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By Jas. H. Dolsen

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New Phenomena in the International Labor Movement

By John Pepper

IN the series of new phenomenon which marked the course of the past year in the international labor movement a two-fold movement may be noted: on the one hand certain portions of the labor movement are impelled toward the right, on the other hand broad strata of the international labor movement begin to develop in the opposite direction, towards the left.

In generalizing these phenomenon it is necessary to point out that I will deal here only with general characteristics and will not go into details. I will deal chiefly with the new, hence the picture will be incomplete and in some respects it may even appear one-sided. The purpose of this article is not to give an analysis of Social Democracy or of the labor movement as a whole, but only an analysis of the new phenomena inside Social Democracy, inside the labor movement. It would be a distortion of proportions were we to draw our tactical conclusions only from a consideration of the new phenomena here cited without also considering the unmentioned, unchanged parts and factors of the labor movement.

I.

Phenomena of Right Development.

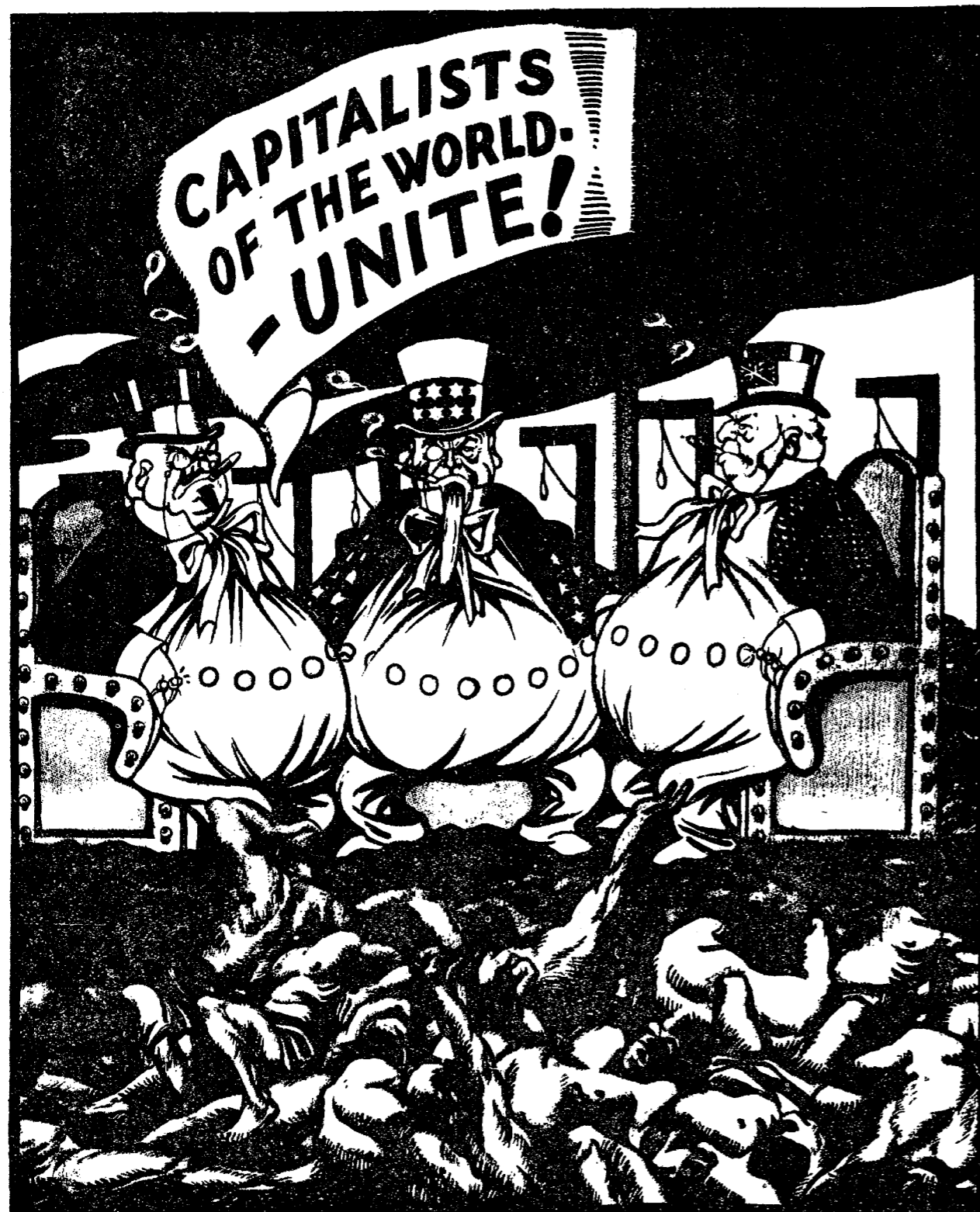
Numerous phenomenon indicate a definite right development of certain strata and forms

of the labor movement. This right development has as social basis a strengthening of the labor aristocracy in several countries, especially, however, in the United States of America.

The roots of this development lie:

1. In the relative stabilization of the European economic situation made possible chiefly by American export of capital.

The war time collapse obliterated the privileges of the labor aristocracy in Germany and in all conquered countries, reduced the numerical strength of this privileged stratum of the working class, while simultaneously millions of hitherto unorganized, unskilled, really proletarian masses were drawn into the trade unions and into political life. The development of recent years, however, brought with it a contrary tendency. Arm in arm with the stabilization of capitalism a re-creation of the labor aristocracy is in process. This is particularly clear in Germany where it is even fostered by the conscious efforts of the German capitalists. Large masses of unskilled workers have again deserted the trade unions and there is again a wide gulf between the wages of the labor aristocracy and of the actual proletariat. This re-creation of a labor aristocracy served as the social basis for the recuperation of Social Democracy in Germany.



The World Court

2. In the mighty ascent of American imperialism, which, by means of capital export and the forcible and semi-forcible conquest of new market, has taken place particularly in the last two years. In this, we find the second root of the right development in the international labor movement. Never before in history has an imperialist country exported as much capital as America in the years 1924 and 1925. The whole world is a debtor to American imperialism—the whole world must work hard at the amortization of these debts and the payment of the interest. In addition the old war debts, which have long been but paper promises, are being funded one after another. Millions and hundreds of millions of dollars pour yearly from Europe, Asia, Central and South America to the United States as world-wide tribute to American imperialism. Never before was any imperialist country in the position to throw such large and such fat crumbs to its working class as a share in the booty, as the bourgeoisie of the United States. The war and the economic earthquake of the post-war crisis in 1921 shattered even the privileges of the American labor aristocracy, but in 1924-25 we experienced a restoration of the privileges of the labor aristocracy. The prohibition of immigration lends the American labor aristocracy a monopolistic position, a sort of high protective tariff for the commodity of labor power. The American labor aristocracy today receives incomparably the highest wages in the world.

In the last two years the results of this restoration of the special rights of the labor aristocracy became ever more clearly apparent:

1. A shrinkage of the trade unions to one-half.
2. Ebb of the labor party movement which in 1923 bore a real mass character.
3. The emergence of "company unions" as a mass phenomenon in 1924 and 1925.
4. Capitalist development of the trade unions thru the founding of labor banks and other forms of direct class collaboration.
5. The development of labor imperialism, of the "Monroe Doctrine of labor," the ideology of Pan-American labor imperialism which finds its crassest expression in the report of the American Federation of Labor at its last congress:

"Let us feel that the North American Continent—the United States and Canada together with our sister Republic Mexico—is our field, and that it is our intention to maintain our activity among the workers of this field. For this reason we give the world the most serious warning of which we are capable that in the Western hemisphere we will voluntarily tolerate no movement of the 'Old World' to be forced upon the American workers. Just as the United States Government, under President Monroe, warned Europe against armed attacks, we just as emphatically warn against attacks by way of propaganda. The American Continents are for democracy. Then Pan-American Federation is the recognized International Labor Movement of the

American Continent. Thru this the American Republics express the aims and ideals of their working masses and the American peoples are determined that it shall remain so." (Retranslated from the German).

A number of historical conditions (first unrestricted free land, later the lack of a centralized government in the European sense and the deepening of the division in the working class between labor aristocracy and real proletariat due to national differences) fostered the development of the labor aristocracy so characteristic of the American working class already prior to the war. The labor aristocracy shattered by the economic crisis and the joint attack of the new centralized state power and the bourgeoisie has been able to revive because of the reckless tempo of imperialist development in the last two years. It is no accident, therefore, that the only real mass organization of the American workers, the American Federation of Labor, ruled by the labor aristocracy, stands outside and even to the right of the Second International.

The Third International is the representative of the general fundamental historical interests of the proletariat on a world scale.

The Second International is the political representative of the European labor aristocracy (even tho the overwhelming majority of its membership is composed of actual proletarians).

The American Federation of Labor, however, is the representative of the labor aristocracy of the labor aristocracy.

The Second International is the political expression of the fact that the European labor aristocracy shares the super-profits of the European bourgeoisie which are extorted from the colonies.

The American Federation of Labor with its home policy of class collaboration and its foreign policy of Pan-American imperialism is the political expression of the fact that the American labor aristocracy shares in American imperialism's super-profits, extorted not only out of the colonies and of the Central and South American semi-colonies, but also out of the labor of the European proletariat as a whole.

II.

Phenomena of the Left Development.

Ample, many-sided and colorful are the phenomena which show the left development of certain labor strata. There is a certain justification for characterizing this left development as a revival of the two and a half International sentiment.

We shall enumerate the most important of these facts and symptoms:

1. The allinace of the British and Russian proletariat. The Anglo-Russian committee for trade union unity is the organizational form of

this alliance. The affiliation of the Finnish and Norwegian trade unions to the unity committee are but further symptoms of the militancy as well as the mighty resonance of the unity movement in the trade unions of the entire world.

2. The workers' delegations to the U. S. S. R. It is surely one of the most significant signs of the times that the European workers are beginning to "discover" the Soviet Union. The success of the British Trade Union Delegation is significant in principle. The results of the German Workers' Delegation are affecting ever broader circles. A hundred thousand copies of the pamphlet "What 58 German Workers Saw in Soviet Russia," has been sold. In more than a thousand trade union and personnel meetings reports were rendered on the experience of the German Workers' Delegates.

The Czecho-Slovak, Swedish and Norwegian Workers' Delegations also had reflex mass effects. Even in the United States of America almost 200,000 workers formed committees for the sending of Workers' Delegations to the country of socialist construction and workers' rule.

3. The crystalization of a Left Wing. There is today hardly an important country in which severe clashes between right and left tendencies are not taking place inside the Social Democracy. The first years of the post-war period showed everywhere the split of the Social Democracy. With the progressing stabilization of capitalism, however, the Social Democracy also became stabilized. The Hamburg Congress in 1922 effected the unification of the Second and Two and a Half Internationals. But the unity exultation did not last long. Severe factional struggles are again shaking the entire structure of the international Social Democracy.

We shall enumerate the most important symptoms in the various countries:

Great Britain. The most noteworthy appearance of the crystallization of the left wing is to be found in Great Britain, in the country of the most conservative pre-war labor movement.

What are the most important signs?

a. The growing activity of the working class; since last autumn the trade union membership has been on the increase. The number of votes of the labor party has increased in all recent parliamentary by-elections and in local elections.

b. The inner cohesion, the feeling of solidarity within the working class is growing; important amalgamation moves are in process in the trade unions; strong tendencies prevail for the formation of the "Industrial Alliance"; there is a general slogan: "more power to the General Council."

c. A general militancy reigns among the working class; "Red Friday" registered the

peak of this militancy; the railway workers' agreement negotiated by Thomas met with stormy opposition (only 41 votes were cast in favor, among which were 15 paid employes of the union, as against 36 votes in opposition, the actual majority of the delegates).

d. The Trade Union Congress at Scarborough registered the victory of the left wing; nor is the defeat of the left wing at the Labor Party congress in Liverpool so serious if the voting record is analyzed, since in every delegation voting under unit rule there were strong minorities which favored the left policy.

e. The left wing is organizing in various forms: The minority movement in the trade unions grows steadily; the left wing press shoots up like mushrooms after a shower; the left wing is beginning to assume organized form also in the labor party.

f. Important alterations are in process in the workers' ideology; more and more the Socialist ideas permeate the proletariat which formerly did not go beyond the "trade union ideology"; the question of extra-parliamentary revolutionary force is discussed for weeks in the entire working class press.

Germany. The opposition in the Social Democracy has existed in Germany for some time. It centered chiefly in Hessen-Frankfurt and Saxony. But this local opposition grew to a nation-wide left wing as the reverse side of the Dawes' plan was revealed—mass unemployment and constant governmental crisis. The question of indemnifying the ruling houses, the big coalition, the effects of Locarno, and the workers' delegations to the U. S. S. R. have contributed mightily to the deepening and widening of this opposition left wing. This left wing, on a national scale, has declared itself against the coalition with the bourgeoisie. In its chief headquarters, Saxony, it has already gone one step further; it has already declared for a coalition with the Communists. Two big victories for this opposition, which are simultaneously also victories for the Communist Party of Germany, revealed the strengthening of the mass pressure of this left opposition. The official leadership of the Social Democracy was compelled to capitulate, under pressure of their own membership, on the questions of the big coalition and of the referendum on the expropriation of royalty. Gnashing their teeth the Social Democratic Party executive had to enlist the good offices of the trade unions in the referendum question in order to avoid (as a bourgeois paper wrote) having their supporters desert to the Communists not simply in battalions, but in whole armies.

France. French politics stand in the orbit of the financial crisis, the permanent governmental crisis and the colonial wars. The January party congress of the Socialist Party of

France was really nothing but the political reflection of these three crises. The party congress concluded with the victory of the left wing in the decisive question—the resolution opposing immediate participation in a cabinet dominated by the radical petty bourgeois parties was adopted by a vote of 1766 against 1331. Three tendencies are to be observed in the left wing: The Faure-Blum group which was ready to participate in a cabinet with a Socialist Party majority even tho the premier were a radical; the Compere-Morel group which, while willing to tolerate some radicals in a Socialist cabinet, demands in advance a free hand for measures beyond the parliamentary sphere; and the third group of Zyromski-Bracke which advocates an exclusively Socialist government and states a temporary proletarian dictatorship to be inevitable and that it is willing to fight in agreement with the Communist Party.

Poland. The January congress of the P. P. S. was featured by factional struggle. The opposition mustered not less than 40 per cent of the delegates. This is a significant sign of the radicalization of the Polish working masses, the more so since the P. P. S. already previously had been "cleansed" by a number of leftward splits. The question of the coalition government was the center of the struggles at the party congress.

Norway. Strong tendencies towards proletarian unity are manifest in the Norwegian labor movement, and this upon the basis of the revolutionary class struggle. Under the pressure of the revolutionary workers of whom fairly large numbers have remained in Tranmael's party despite the split, Tranmael was forced to issue the slogan for the "rallying of the working class." The trade union question also added renewed impetus to the unity slogan. Due to the old tradition of the Norwegian labor movement the development of the left wing assumes the organizational form of the creation of a labor party.

Czecho-Slovakia. The differentiation in the Social Democracy takes place here in an especially strange manner—upon a national basis. The Czech Social Democrats sit in the coalition government side by side with their "own" Czech bourgeoisie while the German Social Democrats, again in harmony with their "own" German bourgeoisie, chew on the bitter crusts of the opposition. The two Social Democratic camps combat one another more and more sharply as a "pro-government" right and an "anti-government" left wing.

Denmark. The Social Democracy wields governmental power here and as a counterbalance there emerges a strong opposition movement in the trade unions, which leads even to the splitting off of quite broad masses from the social democratically controlled Trade Union Federation.

Austria. The Social Democratic Party itself formed a part of the so-called left wing in the recent Marseilles congress of the Second International, yet also within this powerful mass party there emerge oppositional groups in Burgenland and also in the ranks of the youth.

Hungary. The pact concluded by the Social Democracy with Horthy and their simultaneous alliance with the bourgeois parliamentary opposition led to a split in the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, to the formation of a new left party also, however, to the crystallization of a new opposition within the Social Democracy at its last party congress.

America. The general tendency of the labor movement for the past two years has been towards the right. It would be a grave error however, to overlook phenomena which, especially in the last few months, herald tendencies of a left development. Of what do these symptoms consist?

- a. Advances and victories of the left wing in the needle trades where the Communist leadership has succeeded in crowding out the former Social Democratic leadership.
- b. Advances of the left wing in the miners' union.
- c. The great five-months' strike of the anthracite miners.
- d. The stiffening of the resistance movement of the textile workers.
- e. A certain revival of the labor party movement.

Further facts could be piled up but those mentioned will suffice to prove the existence in practically every country of the differentiation of the factional struggles of the development of a left wing. This left wing crystallization is quite a general phenomenon. But a source of error should be indicated immediately. There arises here the danger of too much generalization. The development must be studied entirely concretely in each single country. The left wing movement presents an entirely different aspect in the victorious countries from what it does in the vanquished, in the countries suffering new crises and in those in which the crises have already entered upon a second edition, in the countries where we have strong Communist Parties and in those where the Communist Parties are weak. The specific politico-economic situation of each country colors the political and organizational form and the maturity of the left movements.

4. **Communist election successes.** In three countries especially the Communists can show important election successes: in Belgium, Germany and in Czecho-Slovakia.

In the Belgian provincial elections (Nov. 8, 1925) the Social Democrats lost about 60,000 votes while the Communist Party of Belgium increased its vote of about 30 per cent.

Since the middle of 1924 the German Communists recorded a loss of votes in every election, but at the end of 1925 in the Berlin municipal elections, in the Prussian provincial elections, and in the South German Landtag elections the Communist Party could once more reckon with new successes whereas the Social Democracy declined.

The parliamentary election at the end of November, 1925, in Czecho-Slovakia, signified a complete victory for the Communists who mustered almost a million votes and a grievous defeat for the Social Democracy. Even the Berlin "Vorwaerts" was compelled to admit this defeat.

"The elections ended with a Socialist defeat. . . . The Communist Party, however, has grown very strong. . . . They (the Social Democrats) lost a round million of the 1,600,000 votes polled in 1920 for the most part to the benefit of the Communists. . . . This surely makes clear that the majority of the Czech proletariat is hostile to their former Coalition policy."

Thus we see the same picture in all three countries: Vote increases for the Communists at the expense of the Social Democrats.

5. **Attempts of the Social Democrats to make overtures to the Communists.** In recent times there have been constantly increasing attempts at overtures from Social Democrats of more or less left shadings. At times they approach the Soviet Union, but at other times directly the Third International. To cite only a few of these united front proposals:

Of all these overtures Otto Bauer's great speech made before the meeting of the Vienna Social Democratic Party functionaries on December 21, 1925, was echoed most widely. In this speech Otto Bauer stated approximately the following: 1. The Soviet Union has succeeded in reviving agriculture. 2. Tremendous progress has been made in the revival of Russian industry. 3. The standard of living of the working masses have undergone decided improvement. 4. The economic improvement gives the possibility of socio-political and cultural-political progress. 5. The working masses have faith in the Soviet regime. 6. He admits the success of Socialist reconstruction in the following words:

"Most important for us, as Socialists, is that now the hope arises that altho it may not be entirely proved yet, in a few years it may be proved that we can get along without capitalists. You realize how much Socialism would be strengthened in Europe if they would succeed there in proving this. We are not quite that far as yet. What prevails in Russia is as yet not Socialism. But it is likewise not capitalism; it is a country in a transition period; its economy contains very many capitalist elements but also very many socialistic ones!"

The international working class must make an alliance with the Soviet Union:

"Therefore it is the greatest interest of world Socialism that the tremendous experiment of the Rus-

sian revolution be not disturbed by hostile capitalist powers. Hence our attitude which we have ever maintained, and ever will, that the working class of all countries has the strongest interest in defending the Soviet Republic. No matter what it may be that separates us from the Bolsheviks, against capitalist hostility we must extend it our complete solidarity. We, Austrian Social Democrats, have always held to this, which explains also why we opposed in Marseilles the one-sided anti-Bolshevism of other Parties."

Another sign of approach—from Denmark. This effort originates, to be sure, from a not particularly important country but it is nevertheless interesting in that it reflects quite well an international attitude. The Social Democratic Reichstag Deputy, I. P. Nielsen, writes in the theoretical magazine of the Danish Social Democracy, "Socialisten":

"The young Russian Republic will receive a powerful support in the Social Democracy of the countries who for their part will consider themselves the defenders and promoters of the interests of the Socialist Republic. The old Social Democracies will come back to the correct plan and will gain rejuvenation for their aims from the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Republic."

And in conclusion:

"Just look at how all countries are over-run by the social plague of unemployment. . . . Not alone Denmark. . . . For this reason I do not believe, no matter how much we might perhaps desire, that we can avoid a radical transformation of the economic basis of society; the present sphere is too narrow to include all; it must be exploded. With this in view the rallying of the world-wide labor movement will be a gain."

The American Socialist, Norman Thomas, who is considered the successor of the aged Debs in the leadership of the American Socialist Party, writes (May 12, 1925,) in the "New Leader," central organ of the American Social Party concerning the causes of the split between the Communists and the Social Democrats, the mistakes of the Socialists in the trade union field and in their propaganda against the Russian revolution. He comes finally to this conclusion:

"One must not forget that the average worker would regard the collapse of the Russian experiment not merely as a collapse of Communism but also as a collapse of Socialism. And I would go further. I believe that in the present state of affairs it would be logically possible to form a united front between Socialists and Communists for the purpose of immediate demand campaigns in which each of the parties would retain their position on essential questions of philosophy and politics." (Retranslated from the German).

The most important symptoms of overture endeavors was demonstrated in the decision of the executive of the Independent Labour Party on January 1, 1926, in the British "New Leader." This decision goes further in that it seeks an approach not only to the Soviet Union but directly to the Third International. The decision consists of two parts: The first states that the Independent Labour Party will endeavor

to unite the Second and Third Internationals. It will raise this question at the next session of the Second International. It proposes that the Communists relegate to the rear the question of armed uprising and that one should concentrate on the struggle of combating capitalism and imperialism. The second part of the decision consists of two parts: The first states that the Independent Labour Party will endeavor to do at any price in the Second International. It will no longer conceal its left wing attitude and thereby "a left wing will naturally emerge there (in the Second International), and a lively discussion of new ideas and new policies will be awakened thruout the entire International."

Two tendencies must be kept apart from one another in these reconciliation endeavors: The first tendency is the honest desire of the Social Democratic masses for the unity of the labor movement. The second tendency however, is the speculation of more or less left Social Democratic leaders who aim to prove thru such

reconciliation maneuvers that not they but the Communists are the foes of unity.

All these facts and events taken together are symptoms of a vitalization, differentiation and radicalization of certain portions of the international labor movement. The contours of a Third International sentiment are beginning to show themselves in certain parts of the working class. Under varying circumstances and under utterly different conditions there is resurrected the attitude of 1920 when the Independent Labour Party in Great Britain, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, dispatched their letters of interrogation and representatives to Moscow to negotiate on conditions of unification with the Third International. The significance of these symptoms should certainly not be overestimated; at the beginning of 1926 they are surely not as strong as at the end of 1920, but still less can we shut our eyes to the significance of these signs.

(Continued in May Issue.)



"There you are! He's yours again for five years!"

Forces and Currents in the Present Political Situation *

By Jay Lovestone

ENERGETIC preparations are afoot in the United States to celebrate the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The city of Philadelphia will be the center for the Sesqui-Centennial celebration commemorating the event of inestimable significance for the entire world. Few who have followed with open eyes the developments of political thought—the ideological expression of class relationship and conflicts—the dynamics of human history—will fail to comprehend the historic role of the Declaration of Independence.

In the course of the last one hundred and fifty years the American republic has developed into what one may properly call an unconstitutional monarchy. On this occasion it is especially timely to examine the outlook for the development in the United States of the Labor Party movement—the movement for independent working class political action—the movement for a new Declaration of Independence in America of, by, and for the workers, as a class.

The Basic Factors for a Labor Party.

We should first examine the basic factors making for the growth of political consciousness in the ranks of the workers. This must be done if one is not to have his vision and perspective blurred by the temporary sharp upward swings or the passing swift downward periods in the curve of the Labor Party or any other great class movement. Otherwise our conclusions will be of a character vibrating between rosy optimism and the darkest pessimism. The Marxist-Leninist cannot estimate any great historical movement on the basis of transient affairs, by means of the yardstick of temporary and superficial phenomena.

There are two basic forces making for the development of an American class Party of the proletariat. These forces are:

1. The development of a powerful centralized government, functioning ever more openly as the executive committee of the bourgeoisie.

We have the living ruthless manifestations of governmental power in the growing tendency to use the official military machinery of the government for strike-breaking purposes; the attacks on the unions; government by injunction; and the Big Stick policies of American capitalists in Latin-America, Europe, Africa, the

Near and Far East. These events make up the blunt expression of the American system of government.

2. The tendency towards the development of a homogeneous American working class is a basic factor in the consideration of class relationships in the United States. One need but look at the effect of the World War in this direction, as shown by the levelling process in the ranks of the proletariat thru narrowing the economic gap between the skilled and the unskilled masses, thru the effects of decreased immigration, thru the great exodus of agricultural masses into the basic industries during the post-war severe agricultural debacle, and so on.

These two basic tendencies, coming as the impelling forces for the rise of a Labor Party in the United States, are inherent features of the development of American class society and class relations. The trend of these forces may vary and does vary at different moments. It would be foolhardy for one to say that the movement towards the development of the giant centralized government playing the role of a strike-breaking agency is, has been, or would be continuously upward or uninterruptedly in one direction. It would be equally absurd to say that the movement for the development of a homogeneous American working class is, has been, or will be unceasingly upward. The curve of social movements, of class relationships, is rather zig-zag, is more broken than straight, and has its ups and downs.

Speaking statistically, the Marxian historian must learn to judge events not by temporary upward or downward fluctuations. The Marxian-Leninist should be able to smooth all the curves, all the ups and downs, and find the general trend, the basic tendencies of the historigram. We should also be able to judge accurately all the elements of the dialectic process, which forces of the basic trend, the downward or the upward, the disintegrating or the consolidating, are dominant at any specific moment.

Once we understand these two basic forces making for a class Party of the American proletariat, we will find that the current of the development of the Labor Party movement is almost directly commensurate with and an accurate reflection of the fluctuations of the general trend, the variations of the unmistakable and undeniable tendencies towards the development of a highly centralized government, and the tendency towards a homogeneous working class in America.

* This article is taken from the Hammer, the new Jewish theoretical organ of the Workers Communist Party.

Recent Currents in the Labor Party Movement.

With this as a background, let us proceed to look into the why and wherefore of the recent currents in the movement for the formation of an American Labor Party.

We find it necessary at the outset to declare that the movement for a Labor Party is not distinctly new in the sense of being purely a post-war phenomenon. Local isolated Labor Party movements have manifested themselves long before the World War, during periods of acute economic depression. But it was not until 1918 that the American Labor Party movement assumed fundamental national features, signs of developing on a national scale and on a stable basis. From 1918 to the early part of 1924 the development of our Labor Party movement was, on the whole, in an upward direction. The general swing of the Labor Party movement in the last year or so, insofar as one can speak of general trends in so basic a movement as the development of independent proletarian political action for so short a time, has been downward.

Let us, then, examine the economic and the political basis of the recent downward curve, of the slackening in the pace of development of the Labor Party movement in the United States.

The primary reason for the slackening of the Labor Party movement is to be found in the intense development of American imperialism during the last two or three years. From the Treaty of London in December of 1924 to the Treaties of Locarno, that is, from Dawes to Locarno, we go thru months of unbroken advances and unimpeded encroachment of American imperialism in every avenue and alley of the capitalist world.

In this light it is instructive to note the report of the Federal Reserve Bank for March, 1926, dealing with the annual incomes of 294 representative concerns in 1925. The net profits of these concerns were thirty per cent higher last year than in 1924 or 1925.

Rubber, oil, automobiles, steel, railroad and tobacco companies especially had a banner year.

This tremendous, economically advantageous economic position maintained by the American bourgeoisie has its political reflection at home as well as abroad. In the arena of world politics, Uncle Sam as a symbol of the Yankee bourgeoisie, is still the undisputed leader. No treaties can be signed by European, Asiatic, or Latin-American countries without the signatory powers taking into serious consideration the likely attitude or the actual actions of the United States in connection with the decisions of the agreement under discussion. This is true whether America participates officially, unofficially, or pulls the wires behind the scenes in true magicians' style in the conferences or treaty negotiations.

In domestic politics, the result of the improved

stabilized economic conditions are many and significant. The sweeping victory of American wheat in the 1924 World market brought a bumper crop of Coolidge votes and helped demoralize the agrarian ranks of the progressives and insurgents.

The Corruption of the Skilled Workers.

The unparalleled advantages reaped by the American capitalists thru their strengthened monopoly position in the world market of commodities and capital have enabled them to bribe increasing sections of our working class. Today, the American labor bureaucracy is more than ever before an integral part of the state machinery, of the governmental apparatus of the exploiters.

Today, the American labor aristocracy is bigger and better off than it ever was and consists of many millions of workers. Tho the United States government has been functioning more or less openly and aggressively as an agent of finance capital against the great unskilled unorganized proletarian masses, it has not had occasion, in the last two years, to interfere with such ruthless brutality and against the trade unions as it did in 1921-23. The bourgeoisie have given the aristocracy of labor, those workers who constitute the bulk of American organized labor, a few more bones and crumbs as shares of the fabulous super profits which they have been reaping from their corner of the world gold supply, the great export of capital, their strategic industrial and financial position.

Here are some instructive strike figures. In 1921 there were 2,385 strikes, in 1923, 1,506, and in 1924, only 1,227 strikes. In this connection, two facts must be remembered. First, strikes are conducted mainly by the organized workers. Secondly, the organized workers in America are in the main drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy of labor. Furthermore, in 1919, the number of workers involved in strikes was 4,160,348; in 1921, 1,099,247, and in 1924 only a total of 654,453.

Recent Experiments of Class Collaboration.

If there is any proof wanted of the selling out of our trade union bureaucracy, boot and baggage, to the bourgeoisie, let one examine the recent marked signs of class collaboration on the part of organized labor in its dealings with the capitalist class.

We will point out only three of the latest outstanding expressions of the way our labor aristocracy is being corrupted by the super-profits of the American imperialists.

These instances are:

1. The sweep of labor banking schemes as shown by the latest plans of the New York Federation of Labor Bank and the buying of Fascist government bonds by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

2. The home owning scheme announced by one of the biggest unions in the country.

3. The Watson-Parker railroad labor bill, just passed by Congress, providing for the abolition of the Railway Labor Board.

We will discuss these three facts and then examine the effect of this development of American imperialism on the movement for a Labor Party.

a) Labor Banking Schemes.

One of the leading labor banks of the country is the Federation Bank of New York. A committee of two hundred stockholders consisting of "leading citizens" has just been organized to help this bank become a trust company. On this committee, the so-called advisory committee, there are included nine representatives of the printing industry, eight publishers, eight bankers, eight lawyers, seven builders, seven real estate dealers, six judges, six theatrical magnates, five industrial capitalists, five brokers and three insurance men. In this galaxy we find side by side with such labor leaders as Peter J. Grady, the president of the Bank, and Max Zukerman of the Cloth, Hat and Capmakers' Union, A. T. Lefcourt and Michael Cashal of the International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, such notorious anti-shop spokesmen as Mortimer L. Schiff, international banker, associated with Kuhn, Loeb, and Company, Gerard Swope of the General Electric Company. The Republican Party is represented by Mr. Charles E. Hilles. The Democratic Party has as its spokesman Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Bank now has resources totalling \$70,000,000.

There are very few workers in the American trade union movement who look with favor on the Fascist government. Even Mr. Green, the President of the American Federation of Labor, has been compelled by the opposition of the rank and file of the workers to denounce the Mussolini tyranny. Yet we find that the banks controlled by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers were selling bonds of the Fascist government when the last Italian loan was floated in the United States.

These two incidents above mentioned are not isolated cases. They are rather straws indicating the current of the wind now blowing in the ranks of the aristocracy of American labor.

b) The Home Ownership Illusion.

For many years the bourgeoisie have tried to undermine progressive movements of the proletariat by pushing the idea of home ownership among the workers. Now we come to the latest stage in the development of class collaboration schemes. There has just been formed an organization known as the American Home Builders, Incorporated. This organization was founded several months ago with W. G. Lee, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, as chairman of the Board of Directors. Its object is "to reduce the cost of home ownership to workers and to originate ways of profitable investment" in mortgages on small homes.

In making their first announcement about the objectives of this organization, these bankers propagated the illusions of landlordism, rather the hope of permanent, secure home owning for the masses of workers under capitalism. These labor agents of imperialism declare:

"Labor and capital will see limitless possibilities in this second step in the economic program proposed by the father of the labor banking movement, —a national home ownership program for workers, financed in the main by workers' savings."

Landlordism and progressivism will not mix even in a country like the United States, so renowned for ingenuity and technique in developing methods of production and finance!

c) Selling Out Millions of Workers and the Right to Strike.

But the nadir of the corruption of the labor aristocracy and the betrayal of the unskilled proletarian masses at the hands of the highly skilled workers is to be found in a bill just overwhelmingly adopted by Congress—in the Railway Labor Act "which provides for the prompt disposition of disputes between railway carriers and their employees."

This bill is sponsored in the Senate by no other champion of the working class than Mr. Watson of Indiana, notorious as an agent of the Beef Trust in the United States Senate! It aims to set up a new procedure to encourage and to provide for the liquidation of all disputes by mutual consent and collaboration of the employees and the railroad magnates. The bill tries, really for the first time in the history of American railroad legislation, to secure an open and explicit understanding between the representatives of the railroad capitalists and the spokesmen of the railway workers for the settlement of all differences that may arise without resorting to strikes and actually making it impossible for the workers to resort to strikes effectively.

About a year ago, three of the "Chiefs"—as the leaders of the Railway Brotherhoods are known—and a committee of the Railway Executives began private conferences with a view towards working out principles of railway legislation acceptable to both interests. The bill was drawn up by a sub-committee consisting of two Brotherhood Chiefs and two railroad officers.

The basic contention of this bill is that railway peace and uninterrupted railway service are paramount to all other interests. It is based on the notion that railroad problems must be handled individually and separately in each particular case, whenever a difficulty arises on any railroad. It strives to establish Boards of Adjustment and Joint Committees for the settlement of disputed questions directly between the employees and the capitalists of the railway on whose lines difficulties have arisen. The bill deliberately overlooks the fact that when an individual railroad faces an individual local

union of workers, it is not facing these workers as an individual railroad, but merely as an agent of a gigantic railroad monopoly. Consequently, the bill aims to pit small sections of the railway workers' organizations against the entire railway monopoly.

Should the individual adjustment boards of the different railways be unable to settle a controversy, then the question at issue is referred to a permanent Board of Mediators, consisting of five commissioners appointed by the President. This Board will have the task of bringing about a friendly adjustment. Should this permanent board of mediators fail, then it will endeavor to have the parties involved in the controversy submit their case to arbitration upon mutually agreeable terms. The decisions of this Board of Arbitration would be final. It would become a judgment of the United States District Court, unless successfully impeached within ten days after being filed with the Court.

The Watson-Parker bill also provides that the President of the United States create a Fact-finding Commission. This Commission is to make a report to the President within thirty days after it is constituted. During the thirty days of investigation no change is to be made in the condition against which the workers protest. The bill specifically declares that nothing in the proposed legislation prohibits an individual railroad and its workers from coming to an agreement in disputed questions thru whatever machinery that may have been established by mutual agreement. This legalizes company unions. The Railway Brotherhood chiefs thus sign their name to an endorsement, indirectly of course, of company unionism.

We must keep in mind that this bill is the product of negotiations between the railway companies and representatives of the skilled railway workers and leaves totally out of consideration the million and a half maintenance of way men, railway shopmen and the other less skilled crafts of workers employed on the railways. The bill has the approval of Gen. Atterbury, the notorious labor-hater of the scab Pennsylvania Railroad System.

Under these circumstances it is no wonder that President Coolidge in his last message to Congress lauded this inclination of the railway capitalists and the leaders of the skilled railway employees to adopt a policy of action which he said "marked a new epoch in our industrial life."

But the contradictions of capitalism are far more powerful than all the notorious purposes of the betrayers of the railway workers in the United States. Just as this bill is being considered by the Senate, the Railway Brotherhoods are determinedly seeking increased wages. There are multiplying indications that other groups of railway workers will also demand wage increases during the present year. What

is even more enlightening is that these demands for wage increases are not made in any conciliatory terms but are characterized by a firmness welcome to those who are looking forward to the development of energetic resistance by the workers against their exploiters.

Oppression of Great Proletarian Masses Intensified.

Concurrently with their practice of corrupting the skilled workers, the American imperialists have been tightening up, putting the screws on, and oppressing the great mass of unskilled workers. Those organizations of railroad labor consisting largely of the less skilled and unskilled workers have been smashed almost to smithereens by the open shop drive of our imperialists. We need but look at the dwindling handful now in the ranks of the once powerful Railway Shopmen's organizations and the United Maintenance of Way men. What is there left of the Seamen's Union? What is happening to the United Mine Workers of America? What are the chances of mobilizing hundreds of thousands of unskilled steel workers in the coming months for another unionization campaign as was done in 1919?

Effect on the Labor Party Movement.

What has been the effect of this imperialist corruption of the enlarged labor aristocracy on the one hand, and the degradation, on the other hand, of the great proletarian masses, on the movement for independent political action—the movement for a Labor Party?

The sum total effect has been to deter, to slacken the pace of the development of the Labor Party movement.

Why? First of all, tho the development of the centralized government has gone on apace in the United States, (this is true despite the actual decrease of the governmental bureaucracy since the war and the immediate post-war days) the organized skilled workers, have on less occasions faced the brutal attacks of the bourgeois state apparatus in the last two years and have consequently been less keen for separate, for independent, political action as a class. Their economic organizations in these days of so-called prosperity, have apparently served them well. Why should they then bother about looking for new, and, to them, untried weapons of struggle? Besides, and at least for the present, their political interests are bound up ideologically and actually with the imperialist machinations and schemes for American capitalist domination of the world market.

Here we have a deepening of the split, of the chasm, a broadening of the gap between the skilled, the aristocracy of labor, and the great mass of the unskilled proletarian workers. This separation of the best educated and the best organized workers, the working class elements most suitable for the leadership of a Labor

Party movement, from the real proletariat has been a powerful force checking the development of a Labor Party movement in the United States.

The American labor aristocracy has, in the last two years, been moving to the right at a rapid pace. The economic and consequently the political, levelling process in the ranks of the American workers so noticeable immediately after the war, has been checked by the recent intensified developments of American imperialism. The tendency towards the development of a homogeneous working class has, in the last two years, been struck a real blow by the ability of the American imperialists to buy out with their super-profits the aristocracy of the American working class and to tighten their grip on these millions of workers more firmly than many of us have judged in the recent past.

The Increase in Immigration.

Another fact must be recounted in discussing the slackening of the tendency towards the levelling process among the American workers. During the war the immigration wave to America's shores practically ceased. The cessation of immigration was a powerful factor toward the homogeneous development of the American working class. Despite the recently enacted restrictive immigration legislation there came into the United States more than one million workers—according to the official records of the United States—in the year 1924 and 1925. In addition to this number of immigrants regularly admitted and classified as legally entered, we must also add the hundreds of thousands who have in the last few years come into this country thru irregular channels, thru so-called illegal methods. According to Commissioner of Immigration, Harry D. Hull, there are at present in the United States approximately 1,300,000 immigrants who entered the country irregularly and who are now liable to deportation under the provisions of the notorious anti-foreign born bills.

This giant influx of immigration has certainly been proving a barrier to the tendency towards homogeneity in the ranks of the American working class and has further deepened the chasm between the native American workers who are largely skilled and the foreign born workers who are in the main unskilled proletarians.

The Petty Bourgeoisie Take Temporary Leadership.

One further factor must be examined in analyzing the trend of the labor party movement in the United States. The sharp conflicts and contradictions within the American bourgeoisie gave rise to the broad LaFollette movement coming to a head in 1924. The dominant forces of this petty bourgeois movement rebelling against the aggression of monopolist capitalism

took over the leadership of the workers' movement towards a Labor Party. No one should overlook the fact that the leadership of the Labor Party movement was weak in political experience compared to the leadership of the insurgent petty bourgeois movement.

Furthermore the ideology of the Labor Party movement, to the extent that it did develop simultaneously with the progressive petty bourgeois movement, was still weak, vague and unclear. Consequently, it was a comparatively easy task for the leaders of the LaFollette movement temporarily to assume the leadership and control of the movement towards working class political action,—the movement for a Labor Party. Tho, in a way, the LaFollette movement was a movement towards the left insofar as millions of American workers broke with the traditional two Party ticket and voted for a ticket against the big capitalists, yet temporarily it meant a setback in the development, a slackening in the pace of development of the distinct Labor Party in this country.

The Basis for Tendencies Towards the Left.

Now let us look at the opposite tendencies. Let us see what other forces are at work in the development of class relationships in the United States. What forces are making for the intensification of the movement for political consciousness on the part of the proletarian masses?

a) The Rising Challenge to Yankee Imperialism.

American imperialism is without question still exercising an undisputed sway. But there are multiplying signs that the forces challenging American imperialist supremacy are unifying their ranks and preparing to resist Yankee capitalist aggression. We need but examine the statement recently issued by Mr. Julius Klein, the foreign trade expert of the Department of Commerce regarding the last annual foreign trades report of the United States. Mr. Klein declares that America's foreign trade will soon face a period of severe embarrassment and considerable uncertainty.

America has been compelled to hasten the financial and industrial restoration of Europe in order to stave off revolution and thus to prolong the life of the entire international capitalist system. But with the steady financial and industrial restoration of Europe, Mr. Klein sees a promise of more acute competition for American exports in every market of the world. It is obvious that once this imperialist supremacy of the United States is shaken or undermined, then there will be a reflex politically at home and the resistance of the workers to capitalist aggression will be considerably intensified. Once America's privileged imperialist position is weakened, undermined, or overthrown, we will be well on the road to developing a mass labor party in the United States.

One need not lose his patience and say: Well, it will take us as many years as it took the English working class to develop a big movement expressing the class consciousness of the proletariat. Events move much faster now than they did in the 90's and in the early part of this century. We are now living in a different period. The forces of international capitalist disintegration, the agencies making for contradictions and conflicts in the ranks of the exploiters are too numerous and too powerful to be disregarded. These forces were not present before the world war. They were especially not even visible in the days of the first challenge to British imperialism, in the days of the first threat to British imperialism later resulting in the weakening of its strategic position in the arena of world capitalist financial and industrial relationship.

A very much underestimated phase of the Locarno Treaties is to be found in the trend towards the unification of Europe against Wall Street's encroachment on its markets and on its industries and finances. The calling in by President Coolidge of Ambassador Houghton from London for a special conference is an event of paramount significance, indicating the fact that the United States is not exactly satisfied in every respect with the trend of events in Europe since the Locarno Treaties. The ease with which President Coolidge's initiative and invitation for a new disarmament conference was thrust aside by England and the European powers is a further sign of the new development among the European countries in their dealings with the United States.

b) The Deepening Agricultural Crisis.

The mutterings of agricultural revolt are again being heard with increasing loudness. It is not my purpose at this time to enter into an elaborate analysis of the conditions of American agriculture. Suffice it to say that the recent spurt in agricultural economy was short-lived and not in the least fundamental. It was due largely to a temporary condition—the bumper wheat crop of the United States at the time when the rest of the world was facing a shortage. The basic forces responsible for the distress in agricultural economy have not been removed. In fact they have not been alleviated in the least. Dire economic straits for millions of farmers can be translated only into disruptive forces of a most dangerous character for the whole system of capitalist economy in the United States. Such deep-going economic forces have vital political expression. Social unrest and class conflicts are very contagious.

Speaking of the increasing unrest among the farmers, the National Industrial Conference Board—an employers' investigating organization—has declared on March 8, 1926, that there is a "new Mason-Dixon line" which no longer separates the North from the South but that it

is the Mississippi Valley which separates the West from the East.

"The chief significance of this shifting of political attitudes lies in the fact that it directly reflects a serious economic maladjustment of agriculture and it is seen by the Conference Board as a warning that a more scientific coordination of all industrial and business activities is needed.

"The rate of farm failures from 1910 to 1924 shows an increase of over 1000 per cent in contrast to that of commercial failures, which has remained practically the same per year during the same period. Capital invested by farm operators decreased from forty-seven billion dollars in 1920 to thirty-two billion dollars in 1925, a loss of approximately three billion dollars a year."

Once the farmers become really disgruntled the dissatisfaction is bound to spread into the ranks of the workers, particularly when a shaking up of the economic conditions in the rural areas must sooner, rather than later, bring disruptive influence upon the economic conditions in the industrial centers.

With the disappearance of the period of so-called economic prosperity, we have every good reason to believe, on the basis of our past experience, that the movement for political action by the workers as distinct from their exploiters, the movement for independent class political action, the movement for a Labor Party, will grow.

c) Intensification of Contradictions in Ranks of Bourgeoisie.

At the same time we see not only a revival, but even an intensification of the contradictions in the camp of the bourgeoisie, temporarily met several months ago. The issue over the World Court is not a secondary one. It involves a fundamental conflict of interests between a section of our petty bourgeoisie against the monopolist capitalists, against the finance capitalists dominating the government today.

Senator Borah has never been exactly the type to stick to the party reservation. He has often been called a "wild horse" in the Republican Party. But this is the first time that Borah has been so definitely and so out-spokenly against the administration. Of course, Mr. Borah fought Woodrow Wilson at least as energetically on the League of Nations as he is now fighting Coolidge on the World Court. It must be remembered, however, that in fighting Coolidge, he is fighting the leader of his own Party. In the hay-days of LaFollette progressivism, Borah was always very cautious not to be irregular when it came to basic organizational discipline. In his fight on the World Court, Mr. Borah is showing every sign of dropping these measures of caution.

For years the tariff question has been a fake issue in the camp of our bourgeoisie. Today it is no longer a false issue. Tariff is becoming a very sharp question for the United States. The problem of maintaining America's favorable trade balance, the problem of maintaining

America's dominant imperialist position, the conflicts between the monopolist capitalists and the small bourgeoisie on these questions are reflected at this time in varying degrees in the tariff issue. We can look forward to the tariff issue being a source of disintegration in the ranks of the exploiters.

Nor has the Tax question been settled. The recent triumphal success of Mellon in the so-called non-partisan action on and adoption of his tax reduction bill is not to be mistaken as an end of the tax problem. The tax question will prove more and more menacing to the American capitalists. It is a source of great difficulties and greatest differences for the Yankee bourgeoisie. Mellonism has had a victory but the forces against the Mellon scheme which has reduced taxes for those who can pay best are lining up for another test of strength.

d) Leftward Forces Among the Workers.

Amongst the workers themselves, the sentiment for a Labor Party is stronger than its present organizational expression would indicate or than the superficial evidence and manifestations would warrant one to conclude. Before the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, the leaders of the bureaucracy categorically expressed themselves as opposed to a Labor Party in principle. At the last convention there was a slight difference from this hackneyed practice in the attitude taken by the leaders of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Let us quote from the speech of Mr. Green on the Labor Party question, delivered at the last Federation of Labor convention.

"There may be a time when we in America can organize an independent political Party, when our nation becomes an industrial nation, as Great Britain now is, when the centers of population have grown, and increased, and the distances between our villages and our cities are greatly reduced, when the line of demarcation between village and village and city and city is so indistinct that it is scarcely discernible. We will have to change in America from an agricultural nation to a semi-industrial country before we can make a success along that line."

Of course, this is a lot of prattle used by Mr. Green with designs to hide the fact that even he is forced to recognize the growing economic basis and increasing pressure for a Labor Party, coming from the ranks of the masses. To talk of the United States being developed into a semi-industrial country when it is already the most highly industrialized country in the world, to talk of the agricultural situation as being a barrier towards the development of class consciousness among the American workers, is just to dabble in empty phrases. Even this smoke screen cannot hide the change in class relationships in the United States. The mere fact that Mr. Green has declared himself as not being opposed in principle to a labor party but

only opposed to a labor party at this time is weighty evidence of the tendency towards the Labor Party manifesting itself in the ranks of the American proletarian masses in the United States.

The defeat of the expulsion campaign launched against the communists in several of the unions, the growing sympathy for the Soviet Union in many of the largest labor organizations of the country, the increasing signs of invigorated opposition to the reactionary Jewish Daily Forward's machine in the Socialist Party, are additional signs of the strengthening of leftward tendencies among the working class organizations in the United States. Here we have a fertile soil for the independent working class, for the idea of the formation of a Labor Party.

The Balance Sheet.

To conclude let us reiterate the fact that it was the intensified development of American imperialism in the last two years, with its consequent result of slackening of the pace of development of a homogeneous working class in the United States, the weakening of the tendency towards the levelling process in the ranks of the workers, the decrease of the frequency with which the centralized government apparatus resorted to strikebreaking with wanton brutality, openly and flagrantly against the workers,—it is these forces which were primarily responsible for the slowing up of the development of the Labor Party movement in the United States. The assumption of leadership of the Labor Party movement by the petty bourgeoisie, during the LaFollette campaign, as well as the increased immigration—regular and irregular, legal and illegal—in the last two years, have been basic forces making against the development of a mass Labor Party in the United States.

The course of these forces has its ups and downs. So has the course of the development of the Labor Party movement. In the 1926 congressional elections there will be no national Labor Party in the field. In certain states there may be Labor Parties entering the contest against the old parties of the bourgeoisie. In fact in the states of North Dakota, So. Dakota, Montana, Washington, Pennsylvania there are already evidences of the likelihood of substantial Farmer Labor Party and Labor Party organizations participating in the coming campaign. The United Labor Ticket, one of the first steps toward a Labor Party, will very likely be resorted to in many of the industrial centers with worthwhile success. In the main, this step towards a Labor Party is the immediate and most possible goal of the advanced, most conscious, the genuinely progressive workers in all trades unions and organizations of the working and exploited farming masses.

Lenin and the American Labor Movement

By J. Fendel

THE predominant role the United States is bound to play in world development is becoming more and more clear every day. The world war broke the United States away from its "happy isolation" and bound it firmly to the rest of the world. Before the all-conquering American dollar the economic systems of all other capitalist countries fall in submission; the "Dawes' Plan" is becoming a "normal" form for expressing the economic hegemony of American capital. Naturally, as a consequence of all this, the importance of America in the field of world politics is growing fast, supported by such weighty arguments as the rapid militarization of the country, frantic naval and air construction, etc. No amount of oily pacifist phrases or christian-democratic piety can any longer hide the obviously reactionary role of the American government that manifests itself in such things as the subsidizing of Mussolini and in the stubborn refusal to recognize the Soviet Union.

America Enters the International Arena.

This "new" factor in world politics must be taken in close consideration by the world proletarian movement. The active entry of American capital upon the international stage means, among other things, the entry of the strongest forces of world capital in the arena against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The world proletariat is thus brought face to face with the problems of the American labor movement.

The Special Development of the American Labor Movement.

In accordance with the "happy isolation" of American economy (and politics) the American labor movement has, until recently, been developing along lines quite different from the labor movement of western Europe and has been following isolated paths of its own. Whatever contact there has been has been casual, weak, and superficial.

It is true that thru the immigration of European workers the west European labor movement has tended to impart its ideology to America. But in the specific conditions of the American situation this ideology has never been able to root itself organically into the American soil and has always proved to be a jaded hot-house plant. Opportunist distortions on the contrary have blossomed forth most luxuriantly. Racial

and national antagonisms, antagonisms among the various strata of the working class, the special methods of government of the American bourgeoisie—all these have piled obstacle upon obstacle in the way of the class organization of the proletariat.

New Path of the American Labor Movement.

Even now the difficulties in the road of the American workers are still great and numerous. But the prerequisites for a mass labor movement and for its class political formation exist; the last decade which has brought American capital to the heights of world hegemony has, at the same time, consolidated the American proletariat and intensified its sense of homogeneity, has brought it face to face with the centralized state apparatus of the American bourgeoisie that carries out the class policy of the capitalists with a most cynical frankness, with or without the cover of democratic-pacifist phrases.

The spasmodic nature of the development of the American economy, the extreme acuteness of its crises, the ever-increasing difficulties of solving the problem of markets—all these factors linked up with the growing economic and political power of the Soviet Union and with the revolutionary movements of the colonial peoples make inevitable the ultimate revolutionization of America, a country that, up to the present, has seemed so immune to the "revolutionary bacillus."

The Problems Facing the American Proletariat and its Party.

In connection with the perspectives arising from the processes of economic and political development in the United States, a whole number of the most serious problems face the Workers Communist Party of America—problems that, for the coming period, will all be centered largely around the basic problem of organizing a mass independent political party of labor—a Labor Party—as a beginning in the direction of self-determination and in the development of class-consciousness of the American workers. The solution of this problem is, however, linked up with a series of other problems; the relations to the so-called "third party," the awakening of the class consciousness of the American working class on the basis of their everyday vital demands, the attraction of the poorest strata of the farmers, etc. to the side of the proletariat, and so on.

These tasks that the Workers Communist Party is now called upon to solve are by no means light ones. They can only be solved thru the application as a weapon in the struggle of the teachings of Lenin that represent a masterly synthesis of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice in the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.

I. Lenin's Analysis of the American Labor Movement.

LENIN made no special study of the problems of the American labor movement. These problems had not yet come up on the revolutionary agenda, one might say. To a considerable extent it was still "music of the future." Nevertheless, he attentively followed the tendencies of development in the United States and the economic and social-political processes that were unfolding themselves in that country. On these matters he expressed quite a number of opinions that are of particular interest to the American Communists, so much the more so as the problems of the American labor movement that Lenin touched upon are essentially the same as those facing the American Party at the present time.*

Taken as a whole, Lenin's conceptions with regard to the American labor movement in the main follow along the following lines: The general characteristics of the United States as a highly developed capitalist country in which the capitalist evolution of agriculture is quite apparent are combined with a social-political order that is a classical example of bourgeois democracy more or less nakedly representing a bourgeois dictatorship.

It is in such a complicated social-economic and political situation that the battle must be carried on by the revolutionary vanguard of a proletariat that is itself extremely heterogeneous with its internal divisions and stratifications and that is backward politically, ideologically, and organizationally. A whole series of problems crop up now, of which the most important are: The attitude to the formation of what is called the "Third Party," the formation of a Labor Party, the most appropriate tactics for the solution of these tasks, the attitude to the farmers' movement, the estimation of the reformist currents, and finally, the question as to the "peaceful" or revolutionary nature of the development of the American labor movement. Such is the scope of the problems of the American labor movement touched upon by Lenin.

*It should be noted that these opinions of Lenin relate to the period beginning with 1913. During the last decade, with all the many important changes in the economic and political life of the U. S. A. that have taken place, the substance of these problems has certainly not changed.

II. Capitalist Development in Agriculture and the Agrarian Problems.

"The United States is one of the most advanced countries of present day capitalism. The United States has no rival either in the rapidity of the development of capitalism at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century nor in the high stage of development it has already achieved. America is also unrivalled in its tremendous area and in its advanced technique, the last word in science—a technique that takes into account the remarkable variety of natural-historical conditions. America is also unrivalled in its political freedom and in the cultural level of the masses of the population. The ideal of our bourgeois civilization is in many respects indebted to this country."*

In this highly developed capitalist country the correctness of the Marxian law of capitalist evolution as applied to agriculture stands out most clearly, despite the assertions of the bourgeois democrats and opportunists who put forward the theory of the non-capitalist evolution of agriculture within capitalist society.

These theories obviously provide the opportunists of all colors with one of the foundations upon which to build the fantastic edifice of the peaceful development of socialism. A correct analysis of the processes unfolding themselves in agriculture is of the greatest significance—particularly to the American Communists for whom the question as to the attitude to the farmers' movement is of the most serious importance.

Lenin dealt with the question of the evolution of agriculture in the United States in special investigations**—based on a thoro study of the original sources: the twelfth census of 1900, the thirteenth of 1913, and from numerous statistical works ("Statistical Abstracts of the United States for 1911.")

The conclusions arrived at by Lenin were the following: "Manual labor predominates over machine labor in agriculture, immeasurably so as compared with industry, but machinery is gradually forging ahead, raising the technique of farming, making it more intensive and capitalist."

"The increase in the number of hired workers is overtaking the growth of the agricultural population and, in fact, of the entire population of the country.

"The increase in the number of farmers lags behind the growth of the agricultural population.

"The process of the ousting of petty production in agriculture by large scale production is

**New Data on the Laws of Development of Capitalism in Agriculture." Collected Works (Russian), Vol. IX, p. 197.

**"New Data on the Laws of Development of Capitalism in Agriculture"; "Capitalism and Agriculture in the U. S. A.," written in October, 1913.

advancing but this is being minimized and the position of the small farmer misrepresented by the fact that the investigation is restricted to classifying the farms according to quantity of land.

"Capitalism grows not only thru hastening the development of large area farms in the extensive (non-intensive) districts but also thru the creation of more capitalistic farms on smaller pieces of land in the intensive districts.

"The expropriation of petty farming is proceeding apace.

"During the last decade the percentage of proprietors amongst the total number of farmers has been steadily declining while the total number of farmers, in turn, lags behind the growth of population."*

Peculiar to the United States are the great quantities of unused free lands. This peculiarity has served Sombart and Kautsky as a basis for explaining away the absence of socialism in the United States. (This was only partly true up to the nineties). Lenin points to it on as helping to explain the exceptionally rapid and extensive development of capitalism in America.

"The absence of private property on the land in certain districts of this tremendous country does not do away with capitalism. On the contrary it extends the basis for it and hastens its development."**

This condition was also shown by Lenin to be a great factor in hiding the process of expropriation of the petty farmers that was advancing at a great rate in the more settled industrial districts of the country.

This analysis of Lenin's provides the essential basis for the work of the American Communists among the agricultural proletariat on the one hand and in relation to the farmers' movement on the other.

III. American Bourgeois Democracy and the Intensification of Class Antagonisms.

In this advanced capitalist country class contradictions develop at an increasing rate and grow more and more acute.

Lenin gives figures that illustrate most strikingly the social order in America.

"In America the entire national wealth now amounts to 120 billion dollars. Of this about one-third (40 billions) belong to two trusts, Rockefeller and Morgan, or to trusts under their influence. Not more than 40,000 families comprising these two trusts are the owners of 80,000,000 slaves."***

The United States is essentially a modern slave-owning society. What is the American

government? This most "democratic" government in the world is essentially an executive committee for the capitalist class.

An analysis of the indirect taxes (1913) brings Lenin to the conclusion that in the matter of these taxes "the workers pay proportionally twenty times more than the capitalists."*

The American bourgeois democracy is an absolute hypocrisy — exactly as the bourgeois democracy of any other country.

"Take the fundamental laws of modern states, take their internal administration, take the right of meeting and the freedom of the press and the so-called equality of all citizens before the law and you will see at every step evidence of the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy with which every honest and intelligent worker is familiar. There is not a single state, however democratic, that does not contain loopholes or limiting clauses in its constitution that guarantee the bourgeoisie the legal possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth in case of disturbance of the public order, that is, in case of disturbance by the servile class of its servile conditions and of attempts to assume a non-servile attitude. Kautsky shamelessly lends attractive airs to bourgeois democracy by suppressing, for instance, the acts that are committed by the most republican and democratic bourgeoisie of America and of Switzerland against strikers.

"The law of bourgeois democracy is such that the more developed democracy is the nearer at hand is the danger of pogroms or civil war in connection with any profound political disturbance that threatens the existence of the bourgeoisie. This law of bourgeois democracy the learned Kautsky could have studied in connection with the Dreyfuss affair in the republic of France, with the lynching of Negroes and internationalists in the democratic republic of America."**

Tactics of American Bourgeoisie.

The tactics of the American bourgeoisie are extremely flexible—from the whip to gingerbread and back again.

As a supplement to the knout there is the "American bourgeois fashion of killing weak socialists by kindness."

"The opportunistic habit of renouncing Socialism to the advantage of the gentle, kind and democratic bourgeoisie correspond to this."***

(Continued in the May issue).

*"Capitalism and Taxes," Collected Works, (Russian ed.) Vol. XII, Part 2, p. 132.

**"The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade," pp. 26, 27.

***"What Should Not Be Imitated in the German Labor Movement." Collected Works (Russian ed.), vol. XII, part 2.

The Capitalist Offensive Against the Foreign-Born Workers

By J. Louis Engdahl

AMERICAN capitalism never rests in its efforts to create and magnify divisions in the ranks of its subject working class. The carefully studied attacks on foreign-born workers resident within the United States, for instance, that congress in its present session is being asked to legalize thru enactment into law, are, therefore, not of recent origin. They constitute part of the tremendous effort, stretching over nearly ten years, thru which the employing class in this country hopes to meet and overcome the new labor problems arising out of changed conditions resulting from the world war and the victorious revolution and rise to power of the Russian workers and peasants. Here its policy is again to divide and conquer.

The Offensive of Capital Against Labor.

The war brought its new ruling class weapons for fighting the workers in the open field of struggle. Where labor has gone on strike and attempted to display its strength on the picket line, it has been faced with the tear gas, the armored tanks and even airplanes brought into action in defense of the employers' swollen profits.

These are the treasured heirlooms plucked from the world's slaughter house of 1914-1918. They were reserved and burnished for the special persecution of the workers at home, the United States being no different than other countries under the rule of great business.

The Legal Offensive Against the Workers.

Similarly in the field of legislation, in all the branches of the employers' government. So-called sedition laws, special deportation decrees and restriction of immigration measures become new methods of oppression quite unfamiliar to American labor before the Wall Street dollar joined the British pound sterling, the French franc and the Italian lire in the holy crusade "to make the world safe for democracy." Gradually also the way is paved for the passage of federal (national) laws providing for the registration, finger-printing, photographing ("mugging") and classification of foreign-born workers. Numerous proposals are before this congress, as was the case with the two congresses that preceded it.

The Attack on the Foreign-Born Workers.

Injunctions, the Sherman anti-trust law, anti-picketing statutes, contempt of court orders, laws permitting child slavery and the long

workday for women, to cite only a small part of the mass of anti-labor legislation, constitute effective weapons against the whole working class, native as well as foreign-born. It was to be expected, however, that America's resourceful industrial kaisers, who have schemed energetically and quite successfully to create cleavages in the ranks of labor thru exploiting racial, religious and national differences, should also invoke special legislation dividing workers into categories according to the country of their birth and their political beliefs. This is coming; the next step.

It matters not that America was peopled from the beginning with the foreign-born. It matters not that for centuries America was heralded over the world as the land of opportunity for all newcomers and an asylum for the oppressed everywhere. Conditions change to suit the new times in which we live. The capitalists say the times demand that every worker be cast in the mould of 100 per cent American jingoism with all the class hopes of labor under its ban. They will tolerate no dissenters.

America, the Land of Immigration.

Before the Revolutionary War every separate colony was settled by its different kind of European exile. During the first half of the 19th century the discontented of Europe were welcomed to these shores and, like Carl Schurz, the "48'er" from Germany, rose to prominent places in the government of the Civil War period. When the series of outbreaks, that shook various sections of Europe in the period punctuated by the year 1848 crumpled up in failure, the United States extended its arms to the defeated and Karl Marx even moved the headquarters of the First International (the International Workingmen's Association) to these shores.

Then came the period of rapid capitalist development following the victory of the north in the Civil War and the abolition of chattel slavery. By 1880, the arriving immigrants reached a total for the year of 457,257 and the next year far surpassed the half million mark. History had never previously recorded such a movement of peoples over the earth as took place in the years following, with the shores of the United States as its destination. America's exploiters, seeking cheap labor, sent their agents thru Europe to stimulate the flood of

*Page 272, as above.

**Page 260, as above.

***Page 272, as above; also "Results and Significance of the Presidential Elections in the U. S. A." Collected Works (Russian ed.) Vol. XII, Part 1, p. 324.

new arrivals, first into the northern countries, the British Isles, Germany and the Scandinavian lands and then into Southern Europe and across to Asia.

The year of greatest immigration was 1907 when 1,285,000 arrived in spite of the money panic that set in during this period. If the war had not broken out in 1914, this year would have established a new record. At that the total reached was 1,218,480.

But all this huge immigration, even in the later years, was not lured across the Atlantic by the pot of gold that was supposed to be found at the mythical rainbow's end that rested on the tip of the Statue of Liberty in New York's harbor. There were the masses who came newly escaped from the clutches of the now overthrown Russian czarism. There were Russians, Russian Jews, Poles, Finns, Letts, Lithuanians, Esthonians and Ukrainians. These nationalities provided the backbone of the American revolutionary movement, supplanting the earlier German immigrants who laid the first foundations for the organization of American labor on a class basis.

Post War Conditions and Change of Policies.

One of the early storm signals, however, heralding the terror that arrogant American capitalism was planning to invoke against the foreign-born, on whose shoulders it had reared itself to become a world power, was clearly evident in the bitter fight that had to be made in 1907 to prevent Jan Puren, M. Rudovitz and others from being deported to Russia and to death under the czar's bloody regime.

The year 1917, however, the year of the American entry into the world war, when the number of immigrants arriving here had dwindled to a mere 296,403, opens the era of the new oppression, when the torch was extinguished in the hand of the Statue of Liberty and new policies were proclaimed against the foreign-born based on their suddenly discovered undesirability.

The New Immigration Act.

It was in this year that a new immigration act was adopted as an aid to strike-breaking. This act retained the clause covering the importation of laborers under contract, a respectable form of slavery, but allowing skilled labor to be brought in "if the same type of labor cannot be found unemployed in this country." This was the beginning of selective immigration, guaranteeing to the employer the amount and kind of wage slaves his needs demanded. The law was also made to include a literacy test, the deportation of persons affiliated with an organization advocating anarchy or the destruction of property, and the deportation of persons convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude, that is, incurring the penalty of imprisonment for one year or more. It was under

this revised law that 161 members of the Industrial Workers of the World were arrested under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Immigration at Seattle, Wash., mainly during December, 1917, and January, 1918. These arrests did not grow out of political beliefs, but out of economic activities, along the waterfront and the railroads and in the lumber camps, that hurt the bosses of the Pacific Northwest. Some of those arrested had been in the country for 30 years while others were actually native born. The law, however, vested in the immigration inspector the right to conclusively decide questions of birth, of guilt or innocence of his prospective victims. When Chinese workers in New York City's chop suey restaurants organized a union and went on strike New Year's Eve, 1918-1919, the leaders were immediately arrested and held for deportation. The deportation laws are being used, therefore, as an effective weapon, to combat organization on the part of the workers. They abolish, forever, the myth of an American political asylum for all dissenters. Congress definitely rejected a clause permitting entry to the United States to political refugees.

The Development of the Campaign.

These facts are cited to show the gradual developments leading up to the present campaign against the foreign-born. The drive continued to gather force. Thus new amendments (in effect Oct. 16, 1918) provided that **BELIEF** in the overthrow of government without an act of advocacy is sufficient in itself for deportation. The phraseology was strengthened by an act of June 5, 1920. Thus the capitalist government examines into the brain of the worker to find whether he is qualified to enter and remain in this country. It is claimed that to punish people for harboring beliefs in the privacy of their own minds is "unconstitutional." But the immigration authorities are supposed to be beyond the constitution.

Palmer's "Red Raids."

It was with this legal equipment that the notorious attorney general, J. Mitchell Palmer, in the cabinet of the war president, Woodrow Wilson, democrat, launched his vicious "red raids" in January, 1920, when about 5,000 warrants for arrest were issued by the department of labor. Early the next year Attorney General Palmer was forced to appear in his own behalf before a senate committee. He was cross-examined by Senator Walsh and forced to admit that the arrests and seizures made during the "red raids" were without warrant and without law. This attack found most of its victims among the foreign-born. It was their baptismal fire for the persecution that was to come.

All this had happened under the Wilson democratic administration. The republicans, in

their national convention that nominated Warren G. Harding, adopted a plank in their platform condemning the malpractices of the democratic departments of justice and labor. But it is the republicans, under the regimes of Harding and Cal Coolidge, who have developed the most bitter war against the foreign-born. Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty, with his Detective "Bill" Burns, fittingly succeeded Palmer, inaugurating the most vicious anti-labor regime the "department of justice" had yet known.

Restricted Immigration Made Permanent.

It was the Harding republican administration that put restricted immigration into effect as a permanent policy. After four years of carefully sifting the kind of workers permitted to enter the United States, Secretary of Labor James J. Davis, in his report to congress for the year ended June 30, 1925, declares:

"That the United States has settled upon restricted immigration as a permanent policy is evident from the terms of the immigration act of 1924, which provides for the future determination of quotas.

"The problem of the government toward the alien is three-fold—to admit only desirable aliens as permanent residents, to insure that applicants for citizenship have the proper training, and to rid the country of those who are determined to be in the country to the detriment of our best national interests."

In an article in the Feb. 27, 1926, issue of the "open shop" Saturday Evening Post, Secretary of Labor calls it "guarding the gates." He adds:

"The United States today stands before the world with the announcement that America is first of all for her citizens, and that the kind of guests she will receive and the number who in the future may be permitted to come in from without are going to be determined by the interests of those already here. She has announced that she intends to preserve her national institutions, that she does not intend to make the mistake of certain nations of the past; she is willing to absorb, but not to be absorbed."

That is, of course, the hypocritical plane on which the whole war against the foreign-born is based. Secretary of Labor Davis, the Pittsburgh multi-millionaire, who thinks in terms of profits in steel and coal, knows only of "citizens" and "non-citizens" as terms with which to divide the workers. If Davis wishes to view the success of the handiwork of his own capitalist class, he has but to turn to the bitterly struggling masses of disorganized coal miners and steel workers of his own Western Pennsylvania.

Davis is correct when he says he wishes to preserve the national institutions of the United States. The only institution he and his associates know is the institution of private property, the right to plunder America's working masses, both native and alien.

The Motive Behind the Alien Legislation.

The dominating motive in all alien legislation, as in every other statute that gets on the

law books, is the protection of profits. These profits were seriously challenged in the first nation-wide strike of steel workers in 1919; in the repeated struggles since the war of both the hard and soft coal miners; in the courageous national struggle of the shopworkers on the railroads, and in lesser industrial struggles. These took on greater proportions and manifested a more determined spirit of militancy than anything hitherto displayed by the working class in this country.

American great business fears this growing militancy. This is revealed in the eagerness and persistency with which it approaches the aristocracy of the American organized labor movement with its class-collaboration schemes. The employers cater to the skilled native-born workers at the expense of the unskilled masses of the foreign-born. The Watson-Parker Railroad bill now passing thru congress is an approach by the worst open shoppers, like President Atterbury, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, toward the aristocratic railroad brotherhoods at the expense of the poorer paid shopmen.

Thru erecting its "restricted immigration wall" around the whole nation, the employing class hopes to exclude "undesirable foreigners"—prospective agitators in the ranks of labor. Thru its registration proposals its hopes to weed out those already here who refuse to adjust themselves satisfactorily to the demands of the profit-making machine. Out of its huge profits the employing class is even willing to give slight wage increases to the upper strata which it deems mostly native, of the labor movement, which it even permits to maintain its organizations. It might even collaborate, as it already has done to some extent, to slightly raise the standard of living of some workers according to the latest wage theory of the American Federation of Labor promulgated at the last American Federation of Labor convention. But these are only measures to divide and crush the whole working class.

The raid on the Communist Party convention in Michigan in 1922 was hailed as the first step to exterminate all Communists and militants from the trade unions. Both the Gompers and the Green administrations have desperately cooperated in this campaign. Yet the Communists are still in the trade unions forming an effective part of the growing wing. This leads only to more desperate measures by the ruling class.

The proposed registration, finger-printing and photographing of foreign-born workers is only another method by which the anti-labor ruling class hopes to further bulwark its present favorable position. It seeks to hide its real motives behind a smoke screen of misleading propaganda. Thus President Coolidge in his message presented in this congress declared:

"If investigation reveals that any considerable number are coming here in defiance of our immigration restrictions, it will undoubtedly create the necessity for the registration of all aliens."

The fact that a few immigrants may seep thru the carefully guarded national borders is therefore to be used as an excuse for imposing a czarist police system upon millions of American workers. It has even been suggested that this police system be extended to include native-born as well, thus spreading it over the whole population.

The flood of the anti-alien legislation in this congress duplicates similar measures previously proposed. They carry their own warning to the working class.

The Aswell Registration Bill.

Representative James B. Aswell, the school superintendent lackey of backward Louisiana's anti-union employers, is positive that congress will approve his vile measure now before it. Aswell is a democrat from the "solid south." This did not prevent him going on a joint junket with Secretary of Labor Davis, republican, thru 16 European countries gathering data to attack foreign-born workers in this country. Aswell proposes an annual registration. Every year the foreign-born worker is forced to render an accounting of himself to his class enemy — the capitalist state. If this proposed law means anything, and it has the support of the republican Coolidge administration, then it means a police registration, a house-to-house canvass by the only agency of the state organized to do this work. The percentage who will register voluntarily will not be large. The police canvass will be the only effective method, and in order to accomplish its purpose, it must include the native as well as the foreign-born. The spying eye of the profiteers' law will thus be turned on every household.

Aswell suggests the post office as the registration agency. But he is fooling no one but himself if he takes this suggestion seriously. It may sound better to get the law passed. An amendment can be slipped thru later. It is also provided that when a worker moves to some other city he must immediately report to the authorities upon his arrival, answering all questions they might put to him. No more detailed spying and blacklisting system was ever imposed by an autocracy upon any people.

Laws Aimed to Smash Resistance of Workers.

"Have you ever been arrested?" becomes one of the stereotyped questions, that will go echoing thru the land, from coast to coast, from the lakes to the gulf, in the cities and on the land. These are days when American labor is becoming proud of its jail sentences won on the field of class strife. Hundreds if not thousands of workers face police cells regularly, in every strike, due to minor infractions of so-

called laws, usually picketing or for no reason at all. The courage of the worker in fighting for his own interests is thus held against him and he becomes an outlaw, subject to deportation, or branded as an "undesirable," to be blacklisted when he hunts a job.

Secretary of Labor Davis indicates his real attitude toward foreign-born workers in this country when he denies them the right absolutely to discuss the nature of the government under which they must toil. He says the right to criticize the government and to demand its abolition is reserved exclusively to citizens. He does not say that foreign-born workers, if they disagree with the present form of government, are denied citizenship, and that if citizen workers demand a change of government they are arrested for violating any one of the numerous so-called sedition laws that carry long prison penalties. Foreign-born citizens may have their naturalization revoked, also making them subject to deportation.

One of the carefully detailed demands of the Aswell bill is that an alien, whenever his physical appearance shall have changed, must report that fact to the authorities where he is registered. The ugly face of the Aswell bill is hidden behind a mask that its author, and his supporters, try to make appear as attractive as possible. This mask must be torn away to reveal the actual "physical appearance" of this legislation.

The A. F. L. Comes Out Against the Aswell Bill.

So evident are the strike-breaking provisions of the Aswell bill, however, that even the executive council of the American Federation of Labor was forced to declare:

"This highly obnoxious measure which would, if enacted into law, mean the adoption by our government of the spying practices of private detective agents.

"The potential danger of the principle embodied in this bill is very great. It has all the elements of a strike-crushing, union-breaking proposal."

This becomes most evident as one studies the provision that gives the power to the president, who is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, so that:

"Whenever, in the judgment of the president, the interests of the national defense require, he may, by proclamation, require all or any part of the aliens required to be registered by this act, to report at such times and places as he shall see fit."

The language here is not much different than that used in foreign countries giving the government the power to conscript workers to take the jobs they have deserted in a strike, thus forcing workers to act as strikebreakers against themselves. The wording, however, is so general that it may be interpreted to cover a multitude of anti-labor actions.

The McClintic Deportation Bill.

Supplementing the Aswell bill, is another bill proposed by Representative J. V. McClintic, of Oklahoma, demanding that all foreign-born be naturalized or deported. There is to be no escape. The case is cited of the coal striker in Pittsburgh who was told by the judge to go back to work, then he would get his citizenship papers. The worker thus stands between the alternatives of deportation or strikebreaking. McClintic, in effect, tells the workers, "Obey your masters in all that they may order you to do, or the United States will be made a very uncomfortable place for you." Similar bills have been proposed by Representative Hayden, of Arizona, and Representative Taylor, of Colorado. The history of both these states is stained red with workers' blood.

Every effort is being made to force the American people to passively accept if not actually favor this brutal treatment of the foreign-born. Yet it is feared that it has not been made palatable enough; that the wrath of the masses, once it became aroused thru a complete understanding of what is being attempted, would overwhelm the friends of the Coolidge administration in the November congressional elections. It is therefore proposed in some quarters that the registration, as a starter, be made voluntary, instead of compulsory with heavy penalties attached.

The Sosnowski Bill.

Thus we have the Sosnowski bill, which is the Aswell bill all dressed up for congressional campaign purposes. Representative John Sosnowski hails from Detroit, Mich., which is 70 per cent foreign-born. His present claim to notoriety is that he outrivals Speaker Nicholas Longworth as "the best dressed man in the house." It is said that he has 21 suits, 5 overcoats, 11 pairs of shoes, 36 shirts, 3 golf suits, 3 riding habits, 9 hats and 96 neckties. This as'de may have no place in an article of this kind, but it may be said that if Sosnowski's wardrobe is full, so is his head empty, which makes him an excellent "statesman" of the capitalist breed.

Newspapers' Campaign Against Foreign-Born.

Perhaps the most insidious propaganda being used to translate this proposed legislation into actual law is to be found in the capitalist newspaper campaign seeking to connect the foreign-born with the wars between wealthy bootleggers and the crime waves that continually lash their way thru the large cities. This method is used to stamp the stigma of criminal upon the foreign-born. Chicago leads in this respect. Yet it is Chicago that also gives the lie to this pernicious web of falsehood. Chicago has revealed to the world that if some foreign-born gunman cracks his gun at a rival bootlegger,

some native-born politician usually stands at his back. No high-class foreign-born criminal in Chicago, cut down by enemy guns, has been carried to his grave without the presence of numerous judges, congressmen, state legislators, city aldermen and other municipal officials, with priests and professional politicians to bid him tearful farewell.

It is difficult to understand, of course, what this has to do with the vast masses of foreign-born labor in the basic industries, struggling endlessly for the mere pittance of a livelihood. Nothing at all, except as they become the innocent butt of the capitalist political game.

In Illinois, for instance, the world court issue has been raised effectively against U. S. Senator William McKinley, who faces re-election this fall. McKinley voted for the world court. Frank L. Smith, supported by the Crowe-Barrett, republican machine in Chicago, seeks his place. Smith effectively attacks McKinley on the court issue. McKinley, the traction magnate from downstate, the upholder of "law and order," must have some comeback. He must invent some smoke screen. So he charges that his political opponents are in league with the alien criminal elements and the "open shop" Better Government Association demands an investigation by the United States senate. The senate, safely viewing the situation from the clear vision permitted by the summit of capitol hill in Washington, rejects the request. Such an investigation might reveal the alliance between the criminal world and all phases of capitalist politics, with which foreign-born labor has as little to do as native-born labor, if not less, if that is possible.

Thus even United States District Attorney Edwin A. Olson, in Chicago, is forced to declare that the barrage laid down against foreign-born workers was "designed to cover up shortcomings in local law enforcement." He issues this challenge:

"How can you hope to eliminate crime by deporting the alien when by far the greater majority of our criminals are born and reared in this country?"

Yet these facts indicate the wide ramifications of the campaign of prejudice being instituted against the foreign-born. This ever simmering prejudice, sometimes raised to boiling, will be used when required against those foreign-born workers who rise to places of prominence and responsibility in the organized labor movement.

A bitter mistake being made by liberal elements, and even by some radical sections of the working class, is that the persecution of militant elements lessens as the war days recede into the past. These hopefuls, hail the rapid return of the glorious days of "democracy" that were supposed to have existed before the war.

(Continued on page 269)

The Youth Conference in East Ohio *

A NEW phenomenon is manifest in these United States—a new force which is destined to become a tremendous factor in making the history of the succeeding years. America feels for the first time the influence of a fast developing movement of the working youth.

Isolated rumblings of dissatisfaction—small strikes, demands upon the union for organization, mass demonstrations, have increased so rapidly within the past few years that they are now considered ordinary events of the day.

The Revolt of the Proletarian Youth.

The proletarian and even bourgeois youth in the high schools and colleges, driven by stark necessity, have been organizing in school strikes with ever greater frequency against militarism, against all sorts of specialized systems of handing out capitalist dope, against religious teaching, etc., etc.

With the tremendous trustification of industry comes the inevitable—a corresponding increase in the use of child labor. This adds another cloud to the already too dark picture.

These conditions are not peculiar to any special territory or industry but are the general rule thruout all of industry with the confines of American borders. The increasing discrimination against the working youth on the economic field and the continued militarization of the youth generally which is inevitable with the developing imperialistic epoch brings with it the natural anti-thesis—a revolt, mild tho it yet is.

The East Ohio Youth Conference.

It was these circumstances that influenced the Young Workers' (Communist) League to initiate the organization of a youth conference in East Ohio, the beginning of a series of youth conferences which are to be held thruout the country—a bold attempt to rally the working youth but one which met response.

The Immediate Demands of the Conference.

Our first task in beginning to work in the territory where incidently we had very weak league connections, was that of picking a set of immediate demands which when connected with the general struggle of the whole working class would serve as a rallying point for the young workers in that territory.

A word on how these demands were drawn

* This article includes the essence of the statement issued by the National Executive Committee of the Young Workers Communist League on the East Ohio Young Workers' Conference.

up would be of interest, since the results warrant that similar methods should be followed in the future. Questionnaires were sent out to comrades and sympathizers in the field who knew of the actual conditions of the youth there thru having worked with them. These comrades helped materially to estimate the psychological level of the workers, their specific economic grievances, and the language that is necessary to approach them. This is far in advance of our previous method of arriving at a program of demands solely by reading statistical information and attempting to apply a general theory to this. We must confess that in many cases the wording of the demands were incomprehensible, even to our most experienced organizers because of their local jargon. Yet this was the language most comprehensible in the region and therefore, most necessary, and as the results showed—most effective.

The capitalist offensive in this section is extremely brutal; made so by the great economic whip it wields—the unemployed bituminous miners. The more brutal the offensive of capitalism the more energetically must we raise partial demands as the rallying points for the struggle of the masses of young workers. This we did. We list them for illustration:

For All Young Workers.

1. A six-hour day, five-day week, with no night work or overtime. Exception to be made only in case of emergencies in the mines, said emergency to be understood as when mine would be unable to work next day. Overtime must be paid at time and a half rate.
2. Establishment of work school for young workers, to be financed by the bosses and supervised by the unions.
3. Two weeks vacation with pay each year for all young workers under 18 years of age.

For All Young Miners.

1. All tracks, roadways and manholes to be kept clean; timbering and wiring to be kept in shape to avoid accidents. No loader to be responsible for this work but it should be done by day men.
2. Equal wages for trappers, couplers, greasers, car cleaners or slate pickers, to correspond with adult company hands, either inside or outside.
3. Abolition of the tonnage system and institution of straight day wages and weekly pay.
4. A minimum wage of \$7.50 for all workers in the mines, if thru no cause of their own, they do not receive a full days work.
5. Wash houses and individual towels to be supplied free by company.
6. Provision by company of pit clothes whenever necessary.
7. Unemployment benefits to be paid during shut-downs at prevailing union wages from special funds

to be established by setting aside part of profits of coal operators, this fund to be supervised by local union of U. M. W. A.

8. Two rooms for two miners in machine work in room and pillar.

9. Men to be transported to and from work when entry is over half mile long.

10. All tools, powder and implements necessary shall be furnished free by the company.

11. From the U. M. W. A. we want that for all young workers under 21 years of age the initiation fees and dues be one half of the regular amount and full rights and benefits be given.

12. The central labor bodies and local unions must energetically undertake the organization of the unorganized young workers.

13. Abolition of the automatic penalty clause.

General Demands.

1. Free the Moundsville Prisoners and Domenick Ventureta.
2. For a Labor Party.
3. For World Trade Union Unity.

The Problem of Arousing the Young Workers.

The second problem arose over the manner in which the young workers were to be aroused to respond to these demands. The region is an open shop one with particular lack of organization, as is the general rule, among the young workers. Our League organization consisted of merely a few scattered connections, and the bosses and reactionary union leaders of the worst type. We had therefore, to approach the workers as outsiders. This we did. And the results, because of our mistakes and achievements taught us much.

Our aim was to get delegates directly from the shops and mines. In this region tho it is industrial, the towns are very small, generally built around a mine or some kind of a factory. It therefore, suited our purpose to carry on a period of agitation in the town in this manner making connections with the workers and then arrange for shop and pit meetings for actual election of delegates. In arranging for these preliminary agitational meetings we almost met our nemesis. The thing that is too common in the rest of our movement, namely, the failure of speakers to keep their dates, here proved almost fatal. The response to our call was so enthusiastic that in many localities the meeting halls were packed with young workers—the whole town sometimes turned out. And when the announced speaker, the only one, failed to show up it made the indecisive elements, the bulk of the attendance at this early stage of the game very suspicious of our work. It was only with greatest difficulty that we succeeded in re-establishing the prestige of our organization in these places. These young workers felt that there was something wrong with our trying to organize them for their own demands. "Too good to be true" many of them said, and the weak elements were only too

ready to say, "I told you so!" when the packed meetings found no speaker.

The second great difficulty in arranging these meetings was one already mentioned—the absolute lack of a League organization. Even what Party organization we had was very weak and was almost entirely unable to reach the youth elements among the workers. The method which had to be pursued by our organizers therefore was the only possible manner in which an organizer from outside territory could reach them; in the places where they congregate after working hours, in pool rooms, ice cream parlors and similar hangouts. The very fact that our organizer was forced to resort to this method of making the most elementary contacts shows the almost imperative necessity of first having a well-organized network of Young Workers' (Communist) League nuclei which could be used as a basis for the organization of our future conferences. If we have no contacts in certain territory we must first send in organizers to build league units for a period of a few months and then begin the work for the conference. With nuclei acting as driving forces in the factories and mines greater numbers by far might have been reached.

Distribution of Leaflets and Young Workers.

We distributed approximately ten thousand leaflets and nine hundred Young Workers of three different issues, all popularizing the immediate demands of the conference and "incidently" giving the struggle the broader aspect of class against class.

The Results of the East Ohio Conference.

Now in view of the difficulties that we were faced with and the energies that were expended—what were the results? The answer can only be half given here. That is, we can list the organizational results, and these were considerable. But in addition we gained in understanding of mass work, we have learned, to a small degree to be sure, to feel the pulse of the masses, and we have developed better organizers for our future work.

The Delegates to the Conference.

First, let us examine the delegates: Some of the strategically located mines had meetings at which delegates were elected. Several hundred young workers on strike for organization in the Bellaire Glass works had two of their number, a tin shop, a steel mill, the Wheeling Can Co., workers elected delegates, a delegate from a local mine union in Avella who acted fraternally and even a delegate elected by local high school students.

This represents the conference in delegates. We would like to give the detailed list, but cannot do so for obvious reasons. For the first

time we had the heart of the masses—masses which we had never before reached, come together to discuss their youth problems. Almost none of the delegates had ever been in the Young Workers' (Communist) League. The actual conference separated from the text of the entire territory might be deceptive in that one could not get a real picture of the strength that it represented. The entire region was alive with discussion of the purpose and the immediate demands set forth by the League. This in itself gave much greater strength to the conference in that it directed the attention of the workers, especially the young workers towards it.

Reports on Condition in Industry.

The conference itself showed that almost every delegate was a young worker in heavy industry. Before the conference, we discussed whether it would be possible to have every delegate report on the conditions in his own industry and their relation to the general struggle of the workers. This was at first rejected because of the opinion of some of the comrades that the workers would not understand this sufficiently to be able to discuss it before the conference. However, when the discussion was opened on the floor immediately following the political report, almost every representative gave a full and remarkably clear (considering their backwardness) analysis of the situation in each of their situation in each of their industries. Here again, there was very little that could be added to the demands that had already been drawn up in the manner first suggested, which again justified the method that was followed in drawing up our original program.

The Building of the League.

What has the conference accomplished for us? In the first place, where we had not a single unit in the entire district; after the six weeks to two months' work spent on the conference we now have four units in separate towns organized on the new basis—this is, shop nuclei.

Youth Conference Groups.

In addition, we have adopted the policy of organizing temporary youth conference groups where it would have been impossible to organize sections of the Young Workers' League to take up the demands of the conference to carry on the fight for them in the local unions, in the mines, shops, etc. If we had decided that we have the conference "entrust the Young Workers' League with carrying out its decisions," it would have meant that we are to leave no organizational remnants after the conference was over except that of Young Workers' League units. This would have narrowed the basis of our activities considerably. On this point, the

thesis of the Young Communist International says as follows:

"The conferences of the working class youth must be regarded as an important means for the mobilization of the masses of the working youth for the struggle of the Y. C. L. The ground for the calling of such conferences will be created by the growth of the shop nuclei movement, and the necessary preparatory work will be carried out by the nuclei which will propagate the necessary demands in the shops. The shop meetings of the working class youth called by our nuclei will take up their attitude and choose their delegates for these conferences, which will be called either on the basis of industry, or district. The shop nuclei must take care that the voting of the delegates takes place in such a manner that the conference will represent the greatest possible participation of the broad masses of the working youth. As far as possible special conferences of the shop nuclei of the Y. C. L. should be called before the calling of such conferences of the working youth, for the purpose of preparing these latter.

"The decisions of the conferences must afterwards be persistently propagated in the shops and used to the full. UNDER LEGAL CONDITIONS, NO SPECIAL "COMMITTEES", ETC., SHOULD BE FORMED BY THESE CONFERENCES, BUT THEY SHOULD GIVE THE Y. C. L. AS THE MASS ORGANIZATION OF THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH, THE TASK OF PUTTING THE DECISIONS INTO OPERATION. The reporting and the propagating of the decisions in the shops thru the shop nuclei belongs above all to this work." (Emphasis ours—S. A. D.).

However, in organizing the conference, the premise for the conclusion that "no special committees should be formed by these conferences but should give the Y. C. L. as the mass organization of the working class youth, the task of putting the decisions into operation" was missing; we had to look for a different organizational means with which to carry out these decisions. In the first place, our conference, different from that which the Y. C. I. speaks of, was not created by the growth of the shop nuclei movement. In other words, rather than the conference being the result of a growing organization of the League, the League was the result of our work in the conference. Besides, the our organization was legal so far as the state was concerned, we were illegal so far as the trade union movement in that territory was concerned.

It was impossible therefore to approach these unions under the banner of the League and expect that they would respond to demands which we would make in the name of these workers.

We therefore, changed our original decision that the conference entrusts the League with the carrying out of its decisions to read that the conference recognizes the role of the League and calls upon it "to help defend and fight for the realization of our demands." This allowed for the organization of youth conference groups to carry on the fight where it was impossible to organize League branches, and gave the assurance that the demands would not die a na-

tural death after the actual conference was over but would be carried to the masses either by the League or the conference groups. The attitude of the young workers in the region to the League already assures that we will get full organizational benefit from the work without holding the conference so close to our bosoms that we strangle it.

The Significance of Our Struggle for Immediate Demands.

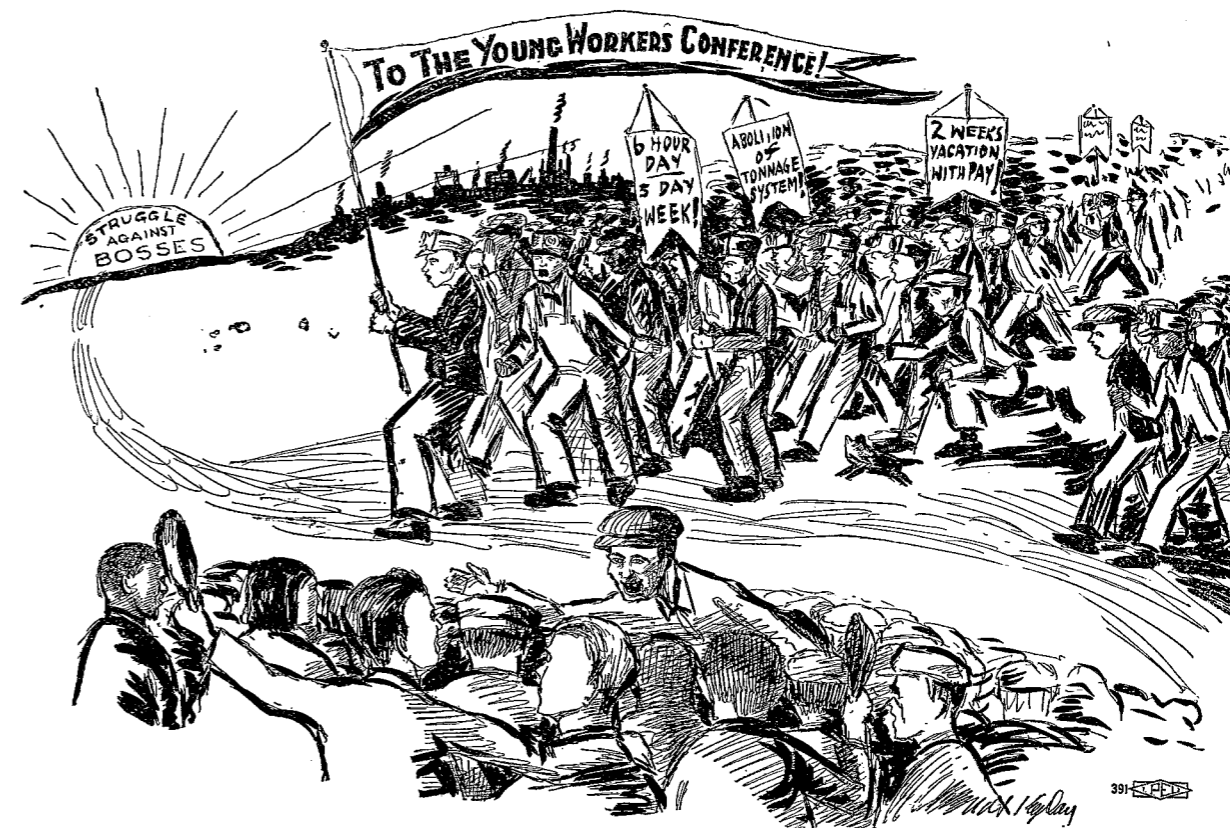
The better the League understands how to lead the masses of the working youth in these struggles and how to deepen and broaden these struggles thru the setting up of concrete demands arising out of the existing situation, the more will the masses of the working youth have confidence in the Communist youth organization. We must make partial demands the lever for the struggle for the complete revolutionary transformation and a means for the destruction of the capitalist system. The struggle for partial demands (for obvious and necessary minimum demands) must lead in the present period of the decay of capitalist economy to the

bitterest struggles between the workers and bosses and in the measure that the struggle for partial demands embraces ever larger masses of workers and sets them in movement, in the same measure will it lead them to an understanding that the struggle for partial demands leads to the final struggle.

In East Ohio, even as in the rest of the country, the pauperization of the youth is hard reality. Yet, and again as everywhere else, they are discriminated against in every possible manner by organized labor, to the point where a union is called by these young workers "job trusts."*

The Young Workers (Communist) League cannot reach the masses in the same way that the Party can for the young workers are hardly organized at all. We must find new forms. And we have!

* The example of Bellaire Glass Works where two young workers went on strike demanding that the union organize them, is a case in point. The union adult workers, typically labor aristocrats, are very closely organized and refuse to admit the young workers. To-date they are not yet in the union.



From the Leaflet Issued in Connection with the Young Workers' Conference of East Ohio.

Our Party's Press and Literature

By V. I. Lenin

THE socialist proletariat must consider the basic principles of the literature of the workers party in order to develop these principles and express them in their most complete form. These principles are in contrast with bourgeois customs, with the commercialized bourgeois press, with the individualism of the ambitious adventurers of bourgeois literature and their "splendid freedom," and with the scramble for profits.

What do these principles consist in? Not only in the fact that the literature of the proletariat must no longer be a means of enriching groups or individuals but still more that it ought not to bear an individual character nor be independent of proletarian control. No more "non-party" writers; no more literary supermen!

Literary activity should be a part of the whole work of the proletariat. It should be a cog in the great machine which will be put into motion by the whole vanguard of the working class. Literature should become one part of the work of the party, organized, thought out, unified, and revolutionary.

"All comparisons limp," says a German proverb. It is so of my comparison of literature with a cog in the machine of the movement. There will be no lack of hysterical intellectuals to yelp in distress at this conception, which, according to them, will debase, will destroy, will "bureaucratize," and mechanize the free "struggle of minds," free criticism, free "literary endeavor," etc. Their laments are nothing but an expression of bourgeois intellectual individualism.

Obviously, literature is the last thing to be treated mechanically; it cannot easily be graded by, or submit to, the decisions of the majority. In this matter, one ought undoubtedly to allow a great deal of scope for individual initiative, for personal inclination, for inspiration and imagination, in form and content.

All this is indisputable but it proves only one thing; that the literary side of the party's work cannot be mechanically identified with the other sides of proletarian activity.

This by no means destroys the truth—incomprehensible and strange as it may seem to intellectuals and bourgeois democrats—that literary work ought to be most strictly bound to the rest of the socialist work of the party. Writers ought to enter the party without making any stipulations. Publishing establishments, bookshops, reading rooms, libraries, everything to do with literature ought to be placed under the control of the party.

The organized socialist proletariat ought to supervise and control all this work; it should infuse into it the vital spirit of the workers, and in this sphere, should throw off the outlook of the mercenary bourgeoisie, who see in the writer only the man who sells his writings to earn his living, and in the reader simply a customer who brings in money.

Naturally we do not imagine that this change in literature can be brought about at one swoop, especially in this Russian literature, which has so long been crippled by an "Asiatic" censorship, and corrupted by a Europeanized bourgeoisie. We are far from expecting any panacea whatever in the shape of decisions and resolutions settling the whole thing in an arbitrary manner. That is not the point. What concerns us is that our class-conscious proletariat should understand that here is a new problem that has to be faced frankly, and everything possible done to solve it.

After having delivered ourselves from the chains of censorship, we do not want to be the captives of bourgeois commerce and its relationships. We want to create a press that is freed not only from police control, but also from the influence of capital and from private ambitions; and above all freed from anarchist-bourgeois individualism.

These last words will be an object of derision to many of the reading public. "Good heavens!" some burning apostle of "intellectual freedom" will doubtless exclaim. "Good heavens! You want to submit to the masses so subtle and so personal a thing as literary workmanship. You want workmen to decide, by the majority of votes, high questions of philosophy, science, and taste. That is the way you suppress the spirit's freedom to work, which is essentially individual."

Don't be alarmed, my friends!

First of all, this concerns the literature of the party, its place in the party, and the control of the party. Every one is free to say and to write what he wants to without the least restriction. But every voluntary association—and the Party is one of them—is free to expel from its ranks members who use its organization to preach opinions against the Party. The Party is a voluntary organization that will inevitably fall in ruins, first spiritually, and then materially, if it does not take care to decide the position of those people who propagate opinions against it. And to fix what is for and what is against the Party we have the program of the Party as a criterion, its tactical resolutions, its statutes, and finally the experiences

of International Socialism, the whole experience of the voluntary associations of the proletariat.

Our Party is becoming a party of the masses; we are in an epoch of rapid transition towards an open legal organization, and at this period many useless people (from a Marxist point of view) and perhaps a few who are Christians or mystics as well, join us. But, we have a strong digestion; we are Marxists hard as adamant. We shall assimilate all the confusionists. Partisans of the freedom of association, we still fight unmercifully to purge the Party of confusionist elements.

Furthermore, may we inform our friends, the bourgeois individualists that their talk about "absolute liberty" is nothing less than pure hypocrisy?

In a society which maintains itself by the power of capital, and where the mass of the workers lack the necessities of life, there is no real liberty. Are you free in relation to your bourgeois individualists, that their talk about are you free in relation to your bourgeois public, which demands from you pornography and prostitution as a supplement to "sacred dramatic art"?

Absolute freedom is a bourgeois or anarchist fiction (for anarchism is a bourgeois theory the wrong way round). The freedom of the bourgeois writer, or artist, or actress, is a mask of independence concealing a real dependence on the money of parasites and souteneurs.

We Marxists tear aside this hypocrisy and unmask their false standards, not to arrive at a literature "above class" (that will only be possible in a socialist society, in a society without classes), but to oppose to this so-called free literature, which is really allied with the bourgeoisie, a literature bound openly to the proletariat.

This will be a literature truly free, because corruption and ambition will have no place there, and socialist ideals and sympathy with the oppressed will continually bring into it new forces and new groupings.

This will be a free literature, for it will not depend on the blase heroine nor the ten thousand bored and fattened high-brows, but on the millions and millions of workers who are the pick of the country, its power and its future.

This will be a free literature, which will enrich itself with the latest creations of revolutionary thought, with the experience and living work of the socialist proletariat.

Get down to the job, then, comrades! We have before us a great and difficult problem; we must create a rich literature, narrowly and indissolubly bound to the socialist workers' movement.

It is only after this work that socialist literature will deserve the name; it is only then that

it will be capable of carrying out its tasks; it is only then that even within the framework of bourgeois society, it will be able to free itself from bourgeois bondage and bind itself to the movement of the truly revolutionary class.

The Capitalist Offensive Against the Foreign-Born Workers

(Continued from page 263)

The official position of the American Federation of Labor is typical. When Eugene V. Debs was released from the Atlanta prison, the A. F. of L. declared its timid "amnesty" campaign at an end. The last A. F. of L. convention, held at Atlantic City, did not recognize the existence of class war prisoners in the United States.

This attitude translates itself into a criminal inactivity in attacking the present legislation before congress demanding the registration, finger-printing and photographing of the foreign-born. Aswell actually declares that the late Gompers visited him in his office and declared that he personally had no reason for hostility to this legislation, but that the A. F. of L. must put up the appearance of opposition. Whether this is true or not, the legislative agents of the A. F. of L., who haunt the lobbies of congress, actually pay little attention to these measures.

Councils for Protection of Foreign-Born.

In fact, there is no organized resistance to their passage outside that being rallied under the direction of the Councils for the Protection of the Foreign-Born. These councils are springing up over the nation in all the large industrial centers. They provide the necessary centers for the mobilization of all elements anxious to blast this plot of America's employing class to divide and conquer American labor. This mobilization must include all who toil, both foreign and native born, under the lash of capitalist industry within the confines of the United States. The whole working class must fight as a unit. The reply to the attack on the foreign-born must be to develop this solidarity.

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Death or a Program!

By Robert Minor

THE Universal Negro Improvement Association, the largest of all Negro organizations, is in danger of going to pieces. A split is impending, if a split has not already occurred.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association.

A breaking up of this Negro association would be a calamity to the Negro people and to the working class as a whole. We say this not because the program or the leadership of the organization is of good quality, but because the Universal Negro Improvement Association is bigger than its leadership, and the deficiencies of its program are directly due to deficiencies of its leaders. The organization itself represents the first and largest experience of the Negro masses in self-organization. It is the largest organization that ever existed among the Negroes of the United States and the West Indies. It claims a large membership in Africa and it certainly has some followers among seafaring Negro workers in many parts of the world. It is composed very largely, if not almost entirely, of Negro workers and impoverished farmers, although there is a sprinkling of small business men. In any case the proletarian elements constitute the vast majority of the organization. Within its ranks are gathered the largest number of those energetic figures among working class Negroes who have arisen to activity in the period since the world war. We believe that the destruction of such an organization of the Negro masses, under the circumstances, would be a calamity.

And the destruction seems to be an imminent danger. It also appears on the surface to be the threatened result of a selfish quarrel among ambitious leaders.

The Garvey-Sherrill Feud.

Marcus Garvey, the principal founder and the President-General of the association, is now in the federal penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, where he is kept, first, by the United States government, and secondly, directly by the action of Calvin Coolidge who a few weeks ago refused an application for his release. William L. Sherrill is now the acting President-General of the association, serving in the place of Garvey because of the latter's imprisonment. Recently a quarrel broke out between Garvey and Sherrill, which finds expression in the present crisis. Garvey from his prison cell declares that Sherrill has been disloyal to him and to the organization.

For the purpose of getting rid of Sherrill as the controlling head of the organization, Garvey has initiated a movement for a convention.

Garvey is supported by Joseph A. Craigen, Secretary of the Detroit Division, Fred A. Toote, President of the Philadelphia Division, William Ware, President of the Cincinnati Division, and Samuel A. Haynes, President of the Pittsburgh Division. These officers of four important divisions of the organization have signed the call for a convention to be held in Detroit during the latter half of March. Mr. Sherrill, as acting President-General, refuses to recognize the coming convention, and is probably supported by a large section of the organization, including many of the membership of the biggest cities, New York and Chicago.

The published utterances of both sides reveal no issue of principle—nothing more than a struggle for power among individuals, precipitated by Coolidge's recent refusal of a commutation of Garvey's sentence. The determination of the federal government to hold Garvey for some time and to deport him permanently at the end of his prison sentence has the effect of creating a scramble for his position which is assumed now to be permanently out of Garvey's reach. Garvey accuses Sherrill of passive if not active acquiescence in keeping Garvey in prison, and of seeking to make use of Garvey's imprisonment to get permanent control.

The Social Roots of the Threatened Disruption.

HOWEVER, it is an entirely false appearance from which one would judge that the present crisis is due solely to a quarrel among individuals. Anyone who has watched the affairs of this organization during the past several years ought to know that there are deep social causes for the threatened disruption. The Universal Negro Improvement Association has been the victim of a leadership which turned it away from the struggles that were demanded of it. Therefore the organization, as expressed in its leadership, has during the past five years been steadily undermining its own reason for existence.

At the first substantial convention of the organization held in New York in 1920, it was apparent that the period of mass organization among Negroes of the working class (not merely organization of intellectuals) which had been made possible by the social changes of and following the world war, was beginning, and that it was crystallizing more largely in the U. N. I. A. than elsewhere. Also the rather primitive and unclear expression of working class character in the movement was exhibited by the program adopted in 1920. Among the complaints for which the convention demanded redress were:

"VII. We are discriminated against and denied an equal chance to earn wages for the support of our families, and in many instances are refused admission into labor unions, and nearly everywhere are paid smaller wages than white man." (And)

"... 2. That we believe in the supreme authority of our race in all things racial: that all things are created and given to man as a common possession; that there should be an equitable distribution and apportionment of all such things, and in consideration of the fact that as a race we are now deprived of those things that are morally and legally ours, we believe it right that all such things should be acquired and held by whatsoever means possible.

"7. We believe that any law or practice that tends to deprive any African of his land or the privileges of free citizenship within his country is unjust and immoral, and no native should respect any such law or practice.

"8. . . . there should be no obligation on the part of the Negro to obey the levy of a tax by any law-making body from which he is excluded and denied representation on account of his race and color.

"9. We believe that any law especially directed against the Negro to his detriment and singling him out because of his race or color is unfair and immoral, and should not be respected.

"12. We believe that the Negro should adopt every means to protect himself against barbarous practices inflicted upon him because of color.

"16. We believe that all men should live in peace one with the other, but when races and nations provoke the ire of other races and nations by attempting to infringe upon their rights, war becomes inevitable, and the attempt in any way to free one's self or protect one's rights or heritage becomes justifiable.

"17. Whereas, the lynching, by burning, hanging or any other means, of human beings is a barbarous practice, and a shame and disgrace to civilization, we therefore declare any country guilty of such atrocities outside the pale of civilization.

"38. We demand complete control of our social institutions without interference by any alien race or races.

"45. Be it further resolved that we as a race of people declare the League of Nations null and void as far as the Negro is concerned, in that it seeks to deprive Negroes of their liberty.

"47. We declare that no Negro shall engage himself in battle for any alien race without first obtaining the consent of the leader of the Negro people of the world, except in a matter of national self-defense.

Effects of Bourgeois Pressure on the U. N. I. A.

But it is certain that fatal weaknesses were present in the organization, and that Garvey, although he was undoubtedly the chief builder of the organization, was also the chief one that carried into it the poison of opportunism. Upon any movement of a mass character which seeks to organize a large section of the exploited classes, there always begins to be exercised a tremendous pressure. The whole super-structure of capitalist society invariably rushes to its task of adjusting any mass movement in such a manner as to eradicate any tendencies incompatible with the capitalist social system. The effects of such pressure soon began to be apparent in the U. N. I. A., and especially in the trend of Garvey himself. Many incidents, es-

pecially occurring in the attempts to organize Negroes in the southern cities, brought out sharply the fact that the organization would be fought most bitterly on those issues which had to do with the demands of the Negro masses for organization in trade unions, for political rights, and especially those demands which struck out in the direction of the abolition of the general system of social inequality.

Under the pressure, Garvey began to give way. Difficulties were encountered by the organizers of the U. N. I. A. on the ground that the organization had "bolshévistic" qualities leading toward economic, political and social equality. Garvey met every difficulty by disclaiming the portions of his organization's program which were under attack at the given moment. By a process of elimination, all demands which were offensive to the ruling class were dropped one by one, and the organization settled down to a policy of disclaiming any idea whatever of demanding any rights for the Negro people in the United States—the policy of declaring that the Universal Negro Improvement Association was not striving to attain any political or social rights of the Negro in America, but was trying only to construct an organization which would bring about the establishment of a "home for the Negro people in Africa." From a negative protestation, the policy evolved into a positive declaration (voiced by Garvey and acquiesced in by his followers) that the Universal Negro Improvement Association recognized the United States as a "white man's country," and that it was therefore opposed to social equality in this country for the Negro.

Garvey issued a pamphlet (seemingly for private reading of wealthy white men to whom he sent it in the hope of securing gifts of money and not for circulation among the Negro membership), entitled, "Aims and Objects of Movement for Solution of Negro Problem Outlined." In the pamphlet Garvey wrote:

"The white man of America has become the natural leader of the world. He, because of his exalted position, is called upon to help in all human efforts. From nations to individuals the appeal is made to him for aid in all things affecting humanity, so naturally, there can be no great mass movement or change without first acquainting the leader on whose sympathy and advice the world moves."

The pamphlet says further:

"To us, the white race has a right to peaceful possession and occupation of countries of its own and in like manner the yellow and black races have their rights."

"... Hitherto the other Negro movements in America, with the exception of the Tuskegee effort of Booker T. Washington, sought to teach the Negro TO ASPIRE TO SOCIAL EQUALITY WITH THE WHITES, MEANING THEREBY THE RIGHT TO INTERMARRY AND FRATERNIZE IN EVERY SOCIAL WAY. THIS HAS BEEN THE SOURCE OF MUCH TROUBLE AND STILL SOME NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS CONTINUE TO PREACH THIS DANGEROUS 'RACE DESTROYING DOCTRINE'

added to a program of POLITICAL AGITATION AND AGGRESSION. The Universal Negro Improvement Association on the other hand, believes in, and teaches the pride and purity of race."

"... The great white majority will never grant them (the Negro's rights in America), and thus we march on to danger if we do not stop and adjust the matter."

"... Help him to return to his original home—Africa, and there give him the opportunity to climb from the lowest to the highest positions in a state of his own. If not, then the nation will have to hearken to the demand of the aggressive, 'social equality' organization, known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which Dr. W. E. B. DuBois is leader, which declares vehemently for social and political equality, viz: NEGROES AND WHITES IN THE SAME HOTELS, HOMES, RESIDENTIAL DISTRICTS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PLACES, A NEGRO AS PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE CABINET, GOVERNORS OF STATES, MAYORS OF CITIES, and leaders of society in the United States."

"Yet it is realized that all human beings have a limit to their humanity. The humanity of WHITE AMERICA, we realize, will seek SELF-PROTECTION AND SELF-PRESERVATION, and that is why the THOUGHTFUL AND REASONABLE NEGRO SEES NO HOPE IN AMERICA for satisfying the AGGRESSIVE PROGRAM of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, but advances the REASONABLE PLAN OF THE UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, THAT OF CREATING IN AFRICA A NATION AND GOVERNMENT FOR THE NEGRO RACE." (My emphasis).

All of the old program adopted in 1920 has disappeared from sight. Today if you ask for the program of the U. N. I. A., you are told, in the words of Garvey that "our one purpose, our one object, is the planting of the colors of the Red, the Black and the Green as the African standard that shall give to us a country, a nation of our own."

Garvey had, according to his own statements, confined every hope and aim to this one thing. Inevitably this resulted in 1921 in narrowing the chief operation down to the sale of stock in a steamship company, the Black Star, reorganized after prosecution, under the new name of Black Cross Line, which was expected to open up resources with the help of American and other Negroes.

Anything that might destroy the illusion of a peaceful penetration into Africa would of course be a severe blow to the structure that Garvey had built.

Garveyite Illusions Blasted.

Along came events which destroyed the illusion.

Apparently Garvey did not operate this stock selling plan in a manner free from charlatany, and the excuse that he had sold stock under false pretenses became the one under which he was finally sent to prison by the United States government, after a shamefully arbitrary trial with all the qualities of a political frame-up.

But that was not all that served to destroy the illusion. The after war unrest of the sup-

pressed peoples of Africa—the early prelude to the present Morocco trouble, the Egyptian independence movement, etc., had given their alarm to the British, French, Belgian and Spanish governments, and these began taking measures to exclude Garvey's organization and its publications from African colonies. This tended to confine operations to the "independent" republic of Liberia as distinguished from the outright possessions of imperialist powers. The Universal Negro Improvement Association concentrated on Liberia, and according to Garvey's claim, the Liberian government gave a large concession to the Universal Negro Improvement Association (or a subsidiary) for the development of Liberia's rubber and other resources. Upon the claim of the concession to develop the natural resources of Liberia, Garvey based his sole remaining hope.

But the illusion was still further to be exploded. The American ruling class does not let anything of value in the way of rubber lands lie around loose. A series of quick and very mysterious operations between Calvin Coolidge, Harvey Firestone, Solomon Porter Hood (a Negro tool of the Firestone Rubber Company appointed by Coolidge as American Minister to Liberia) took place in the summer of 1924 simultaneously with the final arrest and conviction of Garvey and his imprisonment in the federal penitentiary at Atlanta. Garvey went to prison at the same moment that the concessions he claimed in Liberia were given to the Firestone corporation. It may be that a shrewd prosecutor can show a perfect legal case against Garvey (perhaps a case equally as strong as the case against Mr. Mellon's Aluminum Company), but we know that "perfect cases" are only incidental to the political purposes of prosecutions by the American capitalist government. Garvey was sent to prison because the American government thought that his imprisonment would be an effective blow at the Negro masses, to break up their organization (any Negro mass organization is considered dangerous per se, regardless of Utopian programs), and also perhaps because the imprisonment of Garvey incidentally relieved the Firestone deal of a petty annoyance.

But what has been the effect upon the internal affairs of the Universal Negro Improvement Association?

The effect has been to destroy the possibility of any further illusion of the magic acquisition of the continent of Africa by the "business" operations of an association of Negroes, while the war in Morocco, and the rapidly sharpening struggle against imperialism thruout Africa, helped to wash away the picture of benevolent British statesmen and American millionaires making a present of a continent larger than North America, laden with untold gold, diamonds, rubber, and every imaginable wealth, to a group of helpless, down-trodden and exploit-

ed Negroes, out of pure love and Christian kindness.

The one center of the Garvey program had become incredible even to Garvey's credulous followers.

THE single foundation stone upon which Garvey had built was thus destroyed. The Universal Negro Improvement Association could not be held together any longer on the basis of any belief in the Zionistic program. The Universal Negro Improvement Association, kicked off of the basis of the Liberia illusion but still clinging to the exploded Zionism of Garvey, awakened by the imprisonment of Garvey whose powerful personality was a cohesive force, has inevitably drifted to the point of disruption.

The final refusal to release Garvey, under the circumstances, finally precipitated the crisis. It is known that Garvey will be deported (unless an effective protest is made) at the close of his prison term. The result is that thruout the organization the scramble to succeed him in control has come.

Garvey Adopts the Ku Klux Klan "Race Purity" Theory.

But while the controversy was boiling with all the appearance of being a mere quarrel of individual leaders without any fundamental issues involved, an incident occurred at Richmond, Va., which shows the true nature of the crisis the organization faces. It appears that the Richmond organization of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, having a membership of between 200 and 300, was called together for the purpose of hearing a lecture by three of the most reactionary, Negro-hating, propagandists of "white supremacy." These were John Powell, Major Ernest Cox and Major Percy Hawse. It appears that one or more of these three men is involved in the effort to pass thru the Virginia state legislature a so-called "race integrity" law, forbidding intermarriage of Negroes with white people. The Ku Klux Klan bases its Negro-baiting theories upon an idiotic concept of "race purity." Garvey has adopted this by attempting to make a supreme virtue of "race purity" for the Negro. This imaginary "race purity" (there is no such thing as an unmixed race) is supposed to be a basis upon which the Negro hater and the Negro can reach a common understanding, and on this theory the Negro masses are expected to sit and listen in a receptive mood to the propaganda of those who wish to make the Negro perpetually submit to race discrimination in the matter of segregation, discrimination, separate schools, and anti-intermarriage laws. But it appears that the membership of the Negro organization was not quite so idiotic as the Garvey leadership had assumed. A number of Negro workers arose in the meeting and objected vigorously

to allowing the enemy propagandists to speak. The membership supported the objectors, and the three Negro baiters were driven out of the hall by the protest. The Richmond division faces a split, with the left wing clamoring for a repudiation of Garvey's concession that "this is a white man's country."

The Revolt of the Left Wing.

We believe that this incident points to the real basis of the crisis of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The new Negro—a healthy working class left wing in the organization—refuses any longer to submit to the servile anti-Negro program that Garvey has been adopting to thrust down their throats.

Another recent report is to the effect that Mrs. Garvey attempted to speak to the New York membership assembled at Liberty Hall and that the membership refused to permit her to speak. As Mrs. Garvey represents the point of view of President-General Garvey, the New York demonstration against her speaking probably indicates that the New York membership is at least partly aroused against the servile program. Of course, this, if true, is of tremendous significance. The metropolitan life of New York, which has within it a tremendous Negro segregated sub-city of more than a quarter of a million, has undoubtedly brought about the most conscious and active expression of the Negroes' movement for freedom. We are perfectly justified in predicting that the way in which the New York membership ultimately lines up in this controversy will very nearly be decisive for the organization.

Wm. L. Sherrill, the Center of the Opposition.

In the meantime how about Mr. William L. Sherrill, the man who is the center of the anti-Garvey leadership? Mr. Sherrill is unquestionably a man of ability and one of the most powerful orators and powerful personalities in the country. In this respect he is the one prominent figure in the Universal Negro Improvement Association who has been considered to have ability comparable to that of Garvey. But Mr. Sherrill has been in the organization for a long time and never yet have we seen any signs that he is able now to rise to the occasion—to throw aside the philosophy of submission and to lead the left wing opposition. Mr. Sherrill has heretofore always submitted meekly to every debauching of the organization, as far as outside appearances indicate. He did not raise his voice against the disgraceful surrender to the Ku Klux Klan at the 1924 convention. We doubt very seriously if Mr. Sherrill is capable of taking a political stand and swinging the organization into the real struggle for the Negroes' emancipation. Reports are to the effect that Sherrill represents an "American orientation" as against Garvey's "back to Africa orienta-

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What Is Workers' Education?*

By Bertram D. Wolfe

IT seems to me that there are three points of view offered to the worker today in answer to this question.

1. The Point of View of the Philanthropist.

First, there is the point of view of the philanthropist, the social worker. A philanthropist is one who is better endowed with worldly goods and has an excess above his immediate needs. From time to time, he takes a little bundle of his surplus, the things that he feels like giving away and goes into the slums among the poor and distributes a bit here and a bit there. So it is with the philanthropist in workers' education. He is endowed with a goodly share of the world's spiritual goods and from time to time, he goes into the intellectual "slums" of the working class, so poverty stricken culturally, with a little bundle of that which he chooses to give away, and hands out a bit here and a bit there to the poor workers. All such cultural philanthropy is soaked thru and thru with a non-working class point of view and has no relation to the needs of the workers. Therefore, we workers reject the so-called workers' education of the philanthropist.

2. The Point of View of the University Extensionist and Open-shopper.

A second point of view is the point of view of permeation of the working class with a non-working class ideology. The adherents of this school, which is closely akin to that of the philanthropist in its objective results, range all the way from the university extensionists to the open shoppers. Thus, we find Cambridge University declaring that its objective in extending university courses to the workers is "to continue in its hands that permeating influence which it is desirable that it should possess." There are two universities in New York City that are willing and anxious to extend the "benefits" of their culture to the New York workers, and we must be on our guard against them. Then, there is the Carnegie Corporation with its millions available for the subsidizing and corrupting of workers' education; there is the Rockefeller Board; there are the government schools with their anti-union "nationalization" and "Americanization" programs.

This point of view is expressed with greatest frankness by the open shoppers. I quote, for example, from Law and Labor, published by the

*This article consists of the major part of the speech delivered by Bertram D. Wolfe, director of the New York Workers' School, at the Third Annual Conference of Teachers in Workers' Education, held at Brookwood, February 19-22, 1926.

League for Industrial Rights, which is in effect the legal department of the Chamber of Commerce and which was organized to make a fight against the boycott and has extended its work to fighting for injunctions, the outlawing of strikers, etc. In its issue of January, 1926, we find that it is extending its interest to workers' education and in an article entitled, "Organized Labor and Education," we find the following clear statement of the open shoppers' point of view:

"The moment that a system of education is laid down upon the theory that there are a class of persons who need a class education, the purpose of education is defeated.

"In so far as the workers' education serves to stimulate and keep alive an active interest in universal education and so long as it draws attention to the contribution to social welfare which workers in every age have made, it will serve a purpose not only valuable to workers but to everybody. The moment, however, it attempts to impose a certain curriculum as representative of the needs of wage earners, it must defeat its own purposes and the interests of its supports.

Thus we see that the whole capitalist world, ranging from the philanthropist and social worker thru the university extensionists to the open shoppers, is united in its insistence that workers' education should be classless, dispensing "sweetness and light" from the surplus store of the privileged classes, and it is easy to understand that, consciously or unconsciously, this point of view will lead to the confusion of the workers, a blunting of their understanding of their own needs and historic mission.

3. The Point of View of the Workers.

To the point of view of the open shoppers, as quoted from their magazine, I oppose the point of view of the workers. I choose to quote from the Brookwood Review.

"The civic viewpoint is not the social viewpoint. It is the viewpoint of the middle class intellectual, of the professional reformer, of the benevolent philanthropist, of the public school pedagogue, but it can not be tolerated by the working class."

Wm. Morris has rightly said, "An education which does not aim primarily at a reconstruction of society will today only breed tyrants and cowards."

Thomas Hodgskin, one of the earliest working class economists of England, phrased it even more sharply when he said: "It would be better for men to be deprived of education than to receive their education from their masters; for education in that sense is no better than the training of the cattle which are broken to the yoke."

This does not mean that the workers reject the spiritual heritage of past cultures, but it does mean that they take from that heritage

what serves their purpose and reject the attempt to bewilder and confuse them and feed them opiates that will deaden their understanding of their own needs in place of fitting them for their realization.

Before coming to the question of what working class education is, one word more as to the question of what it isn't. There was expressed in this conference, once or twice, the point of view that workers' education should include training to make the worker a better producer and to aid him to rise to higher positions thru technical training. This also the workers must reject.

You heard how Bill Daech of the Miners' Union expressed the point of view of the miners on this matter. He declared, and rightly:

"We are not trying to make better miners, to make more efficient producers. The bosses will always take care of that. They will see to it that we produce more and more efficiently, in fact, they have made us produce too much and that is why we have so many unemployed in the mining region. We want to teach our miners how to get more of what they already produce and that is the purpose of workers' education in my sub-district."

So, in order to come to the workers' point of view as to workers' education, in order to answer the question as to what should be taught and how it should be taught, we must ask ourselves: What does the labor movement aim at? On what is the labor movement based?

The Basis of Workers' Education—The Class Struggle.

The labor movement is based upon the central fact of the class struggle. This applies to all forms of the labor movement however varied they may be and however varied their interpretation of the extent and nature of the class struggle. It ranges from that moderate and conservative point of view, held by some, that the class struggle is purely defensive; that the workers should unite into unions and resist the aggression of the open shoppers and the Chambers of Commerce; to prevent wage cuts and to secure higher wages when the cost of living is rising—to the point of view held by other workers that the class struggle must also have as its aim the taking of the industries by the workers and their administration in the interests of the whole of society. I, of course, adhere to the latter point of view as to the extent and scope of the class struggle, but whatever its extent and scope, all workers' movements are agreed on basing themselves on this central fact of the class struggle. From this follow many conclusions as to the nature of workers' education.

Independent Working Class Education.

First, as to its independence. The fact that the workers have come to the conclusion that they must have independent unions, controlled by themselves and not by their bosses, has led

us to the conclusion that we must also have independent newspapers. No worker doubts this any more. He knows that he cannot find, in the bosses' newspapers, his viewpoint expressed nor the things that he needs to find, nor the truth about his movement. He knows that he must have an independent newspaper, controlled and financed by himself and expressing his own viewpoint. There is a growing understanding, among the workers, that they must also have their own independent political party and cannot be content with the parties controlled by and expressing the interests of their bosses. But peculiarly enough, those who recognize the necessity of independent newspapers, do not always, as yet, recognize the necessity of independent working class education. It is our belief, and it must be the belief of all conscious workers, that the working class must own and control its own educational institutions, and pervade its education with its own point of view. We cannot tolerate the attempts of such institutions as the Carnegie Corporation to finance and thus buy out and control our educational activities.

The Aim of Workers' Education.

What shall be taught and how it shall be taught should follow from the aim of the labor movement. It must regard workers' education as an instrument for the organization of the working class politically and industrially and for the development of its consciousness of its own needs and purposes. It is not that the worker does not desire to learn more than this, but he desires to learn this first of all because this is of life and death importance to him. He is culturally oppressed just as he is economically and politically oppressed. His time is so limited. There are industries in which he works a twelve-hour day and a seven-day week. At best, he has but little time for educating himself and therefore he insists upon putting first things first. He knows he has no time to cover all the fields of culture and he wants those subjects which aid him in attaining to political and industrial consciousness and organization.

Now we are prepared to answer the question as to what workers' education should include. When we say workers' education, we must mean first and foremost, the social sciences and those subjects auxiliary to them... Whatever subjects aid the workers economically and politically as a conscious class in its struggle for its protection and emancipation, such, and in the order of their importance for this purpose, should make up the curriculum of workers' education.

The Content of Workers' Education.

Does this include subjects other than the social sciences? It does, and of various sorts. Thus, for example, we find a class of subjects which aid in the understanding of the social sciences—such as biological evolution and inorganic evolution. I do not believe that in the av-

erage brief curriculum of workers' education these should be independent subjects, but they may occasionally form the basis of a lesson or two in so far as they throw a light on the general subject of Social Evolution.

Then there is a second class of subjects which may be called, "Instruments of Expression." I refer to such subjects as English, Public Speaking and Journalism. As to English, it might seem that one who holds as I do that the workers' schools should not teach anything that can be just as well gotten in the government's schools would leave to the official Public Evening Schools the question of English. But our experience has taught us that we cannot leave the teaching of English to the evening schools. English is not only the teaching of methods of expression, but it always and of necessity includes a content. This content in the government naturalization and Americanization schools is a propaganda for patriotism, jingoism and anti-unionism, in a form that no conscious worker can tolerate. Therefore we have found it necessary to teach English in our school and give it a working class content. As to Public Speaking, it needs no defense. Now a word as to Labor Journalism. The fact that we have independent working class newspapers implies that we must have working class journalists, but recently a new movement has swept over the workers' newspapers of the entire world—the movement known as *Workers' Correspondence*. This is based on the belief that workers in the shops should write their own accounts of their experiences, struggles and sufferings and that the working class papers should not only be read by the workers themselves but should be edited by them also. This gives a new importance to labor journalism and implies a more prominent place for such courses in the curricula of workers' schools.

Workers' education is of course much broader than the limits of the class room. As soon as we begin to think of it in a broader way, we include a third class of subjects such as dramatics, sports, singing, etc. The value of the workers playing together as well as working together and struggling together need not be explained. If sing we must, it is clear that it is better to sing working class songs with words that express our feelings and not feelings alien to us. And since the drama plays a part in our recreation it is also better that we have our own plays where the life depicted has our own philosophy underlying it and not a point of view that is consciously or unconsciously hostile to ours.

As I have said, the field of workers' education is far vaster than the class room as indeed education is acquired much more out of the class room than in it. Workers' education is at least as broad as the labor movement itself and often must seek its lessons even outside the limits of the labor movement. Learning to work to-

gether in co-operatives, learning to struggle together in unions and parties of the workers, is itself education, for it develops that understanding, that feeling and that will which the workers need for carrying out their aims. Education in its broader sense is precisely this—a training of the understanding, the feeling and the will. But we must limit ourselves in this discussion to the field of class room education.

Workers' Education Here and in Soviet Russia.

We must not confuse the situation of the workers in America with the situation of the workers in Russia. It has been said here that we do not pay enough attention to literature and art, whereas in Russia they pay ample attention to these subjects. Again, it has been said that we do not give technical education to the workers whereas in Russia they do. We must remember that in Russia the problem is a different one. There the workers rule and are responsible for the whole of life and not only for a small portion of it. They have in their charge all education from that of the little child to that of the technical expert and not only the leisure hours of the workers, but the whole of their time. As the whole of everything else is in the workers' hands, so too is the whole of education.

Away With the Class Monopoly of Culture!

I suppose I shall be told in the discussion that follows that my point of view, which I take to be representative of the point of view of the workers as to their own education, is too narrow. Is it too narrow? I can only answer by reminding you of the cultural plight of the worker and of his economic plight as well; by reminding you of the hopelessly limited time and energy at his disposal for educational purposes; of his crying need to solve the historic problems which face him; to remind you that it is merely a question of putting first things first; a question of conquering the pre-conditions for a higher culture. I must remind you too, that culture is closed to the working class as whole as long as its mind and body are broken by degrading toil in place of joyous work; by long hours; by insufficient income for keeping body and soul together, much less for gaining access to those objects of beauty which will develop in him an appreciation of the beautiful.

Our aim is as broad as that of humanity itself. Our aim is to abolish the class monopoly in culture along with the class monopoly in all of the good things of life. Our aim is to open culture to the whole of humanity; to provide for the artists and singers of the future the widest, the vastest and culturally the deepest audience that the world has ever known, and I think that the workers' movement holds out to humanity the promise, when it has fulfilled its purpose, of a human culture epoch such as the world has not yet dreamed of.

Work of the Organization Conference of the Workers (Communist) Party

By Martin Abern

HOW the Workers Communist Party of America through a series of definitely planned organizational measures, guided by the experience of the class struggle, will bring itself into ever closer contact with the working masses was powerfully demonstrated during the three days of deliberations at its National Organizational Conference held in Chicago, February 20 to 22, 1926.

Every Party organizer, representatives of the language bureaus, members of the C. E. C. and of the Young Workers' League National Committee participated. None were sparing in criticism of past or present organizational shortcomings. All had something concrete to contribute. Forceful slogans were carefully linked up with organizational steps directed particularly towards anchoring the Party more firmly in the trade union movement: such slogans as: "Every Party member a union member," "Organize the unorganized masses," "Face toward the heavy industries," "Take up leadership in the struggles for the every day needs of the workers."

The measures for every campaign engaged in by the Party were discussed from the point of view of their actual relation to the present status of the labor movement. The discussion on each question was based on the trade unions. It is precisely because of this process that the conference marked a big forward step towards: (1) Turning the party toward mass work; (2) broadening the base of our work, especially among the unions; (3) putting the shop and street nuclei on a functioning basis; (4) broadening the Party apparatus by drawing more elements into responsible Party work in every field of activity; (5) extending and developing the Party democracy on the basis of democratic centralism; and (6) establishing closer connection between the Party leadership and the membership and bringing the Party executives into the closest touch with the mass of the Party membership.

Basis For Development of Labor Movement.

The methods of work pursued by the Party must of necessity correspond to the existing situation in the labor movement. In recognizing this the conference proceeded to analyze this situation, noting the further expansion and consolidation of American imperialism as well as the apparent prosperity, relatively, of the working class. Coupled with these facts

there is the dangerous development represented by the efforts of the trade union bureaucracy to shape the policy of the movement to fit into the American imperialist framework. There is the conscious and deliberate expansion of class collaboration schemes established with slight changes or adaptations in the different industries, the efforts of the present American Federation of Labor leadership enunciated in its new "wage theory," proposing collaboration with management toward elimination of waste in industry, the growth of labor banking and increase of labor insurance corporations, while organization of the labor movement is at the lowest ebb reached in years. Little or no efforts are being made by this bureaucracy to resist the dangers of company unionism which is invading strongly the basic or key industries, such as transportation. Simultaneously the state forces have been strengthening and centralizing their power immeasurably, directing blow after blow against both organized and unorganized workers.

However, the conference also noted that despite this tightening grip of American imperialism upon the workers, despite its successful bribing of the trade union officialdom, signs are unmistakable of a slowly rising militant revival and of the beginning of energetic mass resistance and with it a more rapid rise of class consciousness of the American workers.

This has been demonstrated by the recent numerous strikes, viz.: the anthracite strike, the longest in the history of that industry; the Passaic textile workers' strike, the strikes in the clothing industry. It has been demonstrated by the organization campaign now being initiated by the militants within the needle trades unions and the machinists' unions. The stirring toward revival of some of the organizations in the railroad transportation industry; slow but certain signs of revival for independent labor and farmer tickets; united front labor tickets in the coming elections such as in the Northwestern agricultural states. All these point in the same direction. It has also been demonstrated by the approach toward consolidation again of the alleged progressive farm bloc in congress.

Recording these developments the conference could concentrate on its tasks in further strengthening the Party organization. Reports were made by the organizers and then followed

discussions of the various manifestations of the efforts of reactionaries to forestall this reviving militancy thru outright betrayals and thru attempted expulsions of Communists and left wingers from the unions. The discussion which followed showed a thoro recognition of the immensity of the tasks of effectively connecting a numerically small party with a huge industrial proletariat.

The Party Trade Union Work.

Why this is at present the most important field of activity for the Workers (Communist) Party of America was answered by the debate following the report on this question. More speakers participated in this subject than on any other point on the agenda. More painstaking details of organization and tactics were brought out. This was the first conference at which the role and function of Party fractions in building a broad opposition movement within the unions was discussed since the reorganization of the Party.

The first item taken up under this heading was the campaign of the Party to organize the non-union Party members into the trade unions. At present only fifty per cent of the Party members eligible to join are in the unions. Organized instruments of the working class: unions, co-operatives, working class political parties, are the weapons to mobilize against the capitalist and imperialist government. To pit unorganized forces against the might of Wall Street is like preventing the ocean waters from rolling with a forbidding hand. Without our Party organizing itself into the unions, organizing Communist fractions with a definite policy for winning the masses therein, talk of overthrow of capitalism becomes a child's dream.

On the next step, the actual building of the opposition movement and the acceleration of its development along left lines as swiftly as conditions allow, notes of organization were carefully compared. Notes also of achievements and of errors made. In pointing to the reawakening militancy of the workers, all agreed that the most simple issues will form the basis in innumerable instances for initiation of the opposition movement. This has been further emphasized by every recent defeat suffered by the trade unions. The issues to which the practical slogans must correspond are: Those of wages and working conditions, trade problems, strike situations, and the organization of the unorganized. The conscious expression within this broad opposition movement must be the Party fractions.

The concrete situation within the unions in the various industries were broadly discussed. It was noted that the unions in the heavy industries demand the greatest attention, but also present the greatest problems. In the coal min-

ing industry while labor has become more homogeneous and the masses more accessible because of their concentration within one local union to each mine, despite the militancy and class consciousness repeatedly displayed by the miners, the actual organization of this strong left wing expression still remains to be accomplished.

In the steel industry which is almost entirely unorganized, particular co-ordination of the activities of Party union fractions and Party nuclei is needed. In unions of trades of the more skilled workers such as building trades where the consciousness and degree of development varies, the problems of the beginning and further consolidation of the opposition movement becomes fundamentally the same—the emphasis on the simple issues. Even within the needle trades unions, with their higher degree of political consciousness of the members, where fraction work has proceeded further than within other unions, every new measure, every organizational step, must take into account the general state of development of the trade union movement as a whole.

The conference recognized that, during this process of laying the basis for a broad opposition movement within the trade unions in America, to insist on acceptance of a complete program embracing all the issues of the Communist Party before a left wing will go along in common struggle against the bureaucracy, or even of a developed left wing is sheer nonsense. That in itself shows real progress.

The First Experiences of the Reorganized Party

The American Party is now completely reorganized on the shop and street nuclei basis. It has been done very swiftly. The Party membership responded enthusiastically and the results in Party activity among the workers in the factories, in the unions, etc., even in the short six months since reorganization commenced, had demonstrated that the Party already was benefiting by the changed structure. Not many elements thruout the Party had been lost, and even these were yet available, thru proper approach, for reentry into the Party ranks.

The real problem growing out of the swift reorganization had shown itself in every instance to be the establishment of firmer connections between the leading committees and the nuclei and the establishment of section, sub-section, and nuclei executive committees capable of leading in the work. A slower tempo of reorganization would perhaps have made this simultaneous development possible. Now, however, that was recognized to be the problem demanding a real solution.

The conference brought out the common difficulties of the shop and street nuclei in all the districts. Among these problems to be met are

the still existing language difficulties, the attendance at the nuclei meetings, drawing each member into active work in the shop, union, fraternal organizations, etc. In other words, the problem of the activation of the nuclei. The districts had had varying experiences and results. Where one district had solved one problem, another had succeeded in overcoming another difficulty. One checked the other, indicating that a common line in all the districts would make it possible to develop the work of the nuclei in a common definite direction. To the surprise of many, it was noted that already the attendance at the meetings was higher than in the old Party units. In the language units the attendance had been very low, often only 15, 20, 25 per cent; in the English branches the attendance was from 50 per cent upwards. In the shop and street nuclei a mean had already been reached averaging higher than in the old form of organization. Still, the attendance had to be appreciably increased. However, it must be recognized that this question is but a part of the major question: Making the nuclei live, teem with activity.

To that end, the sub-section and section committees must have on them the liveliest and most capable comrades. These committees must be responsible for the direction of the shop and street nuclei, must be in direct contact with the nucleus executives, aiding them in the elimination of routine work, discussing in detail Party campaigns and their application thru the Party nuclei, and organizing the educational apparatus.

Opportunities for Nuclei Work.

Real contact with the masses and active participation in their struggles is the only guarantee for active functioning of our shop and street nuclei. To this end it becomes necessary to concentrate much more than heretofore on taking up all the issues arising in the shops and becoming the champions of the interests of the workers. Several organizations at the conference pointed out from actual experience how in one shop a nucleus had gained real influence by leading the fight against a wage cut. In other instances by leading fights to eliminate obnoxious shop regulations, against firing of militant workers; against speed-up conditions and long hours, for better help and safety regulations, etc. Many other issues arise of similar character in the shops which the nuclei can take up, not only with a view to making the fight on these passing issues themselves, but to connect them up concretely with the general working class political issues, and also to use them as a basis from which to proceed to initiate the campaigns of the Party, ever gaining in momentum. Thus we must convince the workers from practical experience of the need of the struggle for power.

The work of shop and street nuclei must be co-ordinated on a practical basis. At each nucleus meeting there must be reports on shop conditions from the members; periodically reports from each member on his individual activity in the shop, trade union, fraternal organizations; emphasize trade union reports; Workers' Correspondence is to be stressed. The material in the stories of Worker Correspondents forms the basis for live shop bulletins. The nucleus executive must take up the qualifications and interest of every member and assign work to him accordingly. This will take long but it will prove effective. If 50 per cent of our Party membership could be depended upon to distribute systematically and regularly a minimum amount of literature, leaflets, Daily Worker, pamphlets, the Party life and activity could be immeasurably increased. It must not be forgotten that literature forms one of the main means of propaganda among the mass of workers. All our members must get into this work and not sneer at "Jimmy Higgin's" work.

In the old form of organization, the Party had no genuine mass contact. The membership in the language branches rarely concerned themselves with the issues and problems of the working class but instead confined themselves to internal problems to a large extent, national questions, and some work in the language benefit societies. Now, in the shop and street nuclei, our Party has been jerked around toward the mass of the working class in the shop, mills, and factories. It is groping its way toward contact and activity with the working class generally. It is learning that a good political platform is not sufficient; participation in and leadership of daily struggles of the workers is a prerequisite to gaining their confidence and approaching the workers on the fundamental political issues of the day.

The conference brought out that the Party membership did not yet comprehend fully the functions of the street nuclei. Many members in street nuclei regarded themselves as second class members; only those in the shop nuclei were the real stuff of which Party members are made.

The members of the street nuclei must also turn their faces toward the shops. Their work as individuals must be carried on in the shops and mills even as tho they were members of the shop nuclei. The efforts must be toward development of shop nuclei in factories where we have only one or two members. Shop activity is incumbent upon all. The work in the residential areas must be carried on too. Yet the shop nuclei will also be called upon to aid in this work. Street nuclei must interest themselves in shop activity and in particular shop nuclei which they can aid.

Not sufficient contact is had between the leading functionaries and the nuclei, nor has

sufficient attempt been made to draw wider strata of the membership into the apparatus. The leading comrades must be more in direct contact with the nuclei and members, giving guidance and experience. Many more functionaries are required in the reorganized Party. The Party democracy must be widened. The leading committees all the way down the line must be held responsible for selecting additional comrades for responsible work, making them feel responsibility and confidence to do more important Party work, either inside or outside the Party.

Protection of Foreign-Born.

The campaign for protection of the foreign-born workers establishes itself as one of major political importance for the Party and the working class. Millions of foreign-born workers are affected by the registration, finger-printing, deportation laws now before congress for disposal.

Into the campaign to organize councils for the protection of the foreign-born must be drawn the mass of workers in America, those organized into the trade unions, the mass of unorganized chiefly foreign-born workers in the basic and key industries. The liberal groups thruout the country can be mobilized for the protection of what few civil rights still remain in autocratic America. A mass movement of protest, perhaps the greatest in the history of American labor movement, can be organized to struggle against such vicious anti-labor bills. The Workers (Communist) Party must be in the forefront in this campaign, demonstrating to the workers the existing oppression and further suppression of the working class, both their standard of living and their civil liberties and political rights.

We can utilize this situation to drive home the need of organizing the unorganized workers into the labor unions as a partial protection against the attacks of the capitalist political powers. To protect their own interests, the organized labor movement must be impressed with this need of an organization drive; the rank and file must exert pressure on their leaders to initiate such a drive, and particularly to line up in support of the foreign-born workers and against the reactionary bills. Unity and solidarity of the American born and foreign-born workers as a class against united American capitalism; common struggle against the bills shall be stressed everywhere. So outspoken and brazen are the lackeys of Wall Street with the anti-working class bills, that the necessity of the workers organizing an independent political movement which might prevent the passage of such bills should make itself more easily felt among the workers.

The campaign for the protection of foreign-born workers therefore links itself with the

Party campaign for a United Labor ticket for 1926 and the development of the sentiment for a Labor Party. The organization conference received reports from the district organizers and language bureau secretaries on the programs of this work; a number of the districts have already concrete achievements to record. This campaign therefore must be employed, as it can, for the mobilization of a vast movement of protest of the entire working class against capitalist aggression of a most crude, cruel and brazen character.

Laying the Basis for Political Consciousness.

The Labor Party came in for considerable discussion. The Party has learned greatly from the experiences in this field of work in the past years and is not likely to repeat its errors. It became apparent immediately that the methods required to develop the Labor Party movement at the present time are entirely different from those pursued during 1923-24, when this movement had attained considerable volume. At that time the methods of pressure to obtain immediate maximum results were necessary to spread the ferment which was taking hold as quickly as possible. Now the method required was the slow diligent one of building a basis; that is, creating sentiment, endeavoring step by step to give it organized expression.

The first steps in this work are yet agitation and propaganda among the organized workers particularly. The endeavor must first be to achieve unity on a local scale, utilizing all the local situations in the labor and political movement, such as divisions in the ranks of the capitalist parties, quarrels between the labor bureaucracy as to their allegiance to one political charlatan or another; the numerous local betrayals by so-called friends of labor and so on. Our comrades in engaging in this work must take extreme care to prevent unnecessary division among the progressive ranks, to prevent splits of labor tickets and movements. These are death to budding progressive movements for independent political activity by the workers. The base of course must be the organized labor movement in the trade unions. The organization conference delegates expressed hopes for one further forward step in this work for the elections in 1926, in which our Party puts forward the slogan, a United Labor ticket.

With hundreds of experiences the Party has had thruout the country in the West, in Minnesota especially, in North Dakota, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania and elsewhere, with its experiences with the Socialist Party, the labor fakirs, our Party has learned that the development of the movement for a mass party of the workers, in the form of a Labor Party is not a single step or action, but involves a long period and series of steps. With each the maturity of

the workers ripens; with each step the class basis of such a movement is strengthened and deepened. In this, to be sure of any success at all, our Party members must be in the trade unions, fighting for and with the workers on the elementary problems before them. Confidence in the Communists first on smaller things, then on bigger issues—that is the approach to the masses.

The conference in its three days of discussion took up of course many other problems; the DAILY WORKER, agitprop work, work among the Negroes, only touched; women's work, many other questions too many for discussion here. Essentially they were handled the same, What are our resources? What have we done? What were our errors? What can we do that will better the situation?

The Young Workers' (Communist) League offered a problem in that large numbers formerly of the youth were now in the Party and the League was stripped of many active elements. The conference, however, did little if anything toward a solution of this question beyond declaring the need of Party aid to the Y. W. L. in each city. This shortcoming of the conference must be remedied. Nor was the agrarian question discussed.

The organization conference was carried thru in a healthy manner. The Party has been in a factional struggle, but is now emerging therefrom. At this organization conference, it was nevertheless possible to carry on practical discussion on Party problems and campaigns without bringing the differences forward in a detrimental manner. The increase in educational activity of the Party, for instance the Workers' Schools in New York and Chicago, besides the establishment of many more classes than ever in the Party history, the wider distribution of fundamental Party literature, the many experiences and particularly the aid of the Communist International, are raising the theoretical level of the Party. This is making itself felt thruout the Party in its approach to questions of policy and tactics. Less personal, more fundamental and political! The Party is growing—in understanding and work among the masses.

While the organization conference marked one big forward step, the major problems have by no means been solved. That is the problem of real Bolshevization of the Party, development of a broad Communist leadership, and immeasurable expansion of the mass work, particularly in the trade unions—these must be solved before the Party can be said to have gone thru successfully the fire of proletarian struggle and revolt.

Program or Death

(Continued from page 273)

tion." But it seems that Mr. Sherrill's "orientation" is also a "business orientation." This probably means that Sherrill's program is only a dreary repetition of the old theory that the American Negroes can be liberated merely by increasing the number of Negro bankers and real estate men. Under this program the mass organization would quickly disintegrate.

The Hope of the U. N. I. A.

Probably it will not be thru the leadership of Sherrill or the leadership of any of the hitherto prominent men of the Universal Negro Improvement Association that the organization may be saved from disaster. The most hope lies in the fact that there has been generated in the organization in the past two or three years a very able corps of young men and women of working class character and undoubted sincerity. These young leaders are instinctively and potentially with any left wing that may be developing in either faction. Inevitably sooner or later there must be a revolt in such a mass organization of working class Negroes against the policy of submission. The left wing has hitherto been diverted into a sort of pseudo-anti-imperialism—a sort of a wordy objection to the conquest of Africa by the great imperialist powers without any tangible action to make the protest effective. In spite of the futility of a wordy program of talk against imperialism abroad while submitting to the most brutal persecution at home, the militant spirit aroused by the rebellions of Abd-el-Krim and the Egyptians has served to sift out among the Negro masses a very active and partly conscious element which now occupies many positions of local leadership in the association. Upon the rank and file of sincere Negro workers in the organization, and upon these more active spirits, the ultimate hope of saving and revitalizing the Universal Negro Improvement Association depends.

The key to the matter is the question of a program of militant struggle for the rights of the Negro here in the United States, in addition to an effective anti-imperialist world program.

It is a case of a program or death, for the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

The splendid cover of this issue of the Workers Monthly is the work of the gifted proletarian artist, Joseph Vavak.

Reviews

Modern Warfare

By George Staley

CALLINICUS, by J. B. S. Haldane. G. P. Putnam Sons, New York.

WINGED DEFENSE, By William Mitchell. G. P. Putnam Sons, New York.

"CALLINICUS" is an excellent discussion of the future uses of gas in warfare. It should be read by every one who is weary of the fairy tales about super-gases and magic explosives that are to decimate or wipe out humanity.

Haldane explains that the maximum energy to be gotten by chemical action is known and that, tho explosives of twice the power of trinitrotoluol can be made, they are too temperamental to be safely used. Of course, if bombs depending on atomic energy could be perfected or even attempted, the wildest nightmare of the most scared liberal would be more than realized. This is impossible owing to our present abysmal ignorance of atomic structure. A Touareg tribe is as likely to manufacture airplanes as a modern scientist to solve this problem—a technical epoch intervenes.

There are four main classes of poison gases—two obsolete and two of military value. Chlorine or phosgene and their class of non-blistering gases can all be kept out by a mask or—as the Canadians proved in 1915—by a wet cloth tied over nose and mouth. Tear gases are also useless against masked troops.

Chlorine and the other gas molecules vibrate hundreds of yards a second, strike the sides of the mask passages and are absorbed. The arsenic smokes on the other hand have slowly moving molecules— inches a second. These penetrate the mask entrance. There is no practicable mask that can give protection against a high concentration of smoke. These smokes cause the most excruciating torture in head and ears—sometimes the victim kills himself or goes insane. The effects pass off in two or three days.

The fourth type which will be used very much in future is the skin irritant. In the last war mustard gas—dichlorethyl sulphide—was the only sample. This is a liquid, evaporating as a deadly gas. A good mask gives ample protection. It killed only 4000 of the British army, but it laid up 150,000 of them. It causes terrible blisters especially where the body is moist—armpit, crotch, or feet.

This gas will penetrate clothing in a few minutes and the blisters will disable for several weeks. In the last war it was used only to reduce the effectives of the enemy and to compel his troops to wear their masks constantly—causing discomfort and loss of efficiency. Haldane points out that in the next war, one side will, if it has enough gas, drench a certain sector, say 30 miles by 10 miles deep, make it wholly untenable, and then advance with air tight tanks filtering the air for the crews. Air tight clothing can be used—but the wearers are unable to exert themselves. Too hot. Of course, if any government discovers a strong skin irritant and a means of protecting its own men, the results will be—devastating.

The imperialist cloven hoof sticks out amusingly. The author has had little truck with Uncle Sam and regards his announcements with more respect than they deserve. The federal government announced that its tests showed that 20 per cent of white men and 80 per cent of Negroes have a natural immunity to mustard gas. This is possible—but by no means proven! On this scanty evidence Haldane pictures the black shock troops of tomorrow, remarking casually that: "Enough resistant whites are available to officer them." Such unconscious insolence! And the callousness of it. Jim Crow America is to push those Negroes, who have escaped the lyncher's noose, into the seething hell of modern war; blood-drenched Britain is to use the unmurdered Hindus; and the French butchers, the Syrians and Abd-el-Krim's Berbers! It seems Haldane has not heard the rumbling in Dixie, Egypt, Morocco and Syria that foretells the coming earthquake!

IT is with regret that the reader turns to "Winged Defense" by "Colonel Billy," the darling of the aircraft profiteers, a poor pilot and a bad writer. His views on future wars are—startling. He abolishes all surface craft in the navy. In 1921 the U. S. air force was allowed to bomb a submarine, a cruiser and a dreadnought. All were sunk with ease—and at once. A submerged submarine tho is almost invulnerable to airplanes and a deadly danger to merchant craft. During the war the Germans used a patrol of 100 subs—and kept 1,000,000 men busy mine-sweeping and patrolling. They sank 70 war ships and 11,000,000 ton of merchant shipping. The Germans lost 250,000 ton of submarines. Mitchell's navy is to consist of aircraft and submarines.

On land the worthy colonel's views are even more unusual. He reduces the "army" to the role of scab herder—"maintenance of domestic

tranquility" is his phrase. Protection of the frontiers, control of the sea lanes and the offensive against the enemy are all jobs to be left to the air force. Gosh! No wonder the fat-sterned old martinets kicked him out!

His organization scheme is surprising. He ignores the use of planes for artillery control, for photographic reconnaissance, for contact patrol (aircraft accompanying attacking infantry to guide them and to carry instant information of all developments to the general staff). His scheme concentrates on bombing and fighting—presumably single-seater scouts—one-third of the force bombing and two-thirds combat.

He lets slip some valuable information on the expensive nature of modern armaments. An anti-aircraft gun costs \$30,000, fires 20 shots a minute for an hour and is worn out—total cost \$90,000. A battle ship costs \$60,000,000 and the necessary auxiliary craft \$40,000,000 more—all are obsolete in five years.

The information that is most wanted—how many war planes does the U. S. have today he avoids. The chief of tactical division of the air force puts the figure at 69; the secretary of war puts it at 2,000. Colonel Billy talks glibly of 150 and 200 miles an hour but the Curtiss and DeHaviland models shown in the illustrations of his book will do well to reach 130. There is good reason to suspect that those two models, with the antique Thomas Morse—and a few Le Pere's, Martins and Capronis constitute all the U. S. aircraft.

The author does not fail to make a passionate defense of those paragons of efficiency and patriotism, the profiteering manufacturers, the ghouls who pouched a billion and a half dollars in the war years and a half billion since, the vermin who designed the D. H. 4 whose wires snap like thread, whose wings collapse in a steep dive.

Mitchell's thesis that air craft are invincible has been badly dented in Syria and Morocco where the most powerful air fleet in the world—the French—has been unable not only to subdue but even to impress an enemy wholly without air craft. It is true that a less primitive society is more vulnerable; more easily dislocated—but the Riff artillery shot to rags the Spanish landing forces, tho they either were or could have been bombed at fifty foot range. France has sent at enormous expense 250,000 men to "conquer" 25,000—and the total contribution of her air fleet has been to rob some Riffs of their slumber! When the French wanted to murder the Damascans, they found shell fire best.

The colonel's assumption that "Archie" (anti-aircraft) is useless is wholly unwarranted. "Archie" can punish severely any squadron that flies low to its work—to compel high flight is all the anti-aircraft guns expect to accomplish.

There are two interesting questions—what can aircraft do in an imperialist war on U. S. S. R.? What can it do in class war?

In open warfare aircraft plays a valuable part in reconnaissance. Nothing can be hidden from it. The imperialists' superiority of machines will play a relatively small part in open warfare scouting. There are no huge dumps of supplies and ammunition, offering tempting targets to the bomber. The enormous distance to the heart of Russia is a protection against the bombing of civilian centers. The English were unable to bomb Berlin while the Germans bombed London at will. It must be added that only one bombing is a far more serious affair today than in 1918. In the three years from 1915 to 1918 the Germans used 100 airplanes and 15 Zeppelins and dropped 300 ton of explosives, causing 200 fires. None of these fires got out of the control of the firemen. A hundred planes today can drop 300 ton of explosives and incendiary bombs in 30 minutes—and the result would be a cataclysm.

The danger of a gas bombing is slight—incendiary bombs will yield a higher return in "frightfulness." Explosives make little impression on troops sheltered in trenches and dugouts—while gas, being heavier than air, is a constant menace. On the contrary, gas offers no real peril to city dwellers, who can retire to the second floor and close the windows. The civilians can decamp. The soldiers can not. Of class panic.

The Red air fleet tho numerically and technically inferior to its opponent, is just about as useful for open war scouting. Its propaganda weapon is infinitely more deadly than the imperialists' bombs. War under the best conditions imaginable is extremely awful and all working class soldiers will read with sympathy and attention the advice to quit fighting—even if they do not see the need to seize power. The factory workers, soured by low wages, high taxes, high prices and government oppression will also be interested in such leaflets.

When war comes between two imperialist powers, it is possible that modern technique will produce an objectively revolutionary situation while the masses are still mad-drunk on bootleg patriotism—that is in the first three days of the conflict. In the densely populated lands of West Europe, two days of good bombing would wreck the railway centers, the big factory centers, the city water reservoirs—it would dislocate the food and water supply and the transportation of the whole nation.

One question that has not been investigated is the use of germs as a war weapon. A well-spread epidemic of cholera or bubonic plague would thoroly disrupt any nation's war plans. It would be difficult but not impossible to pre-

vent the infection from spreading to one's own land. It is forbidden by Hague Rules of Land Warfare, Section XXIII—but the same section forbids the refusal of quarter and the murder of prisoners and Pershing's crusaders played hob with those rules!

I do not believe the air force will be of much value to the bourgeoisie in time of social upheaval. The pilots are invariably hard-boiled, hard living young whites. In one flying field in 1918 a pilot who read Kipling's works was under suspicion as a highbrow and literateur. The standard amusement is dice or poker. A hospital technician asked me with wide innocent eyes why all pilots show a positive Wasserman. During the war practically all pilots were undergraduate college students. Mitchell is very insistent that this group, because of their experience in athletics and "teamwork," is the only source from which good pilots can be drawn. Bunk! Purest bunk! The best aerial gunner I ever saw and one of the best pilots was a big ox, a farm hand in civil life, whose favorite form of athletics was—sleep! Few except young bourgeois are allowed to become pilots. Eighty-five per cent of those able to pass the searching physical exam (it is so severe that less than 25 per cent of army officers can pass it) can learn to be fair pilots.

The weak point of the air force is the mechanic. How many sour West Pointers have wailed that it is impossible to make a soldier out of a mechanic! Most of them and the best of them were factory trained in civil life—and never lose the mechanic's view point. Mitchell recognizes this and proposes that they be paid the same pay they can earn in civil life and be correspondingly well-housed and fed. No army bureaucracy and no congress could so far control its stinginess as to allow such a plan. It would seem that such measures would aggravate the trouble. So long as they are told they are soldiers, even tho they never drill or get their overalls off, some of them believe it. When they are treated as mechanics—a union will be the next spectre for Mitchell to face!

To keep a plane on active service requires the constant work of ten mechanics and ten laborers. (They are not all needed on the front line plane itself, but must be had to maintain the organization that supplies new planes and pilots as these are used up). These twenty do not include any of the workers in the spruce woods or wood and machine factories. These twenty must and can be won over by us. Even if they are not all won over, a little sabotage by one or two of them would cripple the squadron for an indefinite period.

The Bolsheviks taught Yudenich and his staff a lesson in the necessity of upkeep in 1919. tanks should fight several hours a day. Being overused the tanks were apt to catch fire at the most critical moments—and the unhappy crew

would have to vacate, and be picked off by Red snipers.

Those sections of the air force that are not crippled will be of little value. They can reconnoiter but in a revolutionary crisis the whites are so badly shaken that they lack confidence to make good use of any information they have. Crowds can be dispersed more effectively by tanks and machine guns than by planes. In the event of proletarian defeat, planes will be dangerous, as they will be very useful to locate bands of rebels and guide the punitive expeditions.

Those of us, comrades, who live longest will see interesting things.

"The Future of Science"

ICARUS OR THE FUTURE OF SCIENCE, by Bertrand Russell. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York.

DAEDALUS OR SCIENCE AND THE FUTURE, by J. B. S. Haldane. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York.

THE proletariat and the backward elements of the Party are speckled with folk who believe that not only workers but even Communists should study in bourgeois schools and colleges, that a professor can analyze a question better than a Marxist—and more slop from the same pail. Such deluded victims should read "Icarus" in which the eunuch impotence of bourgeois sociology is set forth in simple language.

It is not enough to recognize that one or another "social scientist" is an ass. The whole bourgeois system is of necessity unable to admit the class struggle and the realities of social life—it is all worthless. Herbert Spencer wrote interminably of the similarities between modern society and—the human body! He even compared double track railways to the veins and arteries, and blood corpuscles to coins! The conclusion he drew was that society develops and changes—a fact that is not in the least proved by all his words. A decade ago many of the radicals in the American Labor movement were devout believers in Lester F. Ward—an idealist who taught on these lines: Human beings long for Happiness—this increases with Progress—which grows out of Action—which comes from Opinion—guided by Knowledge—which brings us to the starting point, Education. Ward's other writings are equally quaint.

It must be admitted that Russell is not as picturesque as his colleagues described above—but just as silly. His premise is that men have passions and contend in rivalry. This rivalry, the sporting enjoyment of the owners, causes the struggles for markets and raw material—he scoffs at the idea that lust for profits has anything to do with it. He sees a "hopeful element"—that in some titanic struggle one side will conquer the world and after crushing "half a dozen revolts," there will be peace. (The author is a world famed pacifist!) At this point he remembered that his subject is science and remarked that the "tyrannical victors" will doubtless learn

the secrets of the ductless glands and by judicious injections keep the proletariat submissive.

IT is a relief to turn to Haldane, a competent biochemist, who makes some moderate estimates of the strides science will take in the next century—at least the author says they are moderate. After coal and oil are exhausted, wind and sunlight will be harnessed as energy sources. Substances similar to coffee and tobacco will be discovered—chemicals to add to the amenity of life and stimulate man's faculties. He cites acid sodium phosphate, a tiny dose of which increases capacity for manual labor 20% and is widely used in Germany. Agriculture will be abolished by the commercial production of food and also by the invention of Porphyrococcus, a nitrogen fixer, which will treble the farm output and, when introduced into the sea, so increase the fish output that even England will be able to become self-supporting. As against eugenics he sets up ectogenesis—the artificial production of babies from an ovary. Last year the author grew embryonic rats in serum for ten days. There is no reason why several ova a year will not be obtained from each ovary, fertilized and grown to maturity. This, with universal dissemination of birth control knowledge, will reduce the "parents of the race" to a tiny handful in each generation, which, if the handful is properly selected, will vastly improve the race. (As the author properly observes at this point every physical invention is a blasphemy; every biological invention a perversion, indecent and unnatural.) He closes remarking that he has been able to cover only a very few of the possible advances to be made.

The book is so well written, so delightful that it will be a joy to every heretic.—George McLaughlin.

"P. A. L."

By Felix Riesenbergl.

Robert M. McBride and Company, New York.

AN entertaining satire on the fakirs of American business, the peddlers of patent medicines and those outfits which sell 70 cents of advertising and 30 cents of merchandise. It is a symptom of changing America that twenty years ago there was a flood of magazines and novels denouncing Big Business for the ruin of competitors, corruption of politics, prostitution, political oratory and bad weather. The kings of banks, railways, oil, minerals were damned by Baker, Steffens, Tarbell, Russell, and Sinclair. Today the competitive capitalist is so very dead that even the petty bourgeois penmen see it. While they do not yet (with the exception of Tarbell) laud and glorify the imperialist kings (they will tomorrow), they pour oceans of ridicule on their idol of the past. Mencken, Sinclair Lewis, W. E. Woodward, and the anonymous "Haunch, Paunch and Jowl" are examples. In the hey day of the bourgeois, his success was determined by his industry, integrity and his reputation for virtue. Today instead of being lauded, his pretension to these qualities is ridiculed.

This author pictures the Niagara of publicity with which quack medicines and fake education are peddled. He never reaches the big exploiters at all. Pal floats to wealth on a wave of publicity and his amours, extravagances and exploits are amusingly pictured. Spiritualism, correspondence schools, and modern journalism, are given sly digs. The slobbery love story is proof that the book is a genuine American product.—John Lake.

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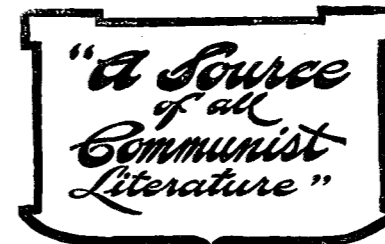
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