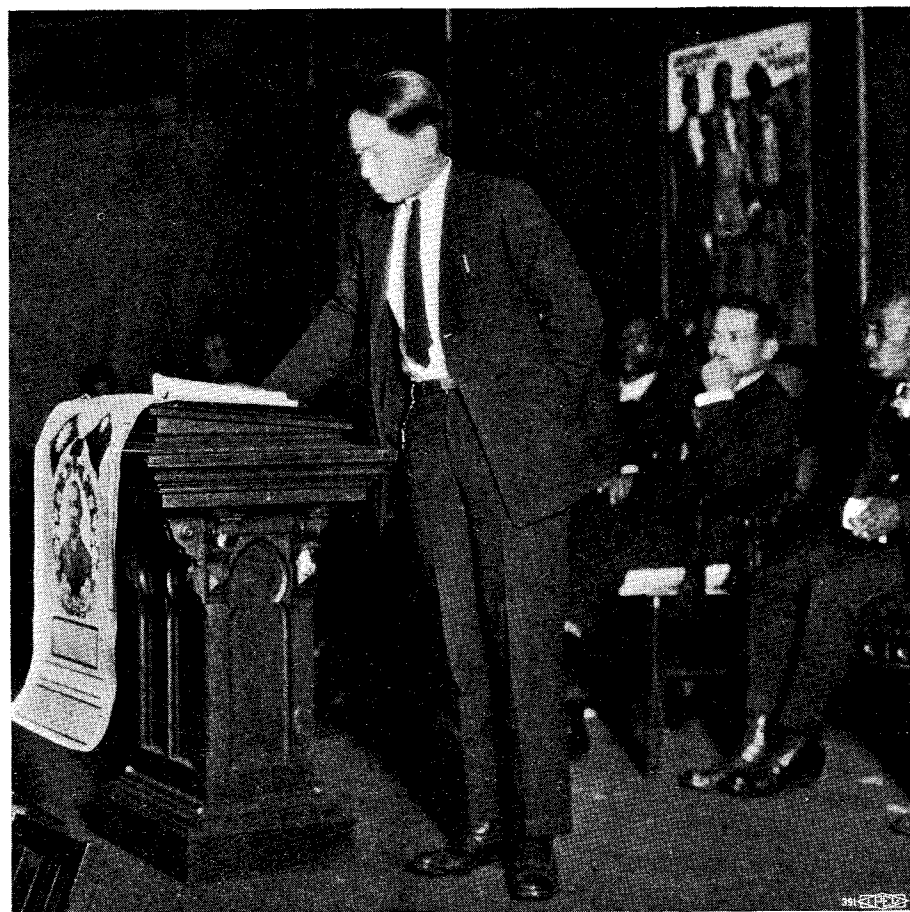
But the results proved that it is impossible to hold the masses of this oppressed people away from the measures which ring with sincerity and which go to the hard bottom of their problems. It was enlightening to hear the public reception given to the "first-comer" proposal in regard to the abolition of segregation of Negroes in the "black belt." It is a proposal to take out of the hands of landlords the right to refuse to rent apartments to Negroes or to fix the rental at a higher rate for Negro tenants; and this proposal of course means the taking over under public administration all apartment houses, an interference with the holy rights of property of the landlords. The fact that no one can conceive of any milder proposal for the abolition of the brutal segregation system, carried the proposal through with a whooping enthusiasm and complete unanimity (there being no "natural leaders" in the shape of Negro real-estate dealers present). The result of such a proposal is to present in a vivid way the realization that the liberation of the Negro masses from their condition of racial suppression (even the matter of residence segregation) involves a class struggle.

Green's Attack Flat Failure.

The same lesson was learned through the handling of Mr. William Green's attack upon the Negro Labor Congress



A group of the delegates to the American Negro Labor Congress. Nearly all of these men and women are workers, the majority of them in unskilled trades. The committee selected to carry on the work of the Congress for the next year includes a plumber, a miner, two steel workers and a hod carrier.



"The world of imperialism is passing. Let us join hands with all enemies of imperialism, disregarding race, creed or nationality."—C. T. Chi, of the Chinese Students' Alliance, who addressed the Congress on anti-imperialist night, when a crowd of eight hundred Negro workers demanded the withdrawal of American aviators from the Riff.

as a Communist affair. This attack, and attacks of the same kind from a hundred sources, brought a reaction which shows that the average Negro worker today is far in advance of the white worker in immunity to the poison of Gompersism. Mr. Green's platitudes are adjusted to the highly skilled craft unionist with a Ford and a cottage; and they roll off the back of the segregated, super-exploited Negro laborer like water off a duck's back. A half-hour in the hall of the Negro Labor Congress would convince anyone that the American Negro cannot be told that he is "free." Black men whose days are tortured with racial persecution in connection with a double degree of exploitation cannot be told to "let well enough alone." For them the "well enough" is not in sight. Nor can they be told that "the ideals of the American Federation of Labor" are being threatened by the Communists without being made to wonder who those fine fellows, the Communists, might be. It is safe to say that Mr. Green's attack made among the Negro workers a powerful propaganda in favor of Communism.

In fact, the many attacks of the enemies of the Negro people against the congress as a "Communist affair" simply brought about a condition in which hundreds of Negro workers in the audience, who had not previously any intimation of

what Communism is, were wildly applauding every mention of Communism. It was not a "Communist affair", but this had a tendency toward making it so.

In connection with Green's attack upon the Negro Labor Congress, it should be noted that the congress even before it opened had forced Mr. Green to make at least one gesture toward organizing Negro workers in New York. But in no case could the A. F. of L. bourgeoisie strike at the real problem by doing away with the Jim-Crow system: a few pitiful segregated unions "for Negroes" (like a southern railroad car) are about all that the A. F. of L. bureaucracy dreams of—for its purpose is not to give the Negro workers an instrument for liberation, but only to keep the Negro workers from building an instrument for freedom—to keep them away from the "social equality" movement and the Communists.

If there had been the slightest touch of sincerity about the maneuvers of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, the resolution offered by a Negro delegate at the last convention of the A. F. of L. would not have been shelved as it was—that is,

the Green bureaucracy did not dare either to turn it down openly or to pass it. It was a resolution calling for the organization of Negro workers in the same way that white workers are organized, in the same unions on equal basis. To this day nobody can say whether the motion was defeated or not. It has the distinction of having been acted on in such a way that it was neither voted down nor passed. Such a cowardly evasion shows the need of the Negro Labor Congress.

Toward Race Hegemony of Negro Workers.

A factor of primary significance in this congress is that it marks a big step toward the **hegemony of the Negro working-class organizations in the general Negro race movement.** Hitherto there has been professional-class leadership, as a matter of course, and with no organizational basis. Now for the first time, groups of Negro industrial workers begin to elect their delegates. That this tends to throw the center of gravity of the Negro movement into the Negro laborers' ranks is obvious. And that many Negro middle-class intellectuals are bewildered and frightened by the fact, is but natural.

It was this rather than any "Communist domination," that scared the Negro middle-class intellectuals. As a matter of fact there have been Communists in every important Negro convention that occurred in the last two or three years. In

this Negro labor congress there was only one delegate representing the Workers Communist Party, whereas in most other Negro conventions there have been several. In the reactionary "Sanhedrin Conference" last year there were five delegates seated with credentials representing the Workers Communist Party. The difference in the case of this Negro labor congress is exactly in the fact that it was **not** dominated by any person or group—and the result was that it adopted all of the simple and plain demands that have been hidden in the minds of Negro masses for the past half-century but which have usually been choked in their throats by their "cautious" leaders of the middle class.

Local Councils Formed.

The organizational crux of the plan of the Negro Labor Congress lies in the formation of "local councils" in all centers of Negro population. The way in which the delegates seized upon this as the basis of successful organization, showed that there has at last appeared here a serious movement for organization. The idea is that such local councils will be composed of delegates from all Negro organizations, with special emphasis upon labor unions, in each locality, on the united front basis. Organizations composed of mixed black and white workers are included, and a peculiarly apt arrangement is for the inclusion of unorganized Negro workers in connection with the process of organizing them. The constitution adopted specifies that these local councils (like the national body) shall not become rival organizations as against other Negro organizations, or as against any labor unions, but simply a machinery for the creation and coordination of a united front. If this is adhered to, it will probably result in success where efforts to create a "newer and better" rival to other organizations would be a failure. From the speeches of the delegates one would judge that the establishment of these local councils will be the center of gravity of the work of the organizers.

Plan Inter-Racial Committees.

But the "united front" principle did not stop there. The congress made the refreshing declaration in ringing terms that the Negro workers demand that all of organized labor espouse their cause. This takes concrete form in the plan to

form "inter-racial labor committees" in every locality, to be composed of delegates elected by the "white" trade unions and those elected by Negro organizations, to meet jointly for the purpose of bringing the Negro workers into the trade unions, preventing discrimination, under-cutting of wages, the use of one race against the other in strikes, etc., and for bringing about united action of all workers, black and white, against lynching and race riots. In this proposal there is a touch of reality that is nothing less than startling. If it is seriously taken up, it is full of potentialities for the future of the labor movement and of the Negro masses.

As the Negro Labor Congress had at least a sprinkling of representation from most of the big industrial centers, the character of the program, as one adapted to the mass needs of the Negro workers, and as one which is shown to be so adapted by the spontaneous acceptance of it by many hundreds who watched its development, can be considered in connection with the question of the mass character of the congress. I repeat that this question was not answered by this one convention, but is held in abeyance until the organizers show whether it is in them to utilize the nucleus and the connections which they have formed.

Lay Basis for Mass Organization.

This was the first American Negro workers' convention. It had a reverberation of considerable magnitude among the Negro masses. It laid the basis for an unprecedented mass organization. It showed that there have developed among the Negro workers a number of strikingly able young leaders. For the first time it has thrown among the confused, misled and swindled Negro toilers a program adapted to the class character of the Negro masses. There is every reason to believe that upon the basis already laid there can be a congress of ten times the size and mass representation, within another year.

No one not a victim of gross ignorance of the subject, no one who is not a chronic skeptic in regard to the potentialities of the Negro, can deny that the American Negro Labor Congress was a success. All of those who participated declared that it was an inspiring, tremendous success; and its enemies admitted that it was so. But their estimate is not true yet—it will be true or untrue only after they shall have built upon the splendid foundation that they have laid.

Towards a World Bolshevik Party

By Jay Lovestone

WHY do the imperialists of every country hate and fear the Communist International? Why have the capitalist plunderers of every nationality turned their heaviest artillery against the Communist International and its supporters?

Then, why do millions of the best of the working masses the world over, the most conscious, the most advanced and self-sacrificing revolutionary proletarians, look to the Communist International for leadership in the struggle against imperialist exploitation and oppression?

The answer to these pertinent questions is obvious.

The Role of the Communist International.

The bourgeoisie despise and dread and the best proletarians revere and follow the Communist International for

precisely the same reasons. Today, in the imperialist stage of capitalism, the class struggle is international in its fundamental aspects; regardless of the specific forms in which it may manifest itself and be fought in the various countries. Consequently, if the workers of any particular country are to fight successfully against their particular national capitalist ruling class, they must learn to estimate the objective economic and political conditions confronting them, from an international, from a world point of view, and to realize the maximum solidarity of forces and unity of action with the workers of the other countries.

It is exactly this prerequisite to working class victory that the Communist International is providing. The Com-

unist International is the world revolutionary party of the international working class. To the heroism of the struggling proletariat the world over, the Communist International adds the vital sparks and the steel rods of a sound Marxian-Leninist program, clear and definite aims, and the unity of organization and action so necessary to insure the victory of the working classes and the oppressed colonial peoples.

The recent developments in the Communist Party of Germany afford only additional proof of this role played by the Communist International.

German Section Needs Help.

For some time the Communist Party of Germany had been going downward. Largely due to the disastrous opportunist politics of the Brandler leadership and to the dangerous ultra-leftist and Right deviations of the succeeding Ruth Fischer-Maslow leadership, the Communist Party of Germany, one of the mightiest sections of the Communist International, had been traveling towards total isolation from the masses, towards complete loss of influence in the labor unions, and towards a serious organizational weakening. But the Communist International is not an abstract philosophical concept. Being a real world party with a sound, firm revolutionary policy, the Communist International soon took a vigorous hand in the situation, corrected the errors made, and put the Communist Party of Germany back on the right road towards winning the German working class for Communism.

The Basis of the Crisis.

In his speech delivered during the sessions of the German commission on August 12, 1925, Comrade Bukharin thus estimated the situation:

"This crisis has an international significance. It is tied up with a great regrouping of forces in the world situation. If we should live through this crisis, it will also be an important lesson for every other party in the Communist International."

Let us see what is the economic and political basis of the crisis in the Communist Party of Germany.

There are two outstanding tendencies in the development of the international situation.

On the one hand we see a section of the social-democratic working masses approaching the Communist International. By various roundabout ways these workers are drawing nearer to the Communist Parties. Manifestations of this tendency are to be found in the arrival of German and Swedish workers' delegations in the Soviet Union. The growing power of the proletarian state in the Soviet Union is winning and will continue to win many new supporters for Soviet Russia in the ranks of the working class.

"This was not so before. This is a new fact, a very important fact. It is a fact of world historical significance, like the drift to the left by the English proletariat." This is how Comrade Bukharin estimated this tendency in his speech of August 12, 1925, before the German commission.

Secondly, the Security Pact marks a new orientation in Germany's policies. Previous to this event, there was a wide sentiment of sympathy for the Soviet Union, not merely among the proletarians, but also in the ranks of the general masses, the petty bourgeoisie and in sections of the bourgeoisie. Now this is changed. We have with us today the so-called western orientation of

Germany's policies. The German bourgeoisie is seeking protection in the Dawes' Plan, the Security Pact, the Locarno treaties and such other relations of being subservient to the will of the Entente imperialists.

The "future" of Germany now rests in the West and not in the East. No longer is there prevalent in Germany the slogan of a common fate, of the common lot of Germany and the Soviet Union. The new slogan is: Towards the West.

This separation and split away from the Soviet Union also has its reflex in the ranks of the vacillating social-democracy. This dangerously treacherous sentiment is likewise mirrored in the Communist Party of Germany. We have been hearing certain comrades speak derisively in this tone: "Go to Moscow; you are a Muscovite." Such remarks are nothing but expressions of the beginning of the return of these comrades from our Communist Party to the social-democrats. Levi spoke in the same manner on the eve of his desertion.

Comrade Bukharin sums up this situation very effectively when he says: "We have here two tendencies. On the one hand, new sound elements from the ranks of the social-democratic workers are coming to the Communist Party. On the other hand, the worst elements inside the Communist Party of Germany are sounding the alarm. They are reflecting the tendencies manifested by the bourgeoisie."

It is out of this situation that the crisis in the Communist Party of Germany has grown. Under the leadership of the Maslow-Fischer group the German Party has not been able to win over and absorb the social-democratic workers approaching the Communists. Furthermore, this Fischer-Maslow leadership has been unable to withstand the dangerous social-democratic, the anti-Communist, the anti-Marxist attitude shown by the worst elements in our own Communist ranks.

The kernel of the problem is examined by Comrade Bukharin when he says: "The party must have such a leadership as will be capable of grasping the new situation we have. Prior to this we had to compel them (Fischer-Maslow group) to recognize the world significance of the changes in the British labor movement." This is the principal basis of the decisive action taken by the Executive Committee of the Communist International in the German Party situation.

No Sudden Change of Policy.

What have been the errors of the Fischer-Maslow group? What is the line of the Communist International in helping build a powerful Bolshevik Party in Germany? What lessons can the American workers in general and the members of the American section of the Communist International, the Workers Communist Party, in particular, learn from these recent events in Germany?

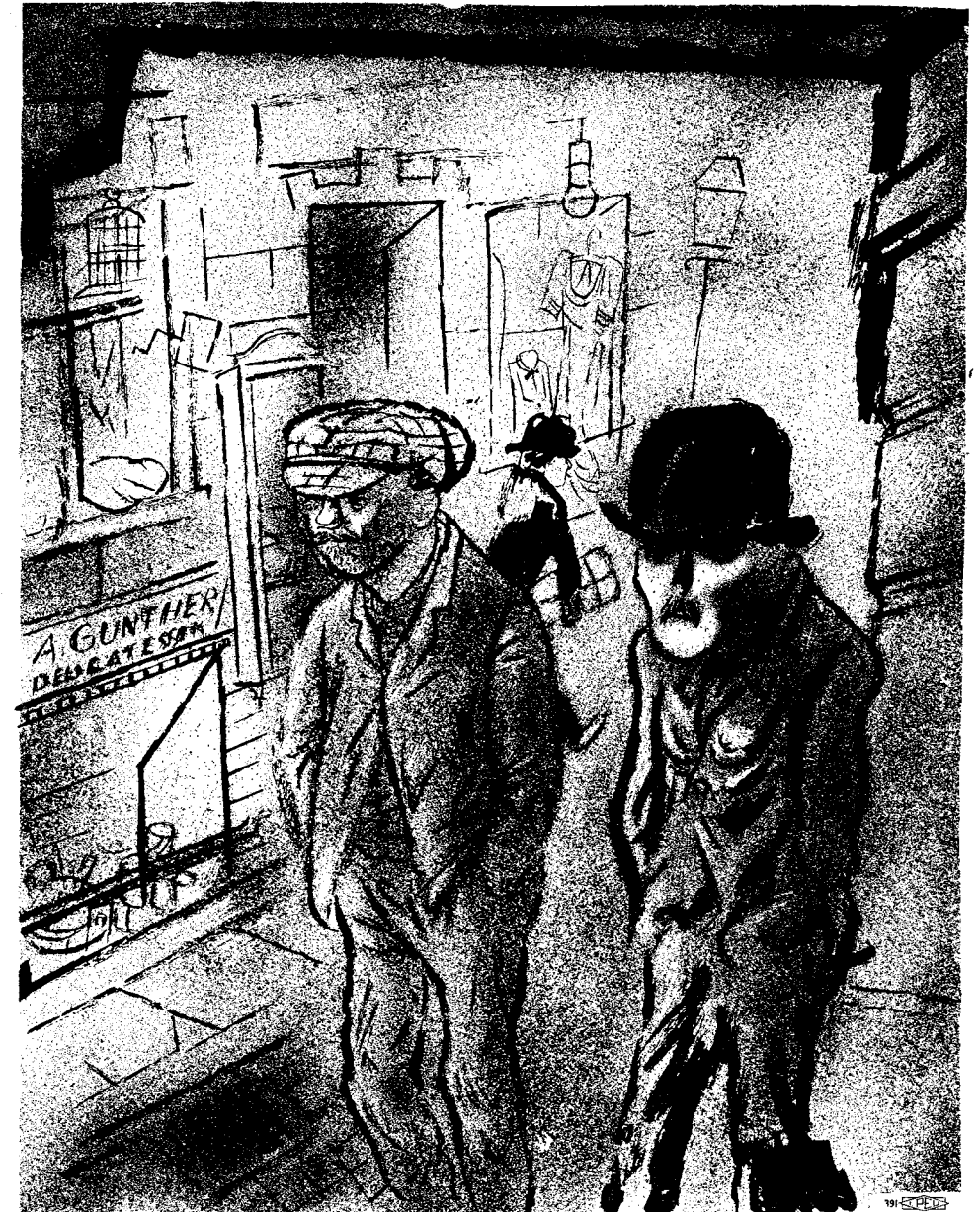
First of all, it must be said that the problem in the Communist Party of Germany is not that of persons but one involving the very fate of the party. Secondly, the present discussion is not one carried on under the banner of defeat as it was before the party congress at Frankfurt. The axis of the discussion is to be found in the problems of the present and the future and not in the past. The pith of the question lies in the making of the Communist Party of Germany an organic part, a more virile organ of the Communist International.

Let no one think that the dissatisfaction on the part of the Executive Committee of the Communist International with the Fischer-Maslow Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has come suddenly. The problems examined and decided upon in the last resolution of the Comintern on the German question have been looked into and accepted thrice: Yet these decisions of the Communist International have not been executed. The last congress of the party merely brought forth this non-execution—though acceptance—policy in all its naked ugliness. The last Berlin convention of the party was a dead conference. It reflected the dangerous condition in which the party found itself, but it mirrored no life in the ranks of the party membership.

For nearly eighteen months the careful observer could see the development of a conflict between the Fischer-Maslow Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany and the Executive Committee of the Communist International. One need but recall the letter sent by Comrade Zinoviev to the Frankfurt congress of the party, the opposition by the Fischer-Maslow delegates to international trade union unity at the Fifth World Congress, the criticism of the German Party at the March, 1925, sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern for its failure to normalize and democratize the party, the opposition of Katz and Scholem (allies of Fischer and Maslow) to a correct Communist policy in the elections in which Hindenburg was chosen president, the negotiations with the executive of the Comintern on the eve of the Berlin Party Congress, among many other instances, to see that all has not been going well for some time in the German section of the Communist International.

Thus we find in the letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Communist Party of Germany:

"Up to the last, the Executive has sought to avoid the breaking out of an open conflict and the



Germany "Saved" by the Dawes' Plan!

resulting necessary organizational measures. . . . We have attempted to convince the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group of its errors by means of comrade-like co-operation. Despite our misgivings, we avoided an open conflict, in order that we might throw no difficulties in the way of the German Left, with whose political line the executive has solidarized more than once, at a moment when it was undertaking a severe struggle against the right and ultra-left deviations in the German Communist Party. . . .

"The Berlin Party Conference, and the events immediately following its close, proved finally to the Executive that all hopes of settling the differences in the course of normal co-operation are shattered. The attacks made by Comrades Maslow and Ruth

Fischer force upon us the urgent necessity of laying the question of the German Party openly before all the members. . . .

"May our enemies break into a howl of triumph and point their fingers at the sore spots in the German Party. May the bourgeoisie and the social traitors of all Germany fling scorn and derision upon the party. **LENIN HAS TAUGHT US TO EXPOSE RUTHLESSLY ALL THE ERRORS OF OUR PARTY, THE SOLE PARTY OF THE VANGUARD OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT, WITH BOLSHEVIST OPENNESS, WITHOUT CONSIDERING THE ENEMY.** There is no party in the world, like the Communist Party, able to recognize and to expose its defects openly and to their logical conclusion. **THIS IS THE SOLE PLEDGE FOR THE RAPID AND COMPLETE OVERCOMING OF THESE ERRORS.**" (Our emphasis.)

After the Berlin conference Ruth Fischer sent a delegation to Moscow in order to secure the repudiation of the actions of the representatives of the executive of the Comintern at this conference. The answer of the Comintern was an unequivocal declaration that such politics will no longer be tolerated. By this time, the opposition to the Fischer-Maslow policies which had long been smoldering in the Central Committee, succeeded in winning the majority of the committee for its position in behalf of the platform of the Communist International and against the line of the Fischer-Maslow group.

The struggle was intense. Two delegations were sent to the Comintern. Finally Ruth Fischer made a declaration admitting the correctness of the criticism leveled against her policies by the Communist International. The letter from the Communist International to the Communist Party of Germany referred to above was subsequently accepted unanimously by the German commission, by the Praesidium of the Communist International, and by all the representatives of the German Party to the Comintern.

The Points of Conflict.

Since then there has been going on a discussion in the German Party to win over the entire membership to the line of the Communist International. Concretely the tasks of the party are outlined in an analysis of the errors made in the past and the recurrence of which must be prevented at all costs. The main problems of the party and the chief points of criticism raised against the old Central Committee led by Fischer and Maslow follow:

A. The Increase of the Recruiting Powers of The Party.

The Communist Party of Germany must get a new approach to the working masses. The isolation in which the party finds itself as a result of the wrong policies of the Maslow-Fischer group must be broken.

Pessimism was the chief characteristic of the attitude of the Maslow-Fischer Central Committee towards the masses. The old leadership of the German section had no faith in the powers and activity of the proletarian masses. Its ideology was totally pessimistic. The Fischer-Maslow group failed to react to the new processes, to the new currents in the working class. It could not see that simultaneously with the orientation of the German bourgeoisie west-

ward, there was a movement among the workers eastward, toward the Left, a real growth of sympathy with and support of the Soviet Union. Not even once did the Fischer-Maslow leadership realize that the time was really at hand to help build a left wing movement, especially in the trade unions.

Apropos of this task of the party the letter of the Communist International declared:

"At the present juncture the most important task of the party is to react speedily and energetically to the impending political regrouping within the German working class. . . .

"The masses of the social-democratic workers now turning away from their counter-revolutionary leaders, and beginning slowly and hesitatingly, but incontestably, to turn towards proletarian revolution, must be made to feel that **THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS REALLY A PARTY OF THE WORKERS, A PARTY WHICH FIGHTS TENACIOUSLY FOR THE WORKERS' INTERESTS, FOR THEIR PARTIAL DEMANDS, FOR THEIR DAILY NEEDS,** a party which does not regard the workers merely as an object for agitation, but as class brothers, and which is sincerely endeavoring to form the proletarian united front in the class struggle.

"ALL THE OTHER POLITICAL STEPS UNDERTAKEN BY THE PARTY MUST BE MADE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THIS MAIN TASK." (Our emphasis.)

B. The Intensification of the Trade Union Work.

All energies of the party must be concentrated on improving and extending the trade union work and campaigns. This work is far more important than all the shilly-shally parliamentary maneuvers. Instead of ten percent, at least seventy-five per cent of the party's activities should center in the trade union work.

The errors of the Fischer-Maslow group on the trade union field have been many and serious. It was under the leadership of Ruth Fischer that the German delegation at the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International fought against world trade union unity and branded this movement as "a pawn of Russian foreign policy" and a "rapprochement with the MacDonald English government." This is the nadir of the "anti-Moscow" ideology. Maslow's attitude was of a similar nature.

Even in its attempt to fight the tendency to leave the unions, manifested in certain sections of the working class, the Fischer-Maslow group made serious errors. Instead of reasoning with and trying to win over to the correct point of view the many good, though unclear, proletarians, the old Central Committee resorted to mechanical pressure and cuss-words. This is very much akin to the methods used by Fischer and Maslow in its handling of the inner-party problems.

But worst of all is the costly mistake made by the Fischer-Maslow leadership in dissolving the trade union department of the party. That is why the last letter of the Comintern declares: "The organization of a competent trade union department in the Central Committee of the German Communist Party must afford the proof that the lead-

ers of the party are seriously inclined to make this work the fundamental task of the party."

C. Winning Over the Social-Democratic Proletarian Masses.

The party will from now on pay considerably more attention to winning over the proletarian masses still following the banner of the social-democrats. The old leadership practically failed to react to such fundamental, deep-going differences as those which were developing in the social-democracy of Saxony. "One must understand how to distinguish not only in words but in deeds between the counter-revolutionary social-democratic leaders and the broad mass of social-democratic workers," states the Comintern in its estimate of the party's task on this field.

D. The Normalization and Democratization of the Party.

Under the Fischer-Maslow leadership there prevailed in the party too much of a factional atmosphere. Mechanical pressure from on top was too much the order of the day. Capable comrades were denied the opportunity to be active in the party's work. There was a fear of new persons. A narrow clique dictatorship was established in the old Central Committee which sought to maintain its authority through such means and through methods which really smacked of loud American advertising.

This condition is to be liquidated with energy and despatch. It is a non-Bolshevist relationship. New proletarian elements are to be drawn into party activities. The initiative of the broad party membership must be enhanced. Normalizing and democratizing the party will translate itself in the uprooting of the old factional spirit. Party organization must be prosecuted with far greater vigor than the Fischer-Maslow group showed.

The letter of the Communist International is very instructive on this point of the bureaucratization of the German Party when it says:

"This question formed for us a part of the question of the relations toward the non-party and social-democratic workers. For when purely administrative methods are employed in the Party, the same policy is employed on a larger scale to the workers outside of the Party, and the result is the cutting off of the possibility of winning over fresh workers. We believe that unless the Party undertakes these inner-party reforms, it will not be capable of carrying out a correct policy among the masses. For these reasons the Executive demanded these reforms to be made in the direction of 'normalizing Party life'. . . .

"In the Party there is a lack of control from below; that is, by the members of the Party. At the same time, the leading group has been carrying on a perpetual struggle against control from above; that is, by the Executive of the Comintern. In this manner such a state of affairs was created as led to a loss of sense of responsibility, which led to various and quite intolerable things."

Particularly severe criticism was leveled by the Comintern against the character of the Berlin Party conference which did not reflect in the least the Party life and which was barren in every respect.

E. The Relations With the Communist International.

The more the Communist International develops into a Bolshevized world Party, the more importance do the relations between the various sections and the Executive assume. The

attitude to the Communist International displayed by the Fischer-Maslow Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany is a very instructive example for all other Communist Parties of how not to deal with the Comintern.

The Fischer-Maslow leadership entertained a childish fear of the Communist International going to the right. It did not trust the Comintern. An attitude of separatism from the Communist International was developing in the Party through the non-Bolshevist methods, through the dishonest methods resorted to by this leadership in its dealings with the Communist International.

On this point the letter of the Communist International is very emphatic. It says:

"Another thing which must be broken with—definitely broken with—is the system of 'double accounting' employed by the above-mentioned comrades for a full year in their relations with the Comintern. Instead of sincerely carrying out the correct line laid down by the Comintern, this group has made continual attempts at side-tracking, substantiating their action to their own party members by references to an alleged 'pressure to the right' on the part of the Executive. At the same time they have offered systematic resistance to the Executive by referring to an alleged 'Ultra-Left Tendency' among the members of the German Party."

The Central Committee of Fischer-Maslow even sent emissaries to other Communist Parties in order to propagate its non-Bolshevist conception of the Communist International.

The fact of the matter is that every anti-Bolshevist deviation which has hitherto reared its head in Germany has begun with an attack on the Soviet Government, the Russian Communist Party, and the Communist International. All of these deviations, whether they wore a Right or a Left mask, soon degenerated into social-democracy and resulted in alliance with the social-democrats against Communism. The role played by the Communist Labor Party, Levi, Friesland, various Brandlerites, and the Schumacher group very well illustrates this truth.

And "The changes in the political situation, the final transition of the German bourgeoisie to a Western orientation, the climax reached by social-democratic agitation against Soviet Russia, render the danger of anti-Bolshevist deviations in the German Communist Party at the present juncture greater and more acute than ever," declared the Communist International.

F. The Attempt to Revise Leninism Must Be Repudiated.

These Right, anti-Bolshevist deviations assumed serious manifestations not only in the openly Ultra-Left group of Scholem, Katz and Rosenberg, but also in the Fischer-Maslow group.

Comrade Zinoviev in his speech of August 13, 1925, before the German Commission, hit the nail on the head when he said:

"The point of view of this group (Fischer-Maslow) was that it is the proper West European representative of revolutionary Marxism. We in Russia have been demoralized by the N. E. P. We are an agricultural country. Lenin is dead. But Maslow is alive. This was and still is the slogan of this group. Maslow is the West European Lenin. He understands the situation and will show the way."

In his book, "The Two Revolutions of 1917," Maslow makes a frontal assault on Leninism. The Third World Congress, which established firmly and elaborated completely the tactics of the United Front, is the target of Maslow's pen. In the opinion of Maslow, this Congress drove the Comintern to the Right, was under the spiritual leadership of Trotzky, overestimated the Levites, enhanced opportunism everywhere, and did more harm than good to the West-European parties. Maslow charges Lenin with having misjudged the German Party.

It is obvious that such an assault is an attack on the very heart of Leninist theory and practice. Thus we find the Communist International in its letter to the German Party categorically stating: **"THE EXECUTIVE DECLARES BEFORE THE WHOLE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL THAT THIS MONSTROUS ATTACK UPON LENIN AND LENINISM CANNOT BE TOLERATED UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES."**

"It is no accident that today, in 1925, Comrade Maslow makes precisely the Third World Congress the object of his attack.

"The Third Congress embodies precisely THAT concrete link in the chain of the development of Leninism and of the Comintern which is of the greatest immediate practical significance in the present situation for all Communist Parties, but above all for the German."

No one in the German Party would today dare declare himself in principle against the tactics of the united front. Yet, actually, this criticism of the Third Congress by Maslow is an attack against the entire united front policy of the Comintern; particularly is the truth of this seen when we are now beginning to realize many gains from our united front tactics.

This policy of Maslow translated into practical work means total bankruptcy. It means the destruction of all trade union work and of the party as a living revolutionary organism. The letter of the Comintern to the German Party—a most instructive document which every Communist should study carefully—very properly characterizes the significance of Maslow's cry: "Back to the Second World Congress," when it says:

"Those, who like Comrade Maslow, deny this important turning point in our tactics, those who seek to discredit it as a 'swing to the Right,' those who deride it as a concession to Trotzkyism or to the apostate Levi, ARE ATTACKING THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE COMINTERN."

There is no doubt that one of the best guarantees for the healthy development of the Communist Party of Germany into a powerful Bolshevik mass Party is the honest and firm determination of the new Central Executive Committee, led by such comrades as Thaelmann and Neumann, to destroy all such anti-Bolshevist tendencies as were manifested by Maslow in his onslaught against Leninism and the Comintern.

G. The Right Deviations of the Maslow-Fischer Group Must Be Corrected.

There are some who will try to misinterpret this policy of the Communist International as a criticism of the German Left, as an attack from the Right, as driving the Communist Party of Germany to the Right. That explains why the letter

of the Comintern to the German Party states so clearly:

"WE CONSIDER THESE ASSERTIONS TO BE WRONG. IT IS NOT THE LEFT WHICH IS BANKRUPT, BUT SOME OF THE LEADERS OF THIS LEFT, and the Left itself will hold its own along other lines, winning ever-increasing numbers of the Party members and developing energetic and positive work."

The fact of the matter is that the errors made by the Maslow-Fischer group are not errors of a Leftist character but of an extreme Right anti-Bolshevist character. We need but cite the overestimation of parliamentary activity by this group, its pessimistic attitude towards the masses, its dangerous anti-Comintern attitude and its continuous coquetting with the Ultra-Left, as only a few of the Right deviations of the Fischer-Maslow group.

There is no doubt that the Communist Party of Germany still faces dangers from the Left and the Right. But with the active guidance of the Communist International, with the Communist soundness at heart of the mass of members and with the energetic Bolshevization program and activities of the new Central Executive Committee, the Communist Party of Germany will surely make considerable progress from now on towards a mass Bolshevik Party.

Some Valuable Lessons for America.

From the crisis in the German Party, the American workers, especially our Party members, can learn much.

The international situation is common in its fundamental aspects in the various countries and produces similar problems at particular moments. Of course, the manifestations of the reactions of the working class to this general condition take on specific and peculiarly local forms in each country. Thus, it is no accident to find that the disease of pessimism has attacked the American section as well as the German Party at about the same time; though the form in which this disease manifested itself in the Workers Communist Party differed from the form in which it showed itself in the Communist Party of Germany.

Luckily, we have a world revolutionary party in the Communist International that is quick to correct such dangerous errors creeping into the policies and tactics of its various sections in their particular reactions to their specific objective conditions. The Communist International has corrected the error of pessimism in our Party as well as in the German Party, to the tremendous advantage of both parties.

1. The Question of Pessimism.

In the recent controversy in our Party over the question of the Labor Party we had the dangers of pessimism permeating our ranks with demoralizing and deadening effect. A whole theory of the "Masses At Rest" and "The Mass Grave" developed in the last Party discussion. In the Daily Worker of November 15, 1924, we read:

"If it is true that the Communists and their Party were so much 'impossible' that the masses will not turn to them for leadership, even in the hour of bitter need and in the absence of any other leadership, then. . . Well, then the only thing the American Labor Movement could do would be to form immediately one general, universal grave-digging association, and begin digging one fraternal grave for the entire working class."

This is, in the last analysis, an expression of utter help-

lessness. To cover the fact that they did not know what to do, these comrades declared categorically: "Nothing can be done."

And in the Daily Worker of December 2, 1924, we are treated to this expression of pessimism, to this confession of a total lack of faith in the activity of the masses:

"The masses which are dissatisfied with the two old capitalist parties—as parties—have now found their haven in the LaFollette movement. As far as building a new party is concerned, the masses are now at rest."

More than that. In the very attitude against a Labor Party policy in our Party we have an interesting resemblance to the attitude of the Maslow-Fischer group and its ultra-left ally towards the united front. "We are not opposed to the united front in principle, but we are opposed to this or that application of it at this time," has been the cry of the followers of the Fischer-Maslow group in Germany. This sounds very familiar. It sounds almost like the cry, "We are not opposed to the Labor Party in principle but whoever raises the slogan of a Labor Party at this time is not a Communist."

The Fischer-Maslow Central Committee sneered at participation by the Party in the struggle for the daily demands of the workers. The Fischer-Maslow group declared that the masses are not interested in their daily needs. The inactivity and the passivity with which this leadership was itself infected were transferred to and seen in the proletarian masses by the Fischer-Maslow Central Committee. After the presidential election in 1924, some of the leaders of our Party in the United States saw in the masses no activity, all passivity, pessimism, insofar as the struggle for independent political action was concerned.

2. Approaching Proletarian Masses.

The Communist Party of Germany had erred in its failure to approach properly and to maintain sufficient contact with the social-democratic masses. Our Party made a similar serious mistake in its attitude after the 1924 election campaign, towards the farmer-labor masses when the labor party slogan and campaign were dropped and when an intense ideological campaign was launched to propagandize the Party against the Labor Party.

Fundamentally, these errors in Germany and America are akin, though their forms differ because of the difference in the class relationships and the difference in the extent of the political development of the working classes in the two countries. In both instances, these errors were mistakes of an opportunist sectarian character.

The German Communist Party began to bask in the sun of its own splendid isolation. Likewise, some leading elements in our Party tried to make a virtue out of the isolation into which we fell through a combination of wrong political policies and unfavorable objective conditions.

3. The Attitude Toward the Comintern.

In the question of its attitude toward the Communist International, the American Party has much to learn. This was demonstrated especially in the attitude of Comrade Foster toward the last decision of the Comintern. While professing allegiance to the Comintern, he agitated the Party against the decision of that body. While protesting loyalty to the leadership of the Comintern, he agitated among his followers about the "mistakes" of this leadership.

Such a policy is akin to that of the Fischer-Maslow group.

Two sets of books—one for public consumption, with doctored accounts, and one private set, revealing the real accounts.

The Communist International is the outward, the real form of the international unity of our Communist movement. Decisions of the Communist International are the expressions of one international experience on the problems of the different national parties. The value of this experience lies not only in the fact that, in the form of Comintern decisions, it corrects wrong policies, but also, and most important of all, it conveys this international experience in the form of theoretical and practical lessons to the Party concerned. When a Comintern decision reverses a policy of a national party it is done on the basis of an experience that was not at the disposal of the body which decided the original policy. The decision of the Communist International makes available such international experience to the leadership of the national party. And this leadership, in turn, must be instrumental in making this experience available to the whole membership of the Party.

The seriousness with which the party leadership applies itself to this task, is a criterion of its Communist quality and its loyalty to the Comintern.

In this respect our Party has to overcome serious shortcomings. Formal admittance of mistakes has been used as a method to conceal them. Minor errors have been inflated to hide major mistakes. That is not Leninism. It is the exact opposite. Leninism is deadly poison to such policies. What is most important, is that such policies are deadly poison to Leninism, to Bolshevism. A party conducted and led by such methods will never be a Bolshevik Party.

The latest manifestation of such an attitude against the line of the Communist International was cited by Comrade Green when he declared:

"The resolution of Cannon was accepted for the Communist International. But as candidates for the Politbureau were selected Comrades Foster and Bittelman who took a position against the Communist International, against the decision of the Comintern. In words, therefore, they were for the Communist International, in action, against it. In words, for Cannon, in deeds, for Foster and Bittelman."

Today, the central issue between the right wing and the Communist elements in our Party is the difference in attitude towards the Communist International.

Was the American Decision Made Suddenly?

Some have expressed profound amazement at the "suddenness" of the Comintern's "change" of policy for the American Party as shown in its cabled decision to the Fourth National Convention of our Party.

There certainly was no "suddenness" in the action of the Communist International. The decision came after months of patient waiting, after months of careful and thorough examination of all the facts.

The decision of the Communist International on the American question, made in April, 1925, confronted the leadership of the American Party with a great task. Its fundamental policy was reversed. Did it understand this reversal? Did it endeavor to understand it or to convey an understanding of it to the membership?

The Comintern was treated to a spectacle that it could not help noticing. Here was a leadership that had been shown its error and now had to prove its revolutionary reliability and seriousness by a Leninist self-criticism. Instead of that, the Communist International found a systematic effort to-

wards deceiving the membership in regard to the Comintern decision. This attempt at deception was resorted to in the interest of a faction: The interest of a faction was considered paramount to the interest of the Party.

Another basis for the action of the Communist International was the treatment of the Lore danger in the Party. The Party was instructed to forge the club of unity of the Party to combat Lore. But in reality the club of Loreism was swung to combat unity. The interests of the Party were sacrificed on the altar of a faction, while the need of the hour demanded that the faction should be sacrificed on the altar of the Party.

All this, coupled with the opportunist sectarian tendencies were largely responsible for the deadening of the Party's life and activities, for the practical collapse of the Party's trade union work, which vacillated between crazy leftism and the rankest opportunism; for the practical cessation of the Party's political campaigns and its almost total isolation. All this dictated the last Comintern decision on the American Party.

Lore, and his opportunist allies who may still remain in our Party, are vainly trying to get solace out of the decision on the German question. They say this is a move to the right. Therefore, the Communist International will soon reverse its line for America. Lore has expressed himself to this effect in the Volkszeitung. Lore and his allies are totally wrong. The American decision, like the German decision, is a deadly blow against the right wing.

Our Main Tasks.

Today, the new Central Executive Committee of our Party is facing a very difficult time. The new Central Executive Committee must normalize and democratize the Party. It must free itself completely of all factional prejudices. It must remove ruthlessly all vestiges of factional clique rule no matter where and by whom it manifests itself.

The new Central Executive Committee must increase the initiative of the Party membership and must activate our ranks. We must broaden considerably the leading Party cadres. We must drop all mechanical, dictatorial methods. We must develop a spirit of Bolshevik self-criticism.

In this sense, the significance of the unification of the Communist elements, as indicated by the unity between the Ruthenberg group and those Comrades of the former majority supporting the line of Comrade Cannon for the Communist International, cannot be overestimated. This unification of Communist forces is a positive step toward putting a complete end to the factional struggle in our Party. With this solidarity of the Communist elements in our Party, the enemies of the line of the Comintern have been struck a severe blow.

This unity will hasten the total eradication of factional hostility. It will lift completely, the state of siege—factional siege—which has done such incalculable damage to our Party. This unity will prevent all possible dangers of mechanical methods being resorted to by the new Central Committee. It will tend to uproot the distrust and suspicion which have been paralyzing our Party's life. With this unification, the Central Executive Committee will be able to proceed even more vigorously with its reorganization program than it has done so far.

Simultaneously with the drawing of new elements into Party work there will come an activation of the entire

Party membership and the mobilization of the Party for mass activities. We will be in a position to begin to utilize effectively the partial, the every-day demands of the workers for the development of their class, their political consciousness.

The Central Executive Committee must above all see to it that the Party's trade union activities are increased at least ten-fold. Our Central Committee's trade union department must be made a much more living, a far better functioning, an intensely virile department. Our answer to the expulsion policy of the reactionary bureaucracies must be "into the unions" for our membership. We must destroy the dangerous concept which has hitherto prevailed in certain sections of our ranks that trade union activity is the art and craft of a special group of expert trade unionist comrades. Trade union activity must become the activity of all our members. At the same time, we must fundamentally revise our trade union policy to bring it fully in line with the program of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The labor party campaign must be resumed energetically. The Central Committee should lose no time in educating the Party membership to the need of such a campaign and must carefully prepare the ground for launching a vigorous campaign for a Labor Party in the trade unions and other labor organizations. In doing this, we should make effort to avoid the errors from the left as well as from the right which we have made in the past.

Finally, we must elevate the Communist understanding of our membership. We should train a corps of new Party workers. We should politicalize our Party much more than we have done to date. We should "Americanize" and "unionize" our Party in the true Bolshevik sense of the word. A spirit of Party loyalty must be cultivated in our ranks. A spirit of Party work must be developed in larger sections of our membership. The unification of all Communist forces for the line of the Comintern, regardless of all past factional alignments should be the central task of our Party bolshevization campaign.

The Beginning of Bolshevization.

The foes of the Communist International in every country will be painfully disappointed if they expect a weakening of the German Party as a result of the last decision. It is interesting to note how our enemies outside and within the Communist International greet the difficulties the various Communist Parties must experience. Every difficult moment in the life of a Communist party, every obstacle a Communist party has to overcome is usually hailed by these enemies of the proletariat as the beginning of the end of the Communist party in question. Usually, these critical moments in the lives of our Parties are only the occasions for new periods of activity, progress and development of our Parties.

There is no use in denying the fact that our own Workers Communist Party has been and is still going through a crisis. We are in the crisis of Bolshevization. We are taking the first steps towards laying a healthy Bolshevik foundation for our Party. Let our enemies in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, in the Socialist Party, Lore and Company and the right wing of our Party welcome our difficulties and hardships. The Workers Communist Party will come out of this critical test stronger than it has ever been and really prepared to develop into a mass Bolshevik Party—a living, fighting, victorious section of the world revolutionary party of the proletariat—The Communist International.

Professor Carver Makes a "Revolution"

By C. E. Ruthenberg

"The Present Economic Revolution in the United States."
By Thomas Nixon Carver.

IN the present historical period, with a Proletarian Revolution victorious in Russia and a new social order actually in the process of being created in the Soviet Union, it is no longer advisable for the economists who serve as the defenders of the capitalist system to scoff at the idea of a revolutionary change in the existing social order. Rather, it is their role to prove that the crude, violent method of the workers seizing the governmental power, hurling the capitalists from their seats of the mighty and confiscating industry, is entirely unnecessary because the same result can be achieved in other ways.

H. G. Wells, for instance, found the Marxian method of revolution not at all to his liking. The idea of the exploited, oppressed workers—a class—throwing their masters from their backs by force and proceeding to build a new social order, clashed harshly with his conception of a nice, orderly, peaceful, "New Machiavellian" creation of a new social system. In order to escape from the harsh reality of actual revolution in this world of ours, he proceeded to find substitutes for the method of oppressed classes revolting against their oppressors and by force ending the rule of their oppressors. These substitutes have been given to us in a long series of novels.

Revolution by Miracles.

"The Sleeper Wakes" gave us a fantastic presentation of the concentration of ownership under capitalism. The hero, possessor of a small fortune, remains in a cataleptic state for a hundred years, at the end of which he awakes to find himself the owner of the earth. The workers have become a specialized form of human beings physically, as well as an economic caste. The trustees of the Sleeper's fortune own and rule the world. The Sleeper's horror because of what is done in his name precipitates the revolution. In "The War of the Worlds" the men of Mars, driven from their own planet by the fact that conditions which will no longer sustain life are approaching, make a raid upon the earth with a consequent war between the men of earth and the Martians. Unfortunately for the Martians, they cannot live upon our germ-laden food. They are killed off by it, but while the war of the worlds lasts the men of the earth learn the lessons which result in the creation of a collectivist society. "The Food of the Gods," through which men grow into giants, brings a similar struggle between the giants and the present pigmy men with the same consequences. "In the Days of the Comet" miraculous changes take place in human nature through the earth passing through the tail of a comet, and mankind awakes to live and work in a co-operative brotherhood. "The World Set Free" pictures capitalist, scientist and worker uniting to reconstruct society on a new basis, after a war in which the chief weapon has been bombs which release atomic energy, spreading havoc and destruction and wiping out whole cities. In his latest effort along the same line, "The Dream," Wells is even driven to find his utopia in another dimension, exist-

ing in the same space and at the same time with our present earthly social system.

Thomas Nixon Carver, Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University, in "The Present Economic Revolution in the United States" makes a similar effort at substituting an impossible method of achieving a revolutionary change in our economic system for the way which history shows to be the only method of achieving such a change. He endeavors to prove that class consciousness is a "frame of mind" and class struggle is an outgrown method of fighting, that capitalism in the United States has so increased wealth production and the workers' share of the wealth produced that the workers are becoming capitalists and the owners of industry, and that this process will continue until the difference between worker and capitalist will disappear entirely.

Professor Carver does not only appear in the role of an economist presenting facts and drawing conclusions from them. If his book contained such a presentation only one might find it as amusing as one of Wells' impossible romances, and pass it over. Carver not only presents his thesis and endeavors to prove it, but also essays the role of the propagandist and urges upon the labor movement the conscious adoption of his method of achieving a social revolution. In fact, only one chapter of twenty-four pages is devoted to the "economic revolution." In the remaining two hundred and thirty-nine pages he preaches to the workers and gives them learned but unsound advice.

It is worth while, before taking up the main theory of the book, to examine some of the views which evidently pass for sound political economy in our colleges. The book literally reeks with statements and theories, presented with all the gravity and seriousness of a professor of political economy, which will not bear even the most superficial analysis.

Marxian Materialism.

As a first example, we have the following on the Materialist Conception of History:

"One of their (The Bolsheviks') leading doctrines is the materialistic interpretation of history which, under Marx's perversion, allows for no idealism of any kind. This doctrine in its more scientific form did not originate with Marx, nor was he its most erudite and logical expounder. Buckle did it much better. Marx combined it, however, with another doctrine, that of evolution through class struggle. These two doctrines in combination leave no room for any form of idealism. Neither doctrine, taken alone, is so very deadly; at least, no more so than any other false doctrine. In combination, however, they are perfectly deadly and completely destructive, not only of our material civilization, but of all ideals on which any civilization was ever based. The present revolution in Russia is a proletarian revolution, based upon the crass self-interest of the so-called proletarians. They do not even profess to be work-



"Democracy."

By Julian de Miskey

ing for ideals. They profess to be working for their own material self-interest. They do not stand for ideals; they stand for themselves alone. In this they are consistent followers of Marx."

Russian Workers Striving for Better Society.

This might pass as a propaganda editorial in a yellow capitalist newspaper, but from a professor of political economy, who is presumed to know even the theories he opposes when he writes about them, one expects something more clever. Marx did not exclude idealism (in the sense of the influence of a desire for a better state of society) from among the factors which influence the action of individuals. Marxian materialism does say that the way men gain their living, the class relationships which grow out of an existing economic system, are the dynamic forces from which their actions spring. The workers today have conceived of the ideal, and are striving for the ideal of a collectivist society, because the development of the machinery of production under the capitalist system makes the collective ownership of that machinery of production the only means of abolish-

ing the exploitation and oppression from which they suffer and of ending the class conflict to which the ownership of that machinery of production by capitalism gives rise. The Russian revolution is based upon the interest of the workers as a class, but the interest of the workers coincides with the realization of the greatest ideal which man has conceived—the creation of a social order in which one class does not live and thrive upon exploitation and oppression of another, but in which all men co-operate for the satisfaction of their common needs.

The fraudulent character of Professor Carver's attack upon Marxian materialism becomes apparent a little farther along in the same chapter from which the above quotation is taken, when he argues against the possibility that the proletarian revolution will abolish war. He says:

"The history of efforts to eliminate war by conquest, and the elimination of all ruling groups except the one that is victorious, does not lend much support to the theory that the PAX BOLSHEVIKA would endure for a long time, OR THAT IT WOULD BE PROOF AGAINST THE CONFLICT OF INTER-

ESTS AMONG THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS THAT MUST NECESSARILY BE INCLUDED UNDER THE TERM OF PROLETARIAT. (Emphasis mine.)

Marxian materialism and the doctrine of the class struggle "are perfectly deadly and completely destructive, not only of our material civilization, but of all ideals on which any civilization was ever based" when they are applied to the capitalist system, but when Professor Carver makes an argument against Communism he is compelled to seek a "conflict of interest among the various elements that must necessarily be included under the term proletariat." Of course the conflict of interest between elements of the proletariat in a socialized society is a figment of the professor's imagination.

The Basis of Revolutions.

Another example of the same sort of reasoning appears in the following:

"An economic revolution may follow as a result of a political revolution, but it usually does not. According to De Tocqueville the one significant economic result of the French Revolution, which was primarily political, was that the land of the peasants was freed from a multitude of duties and restrictions and became their property in a more complete sense than it had ever been. Up to the present (1925) that is the only economic improvement over the old regime that is noticeable in Russia; yet the specific purpose of the Russian revolutionist was to use the power of government to force a new economic order upon the people."

If Professor Carver had read his history aright he would certainly not have propounded the theory that economic revolutions follow political revolutions. To the contrary, political revolutions follow and are the expression of economic revolutions. Feudalism gave way to capitalism, because the capitalist had seized political power and then proceeded to build the capitalist social order? Just the reverse! Commerce developed under the feudal regime and as soon as the capitalist class, which came into being with the growth of new commerce, became sufficiently strong, it challenged the power and overthrew the old regime. Capitalism has since undergone an economic revolution in the development of large-scale, collective production, and has created the modern proletariat. The political revolutions which lie ahead will express that economic revolution by placing the state power in the hands of the proletariat, which will use it to expropriate the capitalists and bring the ownership, management and distribution of the products of industry in harmony with the collective production which the economic revolution under capitalism has already produced.

Professor Carver may gain solace out of the belief that the Russian proletarian revolution has achieved nothing, if the fact that the Soviet government has expropriated all capitalists and now owns and manages collectively, in the interest of the workers, 80 per cent of Russian industry outside of agriculture, means so little to him as an exponent and defender of capitalism!

Are Class Distinctions a "Frame of Mind?"

Professor Carver's views on why class conflict and class consciousness exist in the United States are as unique as the opinions quoted above. He tells us:

"It would seem that with our democratic tra-

ditions and our universal respect for labor, with our common-school system under which employer and employe could have gone to school together and called one another by their first names—as they probably did—such a thing as class distinction SHOULD NOT HAVE ARISEN." (Emphasis mine.)

But class distinctions have arisen and Professor Carver must find a reason for them. One reason he gives is that they are the result of "a frame of mind." Another reason is that the workers, or as the Professor Carver prefers to call them, the laborers, emphasize the wrong thing.

He gives us the example of the relationship between husband and wife. There are points of harmony and of conflict between them. If through some carelessness they make the mistake of emphasizing the points of conflict there will be conflict between them. On the other hand, if they emphasize the points of harmony they will have a peaceful and pleasant life together.

We are glad to accept Professor Carver's example. There are things leading to harmony and things leading to conflict between husband and wife, but there is one fundamental relationship which is decisive—their sexual life together. If one or the other happens to stray in relation to that, all the other harmonies do not help much. They usually land in the divorce court.

There happens to be such a fundamental relationship between the capitalists and the worker. The worker wants the greatest share of his product that he can force from the capitalist. The capitalist wants the highest rate of profit he can secure. These two things are in conflict. This difference of interest divides the capitalist and worker into two economic classes. The fact that this is so is testified to by a thousand strikes, boycotts, lockouts, injunctions, court actions, use of police and military power, all growing out of the question of whether the workers' share of his product or the capitalist's profits shall be increased. No change in the worker's frame of mind will change this hard economic fact. His experiences in this struggle with the capitalists makes the worker class conscious.

Professor Carver will have nothing to do with this basis of the development of class consciousness. He does not seek the reason in economic facts but in a "frame of mind." He cites the example of a cattleman: So long as the old man ran the ranch there was no class consciousness. He was the friend of every cowboy. When the old man died and the absentee son and daughter living in the city became the owners, class consciousness developed. It wasn't a question of economic, but of personal relationship.

Professor Carver might consider the example of Henry Ford. Ford started his business in a small factory and probably called his men Bill, Jack and Tom, just as did the cattleman. He is still intimately connected with his Highland Park plant employing forty thousand men and the River Rouge plant employing other tens of thousands. He is not an absentee owner. But there is class consciousness and class conflict between Henry Ford and his thousands of employes. Professor Carver doesn't see the difference between a cattleman and his dozen cowboys working together or Henry Ford and a half dozen helpers in a little shop and a modern industrial plant employing thousands of workers, except in the terms of the personal relationship of the owner to his employes. There is a more fundamental difference.

(Continued on page 87)

Henry Ford's forty thousand workers are producing automobiles collectively, each performing some highly specialized piece of work. They are working collectively, and as a result think collectively in the terms of their interest as a class. None of them can hope to achieve the ownership of Ford's plant individually. They can make the ownership collective and the distribution of the equivalent of the value of their product collective, just as their work is carried on collectively. It is not the personal relationship but the new mode of production which develops class consciousness and class struggle and ultimately the proletarian revolution and socialization of industry.

The Revolution Itself.

With this clearing away of some of the incidental argument we can turn to the main theory of the book. Professor Carver states it thus: "Wealth is not only increasing at a rapid rate, but the wages of those we formerly pitied are rising, laborers are becoming capitalists, and prosperity is becoming more and more widely diffused."

There is not a single figure in the book to show that the real wages of the workers of the United States have risen. If Professor Carver could prove that he would have some basis for his "revolution."

Unfortunately for Professor Carver, the contrary is true. Real wages in the United States show a decline during the last quarter of a century. In place of receiving wages which will buy more of their product, the workers' wages will buy less of their product.

Another college professor has dug out the facts which completely annihilate Professor Carver's arguments. These are contained in a book, "The Movement of Real Wages—1890-1924," by Paul A. Douglas, Professor of Industrial Relations in the University of Chicago. Using as the basic period for comparison the ten-year period of 1890-1899, Prof. Douglas comes to the conclusion that as compared to the cost of living and wages paid during this period, the wages received by the workers in 1923 will purchase only 95 per cent of the product compared to the cost of the things the workers must buy. Wages in 1923, therefore, in place of having risen have actually decreased. In place of the workers having the opportunity of becoming capitalists because of increase in their share of the wealth produced, they are compelled to submit to a lower standard of life because their wages will not buy as much as they would twenty-five years ago. That is reality as compared to Professor Carver's imaginary basis of an economic revolution in the United States.

Professor Carver endeavors to prove his point by other means than through showing an increase in the real wages of the workers of this country. He cites the increase in savings deposits, in saving and loan investments, the increase in insurance, the purchase of stock by employes and the growth of labor banking.

Savings deposits in the United States increased from \$8,728,536,000 deposited in 11,385,734 accounts to \$20,873,562,000 deposited in 38,867,994 accounts in 1924. These are striking figures, but as Professor Carver himself admits, part of the increase is due to the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar. As to the workers' share in the savings deposits, all that Professor Carver can offer against the hard fact that actual wages have declined is, "There is a reason-

able probability that wage workers furnish a fair share of the small savers."

The increase of life insurance, the increase in assets of saving and loan associations and of life insurance outstanding, which Professor Carver uses to prove his case, is subject to the same criticism. There is no evidence to show that this increase was the result of larger investments in building and loan associations and in life insurance by the workers. The probability of taking into consideration the decrease in the workers' real wages is against such an assumption.

Adding up the total savings deposits, the total assets of building and loan associations, and the life insurance premiums paid for the last five years, Professor Carver gets the sum of \$34,666,629,573. He continues his argument as follows.

"Of course this must be discounted somewhat because these savings are not wholly by laboring people. Discount this as much as we dare, it is still a fair inference that the share of the working people in the billions of savings will be somewhere in the billions. Any day the laborers decide to do so, they can divert a few billions of savings to the purchase of the common stock of industrial corporations, railroads, and public service companies, and actually control a considerable number of them. This is not necessarily a good policy, but it is within their power to do so if they decide that it is to their interests."

Could there be a slenderer basis for an economic revolution than this! No proof how much of this sum of \$34,666,629,573 belongs to the workers. It is to be discounted "somewhat." Somewhat may be five, ten or twenty-five per cent. But there is no proof that it should not be discounted ninety per cent. Then what is to happen? The workers are to withdraw a few billions and buy the common stock of industrial corporations, or other enterprises. Dear Professor Carver, think a moment about what would happen if the workers had the few billions and did decide to withdraw them from the savings banks or saving and loan associations or the insurance companies. There would be a financial crisis such as the world has never witnessed. The banks would close their doors. Factories would stop production. The workers would be driven to the streets, out of employment by the tens of millions, and the very likely consequence would be that the suffering and misery resulting would drive the workers to revolution, the seizure of the governmental power and to the abolition of the capitalist system. Thus Professor Carver's method of achieving the economic revolution in the United States would lead directly to a revolution of the kind the Professor is propagandizing the workers against throughout his whole book.

Stock Buying by Workers.

Unquestionably some workers, in the fear of losing their jobs, have invested money in the stock of the corporation by which they are employed. Professor Carver cites the fact that out of a thousand corporations circularized by the "Financial World," 104 replied that their employees were stock holders. We must consider, however, that in 1919 there were 290,105 industrial concerns in the United States and the fact that a few hundred have inveigled their employes

into stock-buying schemes is not of sufficient significance so that a claim of economic revolution may be based on it.

We might examine also the actual facts in regard to some of the corporations which Professor Carver cites as having adopted employees' stock investing plans. What share of the capital stock have the employees? How much control does it give them? What chance is there of the workers becoming the owners of industry through this method?

The investments of employees in stock compared to the total capitalization is so small as to be practically useless in giving them a larger share of the product of industry or control over the industry. Take the case of the General Motors Corporation, in which, Professor Carver states, the employees own 270,000 shares of common stock valued in excess of four million dollars. The total capitalization of the General Motors Corporation in 1914 was \$23,419,213. By 1922, this capitalization had increased to \$126,476,237. During the same period the 72,000 employees of the corporation, according to Professor Carver, were able to acquire the ownership of four million of the increase of a hundred twenty-three million in the capitalization of the company. The capitalists were able to invest a hundred nineteen million to the workers' four million. At that rate of progress the economic revolution Professor Carver is writing about will be a long time in arriving. Also the fact that the 72,000 employees own approximately \$50 each of the capital stock on which they may receive a dividend of \$3 each for a year, doesn't change to any extent their relation to the distribution of the products of the industry.

Or we might take the example of the International Harvester Company, also mentioned by Professor Carver. The workers have acquired a five million dollar interest in this corporation. The capitalization of the corporation is \$143,721,971. Workers have not yet acquired a 4 per cent interest in the capital and at the rate the capital stock increases they will never acquire such an interest.

The clinching argument against Professor Carver's whole case is in the statistics covering the distribution of personal incomes in the United States. The National Bureau of Economic Research has published a study of this question, "Income in the United States," based upon all the available sources of information. The Bureau comes to the conclusion that the total income of all persons gainfully employed in the year 1916 was \$57,954,722,341. The total number of income receivers was 37,569,060. Out of this total 32,278,411 received incomes below \$2,000. The total income of this group was \$34,592,405,292. The remaining income receivers receiving incomes from \$2,000 to over one million were 5,290,649. Their total income amounted to \$23,362,317,049. The overwhelming number of the wage workers of the United States were in the class which receives less than \$2,000 per year. Their income was at a figure which required the expenditure of all that they received for the necessities of life. In order to live half-way decently, they were obliged to expend their total income.

In the class receiving incomes of over \$2,000 per year, there were relatively few wage workers. This class received incomes upon which they could live and have something left over for investment. In this class were included all of the capitalists of the United States.

It requires no great mental acumen to understand that the 32,278,411 which received \$34,592,405,292 of the national income had very little indeed to invest in the industries, whereas the 5,290,649 who received \$23,362,317,049 of the national income would have a great deal to invest. Practically all of the investments in industry come out of their income. The 32 million cannot compete with them in making investments and can never hope to gain control of industry thru the comparative pittance which they could, at the cost of great sacrifice, spare for investment from their incomes. Professor Carver should study these figures. They show the impossibility of the economic revolution which he is offering to the working class.

The Carver Revolution a Wellsian Revolution.

One could go on citing facts and figures in answer to Professor Carver. One could write about a score of other arguments in his book which do not stand the test of analysis. But the case seems clear enough. Professor Carver has made another Wellsian revolution. This revolution is as likely to happen as any one of the half-dozen which H. G. Wells drew out of his imagination.

There is one point, however, in which one might agree to some extent with Professor Carver. He argues that the capitalist system will not collapse—cannot collapse—but that it will require force to usher it out of existence. The forces which are weakening the capitalist system have been in operation since the war. Its solid foundations are being undermined by these forces. It is being weakened. But its final disappearance will not be the result of these forces alone but of a power which capitalism generates and which will deal it the final blows. That power is the revolutionary working class. When the revolution comes in the United States it will not be through the forces which Professor Carver describes, but through the mighty blows of the working class bent upon coming into its own.

The series of articles

"Marx and Engels on the Role of the Communists in America,"

By Heinz Neumann,

which has been published in the last two issues of the Workers Monthly, will appear shortly in

Pamphlet Form.

The Pamphlet will also include a short introduction, telling how Marx and Engels came to write the letters quoted in these articles, and something of the people to whom they were written and the relation of these people to the working-class movement of the time.

Because of a pressure of material, many of the articles promised for the December issue had to be held until next month. Comrade Bedacht's article, "Do Workers Pay Taxes," the second installment of A. A. Heller's "U. S. S. R., 1921-1925," and Comrade Pepper's brilliant analysis of the question of the Labor Party movement in the United States, "Why a Labor Party?" will be published in the January issue of the Workers Monthly.

Marx and Engels on the Role of the Communists in America

By Heinz Neumann

(Continued from the November issue)

IV. The Formation of an Independent Working-Class Party

AS early as July 25, 1877, Marx wrote to Engels:

"What do you think of the workers of the United States? This first explosion against the associated oligarchy of capital, which has arisen since the Civil War, will naturally again be suppressed, but can very well form **THE POINT OF ORIGIN FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF AN EARNEST WORKERS' PARTY.** The policy of the new president will make the Negroes, and the great expropriations of land (exactly the fertile land) in favor of railways, mining, etc., companies will make **THE PEASANTS OF THE WEST,** who are already very dissatisfied, **ALLIES OF THE WORKERS.** So that a nice sauce is being stirred over there, and the transference of the center of the International to the United States may obtain a very remarkable post festum opportuneness."

Marx thus demanded, in consequence of the changes which had taken place in the United States since the Civil War, the "constitution of an earnest workers' party." In this connection it is of great importance that he emphasized the special role of the farmers in view of the agrarian crisis and of the land expropriation in direct connection with the formation of the mass party of the proletariat.

A decade later Engels touches upon the same problem in his letter to Sorge dated November 29, 1886. He clearly and unmistakably demands that the American socialists work within the Knights of Labor to arouse the masses. Despite his designating this order as one of "confused principles and a ridiculous organization," he demands that the American Marxists "build up within this still wholly plastic mass a nucleus of persons," who will have to take over after the inevitable split of this "Third Party" the leadership of the latter's proletarian elements:

"To tell the truth, the Germans have not been able to use their theory as a lever to set the American masses in motion. To a great extent they do not understand the theory themselves and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic fashion as if it were something which must be committed to memory, but which then suffices for all purposes without further ado. **FOR THEM IT IS A CREDO, NOT A GUIDE FOR ACTION . . .** hence the American masses must seek their own road and **APPEAR** for the moment to have found it in the K. of L. whose confused principles and ridiculous organization **APPEAR** to conform to their own confusion. However, according to what I hear, the K. of L. are **A REAL POWER** in

New England and in the West, and are becoming more so day by day as a result of the brutal opposition of the capitalists. I believe that it is necessary to work within it, **TO BUILD UP WITHIN THIS STILL WHOLLY PLASTIC MASS A NUCLEUS OF PERSONS, UNDERSTANDING THE MOVEMENT AND ITS GOALS, AND THUS OF THEMSELVES TAKE OVER THE GUIDANCE OF AT LEAST A SECTION IN THE COMING UNAVOIDABLE SPLIT OF THE PRESENT 'ORDER.'** . . . The first great step, which is of primary importance in every country first entering the movement, is always **THE CONSTITUTION OF THE WORKERS AS AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY NO MATTER OF WHAT KIND, SO LONG AS IT IS ONLY A DISTINCT WORKERS' PARTY . . .** That the first program of this Party is still confused and extremely deficient, that it sets up H. George as its leader, are unavoidable evils, which, however, are only temporary. The masses must have the opportunity and the time to develop themselves; and they only have this opportunity as soon as they have their own movement—no matter in what form, if only it be their own movement—in which they will be driven forward by their own mistakes and will grow wise through injury to themselves."

Engels compares—in 1886—the role of the Marxists in the American Labor movement with the role which the "Kommunistenbund" had to play amongst the workers' societies before 1848. At the same time, however, he points out the differences in order to avoid the opportunist interpretation of any schematic comparison of the situation of the American labor movement at that time with "the situation in Europe prior to 1848:"

"Only that things will now move forward in America **INFINITELY MORE RAPIDLY;** that the movement should have obtained such success in the elections after only eight months' existence is entirely unprecedented. And what is still lacking will be supplied by the bourgeois; nowhere in the whole world are they so brazen-faced and tyrannical as over there . . . Where the battle is fought by the bourgeoisie with such weapons, the decision arrives quickly . . ."

In his letter to Mrs. Wischnewetzky dated December 28, 1886, Engels again emphasizes that the American Marxists should not pooh-pooh the proletarian "Third Party" from without, but revolutionize it from within." He again uses unminced words in condemning the German sectarians in America and their dogma of the "role of the party" which in reality, then as now, renders impossible for the party to fulfill its role in the proletarian revolution by separating it from the masses. The remarks made by Engels in this

(Continued on page 88)

(Owing to an error, pages 87 and 88 have been reversed.)

ence with the American Socialists, they rejected any endeavor to set up a mechanical distinction between the Marxist party and the labor party, as two opposites which exclude each other. The sectarians in the German S. L. P., who accused them of "liquidating the leading role of the Marxist party," were criticized unmercifully by them. More than that, year after year they pointed out through the results of the progressing labor movement in America that the leading role of the Marxist party can be best realized and can only be realized within the great revolutionary mass party. Only when the Marxist—or putting it in modern phraseology—the Bolshevik party fulfills this task within an extensive proletarian mass party—a labor party—can the historically conditioned backwardness of the American movement be overcome by the practical experience of the masses themselves, and can the differences and antagonisms within the working class be settled. In his letter dated November 29, 1886, Engels formulates the task of the Marxist party, "to build up within this still wholly plastic mass a nucleus of persons who understand the movement and its goals" and

which later takes over the real leadership of the movement, as follows:

"But just now it is doubly necessary for us to have a few people who are thoroughly versed in **THEORY** and well-tested **TACTICS . . .** for the Americans are for good historical reasons far behind in all theoretical questions, have taken over no mediaeval institutions from Europe, but have taken masses of mediaeval tradition, English common (feudal) law, superstition, spiritualism, in short, all the nonsense which did not directly hurt business and which is now very useful for stupefying the masses. And if **THEORETICALLY CLEAR FIGHTERS** are available, who can predict for them the consequence of their own mistakes, who can make clear for them that every movement, which does not incessantly fix its eye upon the destruction of the wage system as its final goal must go astray and fail, many mistakes can be avoided and the process can be considerably shortened." (Letter to Sorge dated November 29, 1886).

In the letter of January 27, 1887 (quoted before), Engels



William Gropper.

The Social-Democrats After the Locarno Conference.

The Dove of Peace Turns Out to be a Snipe!

passage on the dialectic-materialist conception of the role of theory are moreover the direct point of departure from which Lenin developed his doctrine of the importance of theory in the proletarian revolution:

"It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and EMBRACE as much as possible THE WHOLE AMERICAN PROLETARIAT, than that it should start and proceed from the beginning on theoretically perfectly correct lines. There is no better road to theoretical clearness of comprehension than to learn by one's own mistakes, 'durch Schaden klug werden.'* And for a whole large class, there is no other road, especially for a nation so eminently practical and so contemptuous of theory as the Americans. THE GREAT THING IS TO GET THE WORKING CLASS TO MOVE AS A CLASS; that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, and all who resist, . . . will be left out in the cold with small sects of their own. Therefore I think also the K. of L. a most important factor in the movement WHICH OUGHT NOT TO BE POOH-POOHED FROM WITHOUT BUT TO BE REVOLUTIONIZED FROM WITHIN, and I consider that many of the Germans then have made a grievous mistake when they tried, in the face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their own creation, to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of allein-seligmachendes** dogma, and to keep aloof from any movement, which did not accept that dogma. Our theory is not a dogma but the exposition of a process of evolution, and that process involves successive phases. To expect that the Americans will start with the full consciousness of the theory worked out in older industrial countries is to expect the impossible. What the Germans ought to do is to act up to their own theory—if they understand it, as we did in 1845 and 1848—to go in for any real general working class movement, ACCEPT ITS FAKTISCHEN*** STARTING POINT as such and work it gradually up to the theoretical level by pointing out how every mistake made, every reverse suffered, was a necessary consequence of mistaken theoretical orders in the original program: they ought, in the words of the Communist Manifesto: IN DER GEGENWART DER BEWEGUNG DIE ZUKUNFT DER BEWEGUNG REPRESENTIEREN.**** But above all give the movement time to consolidate, do not make THE INEVITABLE CONFUSION OF THE FIRST START worse confounded by forcing down people's throats things which, at present, they cannot properly understand but which they soon will learn. A MILLION OR TWO OF WORKINGMEN'S VOTES

*'Grow wise through injury to oneself.'

**Claiming the monopoly of all means of grace.

***Actual.

****Communist Manifesto: To represent the future of the movement in its present.

NEXT NOVEMBER FOR A BONAFIDE WORKINGMEN'S PARTY IS WORTH INFINITELY MORE AT PRESENT THAN A HUNDRED THOUSAND VOTES FOR A DOCTRINALLY PERFECT PLATFORM. The very first attempt—soon to be made if the movement progresses—to consolidate the moving masses on a national basis—will bring them all face to face, Georgites, K. of L., Trades Unionists, and all; . . . then will be the time for them to criticize the views of the others and thus, by showing up the inconsistencies of the various standpoints, to bring them gradually to understand their own actual position, the position made for them by the correlation of capital and wage-labor. But anything that might delay or prevent that NATIONAL CONSOLIDATION OF THE WORKINGMEN'S PARTY—on no matter what platform—I should consider a great mistake . . ."

In another letter to Mrs. Wischnewetzky, Engels speaks of the necessity of first, and most important of all, "gaining the ear of the working class." He then develops this idea as follows:

"I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class AT EVERY ONE OF ITS STAGES WITHOUT GIVING UP OR HIDING OUR OWN DISTINCT POSITION AND EVEN ORGANIZATION, and I am afraid that if the German Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake." (Letter of January 27, 1887.)

It should be noted that Engels wrote these lines just at the moment of the disgraceful behavior of the K. of L. towards the Chicago prisoners. H. George founded at that time in New York a weekly in which he disavowed the New York Socialists and refused to do anything in favor of the anarchists condemned in Chicago. Without hesitating a moment Engels supported Aveling, the son-in-law of Marx, who even in this situation bitterly fought the sectarian tactics of the National Executive of the Socialist Labor Party.

The viewpoint of Marx and Engels in the question of the American labor party is thus absolutely clear; they demanded of the American Marxists the formation of a national working-class party in America at any price, without regard to its program so long as the latter included the class struggle, but with the complete maintenance of the political independence and the organization of the Marxist nucleus within the great mass party.

V. The Role of the Marxist Nucleus within the Working-Class Party

WE have already pointed out that Marx and Engels never wanted to give up the maintenance of a real Marxist party of the most class-conscious and progressive elements of the native and foreign-born in the working class within the great mass party. For thirty years, in their correspond-

outlined the fundamental tactical policy of the American Marxists: working along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding their own political position and organization.

In his letter to Sorge dated February 8, 1890, he denotes as their task "to take over through their superior theoretical insight and experience the leading role" in the masses, as events themselves drive the American proletariat forward. And he adds, in order to reassure Sorge, who fears for the preservation of the past results of the pure Marxist party:

"You will then see that your work of years has not been in vain."

Although Engels time and again points out that the working class can only learn from its own experiences, he is far from becoming a worshipper of spontaneity. In the same letter, he tells the American Marxists in connection with the successes of the miners' movement in 1890 in Germany:

"Facts must hammer it into people's heads and then things move faster, MOST RAPIDLY OF COURSE, WHERE THERE ALREADY IS AN ORGANIZED AND THEORETICALLY TRAINED SECTION OF THE PROLETARIAT . . ."

Finally, taking up the specific conditions in America, he foresees that in the great labor party, principally composed of native workers, "the foreign element in the nation will make its influence felt through its greater mobility." This foreign element, however, comprised and comprises of necessity in America the majority of the pure Marxist party. It is just the Communists' confining themselves to the ranks of their own supporters and those who are already in whole-hearted sympathy with them, it is just the renunciation of the formation of a mass party which leads to the spontaneity theory, to "Khvostism," to the hindrance of the Communist task of taking over the leadership of the entire class in the revolution.

VI. The Role of the Farmers

IN his letter of July 25, 1877, Marx predicted the role of the farmers, who are being revolutionized in consequence of the agrarian crisis and their expropriation through big business, as that of the allies of the working class. He designated the revolutionization of the farmers as well as the beginning of the Negroes' awakening "to favorable circumstances" for the "constitution of an earnest workers' party." On the other hand Engels proves in his letter to Sorge dated January 6, 1892, that the American farmers as a class have not the strength for the formation of an independent political party. Every endeavor to form an independent farmers' party in America must of necessity make this party the plaything of petty bourgeois political speculators and consequently an appendage of the two capitalist parties:

"The small farmers and petty bourgeoisie will scarcely ever be able to form a strong party. They are composed of too rapidly changing elements—the farmer is often a wandering farmer, who cultivates two, three or four farms in different states and terri-

ories one after the other; immigration and bankruptcy promote the change of personnel in both; economic dependence upon creditors also hinders independence—but to make up for that they are excellent material for politicians, who speculate with their dissatisfaction in order to sell them later to one of the big parties."

The oppression of farmers by immigration has meanwhile disappeared, but to compensate for that, bankruptcies have multiplied. Under any circumstances, the fact remains that the working farmers in America can never defend their class interests against finance capital through an independent party. They can only fight the bourgeoisie and its big parties under the leadership of a mass party of the American workers, which in turn is led by a Marxist party.

VII. The Modern Development of America

IN the third preface to the Communist Manifesto, written in 1883, Engels pointed out the change in America's position in the capitalist world. Marx and Engels often spoke in the last few years of their lives of the preponderating participation of the United States in the fight for breaking British industrial monopoly. In one passage of his correspondence, which has received altogether too little attention, Engels speaks directly of the possibility of an American monopoly, of the coming domination of American capitalism over the whole world. In his letter to Sorge dated January 7, 1888, he speaks of the danger of the European war which Bismarck threatened to bring about. "Ten to fifteen million combatants" would take part. "There would be devastation, similar to that in the Thirty Years' War."

"If the war would be fought to a finish without inner movements, a state of exhaustion would result such as Europe has not experienced for two hundred years. AMERICAN INDUSTRY WOULD THEN WIN ALL ALONG THE LINE AND WOULD SET US ALL BEFORE THE ALTERNATIVE: either a relapse to pure agriculture for our own needs (American grain forbids any other kind), or—SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION."

Engels thus foresees the imperialist World War and the resulting world monopoly of American imperialism. His prediction that under these circumstances Europe would relapse into pure agriculture has not been literally fulfilled. Its place has been taken by the specifically imperialist method of pillaging and subjugating old European industrial countries through the loans and investments of the Dawes system. The historical perspective sketched by Engels, however, remains unchanged; the monopoly of American finance capital is not to be compared with the former monopoly of British industrial capital. It cannot maintain itself for a long period of time; it is no monopoly in the true sense of the word. It must break down in consequence of the unequal development of the various imperialist powers, of the competition of British finance capital, and principally as a result of the rebellion of the working masses in Europe and the

colonies. In the words of Engels, it sets "us all before the alternative" of the proletarian revolution.

Even more clearly than the development of American imperialism did Engels foresee the future course of the American labor movement. He knew that the progress of capitalist production must unavoidably lead to the revolutionization of the American labor movement:

"As for those nice Americans who think their country exempt from the consequences of fully expanded capitalist production, they seem to live in blissful ignorance of the fact that sundry states, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, etc., have such an institution as a Labor Bureau, from the reports of which they might learn something to the contrary."

Engels sees the difficulties in the path of development of the revolutionary labor movement. After the defeat of the Knights of Labor movement, he writes to Sorge on October 24, 1891, as follows:

"I readily believe that the movement is again at a low ebb. With you everything happens with great ups and downs. But each up wins definite terrain and thus one does go forward. Thus for instance, the tremendous wave of the Knights of Labor and the strike movement from 1886 to 1888, despite all defeats, did bring us forward. There is an altogether different spirit in the masses than before. The next time even more ground will be won. But with all that, the standard of living of the native American working man is considerably higher than that of the British and that alone is sufficient to allot him a back seat for some time to come; added to that immigration competition and other things. When the point is reached, things will move forward over there with colossal rapidity and energy, but until then some time may have to elapse."

The chief obstacles, the high standard of living of the majority of native workers and the competition caused by the incessant stream of immigrants have been eliminated to a certain degree. The World War brought with it the increase of wages of all unskilled workers in America. The economic crisis after the war led to radical reductions of wages not only among the foreign-born, but in even greater degree among the native workers. The competition of foreign workers has been considerably reduced by the restrictions upon immigration.

Another obstacle, the diversion of the workers from the class struggles by the hope of obtaining land, has for the most part been removed by the disappearance of the possibilities of free settlement. There exists "a generation of native-born workers who have nothing more to expect from speculation:"

"Land is the basis of speculation, and the American possibility of and craze for speculation is the chief influence holding the native-born workers under the influence of the bourgeoisie. Only when we have a generation of native-born workers, who have nothing more to expect from speculation, will we have firm ground under our feet in America." (Letter to Sorge dated January 6, 1892).

Engels time and again emphasized that the revolutionization of the American labor movement, which he foresaw as unavoidable, would begin under tremendous difficulties and would experience incessant ups and downs, but would then develop "with colossal rapidity and energy." His letter to Schlueter dated March 30, 1892, concludes with the sentence:

"When the Americans once begin, they will do so with an energy and virulence, in comparison with which we in Europe will be children."

VIII. The International Role of the American Labor Movement

IN his letter to Mrs. Wischnewetzky dated June 3, 1886, Engels writes:

"... one thing is certain: the American working class is moving, and no mistake. And after a few false starts, they will get into the right track soon enough. This appearance of the Americans upon the scene I consider ONE OF THE GREATEST EVENTS OF THE YEAR.

"What the breakdown of RUSSIAN CZARISM would be for the great military monarchs of Europe—THE SNAPPING OF THEIR MAINSTAY—that is for the bourgeoisie of the whole world THE BREAKING OUT OF CLASS WAR in America. For America after all was the ideal of all the bourgeoisie: a country rich, vast, expanding, with purely bourgeois institutions unshaken by feudal remnants or monarchical traditions and without a permanent and hereditary proletariat. Here every one could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading, with his own means, for his own account. And because there were not, as yet, classes with opposing interests, our—and your—bourgeois thought that America stood above class antagonisms and struggles. That delusion has now broken down, the last bourgeois Paradise on earth is fast changing into a Purgatorio, and can only be prevented from becoming like Europe an Inferno by the go-ahead pace at which the development of the newly-fledged proletariat of America will take place."

This analysis of the international significance of the proletarian class struggle in America holds true even today, stronger and more vital than ever. There already exists in America a "standing hereditary proletariat." The illusion of the bourgeois paradise has already been dissipated. The outbreak of the class war in America, its leadership by a revolutionary mass party, at the head of which the American Communists will place themselves, and the inception of revolutionary mass struggles in America would in reality signify the "snapping of the mainstay" of imperialism throughout the world.

THE END.

Class War or Class Collaboration?

By Max Bedacht

"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."—Lenin.

NEARLY 160,000 anthracite miners are on strike. All observers agree that up to the present the strike zone is extremely peaceful and that the whole affair looks more like a vacation of the workers than like a strike. What is at the bottom of this phenomenon? Is it because there is really such a thing as a peaceful strike?

What is the origin of a disturbance of the peace in a strike?

A strike is a battle between workers of a shop, an industry or a territory, and the owners and operators of such shops or industries. It is a battle in the economic war between workers and capitalists.

If this is correct—and no one has ever disputed it—then rules of war must apply to the conduct of such battles. Workers or organizations of workers engaged in such battle, a strike, must bring into play all forces at their command. Victory can be the fruit only of a supreme effort.

If the workers in a strike bring all their forces into play, then the profit-mills of the bosses stand still. Not only do the wheels of the shops and industries stop turning, but also the stream of profits stops flowing into the coffers of the bosses.

In this emergency the bosses use all means at their disposal to remove the cause of this stoppage, to break the strike. Strikebreakers are hired and imported. The state power is mobilized. This state power appears as police, trying to club the workers back into the shops; it marches as militia or federal troops trying to intimidate and, if need be, shoot the workers back to work; it operates as injunction judges, outlawing picketing and even striking; it functions as judges jailing workers. The whole machinery of government which is ostensibly established to maintain peace in the state, is used to break the peace of the strike and to give it its real character, that of war. The bosses never fail to mobilize their forces. If a strike, in spite of that, remains peaceful, it is due to the failure of the workers to mobilize their forces. A one-sided battle is the result. But a one-sided war is no war. It is merely suppression of the passive side by the active.

Strike "Leaders" Smash Strikes.

The official bureaucracy of the United Mine Workers, like the official bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., adheres to the principle of identity of interests of labor and capital. This creates a paradoxical situation. The tactic of strike is in direct contradiction to the theory of identity of interests of the classes. And the influence of this latter theory, on the actual strike measures, is, as a rule, disastrous. In other words: the theory of identity of interests of capital and labor is smashed by the strikes and the strikes are often smashed because of the attempts to apply this class peace theory in the class war.

The basic principle of a militant labor union must be that the workers organized in it ascertain their needs and

formulate their demands, and then fight to force the bosses to grant these needs and to concede their demands. There are only two sides to such a fight: The side of the workers and the side of the bosses.

This, however, is not the concept of the bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. and of Lewis. To these labor "leaders" the workers are not actors in this contest, but are merely pawns in the game. To the officialdom, the actors are the bosses on the one hand and the bureaucrats on the other.

The principle of class peace makes the conservative trade union leader dread a strike as much as the bosses—and even more. And when the strike becomes inevitable then he conducts it, but not with a view to injuring the enemy as much as possible and thus bringing him to terms. On the contrary, the principle followed is that of injuring the enemy as little as possible. The strike leaders do not try to force the bosses down on their knees by leading into battle the full force of the army of the struggling workers. Instead they try to get concessions from the bosses by showing how useful they can be to them by restraining the strike. Instead of acting as agents and plenipotentiaries of the striking workers to the bosses, they actually represent the bosses to the workers.

This is the theoretical basis of class collaboration. The very idea of identity of interests between the classes must inevitably lead to class collaboration. And that is what the official policy of the average conservative trade union leaders amount to—collaboration with the bosses in order to prevent the workers from fighting.

Struggle Develops Strength, So Lackeys Renounce Struggle.

There is method in this madness. Struggle develops strength and, what is more dangerous, it develops the consciousness of strength. The pro-capitalist trade union leaders are well aware of this. And as good lackeys of capitalism, they cannot aid in strengthening the working class and in developing any consciousness of strength among the workers.

The present strike of the anthracite miners is a glaring example of these theories and practices of the pro-capitalist leadership of John L. Lewis.

There are a number of outstanding facts in connection with this strike that show with irrefutable clearness that the strike leadership takes much better care of the interests of the bosses than of the interests of the strikers.

As shown in the article by Comrade Gitlow in last month's issue of the *Workers' Monthly*, the issue in the strike of the anthracite miners is the obtaining of decent working conditions and wages in an industry which produces fabulous profits for the operators. The workers are entitled to decent conditions, and the operators are more than able to concede them. But the operators do not concede anything and the workers must fight. The miners have no resources. To them a long fight means hardships which weaken any army.

The bosses, on the other hand, are as a rule, better prepared to stand the effects of a long strike. The war funds



Maurice Becker

The anthracite miner, as the operators would have us picture him!

of their national associations are at their disposal. Their subsistence does not depend upon the immediate labor of their workers, while the workers always depend upon the immediate proceeds of their labor. And, on top of that, the bosses have it in their power to prepare much more effectively for the strike than the workers. Intensive production for the period immediately preceding the strike enables them to store goods for the market during the strike. The strike affords an opportunity to stimulate the market price of such goods so that, for a time, the strike may even increase the profits of the capitalists instead of stopping them.

Such is the case with the anthracite mine operators. They have large quantities of anthracite on hand and as long as this reserve lasts every additional strike day makes the price of this stored coal soar higher.

In addition to this the operators have on hand the culm bank coal. As long as the supply lasts every additional strike day improves the market for this dust and dirt, and—increases profits. Besides, every additional strike day weakens the striking masses and improves the chances of a settlement favorable to the bosses. When the bosses get

ready to talk with the strikers about settlement then the workers are already exhausted and the chances of the bosses to bring the workers to terms are so much greater.

Lewis Serves Bosses in Strike.

The leadership of a strike must be judged by the services that leadership renders the strike. Any judgment based on the services rendered by John L. Lewis, the president of the United Mine Workers, to the anthracite strikers must bring us to the conclusion that Lewis is serving not the strikers, but the bosses.

The most vulnerable spot of the mine operators is their property. The miners have it in their power to stop not only the profits by ceasing to work, but also to cause the capital to deteriorate and even partially to destroy it. All they have to do is to walk out of the mines 100 per cent. Water will do the rest. Underground water is the ally of the workers. But instead of mobilizing this ally, Lewis mobilizes regiments of the strikers to fight this ally in the interests of the bosses. Lewis has not to this day mobilized all the forces of the union in the strike. About 10,000 maintenance men are at work protecting the property of the

bosses against damages. Why does Lewis not take out his men? Because Lewis wants to show his capitalist soundness to the bosses by agreeing to protect their property. But in doing so, he shows his proletarian unsoundness, by not protecting the interests of the fighting workers.

Protect Bosses' Property, Betray Strikers.

The protection of the property of the bosses turns in this case automatically into a betrayal of the interests of the strikers. It prolongs the strike. It weakens the workers. It robs the workers of a chance to inflict a serious blow on the enemy in battle.

The miners must attempt to mobilize for the strike all the working forces that make possible the loading and transportation of the anthracite on hand. They must try to make impossible the washing and utilizing of the culm banks. Lewis has to this day done absolutely nothing to prevent the operators from loading and shipping their stores of anthracite and from capitalizing the strike by washing and loading culm bank coal. By acquiescing in and making possible this practice of the operators, Lewis protects the property interests of the operators and automatically betrays the interests of the strikers.

Bituminous coal is being used during the strike in place of anthracite wherever technically possible. This means that

one part of the union, the miners in the bituminous fields, is thus exploited against the other part of the union, the strikers in the anthracite field. Lewis has done nothing to mobilize the whole union in support of the strike. Contracts prevent him, he says. But these contracts are at this moment in the interests of the bosses and against those of the strikers. The protection of the contracts at this moment is a protection of the interests of the mine operators and a betrayal of the strikers.

Every measure of war that the union fails to use against the operators turns into a measure of war taken for the operators against the union.

If this were only the result of ignorance there would be hope of overcoming that because experience is an inexorable teacher. But experience can teach Lewis nothing. He is a class collaborationist. He believes in the identity of interests of capital and labor. He practices this theory even in times of war between the two groups. Thus he becomes the conscious and persistent agent of the operators.

But the masses of the strikers must listen to their teacher, to experience. If they do, they will shelve the theory of identity of interests of capital and labor. And along with this false theory, they will also shelve their false class collaborationist leaders.

History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

(Continued from the November issue.)

The Third Congress of the Bolsheviki in London and the First Congress of the Mensheviki in Geneva.

IN the summer of 1905 took place the Third Congress of the party, which, as has already been said, may, in a certain sense, be looked upon as the first Bolshevik congress, since they alone took part in it. The Mensheviki, who had the seal of the Central Committee in their right pocket, and that of the Party Council in their left, claimed that there was no need for a congress, seeing that party control was completely in their hands. Consequently, the Bolsheviki were forced to call a new congress themselves, in order to extricate themselves from this situation. The Mensheviki were, however, so determined in their opposition that we were compelled to convene it in defiance of the Central Committee. The congress was thus convened by the Bureau of the Committee of the Majority, and held abroad, in London, in the middle of 1905. At the same time the Mensheviki convened their "First All-Russia Conference," as they called it, in Geneva. Thus, in the summer of 1905, only a short time before the revolution, a review of forces was held—of the Bolsheviki, at their Third Congress in London, and of the Mensheviki, at the "First All-Russia Conference," in Geneva. At these two congresses both sides worked out—each for itself—a detailed tactic to be applied to the revolution of 1905, for everyone felt that any day decisive events might commence.

The Third Congress possesses a tremendous significance. Its chief contribution consists in the fact that for the first

time it presented the idea of the general strike in conjunction with armed insurrection, embodying it in a definite program. Today, this, as so many other things, seems nothing out of the ordinary, but at that time it was an entirely novel concept. Let us turn for a while to the question of the general strike.

The Question of the General Strike.

International social-democracy, as represented by the Second International, completely rejected the above idea. A saying of the late Auer, the noted opportunist leader of the German party, was then going the rounds—"The General Strike is General Nonsense." Why? Because, he said, if we should really be able to carry through the general strike in such fashion that all the workers would quit work as one man, then we should be capable of accomplishing the revolution as well. But if we are such a powerful force, we have no need of the general strike. If on the other hand, we cannot do this, then it means that we are also incapable of carrying through the general strike. Hence Auer drew the deduction: the general strike is a general absurdity. The Mensheviki agreed with the views of the Second International on this question. It is true that at that time the general strike did seem a remote issue: it was a period of such tranquility in Western Europe that a small strike that arose in Belgium over the question of the right of suffrage, lasting in all two days, came as a tremendous occurrence; and it was made the object of a large amount of research, including an examination by Rosa Luxemburg.

In view of the attitude adopted by the Second International and the Mensheviki on the question of the general

strike, the Third Congress rendered a great service to the revolutionary movement by advancing their conception of the general strike, and by maintaining that the general strike was not absurd, that it was already on the order of the day in Russia, and that we meant to assume conduct of it.

The Question of Armed Insurrection.

Even sharper were the differences on the question of armed insurrection. The Second International would not even hear of it, declaring it to be anarchy, and quoting from the introduction to "The Civil War in France" which Engels wrote in the 'nineties. In this introduction Engels, pointing to the furious rate of development of military technique in bourgeois armies, and to the reconstruction of the streets in large cities which has rendered them too wide to permit of barricade fighting, comes to the conclusion that under these circumstances armed insurrection becomes an exceedingly difficult affair, so that the bourgeoisie would be able to destroy any such movement within the space of a few hours. All the opportunists seized upon this introduction avidly, with one voice declaring that armed insurrection was impossible, and that this was "proved by Engels," completely ignoring the fact that in Russia other conditions obtained, and that imperialist wars might create other conditions in the armies themselves, even in Western Europe.

Again in this connection the Third Congress of our party performed a great service for the revolutionary movement, by stating that it placed the question of armed insurrection upon the order of the day, that it was possible, and that the opportunists had misrepresented Engels.

It not only advanced each of these ideas separately but also presented them in synthesis, i. e., the union of the armed insurrection with the general strike, as though with prophetic vision foreseeing the events of 1905, and then, of 1917.

The Services of the Third Congress.

Thus the Third Congress laid an indestructible foundation for Bolshevik tactics, and outlined a definite program for the approaching revolution. It must not be forgotten that the sessions of this congress were held only two or three months before the decisive events of 1905, and that the decisions it arrived at constituted for revolutionary parties the world over an example of how revolutionary Marxist ideology can, when linked up with the mass movement of the workers, foresee the path of revolution. Reading through the resolutions of the Third Congress today, it can be said that laying its ear to the ground and listening to the reverberation of events in Russia, it foretold the further course of the revolution on the basis of Marxian analysis.

The Question of the Arming of the Workers.

In the meantime the Mensheviks had completed and put the finishing touches to the opportunist program. At their All-Russia Conference they advanced an entirely new idea—the theory of the so-called "revolutionary self-government." They were preparing for participation in the Bulygin Duma, dealing with every question on the order of the day in the same opportunist manner. The question of the arming of the workers, which the Third Congress of our party brought forward with immense force and energy, will serve as an excellent illustration of the Menshevist approach. Today the arming of the workers appears to us, as also to many others, an elementary question. But at that time, during the years of the peaceful growth of the Second International, when

Kautsky and his friends feared a gun like fire, to many people the arming of the workers appeared in the light of an insane nightmare of revolt. And when the Third Congress of our party posed this question sharply, the Mensheviks at their All-Russia Conference raised the cry that it was unheard-of anarchy, it was murder! We must arm the workers, they said, **not with weapons**, but first "with the burning consciousness of the necessity for being armed." To this Bolshevism gave an excellent reply: You look upon the Russian workers as little children, you wish to "arm them with consciousness," but the time for that is already past. They are conscious already, what they need now is to be armed with rifles, that they may shatter the Czar and the bourgeoisie.

Herein can be seen the gulf that divided us from the Mensheviks. On the one side the militant workers' battalions, on the other, shilly-shallying talk about revolutionary autonomy—i. e., about improving the zemstvos and city Dumas, and participation in the Bulygin Duma.

The Shidlovsky Commission.

After the events of the Ninth of January, the Czarist autocracy recognized the necessity of making certain concessions to the workers, and with this end in view established the Shidlovsky Commission, which many Petersburg workers will surely remember. As chairman of the commission, the Czar appointed Senator Shidlovsky, and proposed to the workers that they send their representatives for joint consideration of matters relating to certain improvements in the conditions of the workers, in the spirit of the demands put forward by Gapon. It goes without saying, of course, that this commission did not meddle with any basic political questions, confining itself exclusively to trifles. Of course we made use of the commission, as of every legal possibility that offered, but the Mensheviks built a whole philosophy on this foundation, and buzzed around the commission like flies around sugar.

The Bulygin Duma.

Later, when the workers' movement had reached a further stage, when the Union of Unions had been organized and the movement was growing stronger among the peasants, when those tendencies which later led to the mutiny on the flagship "Potemkin Tavritchisky" had begun to ripen—then the Czarist autocracy began to give thought to the more urgent "reforms," and decided upon the creation of the Duma which received the name of the "Bulygin Duma." The preparation for this undertaking, that is, the working out of a suitable electoral law was assigned by the Czar to Bulygin. The intention of the Czarist clique was to convene a State Duma of such a character that it would possess no real rights, but would be an advisory organ alone, bringing its suggestions to the "gracious attention" of the monarch, by whom all questions would be decided. Accordingly, the electoral laws presented by Bulygin allowed the workers practically no rights at all, while it granted full rights to the nobility and the bourgeoisie.

When the nature of the Bulygin Duma became sufficiently clear, the question arose as to what attitude should be adopted towards it. The Bolsheviks declared their intention of abstaining from any part in this Duma, of boycotting it, and of mobilizing the masses for its destruction. We felt that the movement that was developing was of exceptional power, that the Czarist autocracy would win over no one with the

sops it was flinging to the people, that they must be wrested from its clutches, to go forward with the offensive against Czarism. The Mensheviks, as was to have been expected, saw in the Czarist scheme the beginnings of parliamentarism in Russia, and at first declared for participation in the Duma. When they were ridiculed for this stand, however, they withdrew from participation, declaring that under the circumstances they would call electoral assemblies, and elect their own candidates, not to the Duma, but to the organs of revolutionary self-government. But then this plan, too, was let fall, the revolution sweeping on to the next point on the order of the day, beyond Bulygin and his Duma, and the Menshevik plan of "revolutionary self-government." The workers said: it is not child's-play we mean to go in for; serious times are coming, the smell of powder is in the air, the real revolution is near; what is the sense in voting for a Duma which the Czarist autocracy is trying to thrust upon us?

The October Events of the Year 1905.

The October events of the year 1905 were enacted under the following circumstances: strikes throughout the whole of Russia, energetic activity on the part of the "Union of Unions," the granting of various concessions by the autocracy on October 17, and finally, the Constitution. A detailed account of what went on behind the scenes in connection with the granting of the constitution can be found in the memoirs of Witte, in whose book all sides of the play of passions, of parties and court intrigues are illuminated.

This was also the time of the birth of the first Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies. I purposely say the Soviet of **Workers' Deputies**, and not the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. This is extremely important, for it was in this precisely that its chief weakness lay. The Bolsheviks said: if we are to be a power, we must have Soviets composed not of workers alone, but also of soldiers' and peasants' deputies. This, however, we did not succeed in putting through, for the movement was as yet too weak.

The idea of the Soviets, like all great ideas, was born among the masses. The Mensheviks later claimed that the Soviet idea was the incarnation of their castrated idea of revolutionary self-government. But the Soviet idea was as distant from them as the stars. It was not the Mensheviks who originated the Soviet idea. It was born among the masses, deep in their midst, in the shops and factories of Petersburg. The Petersburg Soviet was the embryo of a government, and thus the following situation obtained: either the Soviet would take power, and drive out the Czarist government, or the government would drive out the Soviet. As you know, it was the latter that took place. A part of the Bolsheviks had committed the error of demanding that the Soviet adopt officially the program of the Social-Democratic party. But Lenin and the Bolshevik Central Committee speedily rectified this great mistake.

The December (1905) Armed Insurrection in Moscow.

The culminating point of the movement was the December Moscow insurrection in the Presnya district. The directing and organizing role was in the hands of the Bolsheviks, of a committee headed by Schanzer (Marat) who died abroad in 1911; Vladimirsky, the present Assistant Commissar of Internal Affairs; Sedoy, a party member who is living today, and several other comrades. This committee organized the first fighting workers' militia.

The Moscow armed insurrection, which possesses a tremendous historical significance, was defeated, and drowned in the blood of the workers. And immediately it was over even the best among the Mensheviks—Plekhanov for one—hastened to disown it. Plekhanov made the cold, soulless, almost traitorous comment: "They should not have taken up arms." And we answered: whether the movement was mistaken or no, such words could come only from the pen of a person who was hostile to the working class. When in 1871 the Paris Communards suffered defeat, Marx, who had warned the Paris workers against the insurrection, did not tell them that they should not have taken up arms; instead he wrote that brilliant work, "The Civil War in France," in which he immortalized the great work of the Paris Communards in a book which is the masterpiece of Marxian publicist literature. Plekhanov, in common with a number of others, did not follow the path laid out by Marx. Together with other "gentlemen revolutionists" he held aloof, like a star-gazer, judging the movement only from an abstract standpoint—"They should not have taken up arms."

The Bolsheviks followed a different course. Comrade Lenin took an exceedingly fine attitude toward this uprising. His first slogan was: study everything, even the smallest episode of this struggle, the technique of combat, the past history of the various participants. Lenin was not one of those "revolutionists" who identify themselves with victorious uprisings along (and there are enough of this stamp); even those revolts of our class that were crushed were dear to him. There are defeats which are worth more than victories, and the December, 1905, defeat was one of them. It was the first revolt of the advanced workers carried on under our party slogans, when they already knew what they wanted, and no longer followed the banner of Gapon. This last fact alone shows that the movement had attained a new level, that the workers had grown to a mighty independent force, that they had a clear program and were penetrated by the desire of challenging the Czarist army, armed as it was to the teeth. True, the movement did not prevail—we had made no contract with victory. This the workers usually attain only through a series of defeats. This, then, is why the Bolsheviks signified their full solidarity with the insurrection, and declared a decisive struggle against Plekhanov for his renegade phrase: "They should not have taken up arms."

(End of Chapter IV.)

(Continued in the January issue.)

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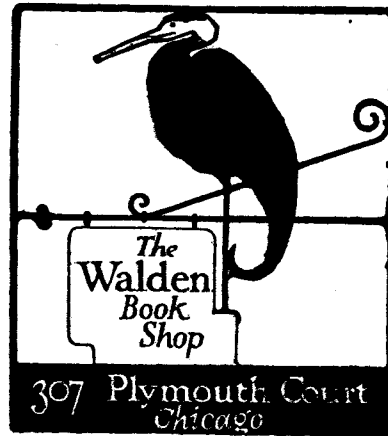
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