

Class Peace or Class War?

A TIMELY QUESTION

In these days when employers proclaim that labor and capital are partners in industry—when the capitalist press cries out against “wasteful and futile strikes,” and when conservative labor leaders brand strikes as obsolete and unnecessary—it is interesting to get an inside view of what the employers really mean when they speak of harmony—partnership—cooperation—peace and good will. There is no better source of information on this question than

CLASS COLLABORATION—HOW IT WORKS

By Bertram D. Wolfe \$.10

A brilliant study of the various methods by which the capitalist class attempts to corrupt the labor movement and bribe its most important sections. Specific illustrations are given from the history of the American labor movement. The pamphlet is readable and valuable throughout.

THE GENERAL STRIKE AND THE GENERAL BETRAYAL

By John Pepper \$.25

An exposure of the class collaboration policy at work in the great struggle of the British proletariat against the ruling class of England.

CLASS STRUGGLE vs. CLASS COLLABORATION

By Earl R. Browder \$.10

A keen study of modern class collaboration schemes such as the B. & O. Plan, Labor Banking and Workers' Education. An indispensable book for anyone who is interested in the modern developments in the labor movement.

COMPANY UNIONS

By Robert W. Dunn, with conclusions by Wm. Z. Foster \$.25

A careful analysis of this peculiarly American institution giving the fundamental reasons for its adoption by many of the leading employers of this country. The pamphlet is the result of extensive investigation by an expert student of the subject.

DO YOU READ THE INPRECORR?

(INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE)

A weekly mine of information about the international Communist movement. Articles by the leading Communists of the world. Reports from every land. Indispensable as a source of information of the world revolutionary movement.

Subscription price only \$6.00 a year.

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

Inclosed finddollarscents in payment for

Name Address

City State

The WORKERS MONTHLY



DECEMBER, 1926

25 CENTS

together by merely pocketing the latent values of this empire. During the period of this pocketing, while individual competition of the spoilers was bitter and intense, yet there was not existent an intense pressure of class upon class. The enrichment of the bourgeoisie did not entirely depend on the narrow exploitation of class by class. Though this exploitation did go on, yet, vast sources of enrichment for the bourgeoisie also lay in the direction of the spoliation of the public domain.

This period has passed. The empire is divided. And while formerly the public domains became sources of wealth making unnecessary intense exploitation, now they necessitate intense exploitation so they may remain a source of wealth. In order to turn these spoils into wealth producing possessions they had to be turned into means of exploitation. So now we have a situation where this original wealth is in itself a source of increased exploitation and, at the same time there is no longer any such original wealth ready to be picked up. Therefore all chances of further enrichment lie in the direction of intensification of exploitation. First the exploitation of the masses of workers by capital; then the proletarianization of the petty bourgeoisie, and, finally, the exploitation of the farmer masses.

Thus we find that while in the earlier periods of American capitalism the rule of the big bourgeoisie benefited the bourgeoisie as a whole, now, in the stage of imperialism:

1. The rule of the big bourgeoisie presses upon and exploits all other classes and groups in society.
2. The big bourgeoisie itself is divided into several groups with antagonistic interests.

The elections of the second of November supplied proof of the above analysis. The outstanding feature of the elections was not supplied by the fight of the Republican and Democratic parties, but by the fight for or against the World Court and by the manifestations of life of a Labor Party.

A week or so before election, the international bankers, including the head of the house of Morgan in Wall Street, the governor of the bank of England and the president of the German Reichsbank, issued a manifesto calling for the elimination of all tariff barriers. This was the signal for an outburst of "unadulterated" American patriotism by industrial capital in America. But this outburst did not and could not remove the differences thus laid bare. Intensive and extensive capitalist interests are tied up with the success or failure of the political and economic structure of capitalism in foreign countries. The political interests rest on loans made to foreign governments. But American banking interests have also large shares in the industries of foreign countries as a result of reorganization schemes of all sorts.

Capital is self-sufficient. Its interest does not lie in its "country," but in itself. Therefore no "country" can make capital subservient to its interest (except through revolution), but all capital makes its country subservient to itself, even though it thus creates revolution against itself. It is therefore very natural that the exporters of capital to foreign countries, all eminent patriots, to be sure, should be primarily interested in their dollars, which they sent for conquest into foreign

lands. These dollars are to multiply like sand on the beach. And the children and children's children of these dollars are to find their way back into the pockets of these patriots at home. And the duty of the patriots at home, in turn, is the creation of favorable conditions for the fecundity of the dollars abroad. The ability of the debtor nations to find markets for their goods is a necessary prerequisite for their ability to pay interest and principal on their debts. Therefore the demand: Down with tariff barriers.

But this cry finds no echo in the breast of the equally patriotic industrial capitalist whose money is invested exclusively or primarily at home. His dollars thrive on the tariff barrier. What is a serious problem to the finance capitalist is fertilizer which increases the dollar crop of the industrial capitalist. Therefore: "No entangling alliances" for the latter, "World Court" for the former. "No tariff barriers" for the former, and "patronize home industry" for the latter.

While the differences are already very clear and very outspoken, they did not yet find a very clear expression in the election. But they were there and were more or less articulate at that. The sharpness of the issue was attested to by the defeat of the republican Senator Butler in Massachusetts. The lack of clarity, on the other hand, was attested to by the election of the republican Governor Fuller in the same state. This, by the way, is also proof of the fact, that the issue is not between Republicans and Democrats, but between different groups of the bourgeoisie, which try to make both old parties instruments in the achievements of their aims. In the face of these differences it is not of great importance that as a result of the election the control of the United States senate by the Republican Party is in danger. It is also of little importance that some of the elected senators rode into the senate on the back of unprecedented corruption. This corruption is important in connection with Democracy as a political system. But it is without significance as to the results of the elections.

The most important results of the elections are the manifestations of life of independent political action of the workers.

The dissolution of the political army of the bourgeoisie tends to crystallize the proletariat as a political entity, separated completely from the political forces of capital. This crystallization is handicapped by the currents within the bourgeoisie itself against the rule of the big bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie in revolt against the political rule of the big bourgeoisie, is radical enough in words to attract all political dissatisfied elements to its banners. The only reason why it does not take the initiative, and why it does not score great success where it does take the initiative for a political revolt against the big bourgeoisie, is its own inner divisions. The petty bourgeoisie as a class has not enough unity of interest to be able to unify any other forces under its leadership. And the interests which it has in common, are precisely those that have the least beneficial qualities for society as a whole. After all, the petty bourgeoisie is as a class absolutely useless for the historic progress of society. It has nothing to contribute to the further construction of society. In that sense this class is short of the qualities of the big bourgeoisie which serves so-

ciety in some measure, while it serves itself, or of the proletariat, which will free society while it frees itself. For this reason, the petty bourgeoisie is unable to supply independent political leadership. The best it is good for is either as a direct lackey for the big bourgeoisie, on the pattern of the Fascist movement in Italy, or as an indirect lackey of the big bourgeoisie as a "leader" of the proletariat on the pattern of the social-democracy in Germany. But the American big bourgeoisie is not yet in need of a Fascist lackey, and the American petty bourgeoisie is not yet ripe for the role of the German social-democracy.

But in spite of all that, the currents and tendencies of the petty bourgeoisie for a political movement apart from and directed against the old political parties of the big bourgeoisie, are attracting masses of workers also in rebellion against the big bourgeoisie. While the rebellion of these workers is potentially a pure class movement, which confines its enmity merely for the present moment to the big bourgeoisie, but will gradually develop into a movement against capitalism itself, yet the very parallel development of the political rebellion of the proletariat and that of the petty bourgeoisie results in these two movements temporarily merging into each other. To disentangle these essentially unrelated currents is the task of a revolutionary party which is perfectly conscious of the class interests of the workers. The recent elections register some advance in the direction of the progress of this disentanglement.

The Workers (Communist) Party has not made any great showing in this election. The reason for this failure is very apparent. The party has not yet overcome completely the infantile disease of leftism. Incessant propaganda and education have created a situation in which the individual party member is ashamed to admit any doubts as to the effectiveness and the necessity of parliamentary action. But this cure from leftist infantilism of the individual members is very superficial and has not touched the organism of the party as a whole. The party goes through the motions of election campaigns and parliamentary actions. The party is ashamed to admit any anti-parliamentarian tendencies. But it is equally ashamed to show any effective activities on this field. This matter will have to be treated separately from a consideration of the last election. But it must be treated seriously and with a view to completely overcoming the last remnants of leftism.

How serious it is for the Workers (Communist) Party to overcome any inner handicaps to its activities on the field of parliamentary action, is shown by the progress that independent political action of the workers is making. There are a number of crystallizations of labor party activities in different parts of the country. But the most important and most instructive development is still that of Minnesota.

In the state of Minnesota, there exists a farmer-labor party. This farmer-labor party developed primarily out of a revolt of the farmers of that state. It was originally a revolt of the rural petty bourgeoisie. This movement gradually spread. The petty bourgeoisie attempted to gather within the folds of its political organization and for its support the working class elements in the cities. The movement spread and threatened the su-

premacny of the old political parties. The dominating Republican Party thereupon sent some of its leading lights into the farmer-labor movement, hoping that while it could not prevent the revolt, it could at least lead it. In the meantime, the attempt of the rural petty bourgeoisie to mobilize the urban proletarian masses for its movement, resulted in another current. The workers, instead of submitting to the leadership of the rural petty bourgeoisie, entered the movement in a more or less crystallized form, with an attempt to establish a hegemony of the workers in that party. This attempt was led and directed by the most conscious proletarian element, by the Communists.

The movement for the establishment of the leadership of the workers over this political revolt collided with the attempt of the old party politicians to gain leadership over it. In this collision the Communists were temporarily defeated. The old party politicians raised the cry of protecting the farmer-labor movement from outside influence. They accused the Communists of entering the farmer-labor movement with ulterior motives, not bent on building it, but rather bent on its destruction. While quite large masses of the workers were convinced of the sincerity of the Communists in their endeavor to crystallize a political class movement out of this rebellion, yet the majority succumbed to the arguments of the old party politicians and practically acquiesced in the removal of the Communists.

The last election has created the basis for a reversal of this policy. The old party politicians, after they had succeeded in getting the Communists more or less out of the way on the ground that they do not act in good faith, openly broke their faith with the farmer-labor party movement and either went back to the old parties, or openly avowed their purpose of leading the whole movement back to the old parties. Under these conditions, the elections became a test of strength of the very idea of a labor party. And the idea withstood the test. The Labor Party movement is today stronger in Minnesota than it ever was before. It outlived the treachery of its old party leaders. It withstood the betrayal of its outstanding figures and its vitality even stood up in the face of complete lack of nourishment in the form of class issues.

Magnus Johnson, the candidate for governor, did not bring out one vital issue in this campaign. Although running on the farmer-labor ticket, his campaign speeches differed in nothing from those of his Republican opponent. In this Johnson supported directly the move back to the Republican Party. The Labor Party is either a party which fights militantly for the issues of the working masses—or it is no Labor Party and has no basis for existence. Henrik Shipsted, a farmer-labor U. S. senator from Minnesota, practically refused to participate in the campaign. He foretold his own defection from the Farmer-Labor Party in the near future by refusing to answer the question of whether he would run the next time on the farmer-labor or on the Republican ticket. No answer in this case is the most eloquent answer imaginable. Yet in spite of all these defections and handicaps, the Farmer-Labor Party polled over 250,000 votes. The idea of such a party was so strong that it outlived all of the attempts to kill it. And

When You Give—

IF YOU HAVE TO
MAKE A GIFT—

**Why Not a Year's Subscription
to The Workers Monthly ?**

You can utilize the practice
of gift-giving for the Revo-
lutionary Labor Movement.

The splendid articles on the
most important events in the
world of Labor—

The invaluable articles on
Communist theory and prac-
tice—

Your shop-mate will enjoy
them—

So will the man in your
union!

If your sub expires—make
yourself a present — RE-
NEW!

Now Is the Time to

SUBSCRIBE

RENEW

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

\$2.00 a Year \$1.25, Six Monts

1113 W. WASHINGTON BLVD.,
CHICAGO, ILL.

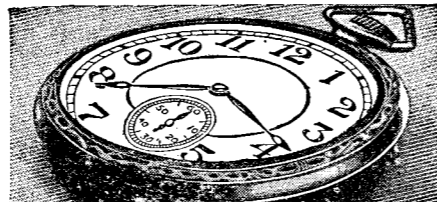
Enclosed \$..... for months sub-
scription to the Workers Monthly.

Name

Street

City State

**50c TAKES IT!
No More to Pay**



Wear this fancy thin model Stanton Watch for 10 days if thoroughly satisfied send us **only 50c** and watch is yours. We give you this fine watch for 50c in order to advertise our sensational Photo Art Ring. Wear this amazing ring and see snappy, life-like photos inside magnified—a knockout from Paris, France. The models (??) are enlarged to an alarming degree by a highly powerful invisible lens. No ring like it ever seen before. **Send only 10c now**—pay balance of 90c on delivery, then \$1 a month for only three months—\$4 in all. Do not send any money for watch—examine it first—wear it for 10 days, if satisfied remit 30c and watch is yours.

Our Gift to You This beautiful embossed watch and ring must be seen to be appreciated. No reference required. **We ship same day.** Send ring size and mention style of watch wanted—**ROUND OR OCTAGON SHAPE.** Absolute satisfaction or money back. Get this thin model Stanton Watch for 50c by sending 10c now for new amazing ring.
GLOBE SCIENTIFIC CO., 230 5th Ave., PITTSBURGH, PA.

WORKER'S BOOKSTORE
19 SO. LINCOLN ST. Chicago, Ill.
GOOD BOOKS FOR WORKERS

THE ONLY CHICAGO STORE
WHERE YOU WILL FIND
ALL LABOR PUBLICATIONS,
FOREIGN AND AMERICAN, AND
ALL COMMUNIST PUBLI-
CATIONS SURELY.

You are a SCANDINAVIAN?

Why don't you read

NY TID

the only revolutionary Scandinavian working-
man's paper in the United States?

SUBSCRIBE NOW! \$2.00 a year, \$1.00 6 months
Send in your order:

NY TID, Scandinavian Weekly,
2003 N. California Ave. Chicago, Ill.

For the Children

Make them a present fo

Fairy Tales for Workers' Children
\$1.25 Cloth 75 Cents Paper

Did You Ever Hear of **??**
COTZOFANESTI **??**

SOME days ago Her Majesty, Queen Marie of Roumania, condescended to visit Chicago. Society turned out in full force to greet her, notwithstanding the fact that she represents a regime of cruel despotism and terror, which has drenched the soil of Roumania with the blood and tears of thousands of workers and peasants. The Babbits outdid themselves in their eagerness to grovel before the Queen of Black Roumania. And like a faithful mirror, the capitalist press reflected their degrading servility with huge laudatory streamers and page upon page of the most nauseating gush.

Throughout this humiliating scramble, one point stood out like a welcome oasis in the midst of the desert. One voice rose firm and militant above the mad hubub—a voice of protest, a voice of fearless challenge — **THE DAILY WORKER.** “What of Cotzofanesti?” it cried, as it exposed to the American workers the true picture of this scion of the ruling class—a picture of the lowest depravity and debauchery. “What of our murdered Brother Tkachenko?” demanded The Daily Worker in the name of the thousands of workers and peasants, who have either lost their lives at the hands of the Roumanian ruling class, or are today rotting in the dungeons of that unhappy country.

This is not unusual. This is no accident. This is not the first time that The Daily Worker has shown its mettle, nor the last. On this occasion as on many others, The Daily Worker has shown itself to be a powerful weapon of the workers in the class struggle. It played the same part in the Passaic strike, in the Furriers' strike, in the I. L. G. W. U. strike, and in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. It will play the same part in all struggles of the working class.

But The Daily Worker is faced with a serious, financial crisis. The Daily Worker cannot continue without your help. The Daily Worker needs your help urgently—needs it **NOW**—to live and take its part in future struggles. Will you fill in the attached blank, and send it with your generous donation to **KEEP THE DAILY WORKER?**

DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.,
1113 West Washington Blvd.,
Chicago, Ill.

Inclosed you will find my donation ofdollars
.....cents to **KEEP THE DAILY WORKER.**

Name

Address

City State



Nikolai Bukharin—A Friendly Caricature

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

Official Organ WORKERS COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

MAX BEDACHT, Editor.

Single copies, twenty-five cents—yearly subscriptions, two dollars; foreign, two fifty. Published monthly by the Daily Worker Publishing Company, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Entered as Second Class Matter November 8, 1924, at the postoffice of Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOL. V.

290

DECEMBER, 1926

No. 14

After Elections—What Now?

By Max Bedacht

THE last general elections, uneventful though they may have seemed, speak volumes about the disintegration of the political forces of capitalism in the United States. To study and understand these volumes is an unavoidable necessity for the revolutionary worker.

It seems a contradiction that American capitalism should show signs of disintegration in the hour of its highest triumph. And yet, this contradiction is today the problem of the ruling class in the United States.

The political forces of American capitalism were never a homogeneous mass. While the government always represented, more or less outspokenly, the interests of a specific capitalist group, yet the army of adherents of the political rule of the bourgeoisie was made up of all kinds of groups of the bourgeoisie and also virtually of all of the masses of the proletariat. There is no mystery in the fact, that this army of followers of the government should lose its outward unity, and split up according to its inward divisions in the moment when the rule of the bourgeoisie has achieved its highest triumphs.

In the period of upward development of capitalism, the aims of the leading groups of the capitalist class cannot be achieved without, at the same time, benefiting all other groups of the bourgeoisie. In other words: capitalism cannot be promoted onward and upward without carrying up the bourgeoisie as a whole. In America, owing to the peculiar conditions, with virgin land and virgin natural resources, even the proletariat could not be developed by capitalism without giving it some concessions. Therefore, upward developing capitalism in America satisfied more or less, pretty nearly everybody and thus made possible the practical unanimity of the political army of the bourgeoisie. Although in the early days of struggle, between the Federalists and the Republicans, and then again, between the Democrats and Republicans real fundamental issues caused the divisions and struggles; yet on the whole, the two party system was not a sign of division, but one of comparative unity.

But now the period of upward development has been

completed. American capitalism has entered a new stage. Imperialism rules the hour.

This is especially important because it signifies that the accumulation of capital goes on so rapidly that the possibilities at home no longer supply a satisfactory market for it. Capital, therefore, needs foreign markets, needs chances for export.

Foreign policies were a comparatively simple matter in the United States in the past. And even if they were not simple, they certainly were not public issues of great concern. Nobody was interested in what the government did in its relation to the outside world. But the need of foreign markets for surplus capital changed that. Those interested in the export of capital became intensely interested in the foreign policies of the government. They wanted the government to carry on a foreign policy which helps to create and to secure foreign markets for capital exports. The foreign policies of the government became an important issue in politics.

But there are still those bourgeois who are not interested in capital exports. They want all the attention of the government concentrated on the internal policies for the improvement of the chances for exploitation. The battle cry of the latter group of the bourgeoisie is: "No foreign entanglements." The former, on the other hand, are for the League of Nations, for the World Court, etc., because "Uncle Sam must take his share in building a better and more peaceful world." Both groups have intensely patriotic slogans, even though their motives are of a less idealist nature.

The division of the bourgeoisie on this important question of foreign policy is not the only one. There is another internal division.

During the period of upward development of American capital much of the wealth of the bourgeoisie was gathered by primitive accumulation. In all European countries most of this primitive accumulation took place in the pre-capitalist era. But America was an undeveloped and undivided empire to the advent of the rule of American capitalism over it. Immense fortunes were gotten

even where the belief in the present Farmer-Labor movement was not strong enough for active participation in the campaign, the pro-labor party tendency manifested itself by abstentions. The workers did not go back to the Republican Party but rather abstained from voting, waiting for a revival of a militant political labor party movement. This is evidenced by the unusually low votes cast in the proletarian precincts of Minneapolis and other cities of the state.

With the movement for a labor party still very much alive, and with the leadership of the old party politicians in this movement completely discredited, the Communists face an entirely new situation. They were fought and attacked for lack of good faith toward the movement. But now, they can point to the lack of good faith toward the labor party movement on the part of the old party politicians, who had originated and led the attack against the Communists. The Communists now can prove that the attacks against them were not made because they "lacked good faith," but on the contrary, because they were the only conscious element which acted in good faith toward that movement. These old party politicians saw in the Communists the obstacle on the road to their betrayal. They knew that their desire to lead the rebellious urban and rural masses of Minnesota back into the folds of the Republican or Democratic Party could never be fulfilled with the Communists guarding against betrayals. In other words, while they accused the Communists of lack of good faith toward the labor party, they had designs all along to betray that party. In order to carry out their breach of faith to-

ward the movement, they had to remove the Communists as the element most faithful to the labor party.

The last elections made this clear. They thus cleared the field for the further activities of the Communists. The old-party politicians had raised the issue of Communism in the Farmer-Labor Party, declaring that they wanted to protect the party against destructive influences. It is now up to the Communists to raise the issue of Communism in the Farmer-Labor Party, as a measure of cleansing that movement from its treacherous leaders, who openly aim at its destruction.

As far as great political issues and changes are concerned, the last election campaign was not very eventful. In fact, the election was the least exciting from that point of view, for many, many years. Yet the signs of inner disintegration of the capitalist class, which it brought to the surface, are clearer than they have ever been before. The struggle between the leading factions of the big bourgeoisie—imperialist finance capital on the one hand and pro-tariff industrial capital on the other,—overshadowed all other tendencies and currents. But alongside of this struggle, the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie against the rule of the big bourgeoisie was clearly visible. And, running concurrently with this revolt of the petty bourgeoisie, sometimes merged with it, sometimes independent of it, we see the movement of the exploited masses of city and country for independent political action. The elections were a new proof of the importance which the labor party movement has in the class struggle at present. The elections are over: Now forward toward a Labor Party for the 1928 elections!



"After Gompers—What?" Answered

By J. Louis Engdahl

WHEN the Forty-Sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor met at Detroit, Michigan, October 4-14, the memory of Samuel Gompers, so fresh the year before at Atlantic City, had become faint indeed. It was not until the afternoon of the third day that the name of Gompers was even mentioned, and then only by an unknown outsider, Dr. J. C. Curran, speaking for the side issue of Near East Relief, one of the scores of bourgeois activities in which Gompers interested himself.

Flag of Truce Raised High.

This is mentioned here because for decades great sections of the vanguard elements in the working class had speculated that progress would be rapid if Gompers would only pass out of the picture. Well, Gompers is gone; even as a memory. Those he left after him, to rule in his place, during nearly two years of effort, confess to having collected only \$98.50 in "The Gompers' Memorial Fund." Yet the loosening of Gompers' dead hand upon the American labor movement has unleashed no latent forces of progress. Instead reaction still sits in the saddle and drives toward even greater conservatism. Class collaboration offers an opportunity to surrender much, with the flag of truce raised high by the labor officialdom in the industrial struggle.

One may question the degree of security with which the labor reaction holds its place. The throne gives evidence of being shaky, although time alone will tell to what extent.

Challenge to Reaction.

It isn't because of any great upsurge from the rank and file of American labor that the official leadership, with President William Green at its head, feels extremely nervous. It is rather because of rapidly developing conditions in other lands, especially in three, as follows:

FIRST: The increasing challenge of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. This challenge was voiced at Detroit by Dr. Sherwood Eddy, international secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association for Asia, and not by a labor spokesman, like Arthur A. Purcell at Atlantic City last year. This open defiance to the reaction grows as every element in the American population, even the A. F. of L. officialdom, is forced to admit the continued and rapid recovery in Soviet industry and agriculture.

SECOND: The growing influence upon American labor of the British trade union movement. George Hicks, fraternal delegate of the British Trade Union Congress, came pleading for World Trade Union Unity, in spite of "Amsterdam." Hicks and his fellow delegate, John Bromley, traitorous though their conduct was during the struggle at home, nevertheless startled these American

"labor leaders" with their explanations of the General Strike launched last May First in Great Britain, and with their timid pleas of support for the coal miners' strike.

THIRD: Then there is Mexico. Eddy delivered his speech on the Soviet Union, although, it is claimed, by subterfuge; the two British fraternal delegates were allowed their say with respectful tolerance, but the most strenuous efforts exercised during the convention, and the weeks immediately preceding it, consisted in trying to smother all discussion of the Mexican government's struggle against the Roman Catholic Church, a clash that is causing many capitalist-minded labor elements on this side of the Rio Grande to fear the radicalism of the Mexican workers. This fear naturally grows as the Mexicans announce that their Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (C. R. O. M.) now enjoys a membership of approximately two millions, or more than two-thirds that of the American Federation of Labor itself, with both the United States and Canada to draw upon.

Recognition of U. S. S. R.

Developments in these three countries worry the present leadership in the American Federation of Labor, even as they engage the attention of the imperialist government at Washington. The A. F. of L. officialdom may be allowed to cross the "t's" and dot the "i's" but the actual policies towards these countries is that of Coolidge's state department under the secretaryship of "Standard Oil" Frank B. Kellogg. In fact, in the vicious declaration against the recognition of the Soviet Union, actual credit is given the Coolidge administration for having inspired A. F. of L. policies on this question when it says:

"We are not interested in the commercial aspect of the question, agreeing fully with President Coolidge in holding that American principles are not to be bartered . . . Between it (the Soviet regime) and our form of social organization there can be no compromise of any kind." Cal Coolidge, instead of President Green, might just as well have been speaking in reply to the fraternal greetings of the British delegates when Green said:

"At the moment there stands an impregnable barrier between the working people of the government of that country (the Soviet Union) and the American Federation of Labor. . . There must come a psychological change, a change in the viewpoint of those who embrace the philosophy followed by the peoples in that great country (the Soviet Union) before we can even think of establishing co-operative relations between them and the American Federation of Labor. . . When they (the workers of the Soviet Union) embrace a philosophy that is so antagonistic to the philosophy embraced and followed by the American Federation of Labor, then it would be a

waste of time and effort to attempt to reconcile our conditions.

Substitute the expression "the United States government" for "the American Federation of Labor," and it might be "Silent Cal" himself indulging in Green's pitiful attempt at a flight in anti-Bolshevik oratory.

The British General Strike.

It was in the same speech, however, that President Green, altho graciously greeting the fraternal delegates of the British Trade Union Congress, nevertheless rejected the philosophy of the British working class that alone made the general strike possible. To the British, Green said:

"We realize, of course, that the trade union movement in each country must be governed by circumstances and conditions prevailing within their own respective jurisdictions. They know what is best for them.

"And so we say to our British brethren that what you think is best for you, you may inaugurate and put into effect. We have confidence in your judgment, in your intelligence and in your experience. . ."

"We are committed here (in the United States) irrevocably to the principles of collective bargaining and trade agreements. . . As we believe in collective bargaining, in the making of wage agreements, so we here in America are religiously committed to the observance of any contract we make anywhere or any place."

With this pronouncement, President Green evidently felt that he outlawed the general strike in the United States for any and all time. But although British labor's philosophy ran counter to A. F. of L. policies, President Green was not in a position to rebuff them as he had the workers of the Soviet Union.

A. F. of L. and Mexico.

Similarly the Mexican workers, in the rather uncomfortable position that the A. F. of L. officialdom finds itself, are told that:

"We (the A. F. of L. officials) believe that the Mexican labor movement should exercise unrestricted authority to make decisions for Mexican labor and to adopt policies to be pursued in their labor policies."

But this does not mean that the Mexican workers are to be permitted to develop their struggle unfettered by the sabotage of the A. F. of L. reaction. The imperialist ambitions nurtured by the Monroe Doctrine are lodged in the bosoms of the A. F. of L. officialdom as well as in the heart of Dollar Diplomacy. Thus we find a welter of piffle in a supposedly serious A. F. of L. declaration that says:

"In the early struggles of our own beloved country to establish justice, freedom, liberty, self-government, free press, free speech, and freedom of worship, to more effectively show the world at large that interference with any of these inalienable rights would not be tolerated nor would we brook outside interference even in South America, and to accentuate and emphasize this great principle the Monroe Doctrine found life and substance."

Of course, millions of workers from Mexico across the equator to the southernmost tips of Chile and the Argentine will cry out at this hypocrisy, but the A. F. of L.

officials frankly and openly tell why they helped organize the Pan-American Federation of Labor. It was to advance their own love of the imperialist Monroe Doctrine, "In order that the A. F. of L. might effectively extend its useful experience and knowledge gained in our trade union movement it assisted and encouraged the formation of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, with which we are now affiliated and in which we are taking a leading part.

Officialdom Makes Confession.

Here is an open confession that the Pan-American Federation of Labor was organized as a weapon in the hands of the A. F. of L. officialdom over the workers of this western world, and not as a medium for all Pan-American labor to develop its power jointly and in harmony with the most advanced labor principles. Thus, in spite of its so-called "Hands Off" policy towards the Mexican workers, in their present struggles, we find this additional confession:

"There are many convincing evidences of the success which has attended the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to influence the working people of Mexico and of the Latin-American republics in favor of A. F. of L. principles and trade union philosophy and trade union doctrines."

Labor Imperialists Are Uneasy.

Thus the organized labor reflection (the official expressions of the American Federation of Labor) of the world's dominant imperialism (the United States government) betrays uneasiness at the rise of labor's militancy in other lands.

This was more apparent at Detroit than at any previous gathering of the A. F. of L.

Detroit is blatantly "open shop." Its ruling class kaisers yell the "American plan" from the tallest sky scrapers. Terrific snorting from the capitalist beast greeted the coming of the A. F. of L. convention. The moloch of industry recognized what it believed a foe. The kept press began beating the tom toms of war. The A. F. of L. delegates were brazenly told that they must not attempt the unionization of even a single worker during their stay in "The Wonder City". The Young Men's Christian Association was forced to withdraw its invitation to President Green to address the white collar slaves of this nest of scabbery. The invitation was obediently and quickly withdrawn. Henry Ford and other auto barons, with S. S. Kresge, five-and-ten cent store multi-millionaire, who pays his help \$7.50 per week, had pledged millions of dollars to the Y. M. C. A. building fund.

"Y" Saves Its Building Program.

It was hinted that the building program might be seriously interfered with if Green spoke. The churches were called on to close their doors against these heretics. Nowhere over the city could one find the usual "Welcome A. F. of L." banners. Not even the usual posters were to be seen on the business-hustling taxicabs. Instead it was "Welcome A. F. A." this second set of letters standing for American Foundrymen's Association, that was holding its conference simultaneously in the city, warmed by the hospitality of the "open shop-

pers," the "A. F. A." being one of their pet organizations.

This attack developed no spirit of militancy, even of the palest milk-and-water brand, on the part of the labor officialdom. They felt themselves much aggrieved that they should be treated thus shabbily.

To be sure, through an oversight, the hail was not decorated at first with the imperialist flag of Wall Street, but the convention got started with the strains of "The Star Spangled Banner." The flags came in later.

In his opening address, President Green took occasion to notify the Detroit "open shoppers" that the convention delegates were not dangerous men. He said:

"Perhaps they (the American planners) still entertain the idea that the representatives of labor are vicious backwoodsmen who know little about cultured life, but as a refutation of that impression, I invite them here; I invite them to come among us during the deliberations of this convention, sit with us, look and listen, and when they depart I will leave it to their judgment and to their conscience as to whether or not the representative men and women of labor assembled here in this city do not compare favorably with any other group in society."

President Green did not outline the basis of comparison, whether it was a question of girth measurements, of professions of loyalty to American capitalist institutions, or in extremes to be pursued in attacking the Communists. The only additional light shed on this question came when Green said, "But, my friends, I am sure that much of this apprehension expressed is due to a lack of understanding of the motives, the principles and the policies of our great American labor movement."

During the days that followed, to be sure, there was to be no mistaking just what those policies were. The bitter rejection of any approach toward the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union found its brother in the welcoming of the closest possible collaboration with the American capitalists in the conduct of privately owned industry. Even the Detroit "open shoppers" were finally converted with the result that the "American Plan" press unanimously acclaimed the patriotism, far-sightedness and great moral courage of these so-called "leaders" of the American working class. It was even noised about that Green might come back and address the "Y" crowd at some time apart from convention periods.

Citizens' Military Training Camps.

Great applause came from the enemy ranks when the heavy guns of denunciation were turned against Soviet Rule. This rose to thunderous approval when resolutions were adopted approving in superlative terms of the militarist nests known as the Citizens' Military Training Camps. The executive council of the A. F. of L., headed by Green, had just been feted at the Plattsburgh Camp, in New York state, and special attentions showered upon them by the United States government. They were under the careful guidance of "Major" Peter Brady, the head of the Federation Bank, of New York City, but in addition were subject to some excellent super-propagandizing by government agents. They came out praising the stink of the capitalists' war preparations, especially perfumed for their benefit. It might be

added here that after the convention President Green helped drive "the first rivet" in the building of another of Uncle Shylock's warships. Having thus petted capitalism's dogs of war, Green and his associates became more acceptable to the capitalists.

Left Wing Not Represented.

There were no Communist delegates at this A. F. of L. convention. Not one! Not even a left winger. Delegate Max Hayes, of the Typographical Union, was farthest to the left of any delegate, but he furnished a very "timid opposition" indeed. Hayes was on the floor repeatedly speaking for the labor party, the trade union delegation to the Soviet Union, Soviet recognition, the Passaic strikers and he received the full brunt of the blame for having brought Dr. Eddy into the convention. But when it came to voting, Hayes was usually trailing with the pack enabling President Green to slam his gavel joyfully on the chairman's table and declare the propositions carried "unanimously."

The socialists, like Gompers, were a memory. Not one delegate spoke as a socialist although there were many socialist party members in the convention, like Abraham I. Shiplacoff, of New York City; William Brandt, of St. Louis, not to mention members of the needle trades delegations, and the hosts of ex-socialists and ex-farmer-laborites. They all sat mum before the throne of reaction.

But in spite of the absence of a left wing, to fight for a militant program, several left wing activities pushed their way into the gathering. The two most important of these were the trade union delegation and the opposition ticket that is fighting the John L. Lewis regime in the miners' union.

Here were two living, powerful challenges to the "established order" in the A. F. of L. The officialdom refused to send a delegation to the First Workers' Republic. But it was confronted with open mutiny in its own ranks, in that some of its most prominent international officers were planning to make the trip on their own initiative. The task of the reigning family, therefore, consisted in browbeating and terrorizing these recalcitrant elements.

Tim Healy, president of the Stationary Firemen, was singled out for special attack, following a stirring speech that he made in defense of the Soviet Union. It was Green, himself, that tried to drag Healy into line, and the questions and answers that flew back and forth between them, across the convention floor, are worth repeating here. Healy had just finished his speech declaring, "I know that our government will recognize Russia within a very few years. That, to my mind, is as sure as that the sun will rise tomorrow morning." The stenographic report then contains the following:

"President Green: I would like to ask Delegate Healy a question.

"Delegate Healy: Certainly.

"President Green: I understand from your remarks that you are not advocating the adoption of the resolution (for the recognition of the Soviet Union), but rather pleading for the creation of a mission to visit Russia.

"Delegate Healy: You are right, Mr. President.

"President Green: I presume you mean a delegation to be created by this convention?"

"Delegate Healy: By the American Federation of Labor."

"President Green: And that would be regarded as an American Federation of Labor commission?"

"Delegate Healy: Of course, it would."

"President Green: Well, unless this convention creates a commission you, as a delegate in this convention, would not go on any other commission?"

"Delegate Healy: You are seeking information, Mr. President. I will answer that by saying that as a citizen, as a member of this Federation, I feel myself free to go where I like, not to represent this federation. I have nobody to tell me where I shall go, what church I shall go to, where I shall go or stay. I think that is my prerogative and I claim that right."

"President Green: That is granted, but there is a difference in going as an individual and going on a commission that would be classified as an alleged labor commission. I mean you wouldn't accept appointment on an alleged labor commission unless it was authorized by this convention."

"Delegate Healy: So long as it would not go under the guise of representation of the American Federation of Labor."

"President Green: Then a direct answer 'yes' or 'no' would satisfy the delegates best. It would me."

"Delegate Healy: We will come to that later on, Mr. President," and President Green gave it up as a bad job.

Crisis is Passed Successfully.

Tim Healy stood by his guns. His flooring of President Green may well be considered a crucial moment in the sending of the American labor mission to Russia. The proposition was defeated in the convention. But this will not stop individual labor officials from joining a mission of their own.

It was immediately following this altercation that Vice-President "Jimmie" Wilson, of the Pattern Makers' Union, went into action for his friend, John L. Lewis of the miners' union, declaring that the "Recognition of Russia is of minor importance to us," he forgot all about the resolution before the convention and launched into an attack on the opposition to Lewis among the coal miners. Wilson developed a sorry looking muddle by trying to show a conspiracy between the Trade Union Educational League, the Federated Press and Albert F. Coyle, editor of the Locomotive Engineers' Journal. He capped it all by reading extracts from an alleged letter supposed to have been written by Coyle to Powers Hapgood, a Pennsylvania coal miner. Thus the Lewis regime adds rifling the mails to its other crimes. It was announced later that the letter was a decoy sent out to trap the Lewis crowd and expose the methods it uses against its opponents. It did.

Lewis Corroborating Witness.

John L. Lewis himself, growing more pompous every year, was next recognized by President Green and acted as a sort of corroborating witness for "Jimmie" Wilson. Lewis didn't add much except to vehemently charge that

Communists were responsible for the troubles of the Nova Scotia coal miners when in reality it was Lewis who used the full weight of the organization to crush the Nova Scotia coal miners' union rather than permit its members to adopt a militant program in their struggle with the British Empire Steel & Coal Co. Green himself closed the discussion and, in his best red-baiting style, called for "such a decisive vote that there will be no doubt in the minds of the American people and the people thruout the world where the American Federation of Labor stands." The vote was unanimous. Although the original resolution, on which the committee had reported, merely called for recognition of the Union of Soviet Republics, not a single delegate would stand to his feet and declare for this proposition, not even Tim Healy or Max Hayes. This was really the low spot in the convention. No effort was made to debate the issues. The speakers were not well enough acquainted with the subject to debate the issue. Thus, for instance, "Jimmie" Wilson all along spoke of the Workers' Education Bureau, a part of the educational activities of the A. F. of L., when he meant the Trade Union Educational League, the organization of the left wing that the officialdom fears and fights. Vice-President Matthew Woll had to insert a special correction on this point in the minutes in order to keep the record straight.

Most of the other actions of the convention, stated in long committee reports, consisted almost exclusively of just words. The much heralded organization drive among the auto workers was bandied about between the metal trades department gathering and the A. F. of L. convention. The problem finally landed in the lap of the executive council. There it will be compelled to nestle in silence.

Shorter Hours.

The convention met just as Henry Ford announced that the five-day week would go into effect in his plants. It came on the heels of the strike of the New York Furriers in which labor in this industry, thru its own economic might, won the five-day week. Yet the best the convention could do was to go on record for the progressive shortening of the work-week. This in spite of the fact that one of the printers' delegates had urged the four-day week to give time for recuperation from the heavy exactions on human energy by modern industry. Little was said of the "new wage theory" enunciated a year ago. When he did re-echo the proposition, Green said, "American labor suggests that as the productivity of the individual worker is increased and as his efficiency is raised higher and higher throughout the operation of these economic forces, his wages, first of all, must increase in proportion with his productivity and his efficiency." But whenever the actual problem was faced, the delegates had to admit that production per worker was increasing at an astonishing rate without wage increases, while every day saw some huge corporation issuing its statement of huge profits. The A. F. of L. officialdom talks about this problem but dodges facing it through the organization of powerful, militant unions.

In fact, in reply to numerous resolutions demanding the organization of the unorganized, the convention was presented with another foul-smelling bouquet of plati-

tudes. Just as the message from the Soviet Union had to come on the lips of a Y. M. C. A. secretary, Eddy, so the question of organizing the unorganized came into the convention in the speech by the Jewish Rabbi, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, who has interested himself in the strike of the Passaic textile workers. Here are his words:

"Remember this: Organize the textile industry of America, basic and fundamental to the life of America. Give your help to the Passaic strikers; organize the textile industry of America, and may you always bear yourselves with the courage and the dignity . . . with which the strikers of Passaic have borne themselves."

But the officials of the United Textile Workers' Union already feel uneasy under the energetic push of the militant Passaic strikers. Even the plea of the Jewish rabbi falls on deaf ears. In fact, the A. F. of L. officialdom writhed uneasily under the pressure of "Passaic." In spite of every effort to push aside this huge, aggressive struggle in the textile industry, "Passaic" was there, just the same, demanding assistance. Sarah Conboy, secretary of the United Textile Workers' Union, much against her bourgeois instincts, was forced to make up a collection among the delegates, which netted more than a thousand dollars. The international officials of the great unions were compelled to meet and pledge \$25,000 for immediate relief. The convention could not escape "Passaic!"

When the question of company unions came before the convention it was again a question of "Words! words! words!" Yet it was the word "Surrender" and not "Fight" that was written into the convention record in deciding this question. It offers class collaboration to the employers instead of meeting them in conflict in the class struggle. Here are the words of the resolution:

"To accomplish the substitution of union-management co-operation for company unions and to substitute voluntary trade unions for employer-controlled unions will be a service not only to American workers but to American industry in all its branches and to the American public in general."

This was the A. F. of L. convention of leaders who prided themselves on being the new type of labor official—the banker, insurance man, and real estate expert type that glories in its acceptance by the ruling capitalist class, and turns its back upon the agitator-organizer type that built the foundation and began the rearing of the super-structure of the American trade union movement. It is the task of the left wing to combat and eliminate this labor leadership through winning the great masses who toil for the world-wide struggle against the capitalist oppressors of the working class.

Two flags decorated the A. F. of L. convention hall at Detroit: the stars and stripes of Wall Street and the Union Jack of British Imperialism. Even the women of the British fraternal delegates were surprised. They confessed the Union Jack would not be tolerated in the British Trade Union Congress, while that gathering was in the habit of adjourning with the singing of "The Red Flag."

Last year, in addition to the American Stars and

Stripes and the British Union Jack, there was the flag of the German Hindenberg republic. But nowhere the flag of the Mexican republic. There is some significance in this.

It was James W. Fitzpatrick, the Catholic, a delegate from Waterbury, Conn., who denounced the Mexican labor movement as "Red from the top of its head to the soles of its feet." He continued, "We know it, we have always known it, and it is time that we let the peoples of Mexico know that we know." Later on Fitzpatrick referred to what he called "the foul union of Calles and the C. R. O. M., arguing that the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (C. R. O. M.) dictates the policies of the Mexican government headed at the present time by President Plutarco Calles.

No delegate arose to reply to Fitzpatrick's attack against Mexican labor. Fitzpatrick continued:

"The first move of the Communist philosophy is to destroy any sense of spiritual responsibility in the minds of those whom it wishes to enslave. That is what happened in Russia, that is what is happening in Mexico. Once the great spiritual obstacle (the landgrabbing Catholic church that submerged the peasantry in ignorance and poverty—J. L. E.) is removed from the path of the Calles regime and every iniquity for which it stands, there is nothing that is going to stop Mexico from being another Russia."

Fitzpatrick's conclusion was that, "Until this federation clears its skirts of the slime which has attached to it thru the deception practiced on the executive council by the paid propagandists of Bolshevist Mexico, we had better amend our boast that we stand for free speech, freedom of conscience, freedom of the press and freedom of assemblage." Yet in this convention the gag had been so effectively applied to the three fraternal delegates from Mexican labor, that they did not even utter one word of defense against that vicious and vitriolic broadside. Some of the official family, Woll, Tobin and Harding, all Catholics, protested there was no slime on the skirts of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor. That was all.

Altho the A. F. of L. officialdom refused to send a delegation to the Union of Soviet Republics, to acquaint the American labor movement with conditions there because it already has plenty of information, nevertheless, it consented, as a sop to the Catholics, to send a delegation to Mexico to look into the alliance between the C. R. O. M. and the Calles government. When and how this investigation will be carried on has not been revealed at this writing.

President Green adjourned this convention glorying in the declaration that, "It is significant that in this convention no point of order was raised by any delegate or upon any question and no roll call was demanded by the convention except the one just taken upon the convention city."

In other words, Green confessed that the gathering was paralyzed insofar as new ideas, energy and debate over pressing problems were concerned. Gompers in his grave is not more inert. Next year the convention goes to Los Angeles, neighbor city of Hollywood. What then?

Lessons From Passiac

By Albert Weisbord

I.

THE Passaic strike has been an important experience for the whole working class. The spotlight of publicity that was generated by the strike has thoroughly exposed the terrible working and living conditions which the industrialists, in spite of their almost fabulous profits, have forced upon the workers in the basic industries of our country. There have also come into full light the huge forces that the working class has to face when it does rebel against those conditions. Many of those who, sitting comfortably in their rockers, gasped as to what Passaic stood for, failed to realize that Passaic is a typical industrial city in America, that Passaic is the kind of city which forms the very foundation of economic life in this country.

The workingclass knows only too well that the concentrated industrial and political power of the mill owners in Passaic, the intense exploitation, the misery and suffering of the workers is repeated everywhere.

And the working class finding such conditions everywhere also realizes that the needs of the workers based on such conditions which have given rise to such a splendid stubborn struggle in Passaic will give rise to other similar and larger struggles elsewhere. The Passaic strike is a symbol not only of the suffering but of the determination of the workers in general, of the twenty-eight million unorganized unskilled workers in this country, of the one million workers in the textile industry especially.

The Passaic strike, now ten months in duration, has shown that the will to organize and to fight still burns fiercely, in spite of betrayal and abandonment by bureaucratic labor officials, in spite of the pessimism and defeatism insidiously injected by those officials into the ranks of the workers.

The time has come, now more than ever before, to organize the unorganized into powerful unions embracing all the workers of a given industry. During the last decade or so forces have entered into American life which especially favor the organization of the unorganized and the creation of the united front of labor in its daily struggles against the united front of the imperialist-capitalists.

Let us examine these new forces for a moment and see their effects. In the first place we find, due to the stoppage of immigration during the war and its restriction afterwards, that the workers have had an opportunity to settle down and become a more homogeneous united mass. The children brought over here from abroad by these foreign-born workers have been taught in American schools. They all speak and write English. They have American tastes and standards. They are now working in the mills. They have become living

links that bind all the workers closer together into a solid mass.

It is no accident that in Passaic the young workers took an active leading role. It is no accident that the racial and religious prejudices which the bosses tried to disseminate among the workers absolutely failed to take root. It is significant that the only language spoken during a large part of the strike was English.

Further, the homogeneity of the workingclass in America was helped by the forces generated by the World War and its aftermath. The workers who came back from the trenches, came back a disillusioned, disciplined, hardened, aggressive lot, who had faced bullets in fighting Kaiserism abroad and were no longer afraid of clubs in fighting Kaiserism here.

In Passaic, for example, it was but natural that when the police began their clubbing that the returned soldiers, now textile strikers, should don their old army uniforms and put on their steel trench helmets. Against the tear bombs of the bosses, how natural the gas masks of the workers.

The war and the after-period also produced forces that tended to fuse all crafts into a common standardized denominator, simple labor, and to level the ranks of skilled and unskilled into one class. During the war the price of unskilled labor rose faster than the wages which skilled workers were receiving. After the war with the ever new machinery introduced, standardizing products and reducing skill, with speeding-up the order of the day, with ultra-powerful employers imposing wage cuts and worsened conditions, many skilled workers found themselves with their privileges and security gone, thrown into the ranks of the unskilled.

Such conditions make for industrial unionism, and spell doom to the old craft unions. In Passaic we see spinners and loom-fixers fighting side by side with unskilled side tenders and dyers and actually leading the way, in some respects, for common action.

The Proletarian Revolution in the Soviet Union is another new force making the working class riper for action. The reverberations of the revolution have made themselves felt among the ranks of the workers, especially the unskilled, foreign-born workers, in every industry in this country. There is a confidence, a steadiness among the workers, a deep feeling of power that could come only from seeing and feeling that part of their class had seized the reins of power over one-sixth of the globe and was leading the world towards emancipation.

In spite of these favorable conditions, however, the working class, under the leadership of the reactionary bureaucratic labor officialdom found itself instead of fighting, fawning, instead of becoming organized, becoming disorganized. The employers were allowed to take



Men, Women and Children Are Trampled Down in Passaic.

the offensive again and again. Unions smashed in 1919, "hunger-cure" unemployment in 1920-1921, wage cuts in 1922, these were the signs of the times. With the spirited resistance of the workers in 1922 the employers were forced back in some cases. More clever devices were tried. Collaboration with the trade union officials through "B. & O." plans, new "efficiency" systems, Company Unions, a whole series of tricks was developed to destroy the resistance of the workers. Having thus prepared the way, the bosses launched their next offensive in 1924.

This time the campaign was conducted far more skilfully than in 1922. Starting first in the textile industry, particularly in the cotton mills of New England, the bosses began to cut wages 10 per cent. Not all the workers of a mill had wages cut at the same time, but

cautiously mill by mill, department by department, city by city, the drive proceeded. By the spring of 1924, all of the workers in the cotton mills had had their pay reduced. The same thing started in the woolen and silk mills while a drive to speed up the workers began in the cotton mills. In some places as much as one-third of the working force was permanently displaced, two workers doing what three used to do before. By the end of 1925, this second drive had been successfully accomplished in the textile mills of New England and the campaign moved south to New Jersey and the middle Atlantic States.

Not satisfied with this, the mill owners went further. They started to lengthen the hour-week. A tremendous lobby killed the bill put forth in Albany, New York establishing a forty-eight hour week for women. In Boston



On the Picket Line in Passaic

a great agitation has started for the repeal of the forty-eight hour law there. The drive to push down the standards of the workers was now in full swing.

But the situation had become intolerable. If the A. F. of L. officials would not act, there would spring forth leaders from the ranks of the workers themselves who would give battle to their masters. The most militant of these workers, the Communists, had already analyzed the situation correctly. Basing itself on the needs of the workers, the Workers (Communist) Party had incessantly raised the slogan "Organize the Unorganized," and the unity of labor in its struggle against the employers.

It was therefore, quite natural that when in Passaic the textile mill owners cut wages of workers already on the starvation line, that it would be the workers in the Workers (Communist) Party that should lead the movement of resistance and actually demonstrate the Workers (Communist) Party could carry out in battle those slogans it had raised that best expressed the needs of the workers.

II.

The conduct of the Passaic strike itself has been an important addition to the collective experience of the working class. The strike leadership, because it was Communist, having no interests separate from those of the workers, had two major principles which it strictly adhered to during the strike: one was to unify and connect all sections of workers together, to have them move in disciplined solid formation; and two, to awaken into

consciousness all strata of the workers, to train the workers to know their enemies and how to overcome them.

During the strike it became again increasingly clear how powerful the mill owners were. The workers began to see that not only the mills but the government belonged to the owners. The brutal and unprovoked police clubbings; the stabbing and shooting down of strikers; the invasion of hundreds of armed deputies into the strike area; the illegal arrests and seizures, the torturing of prisoners, the irregular trials, the excessively high bail and outrageously heavy fines and sentences imposed; the evictions and injunctions; the closing down of meeting places for the workers and the abolition of civil liberty in the strike area; the strike-breaking efforts of the local state and national governmental officials; all these things proved so clearly to the workers that the whole power of the state was ranged against them to crush them. The role of the government as strike-breaker, the role of the state as an instrument of force employed by the bosses who were beyond the law, to keep the workers in subjection became thoroughly exposed.

All sections of the workers were awakened. Through mass meetings, language meetings, concerts, leaflets, strike paper, district meetings, songs, games, and through the actual experiences of the struggle many of the illusions and prejudices in the minds of the workers before the strike disappeared. Special meetings were called for the women, their special problems discussed and special tasks assigned to them. It is the women who are the most enslaved. It is the women who have the most to gain through organization and struggle. These women became the most active and militant strikers, the best enthusiasts of all.

The same good job was done with the several hundred Negroes that came out. They proved to be fine strikers and unionists.

Nor were the young workers forgotten. The American Federation of Labor officials generally sneer at the youth. The young workers are not even taken into the unions at all, or are grossly discriminated against. But it is the youth who are starved most in the capitalist system. A real leadership would see that the energy and ability to learn on the part of the young workers make them the very best union material. In Passaic every attention was given the youth. The union took the position that with the young workers won over, a union would have to be formed some time in Passaic.

Even the children were mobilized for the struggle. The children were formed into special clubs and given special attention. In many ways the children were invaluable. They would ferret out where scabs lived and picket their homes. And many a scab quit work because his child came home with a black eye after a fight in school. The class struggle entered the schools. The children demanded to know why the schools did not open up free lunch rooms for the strikers' children. At every opportunity the lies spread in the schools about the strike and the union were fought against and the truth told by the children of the strikers.

It was this intense inner solidarity and unity that enabled the strikers to smash the company union

schemes of the mill owners and day after day kept up their morale. This inner unity showed itself in the mass demonstrations, the mass marches, the mass picketing that took place in Passaic. It showed itself in the self-obedience that the strikers gave to their elected delegates. It showed itself in the stubbornness of the battle.

Not only inner unity was developed by the Communist leadership, but outer unity also. Again and again efforts were made by the strikers to broaden the struggle and to unite with ever larger and larger masses. The Passaic strike has demonstrated that far from being disruptors of unions the Communists can build unions and are the only ones that fight for the unity of labor.

First, the strike leadership addressed Mr. Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, asking for support in the strike and stating that the Passaic strikers earnestly desired unity in the textile industry and would do all in their power to join the A. F. of L.

Mr. Green evaded this letter. In the meantime the Strike Committee had made an offer to the Associated Silk Workers' Union in Paterson to join hands in an organization drive among the dye workers of Paterson. This too was put off. Again efforts were made to get the Federated Textile Unions, a group of five unions, loosely banded together, to begin a drive to organize the unorganized and fight wage cuts. But all to no avail.

While these negotiations were going on the whole labor world was witnessing the scene where 16,000 textile workers, battling against tremendous odds and successfully holding their own under Communist leadership, were being rebuffed by the officials of that very organization that should have organized them long ago and at that very date should have been fighting their battles. Everyone realized that the fight of the Passaic strikers was the fight of all labor. Everyone realized that the Passaic strike had meant the definite checking of wage cuts and a body blow to company unionism.



15,000 Passaic Strikers Give Weisbord Vote of Confidence.

More and more, the honest trade unionists began to question why it was that the American Federation of Labor would not take in the Passaic textile workers. It seemed that only the Communists could lead the workers in struggle.

It was when the American Federation of Labor officialdom went further and objectively joined forces with the bitterest enemies of labor in attacking the strikers, that these questions became challenges to the reactionary officialdom. Such organs as the Seattle Union Record and the Labor Age, actually took up arms against the American Federation of Labor reactionary machine. Throughout the country the Passaic Relief Conferences made up of trade unionists—another achievement for the unity of labor—began a vigorous attack against the labor bureaucracy.

The situation had become a scandal. Even liberals and conservatives took a hand to point out that Mr. Green could not afford to be put in the position where he stood against taking workers into the American Federation of Labor. Under this growing pressure, the American Federation of Labor officials had to yield. They were compelled to accept the strikers.

The Passaic strike has exposed the reactionary officials. It has shown that not the Communists but the Greens and his crew stand against giving battle to the

bosses. The Workers (Communist) Party has shown that only the Communists stand for the organization of the unorganized, for amalgamation, for unity. Even when the American Federation of Labor officials made their strike-breaking condition, namely that before they would take over the strike, Weisbord and the other Communist leaders had to go, the Communist Party showed that it had no narrow selfish interests to serve, that it had no interests separate and apart from those of the workers and having forced the federation officials to fight and having built up a strong union, could withdraw the strike leader.

The Workers (Communist) Party can say to the Greens and others: "You have expelled Communists before. You expel Weisbord now. You try in all your power to split the unions. But we shall build the unions in spite of you. You may expel one, you may expel two, but you cannot expel the Communist Party. In Passaic we have built so well, you cannot destroy the union or betray the strike. Throughout the country these expulsions will bring your doom and show more than ever to the workers, that only the Communists can lead them."

It is now up to the Federation officials in Passaic. If they want to, they can settle the strike in a satisfactory manner. Let us see to it that they do.

The Situation of the Rubber Workers

By I. Amter

FIVE concerns control the market of Akron: Goodyear, Goodrich, Firestone, Miller and Seiberling. Outside of these five, there are a few other large establishments in other parts of the country, especially the United States Rubber Company. The profits of the five companies in 1925 amounted to nearly \$54,000,000. Goodyear "earned" \$21,000,000, Goodrich \$1,245,000. The remaining six companies earned a few millions together making a total for Akron of about \$56,000,000 (U. S. Rubber "earned" \$17,000,000). The wages of the Akron rubber workers in 1925 amounted to \$66,460,705. In other words, for each dollar that the workers earned by their hard, exhaustive, killing work, they had to earn 88 cents for the rubber manufacturers.

Who are the workers in the rubber tire industry of Akron? About 80% of them are American, 20% foreign-born. There is a section of the workers who have been "in service" for five, ten, twenty or even twenty-five years. For their "loyal" service, they are presented with "service pins," to distinguish them from the common rabble that travels in and out of the rubber shops, floaters and men from all over the country attracted to Akron by the abundance of work to be found.

In recent years, the rubber personnel has changed. The average number of workers is 43,391, but the number fluctuates. In season there are several thousand more in the shops, in slack periods, the number drops. These

43,391 workers include about 5,000 women, 3,000 Negroes, and several thousand young workers. Women and young workers can easily do the work in the rubber shops, for the process has been very much simplified, and is more laborious than heavy. The heavier work is left to the men—and even to young workers. For a man or woman must be physically strong to obtain work in the rubber shops. What is to become of the workers who have given their best to the industry and are no longer employable, has not been considered—nor do the rubber companies concern themselves very much with this problem. The "service pin" is the poor wretch's reward and he is flung out into the world—on to the market of decrepits that fill the poor houses or depend on their sons, daughters or relations.

In some of the rubber shops, the applicants are obliged to strip naked, every part of their body being examined minutely. They must weigh so much and must be strong in every part, otherwise they will obtain no employment in the rubber shops of Akron. If this principle is to be applied in industry all over the country, there is no saying what is to become of underweights, deformed workers, and men and women exhausted within a few years by the toil of the mills!

What is to become of the men, women and young workers who suffer injury in the industry and may for a few years live on the compensation they receive thru

the workmen's compensation law? The company hospitals are witness to the danger of the work—the danger due to the speed-up that the workers have to submit to, so that they become careless despite all "Safety First" signs and posters that decorate the walls of the rubber shops. For a worker must live—and if earnings threaten to decline, there is nothing left for the worker to do but to work at top speed, trusting to good luck—till one day he is killed or injured and his usefulness to the rubber companies is either impaired or completely destroyed.

The rubber shops work on a three-shift basis—but every rubber worker detests the third shift—from 11 p. m. to 7 a. m. Work in some of the departments is very dangerous to the health, and when there is added to it the work at night, a worker feels that he has been condemned for an offense. But work must be done, for money must be earned, hence many workers must submit to the process. Despite the three-shift plan, many men have to work overtime and double shift, receiving as a rule only the base rate (of which we shall speak later).

There is no "Sunday day of rest" in the rubber shops. Akron is a Ku Klux town, whose members boast of their saintliness, but who also do not hesitate to admit that they are a military organization, that each member bears a rifle—frequently under the "nightshirt" in which he parades about. They hold reviews and are prepared at all times—according to the statement of one of the local leaders "under each robe there is a soldier." Nevertheless, the workers have little choice as to whether they will work on Sunday or not. Only the militants have courage enough to tell the foreman or supervisor that they will not work. The penalty frequently is discharge.

Of late, in fact, one of the rubber companies has sent the men home on Saturday and ordered them to work on Sunday. In various departments of the other shops, men are worked seven days a week. The work is so devastating that the men want the day off, not in order to go to church and "observe the lord's sabbath," but in order to recuperate enough strength to go on with the crushing toil on Monday.

The wages in the rubber shops are, on the average, steadily on the decline. There are some workers who earn \$40 to \$50 a week. There are others—women, young workers and Negroes—who earn far less. Some women earn \$2.70 to \$3.50 a day at laborious work. There is no hope of their pay increasing, for the base rate is such that when a certain level is reached by enforcement of the speed-up, the rate is lowered. The same wage can be equalled only by the worker producing more.

The average wage of the worker is \$5.50—and altho this sum does not seem low in comparison with the wage earned by textile workers, railroad section hands, and unskilled or semiskilled workers generally, on the railroads, unorganized miners, etc., when one considers the amount of energy that the worker has to put into his work, and the nerve-racking process that he has to labor under—the rubber worker may be considered one of the most exploited in American industry.

Pay is based on the day rate and the base scale. For

miscellaneous work, the worker gets the day rate, which amounts to 25 cents for women and 45 cents for men. Production is on the base rate. The worker gets a certain amount for a given amount of production. This is exactly measured and timed, and all workers are obliged to meet the demands of production. If in the estimation of the rubber manufacturers or their efficiency personnel, the worker falls too far behind, he is discharged. The worker who prizes his job does not allow his job to slip out of his hands, for he knows that if he does not meet requirements in one shop, he will not be able to hold a job in another. Hence after the experiment has been tried on a fast man—one who is strong, steady and can produce well—the base rate is lowered and all workers have to speed up. The purpose is first not to allow the workers to earn more than the established maximum, and by constantly lowering the rate to compel him to produce on a lowering scale.

Cuts in the base rate have taken place with great rapidity in the past year. At the present time, one of the largest companies is considering reducing the scale about 30 per cent. The men will be driven to work faster if they wish to earn a decent wage.

Diminishing scales being based on speed-up, the rubber workers are the victims of one of the most vicious speed-up systems in the country. Stop watches are the commonest instruments to be found in all parts of the shops. After the efficiency man has figured out what can be done in a unit of time—a minute—and how much must be allowed for "personal wants"—blowing one's nose, going to the toilet, eating lunch, getting a drink, etc.—a given amount of work must be done. This is determined in the following manner:

A day's work—8 hours—is divided into 480 units (480 minutes). Five per cent is deducted for "personal wants." Through experiments, it is found that a man can do a certain amount of work, the motions being scientifically established. It is tried out on a fast worker—and in order to compel him to do an adequate amount of work—with the hope of earning more, the speed-up is applied. All other workers have to meet the demand or they are discharged or shifted to a lower-grade job. The unit system, they call it—and the men will soon feel the curse of it.

Bedaux, the Taylor efficiency expert of the rubber industry, is the slave-driver of the rubber workers. To the workers, the limit has been reached, but the rubber manufacturers who are looking for every means of increasing production at a lower cost—regardless of the consequences to the employees—are raising the speed-up to a higher notch.

What are some of the forms of mistreatment that the workers rebel against?

These are best illustrated by typical cases. Women working in one of the shops dare not miss flaps on the tires by 1-8 inch, or they may be sent home for three days. If it occurs more than once, they may be laid off for a week. In the lampblack department, where the lampblack is applied to the tires to color them, the conditions are so fearful that men are not able to work there very long. They go in clean in the morning, but after the eight hours of work, they are as black as coal. The lampblack penetrates their lungs and cuts into

them. Women are allowed ten minutes' leave twice a day.

To go to the lavatory at Goodyear's, certain girls have either to take the elevator or run up three flights of stairs. A record of every woman is kept as to her menses, so that if a woman asks permission to leave more than twice she is confronted with her chart, which might show that she has no "reason" to ask such permission. Such slavery could exist only in the "civilized" United States.

Workers of one shift are not allowed to stand near the workers of the preceding shift. They must be ready to go to work immediately after the first shift finishes. The company, however, tries to keep the men apart, so that they may not exchange experiences and ideas. Men of the same shift have to go to lunch at different hours—the company wishing to preserve the "morale" of the workers. Thirty minutes is the maximum for lunch—the foremen trying to reduce it at all times.

"Flying squads," "efficiency departments," etc. are in every shop. These are composed of men trained to take the place of a worker in any emergency. They are trained for four hours every day, being given a somewhat higher scale and when working are not required to produce so much. Their function is spying—watching the men, reporting to the office whatever they say or do, and thus leading to the elimination of dissatisfied or rebellious workers.

At the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, there is a "university," the "head-fixing industry," as the workers call it. Workers are induced to study at night—to "improve themselves." Lectures on patriotic subjects, "loyalty," etc., are delivered, to inspire the workers with confidence in the company. News boards all over the shops bear such slogans as "A laborer is a man who earns a dollar. A capitalist is a man who saves a dollar. It is as impossible to separate the one from the other as to separate oxygen from air." The purpose is clear: to ingrain "diligence," "thrift" and "loyalty" into the minds of the workers and make them servile slaves. Company papers, containing nothing instructive—because they dare not deal with facts—but filled with persiflage, pictures of employees and their families, are the contribution of the company to the mental development of their employees.

Every company has its sports—tennis, ball teams of every character—enhancing the fame and generosity of the companies. Some of the companies endeavor to induce these employees to purchase stock in the company. When obtaining a job at the Firestone Company, the applicant is compelled to buy stock. Refusal to do so means no employment. Firestone and Goodyear have large tracts of land on which they have erected homes, which they enable their employees to purchase on the installment plan. The purpose is to bind the worker for 10 or 15 years, and keep him meek. House furnishings, Victrolas and motor cars go along with the outfit, with the result that the worker is bound over on good behavior to the company and its lieutenants, the installment houses, for the whole term of his employment.

When the Community Fund is collected, the rubber manufacturers have a terroristic method of obtaining "voluntary" contributions from the workers. They call

the weakest worker into the office and tell him that he must contribute, say \$8, as at Miller's. Knowing that his job depends on making the donation, he does so. This is put on a card, and the card put on the desk. One after another of the weaklings is admitted to the office, the number of cards facing the workers gradually increasing. The "tougher" fellows are introduced last, when the following conversation may be heard: "This is an \$8 concern. If you want to donate only \$6, you will be given a \$6 job—which means a lower scale job." If the worker refuses to contribute at all, he is told that the company adheres to the Community Fund and that his services therefore are no longer required.

"Voluntary contribution"—because the company has determined that a certain amount must be raised by the employees, which is then heralded throughout the community as the "Miller contribution," "the Goodyear contribution," etc., to the glory of the rubber manufacturers, who are praised as great philanthropists, and their employees, as "loyal."

Goodyear has an "industrial assembly." This is supposed to be "workers' democracy and share in control." It is the barest deceit. The "industrial assembly" consists of two chambers—the senate and assembly. The factory is divided into districts, wards and precincts, and primaries are held. The company electioneers for "its" candidates, even to the extent of procuring signatures on the petitions. The assembly elected, it might be presumed that it has some power or authority. This is not true. The assembly may discuss and decide about sports, social affairs, but dare not go beyond the discussion stage on questions pertaining to the conditions in the shops, wages, hours, etc.

Not very long ago, the question of "shift allocation," as it is called, was discussed. The men were overwhelmingly in favor of the service system—men who worked longer for the company being given preference. The company is not interested in the years of service, but in whether the worker can produce or not. Therefore, the company had decided on the merit system. Just before putting the matter to a vote, the general manager rose and stated that the company had decided to adopt the merit system, regardless of the vote taken.

The unanimous decision of the assembly for an increase in wages met with the opposition of the general manager; the matter was referred to the board of directors of the company, who vetoed it. It was passed again, but remained a dead letter. So much for this "industrial democracy," a company union of the most despicable sort.

One element in the working forces in the rubber shops, the rubber manufacturers count upon: they are the southerners. Many of them have come from far down south at the behest of their relations and friends who have found positions in the rubber factories. At the present time, they are coming in hordes to Akron, thus forming a reserve army for the industry. There is another element that the company depends on: the Negro workers. Although the Negroes do the heavy work, the company knows that the southerners hate the Negroes, and the Negroes lose no love on their white "friends" from the South.

But the rubber manufacturers do not realize that the

southerners are not accustomed to the hard labor they must perform and that these men are individualists of the strongest type. The men do not know much about organization, but once aroused they will fight ferociously. There is a cleavage in the ranks of the workers—whites against blacks—Americans (primarily with Ku Klux inclinations) against foreign-born—men contemptuous of women. But above all, 80 per cent American from every state of the Union.

And be it said to the credit of these Americans—or the most forward section of them—they have seen through the torture of the industry and the misery that confronts the workers slaving away their lives, and have begun the formation of a union.

The Rubber Workers' Union of America is the outcome of the strife that is going on in the shops. It is not an open strife, for the struggle has not yet reached that form. Last January a few thinking workers of the industry conceived the idea that it was necessary for the workers to be organized to fight against the organized power of the rubber manufacturers. The rubber manufacturers not only control the city of Akron—Akron is a one-industry town—but are organized in the Rubber Association of America. They are not independent concerns, but are part of banking systems of Wall Street. Theirs is a powerful industry, well-organized and controlled.

These rubber workers recognized that they could not organize openly; hence as good Americans, accustomed to the ways of this country, they organized secretly. The situation in the shops has helped them in their work. Although laboring under the greatest difficulties, against the terrorism and intimidation of the manufacturers and their flunkies, facing the danger of discharge for the attempt to organize the workers, they organized and are moving forward.

There has been a Rubber Workers' Union in Akron for some little time, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. But the A. F. of L. has done little to develop the union, just as up to the present it has done virtually nothing to effect organization in the automobile industry, to which the rubber industry is related. The rubber shops will continue to produce tires whether new cars are built or not, because increased motor transportation necessitates new tires. The A. F. of L. union is stagnant and has not even been pulsed into life by the efforts of this new organization to gain a footing among the workers.

The Rubber Workers' Union of America is publishing a weekly, the "Rubber Worker," dealing with the situation in the shop and happenings in the labor world, and advocating a Labor Party. It has a fine department entitled "Shop News," containing reports of conditions in the shops. Although in a few shops the workers are still afraid to buy or be detected taking or reading the

paper, it is meeting with splendid response from the workers. One typical instance. A worker took the "Rubber Worker" into his department. It passed the round of the twenty-five men working in the department. Education of the workers is one of the main tasks of the rubber workers at the present time, and the union is admirably fulfilling this function.

The "Rubber Worker" has already voiced the demands of the rubber workers, which are as follows:

\$40 a week minimum wage.

Equal pay for men, women and young workers for the same work.

Eight-hour day, 40-hour week.

No speed-up.

Guaranteed full year's work.

Right of organization.

Basing their demand on the investigations of the U. S. Department of Labor, to the effect that a man requires from \$1,800 to \$2,300 to maintain a family in conformity with the American standard of living, the union demands \$40 as the minimum wage per week. This minimum would not affect the workers who today are earning that amount, since all wages would be graduated upwards, but it would raise the level of the poorer-paid to a decent level. The demand that equal pay shall be given men, women and young workers for the same work, will enable many women who must go out to work, to remain at home to care for their children. The effect on the young workers will be obvious.

The 8-hour day, 40-hour week is the demand now being made by the American Federation of Labor, and although the rubber workers have 8-hour shifts, they frequently must work overtime. This, the union demands, shall be eliminated and by cutting out speed-up, so that production is carried on by ever fewer hands, and by demanding a guaranteed full year's work, the work will be spread out and the iniquities of the system be abolished at least to a degree for the present.

The union, however, recognized that there is only one way that the rubber workers will succeed in achieving any of these demands and that is by organization. It is therefore making as its central demand the right of organization and recognition of the union by the rubber manufacturers.

The union will not be born in peace. The rubber manufacturers have exercised terror and will continue to employ more vigorous terror against the workers. But these American workers—not to speak of the foreign-born—have little fear. They know what they face and will face it courageously. In this fight, Americans—Ku Klux and otherwise—foreign-born, men women and young workers will break down the feudalistic regime that exists in the rubber shops and will try to introduce a little light into the darkness of this devastating, man-killing rubber industry.

A Queen Serenades Wall Street

By Thurber Lewis

"REPORTERS were excluded"—this phrase shone brightly from an otherwise casual report in the New York Times of a reception in honor of the queen of a country that could be bought and sold ten times over with the pooled resources of the Wall Street bankers who were in attendance. It shone brightly because it was the first time it appeared in numerous press accounts of the many aristocratic and exclusive functions previously accorded the queen of Roumania in New York and Washington. Reporters got into the Ritz, the Biltmore and the White House. They were barred from the Bankers' Club.

The gentlemen of the press had to be satisfied with copies of prepared speeches that were supposed to have been spoken by Marie and a more experienced countryman of hers who dwelt at more length and with far more skill on matters relating to the comparative finances of Her Majesty's country and those of her banker audience. The correspondents also had to be content with hurried assurances by departing financiers that the question of a loan to Roumania was not mentioned.

The queen, in her dollar a word releases sponsored by a well known press syndicate, has repeated many times that she came to America solely because, "My heart went out to America and I simply had to come." She has a great love in her heart for the people of this glorious country. She wanted to see Niagara Falls and New York's sky line. She has specifically denied on a number of occasions that she has any intention of bothering about such a thing as a loan.

But somehow, the rumor that her trip to "your great democracy" is a bit more materialistic than a journey of love persists. The more the reporters are excluded and the more the queen and her innumerable spokesmen deny it, the more persistent it seems to become.

And with reason.

Let us see what basis there is for the rumor.

There are three chief reasons. One is that Roumania is broke and badly in need of outside financial assistance. Another is that Queen Marie has been used by the Roumanian government as a financial coquette on at least two previous occasions. A third is that Queen Marie comes to the only big power that does not recognize the Soviet Union at a time when Roumania is openly preparing for war against the Soviet Union. An incidental reason is that reigning monarchs are not in the habit of going on extensive journeys of state for love or their health. They go only when they are sent. And they are always sent for political reasons.

A Minneapolis alderman put it very aptly to his fellow councilmen when he called Queen Marie an "international gold-digger." From time immemorial, queens have been used for just such a purpose. With long experience, Marie has become particularly adept at the art.

But let us not be dazzled by the queen. Let us look at Roumania.

I.

We first observe that Roumania, strictly speaking, is not all Roumania. Only a little more than half the population are Roumanians; only half the present territory of the kingdom is old Roumania. The rest is Bessarabia, formerly part of Russia, Transylvania, Banat and Bukovina, parts of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. The population of these latter provinces do not speak Roumanian. They are Slavs of several tongues, Jews and Germans. Roumania has always been a "backward country." It is predominantly agricultural. As with czarist Russia, government has been largely by persuasion—at the point of a sword. This is all the more true now that there are millions of unassimilated members of national minorities to hold in check. Roumania is ruled by an oligarchy that still retains many of the earmarks of the feudalism whose offspring it is. Capitalism is comparatively new to the country. Like all new capitalists, the Roumanian brand rule with the same ruthlessness as their traditionally brutal land-owning brethren. This necessitates a military machine out of all proportion to the resources of the country. Bribery and corruption are rife. The workers and peasants are exploited to the saturation point and are held in leash by terror. Latterly, foreign interests have become intrigued by large deposits of oil but so far the influx of outside capital has not been large. Despite the large gains in population and territory made by the country as the result of the war, the financial drain, as with other European countries, has left its mark. Roumania is far from being solvent.

Summed up, it is a country badly managed by a military despotism that, to survive, must have assistance from outside sources.

The biggest single political power in Roumania is represented by the so-called "Liberal Party" over whose destiny rule the three Bratianu Brothers. They are sons of a sort of Roumanian Garibaldi who placed Ferdinand's predecessor on the first throne of the two Danubian Princedoms, Moldavia and Wallachia, called Roumania after their independence from the rule of the Sublime Porte had been granted by the powers following a long war between Russia and Turkey. They are banks of great power. In the last government, one of the brothers was premier, the other finance minister, the third the leader of the majority in the parliament. With the Allied victory in the world war, Roumania found itself doubled in size. The Bratianu brothers started out to build their financial hegemony over the country on the basis of the closed shop. They wanted Roumanian profits for Roumanians, that is, for the big three. With the discovery of rich deposits of oil this desire

grew and they passed legislation to assure Bratianu control of the new found source of wealth.

But however good their intentions, they couldn't make their grandiose self-contained scheme work. The necessity of a preponderant military machine to keep the underpaid workers, exploited peasants and suppressed national minorities from breaking loose cost more money than the budget made provision for. The imperial aspirations of a "Greater Roumania" gave rise, not without some encouragement from certain Western Powers, to a large military machine for external warfare as well. Roumania's exports began to show a tendency to depart sharply from a balance with her increased imports. Inflation of money was resorted to—the lei now stands at 200 to the dollar—and the Bratianu brothers soon found themselves knocking at the doors of London and Paris banks.

Then there is Bessarabia. It was snatched by Roumanian troops out of the hands of the workers and peasants who, following the lead of the revolutionary proletariat of Leningrad and Moscow, began their struggle for independence from their Russian landlords. This they won only to have their country seized by Roumanian landlords who proved to be even more bloodthirsty than their czarist predecessors. No less than fifteen thousand Bessarabian peasants paid with their lives for the Roumanian occupation in 1917 and 1918. The Soviet Union has never acknowledged Roumania's right to Bessarabia and neither have the Bessarabian masses. Upon the pretext of "protecting" Bessarabia from the Soviets, Roumania met with some success in getting loans from France and England to build up an oversized military and naval force.

The more loans Roumania got, the more she needed. In 1923, the financiers and capitalists of London and Paris found it to their profit to resume relations with the Soviet Union. When, in 1924, Queen Marie and King Ferdinand went to both Paris and London for the sole purpose of lending their royal prestige to the request for further credit, London and Paris were cold to their pleas. Queen Marie brought into play all her charms, the king wore himself out making speeches. They over-stayed their visit in London until they were finally barred from important state functions. The queen flirted in Paris until she became the talk of the embassies. The Bolshevik bogey no longer worked. Roumania went without her loans.

In that very year, Queen Marie expressed a desire to come to the United States. She would have come, if the Roumanian diplomats in this country had not advised her government that all thought of raising a loan in Wall Street was futile so long as the Bratianu "closed shop" policy persisted. So the queen went home.

But this year there was a change of government. General Averescu, leader of the military party and with the support of a powerful section of the land owners, came to power. There is reason to believe that the Bratianu brothers themselves saw the hopelessness of their policy. In any case, Averescu is for the "open shop." Roumania showed itself ready to submit, as Hungary, Austria, Latvia and many other small countries have

done, to mortgage at the hands of the international bankers.

The center of international banking just now happens to be Wall Street. It is by no means a coincidence that Queen Marie comes to Wall Street's door step at the moment that Roumania suffered her change of heart. The charmer of Roumania has fulfilled the desire she expressed in 1924 and for exactly the same reason. Is it any wonder that reporters were excluded from the Bankers' Club? It wouldn't really be good form to have a queen put in the position of going around the world offering her country for sale.

There is the added attraction that the United States has not yet recognized the Soviet Union. The pleas that fell upon deaf ears in Paris and London may get a hearing in a country not on speaking terms with Roumania's avowed enemy. Marie's was a somewhat hurried trip, as you may have noticed. There was hardly time for a preliminary publicity barrage before the royal lady was upon us. Why? Recall that the past several months have brought rumblings of a change of front towards Russian recognition. There are not unimportant groups in Wall Street openly declaring for a resumption of trade. May not the queen's government also have in mind to send its fair emissary to do her little bit towards making this more difficult? Roumania is making military preparations and setting up military alliances with her neighbors for the undisguised purpose of making war upon the Soviet Union. It would be rather unseemly, wouldn't it, to ask the United States to make loans for such a purpose with this country in the act of resuming relations with the Soviet Union?

So comes the royal flirt to Wall Street.

After the Queen left New York on her babbitt-baiting tour of the west under the tutelage of a social-aspiring retired railroad president, Vienna dispatches told of an official statement by the Roumanian Home Minister that American bankers had agreed upon a \$20,000,000 loan. A drop in the bucket, true. But there is more where that came from.

One day after the great demonstration of Chicago workers against the Roumanian terror that set the curious citizenry agog when the queen arrived in the city of the Haymarket Martyrs on Nov. 13, reports from Bucharest told of the granting of a hundred million dollar loan by New York financiers. It was far from accidental, that on that same day, the queen's aids announced that her stay in the United States would be cut short by two weeks. Why stay on? The big job was done.

A big Wall Street loan to Roumania is not as unimportant as it appears at first glance. It will do two things: It will make available more funds for Roumania's war-like preparations against the Soviet Union, and, through a process of Dawesification of Roumania, strengthen the ruling oligarchy at the same time it spells increased exploitation, increased misery and the intensification of the White Terror for the working-classes of Roumania.

The Roumanian terror is one of the blackest spots on the none-too-clean escutcheon of European capitalism. It is a terror, that, as in the equally murderous regimes of Poland and Bulgaria combines the brutall-

ties of a feudal hang-over with the ruthlessness of a nascent and greedy capitalism.

Perhaps the full story of the gruesome mass brutality that has characterized Roumania and its acquired provinces since the war will never be known. There will never be a record of the silent murders in the torture chambers of the Siguranza. It is impossible to know how many workers and peasants, taken as political prisoners have been "legally" exterminated by the armed mercenaries of the Boyars under the law which permits the military to cover up murder with the phrase, "shot while attempting to escape." The Dniester River alone can tell how many bodies of Bessarabian peasants are buried in its depths.

What we do know is that at this moment there are 2,500 political prisoners in the Bastilles of Queen Marie's sunny and happy land of 17,000,000 population. We know as the Roumanian workers know, that at the time Queen Marie was on her way to receive the bows and hand-kissing of the plutes and politicians in the land of the free, Pavel Tkatchenko, a political prisoner in the Dof-tana jail in Bucharest was foully murdered by his jailers. We have seen transcripts of some of the hundreds of testimonials in the possession of Costa-Foru, one of the greatest attorneys in Roumania, not a radical, but a liberal in politics and president of the League for the Rights of Man, describing the inhuman tortures inflicted in the police stations and prisons of Roumania upon Nationalists of the provinces, Communists, trade unionists and members of the Peasant Party.

We know that a party of the workers or peasants which expresses opposition to the Roumanian oligarchy is an impossibility. We know that workers co-operatives have been dissolved. We know that the entire central committee of the Unitarian Federation of Labor was arrested last year and are now awaiting trial because of their attempts to organize the workers into trade unions.

We have the word of no less a person than Henri Barbusse, one of the foremost novelists of the world

who made a trip to Roumania to investigate the excesses of the White Terror. The facts of the tortures and acts of murder in both Roumania and Bulgaria he has put into a book, with authentic documents and photographs, that speaks volumes of the mass persecution rife in both those countries.

No. There can be no doubt about the terror in Roumania nor can there be any doubt that it numbers its victims by the thousands.

It is to an oligarchy of landowners and capitalists responsible for this terror that Wall Street millions will find their way, to an oligarchy whose troops crushed the Soviet government of the Workers and Peasants of Hungary in 1919, which drowned the stolen Bessarabia in blood, which persecutes Jews wholesale, which suppresses the least sign of a movement for liberty in Transylvania and Banat, which declares all political and industrial activity on the part of the workers and peasants an act against the state that calls for torture, imprisonment or assassination and which at this very moment makes no secret of its intention of waging an aggressive war upon the Soviet Union.

The jewelled daughter of the Romanoffs, grand-daughter of Victoria of Britain, Duchess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Royal Consort of Ferdinand of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen is the emissary of this oligarchy. Queen Marie, in addition to satisfying her own predilections for the spectacular and her love of mass adulation, has performed her mission, ably assisted by Roumanian diplomats. She has gotten the gold she came for. She has dazzled the money barons and made the heads of their lackey politicians fairly swell with thoughts of having entertained a real queen. She has earned a new lease of life for the Roumanian White Terror by bartering Roumanian oil and the sweat and blood of Roumanian workers for Wall Street credit.

She has done her job well. She and her moron husband Ferdinand still sit upon their luxurious thrones. But the workers and peasants of "Greater Roumania" as the Boyar imperialists fondly call it, have yet to speak the last word.



The Coal Stoppage in England

By L. Zoobock

THE general strike and the lockout of the miners, lasting more than four months, has already caused irreparable damage to the industrial system of Great Britain. Factories and mills, prices of imported coal, have greatly cut down production, due to shortage of coal or to the excessive railroad traffic, and turnover has decreased. The shipbuilding, shipping, iron and steel, cotton, wool, and fibre industries—those industries to which Great Britain owes her very existence as a commercial nation—are reduced to an extreme state of inactivity. The building industry is forced to depend upon foreign steel. This implies great losses to the British steel industry at present, as well as great dangers in the future, since foreign firms insist upon agreements for several months. Throughout Great Britain, there is lack of fuel and lack of orders. Where orders can be obtained, prices are generally unremunerative and are accepted only to help pay overhead charges. Unemployment and short time employment are prevalent everywhere. Fixed capital is depreciating, circulating capital, the life-blood of commerce, is being frozen by trade stagnation. Workers are losing wages. The consuming power of the population as a whole is being reduced. This has its inevitable reaction on production. It is not uncommon to hear those engaged in the leading industries say that they can remember no time when trade was more stagnant than at present.

Some leading economists have attempted to estimate the losses to the country caused by the general strike and the lockout of the miners. But all these estimates are premature and incomplete. As great as the losses are to the country at present—they will be still greater in the near future. During the present crisis, Great Britain's competitors and particularly the United States have captured some of the British markets. This cannot fail to have its effect upon the industrial system of Britain.

Runciman, one of the leading English economists, in his speech in Parliament on the 21st of July, stated that "no one could arrive at an accurate total of the loss to the country caused by the stoppage." But he roughly estimated that in the general strike the total loss to the country came to at least \$150,000,000. During the period from May 16 to July 16, the loss owing to the coal stoppage was at least \$140,000,000. The loss to the railways, which had been less than most people anticipated, compared with 1925, had been about \$7,000,000 in traffic and goods and \$3,000,000 in passengers—\$10,000,000 in all. In two big categories in the metal list, pig iron and steel, there had been a very big, and almost sensational fall in exports and in production for home use. The loss on pig iron has been at least 1,000,000 tons, which at \$25 per ton, amounted to \$25,000,000. In the case of steel, the loss had been at least 1,200,000 tons, which might

fairly be estimated at \$50,000,000. In the textile trades, there was a drop in cotton exports of \$38,500,000 during the same period. The fall in woollens was \$8,000,000 and in other textiles, about \$1,250,000. In case of the whole or partly manufactured goods, the drop in the production of goods per home consumption so far as any estimate was possible seemed to be between \$65,000,000 and \$100,000,000, and was probably nearer the latter figure. The sum lost in wages by the miners during the stoppage, the general strike and since then, was \$125,000,000. The workers of other industries no doubt lost in wages at least \$50,000,000. Runciman, therefore, estimates that the total loss to the country up to the last week in July approximates \$740,000,000. This figure takes no account of correlative and consequent losses, such as idle shipping and does not convey the fact that the losses were becoming progressively greater.

J. P. Hannon, secretary of the Tory group of industrial magnates in the House of Commons, estimated the daily loss to the country as a result of the mining lockout at \$40,000,000. Other suggestions run as high as \$50,000,000 a day. But such figures are exaggerated. The national production of Great Britain, including all goods and services, may be valued at between 350 and 400 millions a week, or say 62½ million dollars per working day. The estimate of Bell, an eminent English economist, is probably the nearest to the truth. He claims that the country's daily loss amounts to at least \$15,000,000. This figure approaches more or less the estimate of *The Economist*, which suggested, as a rough figure, the daily loss 17½ to 20 millions. If we even accept fifty million as the approximate daily loss, then Britain by now has lost more than \$1,800,000,000.

This figure is quite suggestive. It shows the great damage inflicted upon the capitalist system of Great Britain by the heroic struggle of the miners. The *Statist* of the 14th of August contains a detailed review of the various industries which again show "the melancholy picture of the state of British industry and trade."

"The present position," writes the *Statist*, "is all the more deplorable in view of the fact that in the first four months of the year there were unmistakable signs of trade reanimation. This fact is substantiated by evidences on every side." The traffic receipts of the four "heavy" railways showed a gain of 2.6% on 1925, representing an increase of over five million dollars in gross income. Production of steel ingots and castings showed an increase of 9.8% in the first four months of the year. The general wholesale price level showed an average fall of 10.1% during the same period, etc.

But the general strike and particularly the coal stoppage put an end to this temporary stabilization. The wounds inflicted upon the industrial system are so serious that it is doubtful whether Britain will be able to

overcome them. Statistical matter on the various industries proves this fact.

The total production of pig iron during the first half of the year amounted to only 2,273,000 tons, a decline of over 32% as compared with the corresponding period of last year. On the eve of the coal stoppage 147 blast furnaces were in operation, but the number fell to 23 by the end of May, by the end of June to 11 and was still further reduced to 8 by the end of July. The steel industry was even more acutely affected. The following comparative figures show this in detail:

	Pig iron tons	Steel ingots & castings tons
1913 Average monthly production	855,000	638,600
1920 " " "	699,500	755,600
1921 " " "	218,000	308,600
1922 " " "	463,500	490,100
1923 " " "	619,900	707,400
1924 " " "	609,900	685,100
1925 January	574,500	605,100
March	607,900	684,700
May	574,700	651,600
June	510,300	585,400
1926 January	533,500	640,400
March	568,500	784,108
April	539,100	661,000
May	88,000	45,700
June	41,800	32,800
July	17,900	32,100

These figures require no explanation. They speak for themselves. It is also important to note that prior to the strike the exports of iron and steel tended to compare more and more favorably with imports. The coal stoppage reversed this tendency. Exports for the first 6 months of this year, as compared with the corresponding period of last year, show a decline of 3.6%.

The shipbuilding and the shipping industry have suffered much through the coal strike. The plight of the shipbuilding industry is seen from the returns of Lloyd's Register. These show that for the first half of the year the tonnage launched was barely 362,400, as compared with 673,300 in the corresponding half of 1925, which was itself a period of depression. The work on hand at the end of June—841,300 tons—was about 252,000 tons less than at the corresponding date last year, and 1,049 tons below the average building during the last pre-war year.

"The depression in shipbuilding," writes the *Statist*, "may have now reached its most acute stage, but it is difficult to find any evidence to support the expectation of an early revival."

As far as shipping is concerned, it must be remembered that British exports of coal which had been 80,000,000 tons per annum, represented 80% of the volume of our exports, and 10% of their value. Coal was the backbone of the outward trade of British shipping. The coal strike, therefore, could not fail to have its damaging influence on shipping.

Even previous to the strike British coal was being supplanted in the world markets, notably Australia, South Africa, India and Japan, while the Atlantic islands were being largely supplied by the United

States. The prolonged lockout of the miners only helped to strengthen the hold of the British competitors upon these markets.

Statistics show that the absence of outward coal cargoes has not been compensated by any considerable increase in homeward freights or by the demands for tonnage to move American coal. During the first six months of 1926, 19 million tons of coal were exported from the United Kingdom as compared with 26 million tons in the first six months of 1925 and 31 million tons in the first six months of 1924.

The idle shipping at the principal ports of Great Britain and Ireland amounted to 650,200 net tons in July, 1923. It fell to 470,000 net tons by July 1st, 1924, and rose to 777,200 net tons on July 1st, 1925, being the highest figure since October, 1922. The quarterly figures for 1926 have been as follows:

January 1st	407,664 net tons
April 1st	359,848 net tons
July 1st	859,739 net tons

The July total is more than double that for April, and is the highest for four years. "Whatever the issue of the coal strike," writes the *Statist*, "the year 1926 is bound to involve great losses to British shipping, and the position will be a disastrous one if the stoppage is protracted much longer."

The decreased amount of railway traffic is another proof of the shrinkage in the volume of business by the lockout. Prior to May 1st, there was some rise in railway traffic, but this was abruptly checked by the strike. Since that date the reports of the four big railway groups have fallen off by 66.8% as compared with the corresponding period of last year; this represents a loss of 95 million dollars in gross income.

Finally the statistics of coal export for the first six months of this year as compared with the same period for last year show the paralysis of the coal industry. These are:

COAL EXPORTS.		
	Tons	Value in £
January, 1925	4,366,051	4,708,978
February	4,344,008	4,537,746
March	4,392,258	4,557,002
April	4,359,817	4,541,333
May	4,652,464	4,798,756
June	3,733,845	3,768,521
Total	25,848,443	26,912,336
January, 1926	4,148,042	3,821,336
February	4,340,006	4,025,627
March	4,702,536	4,184,079
April	4,290,652	3,767,909
May	1,448,368	1,392,437
June	34,485	37,818
Total	18,964,089	17,229,206

The figures for May are merely belated reports for April, while the figures for June are exports of bunker coal. When we compare the export figures for June of this year with those for last year, we get a clear idea of the paralysis of the coal industry. Britain, one of

the greatest coal exporting countries of the world, was forced to import in June 600,600 tons of coal in order to keep her industries running even at reduced capacity. By the first week of July the total quantity of coal imported had exceeded 1,200,000 tons. Since then the weekly arrivals have varied from 521,000 tons (week ending July 10) to 970,000 tons (week ending August 14).

The policy of the conservative government, the executive committee of the British capitalists, to break the Miners' Federation and reduce the miners to a starvation level has inflicted great injuries to the coal mining industries. And, as Sir Alfred Mond stated: "It will take weeks before the mines can get up to anything like normal production again, and it will also be a period of long duration before markets lost are won back again. In consequence of the strike the price of coal is likely to go up and the export trade will be faced with many difficulties."

The condition of the other industries of Great Britain is not any better. In brief, it can be stated that the damages inflicted upon the capitalist system by the miners' lockout are far-reaching and irreparable. The country is bound to lose a great many of her overseas markets, not only in coal but in other industries as well. While the British miners have been holding up the essential work of production at home, the competitors abroad, and especially the United States, have lost no valuable time in capturing the British markets.

Another criterion by which we can judge the effects of the coal stoppage is the increase in unemployment and in poor law relief. The *Ministry of Labor Gazette* reports that unemployment has increased during 1926 from 1,237,000 in January to 1,664,000 in July.

The figures for May do not include the number of workers of the various industries that participated in the general strike, and the figures for June and July are exclusive of the million miners who are gradually being starved through the lockout by the mine owners. One can, therefore, state that in Britain there is at present an army of not less than three million unemployed. In some industries unemployment is more than 50%.

It must be mentioned here that the government statistics of unemployed are far from being accurate. The government employs various means to deny the workers unemployment insurance. Its aim is to show that unemployment is decreasing. By cutting workers off the registers and by extending the waiting period, many thousands of unemployed workers are conveniently left out of the unemployment totals. Apart from this, there are unemployed agricultural workers who are not registered at the unemployment exchanges and thousands of unskilled workers who have never held insurance cards.

This policy of the government has thrown many able-bodied workers on poor law relief. Poor law relief is the last resort of the destitute workers. Many workers consider it as the greatest disgrace to depend upon poor law relief, but conditions have forced them to resort even to this last means.

The table presented to the House of Commons by Kingsley Wood, parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Health, shows the upward tendency in Poor Law figures.

These figures of the Ministry of Health show the amount of destitution and poverty which is spreading over the industrial areas of England. But even this beggarly help, which the families of the unemployed are entitled to by law is now being denied them. The government has sent out instructions to all local authorities in the mining areas encouraging them to refuse assistance to the families of the strikers. The purpose, of course, is clear: the government wishes to break the spirit of the miners by starving their children. Here is what Lloyd George, who cannot be accused of being a friend of the workers, writes about poor law relief in mining areas:

"Take the areas where the Poor Law Guardians are still distributing relief. Nothing is given to the miner or to any of his children over 14. The wife is allowed barely sufficient to buy food for herself and her smaller children. . . .

"Clothes cannot be bought, and boots can neither be bought nor repaired. Rent is in suspense altogether. But the greatest hardship comes from the fact that the housewife has to divide her own insufficiency and that of her younger children with the complete poverty of her husband and her elder children. In these cases they do not die of hunger; nevertheless they are hungry and half-starved."

(Manchester Guardian, August 23, 1926).

In many areas, the guardians have reduced relief to such small sums that emergency measures have been necessary on the part of the Women's Committee for the Relief of the Miners' Wives and Children to prevent actual starvation. Here are some of the amounts given in the Lichfield area: to a woman with a husband and some big boys, 36 cents; to other women 36 cents and 6 cents for each child after the first; to a woman with 7 children, \$2.00; to a woman with three children, 85 cents, etc.

To conclude: as a result of the heroic struggle of over a million mine workers, the industries of Britain are at present in a state of paralysis; many of the foreign markets, which prior to the strike Britain succeeded in regaining, are now passing into the hands of her competitors. Unemployment is reaching the two million figure. To this great army of unemployed must be added over a million miners, who are fighting to maintain the already low level of existence. On top of all this, throughout the industrial areas of Great Britain, a population of over two million are forced through poverty and destitution to depend upon the beggarly help given by Poor Law officers.

All this gives us a picture of the economic condition of Great Britain. Truly, the country is rapidly justifying its description as the workhouse of the world. It is possible that the government and the mine owners will succeed in defeating the miners and even in breaking the Miners' Federation. But this victory will have cost the capitalists too high a price.

The miners' strike has already inflicted such serious wounds upon the capitalist system of Great Britain, that there is great doubt whether it will ever be able to overcome them.

The Bournemouth Trade Union Congress

By Earl R. Browder

ABDICATION of leadership was the outstanding fact of the Trade Union Congress meeting at Bournemouth, England, September 6 to 11. One year ago the Congress at Scarborough had adopted a militant program against the capitalist offensive and against British imperialism; this year the Congress retreated before the capitalist offensive, refusing even to examine the circumstances of the defeat suffered during the year, and busied itself with discussions on technicalities, tuberculosis cures, etc. With a million miners locked out, in the eighteenth week of struggle, the Congress contented itself with a resolution of good wishes on which all discussion was shut off. Only one proposal for action was submitted to the Congress by the General Council and that dealt with the proposal to establish a trade union university at Easton Lodge; this single proposal of the council was defeated. In all its negative attitudes, in the prevention of debates on vital questions, the General Council had the support of 75 per cent of the Congress. The result was a sterile, unreal gathering, in which the only relief was the constant struggle of the revolutionary elements to open up the burning issues. Confusion, cowardice, tradition, and reaction ruled the Congress. The great British labor movement was left without official leadership.

This, in brief, is the immediate net balance of Bournemouth. It is necessary to examine the separate factors which went into the account to produce such results.

Churchill-MacDonald Combine to Set Stage.

Winston Churchill was undoubtedly the chief strategist in preparing the Congress. The incalculable factor which menaced the program of the General Council and the bourgeoisie was the possible effects upon the Congress of the desperate struggle going on in the mine fields. The government and coal owners had just failed in their desperate drive in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire to break the miners' front. The miners were retaliating by a movement to withdraw the safety men. Some sudden new development during the Congress might possibly sweep the delegates from under the control of the reactionary leaders and bring to expression the fighting spirit that still imbues the masses. The problem of how to guard against this danger to the bourgeoisie was solved by Mr. Churchill in collaboration with Ramsay MacDonald; through the instrumentality of the leader of the Labor Party, the miners were tied up in negotiations with the government; Mr. Churchill most astonishingly appeared on the stage in the costume of an angel of peace and good will. The problem was solved by creating the illusion that a settlement was imminent, the Trade Union Congress was warned not to do or say anything that would endanger the delicate negotiations, MacDonald issued daily reports of how

he was "being of service to the miners." The miners were effectively trapped. The little comedy served its purpose well.

The Relation of Forces in the Congress.

Sitting in the Congress hall throughout the sessions, one received the impression that a small, compact group of right-wing leaders who knew what they wanted, were conducting the Congress through the instrumentality of a majority of muddle-heads, securely imprisoned in the right wing policy but hardly knowing what it is all about and exceedingly fearful of the trade union masses. On the other side were the definite supporters of the Minority Movement. The miners could not be included in any of the three groups; angry, indignant, confused, tied in the trap of the agreement with the General Council, the miners were impotent and isolated in the Congress insofar as using their power was concerned.

The relative voting strength in the Congress of these groups is shown by an analysis of some of the most important votes.

The revolutionary left-wing, led by the Minority Movement, showed its strength particularly on two questions. In the matter of the condemnation of the Minority Movement by the General Council, a motion was offered to reject the report. The vote, with the miners abstaining, was:

For rejection	738,000
Against	2,710,000

On the matter of international trade union unity, the revolutionary left wing increased its vote by almost half a million. Jack Tanner, representing the **Amalgamated Engineering Union**, presented an amendment to the unity resolution, declaring for a World Congress, including the Profintern, as the means to unity. The vote on this amendment was:

For a World Congress.....	1,237,000
Against	2,416,000

These two votes registered the highest and lowest strength of the revolutionary section of the Congress.

The minimum voting strength of the extreme right-wing was on the question of international unity. The resolution was very colorless, merely reaffirming the need for international unity and expressing regret that it was not yet achieved. Not satisfied with defeating the amendment by Tanner, calling for a World Congress, the right-wing made a drive also against the resolution, with the result that the vote stood:

For the resolution.....	2,959,000
Against	814,000

It is thus approximately accurate to say that the right-wing had about 20 per cent of the Congress, the revolu-

tionary left-wing about 20 per cent, the miners about 20 per cent, while the confused mass of the delegates without definite orientation represented about 40 per cent. The Congress struggle was between the right and left wings for possession of the center; in this struggle the right-wing dominated, taking the Congress as a whole, while the left-wing won thru on some of the less sharply controversial questions.

The Equivocal Tone of the Congress.

But if this was a right-wing Congress, still the reaction was forced to take its victory in a negative form, under cover of equivocal declarations and resolutions. It did not demonstrate that the right wing controls the need of the masses but only that they still control the organizational machinery. Ever since May, Thomas, MacDonald, Clynes, Gramp, and other right-wing leaders, have been energetically denouncing the General Strike as a weapon for protecting the workers. But the masses of trade unionists have met this propaganda so coldly, the Communists and the Minority Movement have raised such increased support that the right-wing leaders were afraid to carry their views into the Congress at Bournemouth. In the address of Pugh, as president, reformist and timid though it was from beginning to end, he still found it necessary to say regarding the General Strike, that under similar circumstances "the weapon used by the unions last May will not be left unused," while the only spark of enthusiasm be brought into the Congress was in response to his words: "We do not meet in this Congress in any mood of penitence." But these were words designed only to divert resentment away from the actual policy of retreat and surrender now in force; the equivocal expressions throughout the Congress were intended, and were used, as justification for the surrender rather than for the struggle. What is important about them is, that they show the mood of the masses is definitely in the opposite direction than that of the General Council, which is forced to screen itself behind such formulations, rather than such open grovelling before the bourgeoisie as those of Thomas, Cramp, and MacDonald.

The "American Orientation" of the Right Wing.

In its rapid swing to the right the General Council is adopting ideas and slogans from the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor. As always, they are following the lead of the employers in this matter; the "American orientation" was publicly initiated by the "Daily Mail" mission to America. There is now an official governmental delegation to study American methods in labor relations, which includes Ernest Bevin, who is rapidly becoming the dominant figure on the General Council. "Company unions" in the real American style are rapidly introduced into Britain. All this had a definite reflection in the Congress at Bournemouth. The eyes of the right wing are fixed firmly upon that paradise of class collaboration—the United States.

The clearest expression of this fact is in the treatment of the question of wages. In this question is also presented one of the sharpest contrasts between the Bournemouth Congress this year and the Scarborough

Congress in 1925. At Scarborough, Mr. A. B. Swales, then president, said on the question of wages:

"There is a limit to the concessions that the unions can be forced to make. That limit has been reached; union policy will henceforth be to recover lost ground, to re-establish and improve our standard of wages, hours and working conditions, and to co-ordinate and intensify trade union activity for the winning of a larger measure of control in industry for the workers."

In quite a different spirit and form does Pugh deal with the question in his opening address at Bournemouth. A few quotations will show how Pugh paraphrases the Gompers program contained in the Portland manifesto (1923) and the "new wage theory" of the A. F. of L. adopted at Atlantic City (1925):

"They (the new conditions) require from us a new conception of the use and purposes of this Congress, as an Industrial Parliament of Labor . . . for the practical realization of an economic democracy parallel to the power of political democracy. . . ."

"The time has come for us to examine in the light of the new theories, the whole basis and application of the traditional wage policy and methods of determining wages which the Trade Unions have followed."

" . . . A scientific wage policy requires to be thought out in relation to some generally acceptable set of principles . . . Has not the time arrived for us to consider the principle of a basic wage correlated to the index of national production? . . . "

In the speeches of Bevin in the Congress, there was particularly to be heard the "American" note. "Industrial Democracy" was a word often and glibly on his tongue; labor banking and insurance were mentioned as available substitutes for struggle and solidarity. Listening to Bevin and some others at Bournemouth, one could almost believe himself suddenly transported across the Atlantic for a moment; these were echoes from the A. F. of L.

This "Americanization" policy is, of course, impossible of establishment in the British labor movement. The economic foundation is entirely lacking. Not only is Britain a land of low wages in comparison with the United States, but it is steadily declining industrially and politically, while the United States is yet on the upward curve of capitalism. The new policy will, however, serve the General Council well as the basis for new illusions for a few months or a year, while the masses are being sacrificed to the stabilization of British profits.

Smashing a Tradition at Bournemouth.

The new "scientific wage policy" mentioned by Mr. Pugh, which is to be "correlated to the index of production," is an obscure manner of stating what Mr. Baldwin put into blunt English when he declared that all wages must be reduced. That is the policy urged upon the miners by the General Council. That is what Mr. Bromley published in the **Locomotive Engineers' Journal**, in violation of the agreement made with the miners, in June. In order, apparently, to demonstrate their earnestness in this wage reduction policy, the General Council put forth Mr. Bromley at the Congress as the official spokesman to support a milk-and-water resolution of sympathy for the miners. The miners had protested previously against this hypocritical pretense of Bromley as their supporter, and urged the General Council to name some other member rather than Bromley. The council was determined, however, that no one but Brom-

ley could adequately represent it as a supporter of the miners. Doubtless they were correct in a way; Bromley embodied all the dishonesty, hypocrisy, and treachery with which the council had dealt with the mining situation. Their obstinacy led to the smashing of a tradition of the British Trade Union Congress.

When Bromley rose in the congress to speak, a miner delegate also rose, and demanded that someone else speak instead of Bromley. Immediately the Congress was in an uproar. It was the first opportunity for all the suppressed feelings against the betrayal of the General Strike and the miners to come to the surface. In vain did the gentlemanly Mr. Pugh attempt to restore order; his reading of the rules providing for expulsion of those guilty of disorder intensified the storm. When he ordered the ejection of some of the demonstrating delegates, half the Congress arose and began to sing the **Red Flag**. Above the din rose the strong voice of a delegate, shouting: "You are letting a traitor speak to us. You are traitors, all of you; everyone on the platform." The Congress was adjourned in confusion, after the demonstration had continued half an hour. When, later in the day, Congress reassembled, Richardson of the miners made a statement, saying that the miners felt humiliated by the action of the General Council in naming Bromley to speak on the question but, having made their protest, they were now silent.

This occurrence was without precedent in the previous 57 Congresses of the British trade union movement. It profoundly shocked the members of the General Council, and outraged every one of their instincts of bourgeois decency. Also they were profoundly disturbed. Here was an echo from the rumblings among the masses.

International Delegates—Present and Absent.

Of the expected fraternal delegations from abroad, two were absent from the Bournemouth Congress. The sharply contrasting reasons for the absence of each throws a vivid light upon the causes of the division of the international labor movement.

Frank Farrington, delegate from the American Federation of Labor, was absent because after he had left America to go to England, it had been discovered that he was on the payroll of the Peabody Coal Corporation, the largest coal company in America, at a salary of \$25,000 per year, at the same time drawing salary from the union at \$6,000 per year. This had proved just a little too much even for the American labor movement to justify, so Farrington's credentials had been cancelled. He had committed the sin which in America is not pardoned; he had been discovered. Still, he was a fit representative of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

The other absent delegation was that of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions. All the capitalist papers in England united in declaring that the General Council was secretly grateful to the government for refusing to allow **Tomsky and Melnichansky** to enter England; nevertheless the Council adopted a formal protest against the exclusion, altho refusing to allow delegates to bring the question before the Congress. The crime of the Russian delegation consisted of representing the eight million unionists who had contributed eight million dollars to the miners in their struggle.

The telegram from the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions was distributed to the delegates on September 9, the fourth day of the Congress. Appended to it was the reply of the General Council, which declared that the telegram "abused the ordinary courtesies expected of fraternal delegates" and that the "General Council has no intention of replying to this ill-instructed and presumptuous criticism." The capitalist daily press took up the cudgels for the General Council and with great headlines and indignant leading editorials attempted to whip up indignation in the Congress against the "intolerable interference in British trade union affairs."

On the whole, however, the Congress received the telegram in a very thoughtful mood. The attempted outbursts by a few delegates received little encouragement and fell flat. Everyone had the feeling, even those who supported the General Council, that this document was the only one in the whole Congress which boldly dealt with the real problems of the British working class. The million organized workers in the Minority Movement, whose voice had been choked off in the Congress by the rule of the General Council, immediately and wholeheartedly identified themselves with the telegram. Arthur Cook declared the following day that he "has a great deal sharper criticism even than Tomsky to direct against the General Council."

From America arrived Mr. Hutchinson, representing the A. F. of L. He apologized for the absence of his colleague, Farrington, which he could not account for. Evidently he didn't like to mention Farrington's little matter of \$25,000 per year. He waved his jeweled fingers about, said that "we in America realize that it is necessary to have capitalists," wished the delegates a jolly time, accepted the gold watch from the chairman, and departed. He was almost as good a representative of American labor leadership as Farrington.

Representing the I. F. T. U. (Amsterdam) was J. W. Brown, one of the secretaries of that body. He made about the same sort of a speech as that last year at Scarborough, but strangely enough, while last year he found himself to the right of the General Council and Congress, this year he seemed almost like a left-winger. He spoke of international unity; he quoted from Tomsky a declaration of the necessity for a single World International, and declared that he supported that view. He said that it was necessary to find immediate tasks upon which unity could find its beginning, laying down a list of eleven such tasks; these included, international financial assistance for strikes and lockouts, and the prevention of international blacklegging. But he didn't say anything about why Amsterdam refused the offer of the Profintern for joint action on these two subjects in aid of the miners' struggle in Britain, nor did he report on what Amsterdam had failed to do alone on these questions.

And Where Was the Former "Left Wing"?

The so-called left-wing in the General Council was not evident in the Congress. It had no views on anything. Hicks addressed the Congress twice; first on the question of a certain method of curing tuberculosis, which he recommended to the entire trade union movement; and second, on a question concerning the building trades. On this last point, other building trades dele-

gates denounced Hicks for having split the building trades federation and asked the Congress to take Hicks' resolution off the agenda because it should have been brought to the building workers' organization. This the Congress did, to the discomfiture of Hicks, who was not noticed again until his name was mentioned as one of those re-elected to the General Council. Purcell spoke on international unity; he was against a world congress; he said the I. F. T. U. feels that the split in the world movement is caused by Communist propaganda; that only the British unions were able to overcome that feeling, but the revolutionaries use such bad language that we can get nowhere; he still thought there was a possibility of changing the attitude of the I. F. T. U. and bringing the Russians into Amsterdam; but anyway a world congress would do no good. And that was the "Left Wing" of the General Council.

The Real Left Wing—the Minority Movement.

Throughout the Congress there was one group which had a militant fighting policy to offer the British trade unions on every point that was allowed to come before it. That was the group led by members of the Minority Movement. Every resolution on the agenda which dealt with the big problems of the movement, had a Minority Movement member as its sponsor and Minority Movement members as the supporters from the floor of the Congress. They were mostly young men and women, without the long experience of Congress procedure that turns trade union leaders into expert parliamentarians, but with plenty of courage and energy, and the only group in Congress which talked policy in terms of struggle against capitalism instead of surrender to capitalism.

A new line of trade union leaders are being developed for the British labor movement in this group. It included such people as Jack Tanner, of the Amalgamated Engineering Union; Arthur Horner, of the Miners; Elsbury, of the Garment Workers; McLauchlan, of the Iron Fitters; Mrs. Bradshaw, of the Textile Workers; Chandler, of the Railway Clerks; Loeber, of the National Union of Railwaymen; Strain, of the Woodworkers; Tomkins, of the Furnishing Trades; and others. These were the leaders of the delegates who cast 800,000 votes for every revolutionary proposal placed before the Congress.

It is unfortunately impossible to list A. J. Cook as one of the left leaders at the Congress. His principal appearance was for the purpose of calling upon Congress to stop discussion of the betrayal of the miners by the General Council. His ill-advised pact of silence with the General Council did more than anything else to reduce the Bournemouth Congress to impotence and placed the seal of official approval upon the general retreat now

taking place—which threatens disaster to the British movement. In the brilliant struggle of the miners, Cook has rendered some great services; but he has also made many blunders and none more serious than this shameful silence at Bournemouth.

Two Left Resolutions Adopted.

Among the generally reactionary decisions of the Congress, two resolutions marking progress must be noted. One of these was that calling for amalgamations among the existing unions along industrial lines, defeating the confusionist "one big union" proposals. The other was the resolution on the war danger in the East, brought forward by the Miners' Federation, which pointed out that the aggressions of British imperialism in China, which are connected with the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, demand united resistance from the trade union movement. Both were adopted by large majorities.

British Unions Becoming Ripe for New Leadership.

The Congress made clear beyond question the bankruptcy of the General Council, including all of its former groupings. There is no essential differences between them and all are agents or prisoners of the British bourgeoisie, its social institutions, its ideology. This leadership is incapable of conducting a struggle against capitalism, or even for the protection of past gains.

But the masses are in a militant mood; they wish to fight to protect their standards of living. Already they are beginning to elect to the Congress men and women who stand for a fighting program. The Minority Movement has united a million of such trade unionists already, and other millions are being swiftly brought to the same position.

Out of this situation a new leadership must come to power in the British unions. But this can only be realized out of a sharp and relentless struggle against not only the brazen treachery of a Thomas, but also against the illusion of the so-called "left" that capitulates to Thomas, against the illusions of the "new scientific wage theories" and the Americanized methods of class collaboration, and against all weaknesses in its own ranks.

As the continued decline of the British capitalist economy inevitably forces new struggles upon the British proletariat, so will the new leadership rise to power in the British unions. It will be a difficult and painful process; only the first steps were taken at Bournemouth. These must be followed up swiftly, determinedly. The entire revolutionary trade union movement of the world must study the British problems closely and carefully, and render all possible assistance to the British comrades in their great and tremendously important task.

Ultra Left Menshevism

By Heinz Neumann

I.

The New General Offensive on the Comintern.

IN the last few weeks various sections of the Comintern have seen the beginning of new provocative attacks of the ultra-left groupings against the Comintern. The special characteristic of these concentrated attacks consists in this, that they are not only aimed against the political line of the Comintern but are connected with the bitterest disorganizational factional activity within the individual Communist parties and, lately, on an international scale. In the Communist Party of Italy a number of the leading members of the Bordiga group have openly declared that they refuse to recognize the decisions of the last Party Congress. They have refused in spite of the difficult illegal position of our Italian brother party—to carry out the work assigned to them by the Central Committee, saying that they do not want to take any responsibility for the "opportunist" policy of the Central Committee. In Germany the expelled ultra-left parliamentarians have organized another or rather two more "parties" that have declared "war to the end" against the Communist Party of Germany. Katz calls his creation "Spartakusbund" ("Spartacus League") and Korsch has named his "Gruppe Internationaler Kommunisten" ("Group of International Communists"). The fact that both of these "parties" are carrying on a war to the knife against each other and are accusing each other of opportunist compliance towards the C. P. G. does not prevent them from proclaiming as the chief immediate task of the German revolutionary proletariat the prompt and complete destruction of the Communist Party. The plans and the deeds of these "ultra-revolutionary" members of the democratic Reichstag of the German republic have something ridiculous in them. Far more serious and far more dangerous is the conduct of another section of the German ultra-left (Ruth Fischer, Urbahns, Maslow) who prefer to work from within the C. P. G. to guide it in the same direction as Katz and Korsch try to do from the outside. This inner party department of the ultra-left trust continues to carry on, more determinedly than ever, its bitter disorganizational work against the Comintern and its leadership, against the German Party and its Central Committee. Ruth Fischer broke the decision, thrice passed unanimously by the E. C. C. I., which assigned her certain work on the Executive; she left Moscow for Germany in order to take over the leadership of the factional work. Urbahns has his manifestoes against the Communist Party printed at the same establishment as the expelled Korsch.

The most recent manifestation of the international ultra-left since the March Plenum of the E. C. C. I. is characterized by the following facts:

1. A new, particularly bitter systematic attack in almost every section of the Comintern, particularly in Italy and Germany.
2. The first great attempt to consolidate the op-

position tendencies of the individual sections on an international scale, to unite all "left" groupings of the various countries into a systematically led and factionally organized opposition against the Comintern.

3. The concentration of all the ultra-left attacks of Katz, Korsch, Maslow, Ruth Fischer, Urbahns, Bordiga, Domski, etc. against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, especially against the policy of the C. P. S. U. and against its leading role in the Comintern—in association with the platform of the opposition at the XIV Party Congress of the C. P. S. U.

4. The application of the sharpest methods of disorganization, of factional struggle, of breach of discipline, of sabotage of party work, of undermining Party unity, of co-operation with the enemies of the Party.

5. Direct transition of a part of the ultra-lefts to the ranks of the counter-revolution (Korsch and Katz) the rest (Ruth Fischer, Bordiga) remaining in the Party for the sake of undermining it from within; complete united front and division of labor of both groups in the struggle against the Party line.

6. An approach between the ultra-left groups and part of the right wing of the Comintern with the aim of building up a bloc of oppositional groupings and leaders of all sorts, without any consideration for principles or past history.

These are the chief characteristics of the present ultra-left offensive. They refer not to the objective significance, to the general content and to the ideologic roots of this tendency but to the "practical" side of the oppositional struggle, to the tactical methods the ultra-left use against the Comintern. As to the ideological and political appearance of the ultra-left we will speak later.

Before we do this, however, we must examine more closely the newest of their "operating" methods, the bloc with the right wing. We point to three examples that show very clearly the alliances of the ultra-right and the ultra-left.

In Germany some time ago Schoenlank, an old representative of the right wing of the Party, came out clearly with a liquidatory program: the whole policy of the Comintern in recent times, particularly the splitting of the Social-democratic parties, was wrong, the Profintern must be liquidated, the Communist Party must give up its independent organization and must separate itself from the Comintern since this latter was "responsible for the victory of fascism in Italy."

It was a question of a program that was not merely right-wing but was openly social-democratic. The Central Committee of the C. P. G. expelled Schoenlank from the Party on October 20, 1925. But a remarkable thing occurred. Whereas the former right-wing group of Comrade Meyer agreed to the expulsion, Scholem and the "left" representatives of Ruth Fischer in the Party

leadership voted against the expulsion of Schoenlank, who, by the way, immediately left for the social-democracy and showed himself to be just an ordinary renegade.

Perhaps this is an individual case, one might say. But much more significant is the notorious alliance, already in existence for a number of years, between the Bordiga faction in Italy and the expelled anti-Communist right groups of Souvarine and Rosmer-Monette in the French Party. This peculiar bloc arose for the first time during the discussion on Trotskyism in the C. P. S. U. At that time, Bordiga and Souvarine formed a united front with the Trotskyite opposition against the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks. When Souvarine was expelled from the Comintern by the Fifth Congress because of his Menshevik platform, Bordiga voted against. Meanwhile the expelled French right-wingers have placed themselves completely on the side of the bourgeoisie. Their periodicals, the "Bulletin Communiste" (?) "Communist Bulletin") and "Revolution (?) Proletarienne" ("Proletarian Revolution") fight against the French Communists and against the Comintern in a united front fight with the bourgeois and the social-democratic papers. As far as the attitude of these "right-Communists" to the class struggle is concerned it is enough to mention that their attitude to the Morocco war and the independence movement in Alsace-Lorraine is the same as that of the worst social patriot, that they "greet" (literally) the rise in prices and the fall of the franc, that they regard the struggle about taxes as "of no importance for the proletariat." In short—the policy of these groups differs very little essentially from the policy of Briand and Caillaux. Their role is that of a special agency of the bourgeoisie for discrediting and slandering Communism. In this role Souvarine and Rosmer do not hesitate to do the dirtiest pieces of work.

They "describe" in the following way the condition of the French brother Party:

"The amorality, the hypocrisy, the cynicism, the mendacity, the corruption, the duplicity and the conscious use of false facts which characterize the policy of these 'Leninists' of new vintage, who have only waited for Lenin's death in order to appeal to him, must be absolutely condemned." ("Bulletin Communiste").

They "characterize" as follows the policy of the Executive of the Communist International:

"The Executive, which compromises with notorious elements and is entangled in mean intrigues, will fall into still greater discredit." ("Revolution Proletarienne")

They vilify our dead comrade, Lenin, and Frunze in the most shameless way.

In their mad hatred of the proletarian revolution these people have sunk to the level of the Russian White Guardists of the type of Bordadyev, for whom Bolshevism means an "all sided Satanocracy."

Now let us return to the left, ultra-revolutionary Communist Bordiga. For six years Bordiga has been living on the myth that the Comintern is going to the right. For six years Bordiga has been living on the myth that he fights against the Social-democrats with greater determination than all Leninists. And the same Bordiga said at a session of the Enlarged Executive (February 23, 1926) concerning the semi-fascist group of Souvarine-Rosmer, the following:

"As far as concerns the right faction in France, I do not hesitate to say that I consider it on the whole as a healthy element and not as an expression of the intrusion of petty bourgeois elements."

Responsible for the conduct of the right faction are not the bourgeois lackeys, Souvarine and Rosmer, but—"the general line of the International." Souvarine's attacks (against the class struggle of the French proletariat, against the Soviet power, against Lenin and Leninism. H. N.) are "partly a very useful reaction to the political errors and the bad regime of the Party leadership."

An interesting spectacle! Bordiga, whom many today still represent as an "honest revolutionary" and as an "upright and logical left-winger," stretches out his hand to the counter-revolutionary Souvarine. The next step will surely be for Bordiga or some one else to suggest Souvarine as editor-in-chief of the "Humanite" so that he should be able to continue his counter-revolutionary campaign against Bolshevism in the pages of the central organ of our French brother party.

The Soviet press has recently called attention to a third example of the political bloc of the opposition "from the left" with the most extreme right wing of the labor movement. Comrade Medvedyev, a class collaborator with Comrade Shlyapnikov, has formulated in a lengthy "Letter to the Baku Comrades" the most recent standpoint of the former "Workers' Opposition" in the C. P. S. U. This standpoint extends all the way to the liquidation of socialist construction, to the complete breaking of the workers and peasants bloc in Soviet Russia; in place of that it puts an unconditional capitulation of the Soviet State before foreign finance capital "in the way of foreign and internal state loans and the allowance of concessions with greater losses and material sacrifices."

The "Pravda" wrote very correctly that these are the demands of "chemically pure Menshevism," the slogans of Dalin, Schwarz and Abramovich.

Even more important for us is Medvedyev's policy on matters touching the Comintern. In the appeal of the twenty-two members of the Workers' Opposition to the E. C. C. I. in February, 1922, they presented themselves as "class-conscious proletarian" defenders against the opportunism of Lenin and the alleged right deviations of the Comintern. The E. C. C. I. replied with a unanimous and complete rejection of the charges and with a serious warning to the opposition. Whither has this "left" super-leftism of Comrades Shlyapnikov and Medvedyev developed? To the demand that there should be a stop to the "incitement and discrediting" of international Menshevism. To the statement that the MacDonald cabinet was a real workers' government which should not have been exposed before the masses. To the statement that the West European Communist parties are "a handful of petty bourgeois lackeys," living off "Russian gold." And further? The only logical conclusion of these conceptions is the liquidation of the Communist Parties, their return to the organizations of the Second International:

"We are for the Communist working masses remaining a part of the working masses organized in the trade unions, co-operatives and in the socialist parties; we are for rejecting decisively as an adventure that disorganizes the labor movement every attempt to organize some

of these masses into separate organizations of the same kind," ("Letter to the Baku Comrades").

Shlyapnikov and Medvedyev, the "determined lefts" of 1922, today brand the existence of separate Communist parties as an adventure that disorganizes the labor movement! The last piece of wisdom of the former "Workers' Opposition" is the return from international Communism not merely to the policy of Menshevism, but to the parties of Noske and MacDonald. In fact this platform of the Russian ultra-lefts means much more than a bloc with Souvarine, Balabanova, Hoglund, Bubnik, Schoenlank and the other right liquidators. It signifies the direct transition to propaganda and agitation for the Second International.

These examples from Germany, France, Italy and the Soviet Union are expressions of the same political process. The various "left" and "right" groupings in and around the Third International are collecting, uniting, organizing for a common general attack against the Comintern and its Leninist leadership, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. There is developing a bloc of Korsch and Katz, Medvedyev and Shlyapnikov, Ruth Fischer, Maslow, Urbahns, and Bordiga to Souvarine, Balabanova and Schoenlank—a bloc without principle, a grouping without character, of a kind hitherto unheard of in the history of the revolutionary labor movement. It is indeed a pity that in this "front" there should be such old Bolsheviks as Shlyapnikov and others along side of such petty bourgeois politicians as Ruth Fischer and such counter-revolutionary agents as Souvarine. This is sad—both for the Comintern and for the old Bolsheviks involved—but it is a fact which cannot be avoided and which must be recognized and analyzed.

In the rise of this right-left bloc the "crafty" inner party tactic of the visible and invisible leaders certainly plays a definite role. Yet it would be a mistake to attempt to explain the most recent developments of the various anti-Leninist tendencies in the International simply on the basis of the free will and the subjective peculiarities of individuals. The causes of these political phenomena lie deeper. The passage of former left-radicalism to right opportunism certainly appears in the minds of its followers as primarily a "maneuver," as a means of inner Party "strategy," as an expedient step for the concentration of all oppositional forces against the common enemy: the leadership of the Bolsheviks. But the logic of the development of the revolutionary party is higher than these factional "statesmen". The ultra-lefts are giving opportunism not only a finger as they believe, but mind, heart, arms, everything, as they must. The maneuver is transformed into a political tendency, the means into a political system, and the step into a political road—the road to Menshevism. The lefts are going to the extreme right because they are related to it, because they are driven there thru the objective content and the spiritual foundations of their policy. He who deviates from Leninism in the long run without correcting his mistakes, he who transforms his differences with Leninism into a political tendency, finally ends up at the oldest, most experienced and strongest center of the struggle against Leninism in the labor movement. This center is not any of the left groupings but the real thing, organized Menshevism. In this development lies

the principle of the break with Leninism, i. e., with the theory and the tactic of the revolutionary proletariat.

We will now investigate the concrete effect of this principle upon the most recent left groupings in the Comintern.

II. Imperialism, Revolution and the Radical Petty Bourgeoisie.

THE ultra-left, like every other political tendency does not develop out of abstract even the left principles; it develops in time and place, under definite historical conditions. In order to understand the true content of the present ultra-left attack, we must examine the chief characteristics of the present period of international politics. Further we must examine the political situation in the most important countries in which these groups have made their appearance. Finally, we must test the basic ideas of the platform of the ultra-lefts.

The present transition period between two proletarian revolutions coincides with a temporary stabilization of capitalism. The utter relativity of this stabilization is evidenced by the outbreak of ever new conflicts among the capitalist states and by the continual sharpening of the class struggle. There can be no doubt that when all these contradictions reach a certain level the partial stabilization will explode, an immediately revolutionary situation will crystallize in one or a number of countries, which—given a correct policy of the proletariat and a correct leadership of the struggle thru the Communist Parties—will lead to the victory of the proletarian revolution. But it is just as evident to anybody who analyzes the world situation in a sober way that this moment has not yet made its appearance but is still ripening. Only he who has the opportunist idea that the partial stabilization "obviates" the basic contradictions of capitalist society can, at every serious sharpening of these contradictions, fall into "left" illusions that the stabilization is over once and for all, that the hour of the last decisive struggle has come. This is not the way revolutionary dialecticians judge, but impressionists. In reality the new revolutionary advance of the international proletariat, the new development of an immediately revolutionary situation takes place not on the paper plan of any sort of "optimistic" but baseless perspectives but precisely on the rude basis of capitalist stabilization, its disturbances and increasing contradictions. In this development the following phenomena, among others, come to expression:

1. The antagonisms between the imperialist states are sharpened to the extreme. The struggle for the world market is, for the first time since the end of the war, in full swing. In connection with the feverish preparations for new imperialist wars, the bourgeoisie let loose in all capitalist countries a wave of nationalist and chauvinist sentiment.

2. The U. S. S. R. is the most powerful and the most dangerous enemy of international finance-capital. Therefore, the imperialists of all countries direct their attacks against the Soviet Union. English imperialism is preparing—especially after the setting up of the Pilsudski regime in Poland—a new attack on the Soviet Union and is attempting to mobilize for this purpose the help of the Second International, of the public opinion of the

whole world, particularly of the petty bourgeois and proletarian strata against "Russian Bolshevism."

3. On the other hand there is an uninterrupted growth of the revolutionary sentiments of the masses of the international proletariat; there is a process of the emancipation of these masses from reformist illusions, their breaking away from the leadership of the Social-democratic parties, their passage to the side of the proletarian united front, their sympathy for the Russian proletariat, their approach to the Communist parties. (Workers' delegations to the Soviet Union, struggle for trade union unity, left tendencies in the English, French, Polish, German and Italian working class, political mass movements against the will of the Social-democratic leaders, general strike and miners' struggle in England, etc.). The revolutionization of the international proletariat develops unevenly, with contradictions in which the social differences within the proletariat itself, the betrayals of the right and the hesitations of the left leaders of the Social-democracy, and the correct or incorrect policy of the Communists all play a great role.

4. Within the Communist parties there is a profound ripening process taking place. They are collecting and analyzing their experiences in the class struggle, gradually increasing their theoretical consciousness, strengthening their strategy and tactics, improving their organizational structure, breaking with the Social-democratic traditions and with the sectarian diseases, absorbing the fundamentals of Leninism and applying them to the concrete conditions of their country.

5. Parallel to the war preparations of finance-capital against the Soviet Union, with the beginning of the revolutionization of the international working class, with the ripening process of the Communist parties, there develop various contradictory tendencies in the camp of the international petty bourgeoisie. A section of the small commodity producers, above all in the colonial and nationally oppressed countries, allies itself with the proletarian revolution. The peasantry is drawn into the class struggle (agrarian revolutionary movements in Eastern Europe, increasing political activity in the village of Western Europe). The urban petty bourgeoisie faces economic ruin in a number of capitalist countries. Its

economic decline, that had already begun before the war with the rise of finance-capital and rule of the trust, is extraordinarily hastened through the consequences of the world war and the post-war crises. The petty bourgeoisie is compelled to defend itself against extinction. Since the petty bourgeoisie has neither class consciousness nor political experience nor political leadership, it continually oscillates without any principle between the chief embattled classes: the capitalist bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat. Exhausted and desperate, without logic and without orientation, the petty bourgeoisie seeks help from all political tendencies without exception.

The petty bourgeoisie reflects like a mirror all the political phenomena and tendencies of the present transition period. Its political soul shows like a film the restless picture of capitalist stabilization and its contradictions. At one moment the petty bourgeoisie is filled with illusions and bright optimism—a moment later with dark desperation. When the price of bread falls, stabilization becomes perpetual; it is all over, however, when a minister falls. Today it is pacifist and tomorrow it demonstrates for war. Today it is friendly to the Soviet Union and tomorrow it wants "to destroy the Muscovites." Today it is enthusiastic for Bolshevism—tomorrow for the white terror. The day before yesterday it was for the Soviet Republic, yesterday for the Social-democratic government, today it wants the great coalition, tomorrow it will hail a Mussolini regime or a Pilsudski coup d'etat, and the day after tomorrow it will perhaps be again for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The penetration of millions of annihilated, unorganized, urban petty bourgeoisie into active politics is one of those new and unique things that influence the class struggle in all capitalist countries. This most hesitant of all elements unquestionably has its effects on definite strata of the proletariat. It is reflected, as in all great political phenomena, in the periphery and among certain followers of the Communist parties. The more carefully we investigate the spiritual content of the ultra-left tendencies within the Comintern, the more clear become its traces herein, the chief signs of petty bourgeois policy.

(Continued next month.)



With Marx and Engels

MARX'S and Engels' letters have proved to be invaluable not only as a biographical source, but also as a means of gaining a fuller and more comprehensive insight into the Marxian theories in general. There are two reasons, however, which endow the Marx-Engels letters with a particular attraction. In the first place, they help to throw light on our own specific problems; and secondly, they reveal to us the Marxian method of work. This is an aspect of Marxism which has perhaps received the least attention, especially in our own country. And yet the dialectic method, to which both Marx and Lenin owe their great achievements, is hardly less important than dialectic materialism, its philosophical basis. Marx himself made this clear again and again, although he was never able to elucidate his method in a specific work, as he intended. And Engels, following out a suggestion of Marx's, drew attention to this in a review of Marx's *Critique of Political Economy*, stating: "We consider the working-out of the method which underlies Marx's critique of political economy to be a result which, in significance, is scarcely less important than the fundamental materialistic philosophy." Those who have followed Marx and Engels, as well as Lenin, not merely in their results but also in the process of their work have realized that the power of dialectic materialism lies in the correct revolutionary application of the dialectic method. It might be interesting, and surely profitable, to recall a statement by Plekhanov, which is probably unknown to most English readers. Although he confines himself to the aspect of scientific investigation, his statement is not necessarily limited to that alone. "We see," Plekhanov writes, "that the Marxian concept of history, instead of being 'limited' and 'one-sided,' opens up for us an enormous field of research. It requires much work, much patience and a great love of truth, if only a very small part of this field is to be well taken care of. But it belongs to us; the acquisition has been made; the work has been begun by the hands of incomparable masters; we need only continue it. And we must do it, if we do not want to transform Marx's brilliant idea in our heads into something 'gray,' 'chimerical,' 'death-like.' 'When thinking stops at the generality of ideas,' says Hegel very well, as is necessarily the case with the first philosophers (e. g., the Being of the Elastic School, the Becoming of Heraclitus, etc.) it is rightly charged with being formalistic; it may happen even with a developed philosophy that only the abstract principles or definitions are grasped and in each particular case repeated, for example, the statement that in the absolute everything is one, the identity of the subjective and objective. They will have

good reason to accuse us of this same formalism if in view of a given society we could only repeat: the anatomy of this society lies in its economy. That is indisputable, but it is not sufficient; we must know how to make a scientific use of a scientific idea; we must know how to account for all the life functions of this organism whose anatomic structure is determined by its economy; we must understand how it moves, how it nourishes itself, how the emotions and ideas which arise in it, thanks to this anatomic structure, become what they are; how they change with the changes that have taken place in the structure, etc. Only under this condition will we advance; under this condition, however, we are sure of it."

A profound understanding and correct application of the dialectic method is one of the most essential characteristics of Lenin's activity. When Deborin calls him the fighting materialist," he is stressing his revolutionary application of the dialectic method. The Back-to-Marx movement which we associate with Lenin, and especially his reconstruction of the Marxian theory of the state, have both revealed the extraordinary vitality of Marx's and Engels' works and exposed the shallowness of the contention that Marxism does not apply to our own day.

The following letters have finally been turned to account in Heinz Neumann's little study: "*Marx and Engels on Revolution in America*." Based almost exclusively on Marx's and Engels' American correspondence, an important part of which was published in the Sorge collection a year after Engels' death, it is an excellent example of how much can still be learned from many of the writings of Marx and Engels. Although these letters do not extend beyond 1895, the year of Engels' death, the lessons they contain are as real today as they were thirty years ago.

Not of least importance among the Sorge collection are Engels' letters to Mrs. Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky. Written originally in English, they were addressed to Mrs. Wischnewetzky in connection with her translation of Engels' "Condition of the Working Classes in England." This is the manuscript to which Engels refers.

Although the Sorge correspondence is easily accessible—there have been two editions since its original publication—the bulk of the letters are in German. And in view of the fact that it will probably be some time before the volume will be rendered into English, it will not be out of place perhaps to reproduce some of the most important of these letters.—A Landy.

I.

Fr. Engels to Mrs. Wischnewetzky.

London, February 3, 1886.

My dear Mrs. Wischnewetzky.

Today I forwarded to you, registered, the first portion of the Ms. up to your page 70 incl. I am sorry I could not possibly send it sooner. But I had a job on my hands which must be finished before I could go on with your Ms. Now I shall go on swimmingly; as I proceed I find we get better acquainted with each other, you with my peculiar old fashioned German, I with your American, And indeed, I learn a good deal of it. Never before did the difference between British and American English strike me so vividly as in this experimentum in proprio corpore vili.(1) What a splendid future must there be in store for a language which gets enriched and developed on two sides of an ocean, and which may expect further additions from Australia and India.

I do not know whether this portion of the Ms. will arrive in time to reach Miss F. . . .(2) before her sailing, but I hope you will not be put to any particular inconvenience through my delay, which was indeed unavoidable. I cannot be grateful enough to all the friends who wish to translate both Marx's and my writings into the various civilized languages and who show their confidence in me by asking me to look over their translations. And I am willing enough to do it, but for me as well as for others the day has but twenty-four hours and so I cannot possibly always arrange to please everybody and to chime in with all arrangements made.

If I am not too often interrupted in the evenings I hope to be able to send you the remainder of the Ms. and possibly also the introduction in a fortnight. This latter may be printed either as a preface or as an appendix. As to the length of it, I am utterly incapable of giving you any idea. I shall try to make it as short as possible, especially as it will be useless for me to try to combat arguments of the American Press with which I am not even superficially acquainted. Of course, if American workmen will not read their own States' Labor Reports, but trust to politicians' extracts, nobody can help them. But it strikes me that the present chronic depression, which seems endless so far, will tell its tale in America as well as in England. America will smash up England's industrial monopoly—whatever there is left of it—but America cannot herself succeed to that monopoly. And unless one country has the monopoly of the markets of the world at least in the decisive branches of trade, the conditions—relatively favorable—which existed here in England from 1848 to 1870, cannot anywhere be reproduced, and even in America the condition of the working class must gradually sink lower and lower. For if there are three countries (say England, America and Germany) competing on comparatively equal terms for the possession of the Weltmarkt (World Market—A. L.), there is no chance but chronic overproduction, one of the three being capable of sup-

(1) Now that I feel it in my own miserable body.—A. L.

(2)—Mrs. Wischnewetzky's friend who took great interest in the work. (Acc. to Sorge).—A. L.

plying the whole quantity required. That is the reason why I am watching the development of the present crisis with greater interest than ever and why I believe it will mark an epoch in the mental and political history of the American and English working classes—the very two whose assistance is as absolutely necessary as it is desirable.

Yours very truly,

F. Engels.

II

Fr. Engels to Mrs. Wischnewetzky.

London, June 3, 1886.

Dear Mrs. Wischnewetzky.

I have looked over the proofs and corrected in pencil a few additional mistakes.

That the get-up of the work would be anything but elegant, I foresaw as soon as I knew who had it in charge, and am therefore not much surprised; I am afraid there is no help now, so it's no use grumbling.

Whatever the mistakes and the Borniertheit (stupidity) of the leaders of the movement, and partly of the newly-awakening masses too, one thing is certain: the American working class is moving and no mistake. And after a few false starts, they will get into the right track soon enough. This appearance of the Americans upon the scene I consider one of the greatest events of the year.

What the downbreak of Russian czarism would be for the great military monarchists of Europe—the snapping of their mainstay—that is for the bourgeois of the whole world the breaking out of class-war in America. For America after all was the ideal of all bourgeois: a country rich, vast, expanding, with purely bourgeois institutions unleavened by feudal remnants or monarchical traditions and without a permanent and hereditary proletariat. Here every one could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading, with his own means, on his own account. And because there are not, as yet, classes with opposing interests, our—and your—bourgeois thought that America stood above class antagonisms and struggles. That delusion has now broken down, the last Bourgeois Paradise on earth is fast changing into a Purgatory, and can only be prevented from becoming like Europe an Inferno by the go-ahead pace at which the development of the newly fledged proletariat of America will take place. The way in which they have made their appearance on the scene, is quite extraordinary—six months ago nobody suspected anything and now they appear all of a sudden in such organized masses as to strike terror into the whole capitalist class. I only wish Marx could have lived to see it!

I am in doubt whether to send this to Zurich or to the address in Paris you give at foot of your letter. But as in case of mistake Zurich is safest. I forward this and the proofs to Mr. Schluter who no doubt will forward them wherever it may be necessary.

Ever sincerely yours,

F. Engels.

III.

Fr. Engels to Mrs. Wischnewetzky.

London, December 28, 1886.

Dear Mrs. Wischnewetzky.

Your letter of November 13th never reached me, for which I am very sorry; it would have suited me much better to write a preface then, and moreover would have left me more time.

Of course, the appendix is now a little out of date, and as I anticipated something of the kind, I proposed it should be written when the book was ready through the press. Now a preface will be much wanted, and I will write you one; but before, I must await the return of the Avelings to have a full report of the state of things in America; and it seems to me that my preface will not be exactly what you desire.

First you seem to me to treat New York a little as the Paris of America, and to overrate the importance for the country at large of the local New York movement with its local features. No doubt it has a great importance, but then the Northwest, with its background of a numerous farming population and its independent movement will hardly accept blindly the George theory.

Secondly, the preface of this book is hardly the place for a thoroughgoing criticism of that theory, and does not even offer the necessary space for it.

Thirdly, I should have to study thoroughly H. G.'s various writings and speeches (most of which I have not got) so as to render impossible all replies based on subtleties and side issues.

My preface will of course turn entirely on the immense stride made by the American workingman in the last ten months, and naturally also touch H. G. and his land scheme. But it cannot pretend to deal extensively with it. Nor do I think the time has come for that. It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariat, than that it should start and proceed from the beginning on theoretically perfectly correct lines. There is no better road to theoretical clearness of comprehension than to learn by one's own mistakes, "durch Schaden klug werden." (Learn by your mistakes). And for a whole large class, there is no other road, especially for a nation so eminently practical and so contemptuous of theory as the Americans. The great thing is to get the working class to move as a class; that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, and all who resist, H. G. or Powderly, will be left out in the cold with small sects of their own. Therefore, I think also the K. of L. a most important factor in the movement, which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionized from within, and I consider that many of the Germans then have made a grievous mistake when they tried in the face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their own creation to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of alleinseligmachendes (only-saving) dogma, and to keep aloof from any movement, which did not accept that dogma. Our theory is not a dogma but the exposition of a process of evolution, and

(3)—Henry George.—A. F.

that process involves successive phases. To expect that the Americans will start with the full consciousness of the theory worked out in older industrial countries is to expect the impossible. What the Germans ought to do is to act up to their own theory—if they understand it, as we did in 1845 and 1848—to go in for any real general working class movement, accept its faktischen (actual) starting point as such and work it gradually up to the theoretical level by pointing out, how every mistake made, every reverse suffered, was a necessary consequence of mistaken theoretical orders in the original program: they ought, in the words of the *Kommun. Manifest: in der Gegenwart der Bewegung die Zukunft der Bewegung repraesentieren.* (Represent in the present of the movement its future.—A. L.). But above all give the movement time to consolidate, do not make the inevitable confusion of the first start worse confounded by forcing down people's throats things, which at present they cannot properly understand but which they soon will learn. A million or two of workingmen's votes next November for a bona fide workingmen's party is worth infinitely more at present than a hundred thousand votes for a doctrinally perfect platform. The very first attempt—soon to be made if the movement progresses—to consolidate the moving masses on a national basis—will bring them all face to face, Georgites, K. of L., Trade Unionists, and all; and if our German friends by that time have learned enough of the language of the country to go in for a discussion, then will be the time for them to criticize the views of the others and thus, by showing up the inconsistencies of the various standpoints, to bring them gradually to understand their own actual position, the position made for them by the correlation of capital and wage-labor. But anything that might delay or prevent that national consolidation of the workmen's party—on no matter what platform—I should consider a great mistake, and therefore I do not think the time has arrived to speak out fully and exhaustively either with regard to H. G. or the K. of L.

As to the title: I cannot omit the 1844, because the omission would give an entirely false idea of what the reader has to expect. And as I, by the preface and appendix, take a certain responsibility, I cannot consent to its being left out. You may add: "With preface and appendix by the author," if you think proper.

The proofs I return corrected by same mail.

Yours very faithfully,

F. Engels.

IV.

Fr. Engels to Mrs. Wischnewetzky.

London, January 27, 1887.

Dear Mrs. Wischnewetzky.

. . . The movement in America, just at this moment, is I believe best seen from across the ocean. On the spot personal bickerings and local disputes must obscure much of the grandeur of it. And the only thing that could really delay its march, would be the consolidation of these differences into established sects. To some extent that will be unavoidable, but the less of it the better. And the Germans have most to guard against this. Our theory is a theory of evolution, not a dogma

to be learnt by heart and to be repeated mechanically. Je weniger sie den Amerikanern von aussen eingepaukt wird und je mehr sie durch eigene Erfahrung—unter dem Beistand der Deutschen—erproben, desto tiefer geht sie ihnen in Fleisch und Blut über. (The less it is drummed into the Americans from without and the more they test it by their own experience—with the assistance of the Germans—the more deeply will it become real flesh and blood for them—A. L.). When we returned to Germany, in the spring of 1848, we joined the Democratic party as the only possible means of gaining the ear of the working class; we were the most advanced wing of that party, but still a wing of it. When Marx founded the International, he drew up the General Rules in such a way that all working class socialists of that period could join it—Proudhonists, Pierre Lerousists, and even the more advanced sections of the English Trade Unions; and it was only through this latitude that the International became what it was, the means of gradually dissolving and absorbing all these minor sects, with the exception of the Anarchists, whose sudden appearance in various countries was but the violent bourgeois reaction after the Commune and could therefore safely be left by us to die out of itself, as it did. Had we from 1864 to 1873 insisted on working together only with those who openly adopted our platform—where should we be today? I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organization, and I am afraid that if the German Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake.

Very truly yours,

F. Engels.

V.

Fr. Engels to H. Schluter.

London, March 30, 1892.

. . . Your great hindrance in America seems to me to consist in the exceptional position of the native workers. Up till 1848 one can speak of a permanent, native working class only as an exception. The few beginnings of one in the cities in the east could still hope to become farmers or bourgeois. Now such a class has developed and for the most part has also organized itself into trade unions. However, it still occupies an aristocratic position and leaves, as it can well do, the ordinary, poorly-paid occupations to the immigrants, only a small part of whom enter the aristocratic trade unions. These immigrants, however, are divided into nationalities which do not understand one another and, for the most part, do not understand the language of the country. And your bourgeoisie understand even better than the Austrian government how to play off one nationality against another, Jews, Italians, Bohemians, etc., against Germans and Irish and one individual against another, so that there exist in New York, I believe, differences in

(4)—Translated from the German (extract).—A. L.

the standard of living among the workers which can be found nowhere else. And in addition, there is the indifference to human life succumbing in the struggle of competition on the part of a society grown up on a purely capitalistic basis without any kindly disposed feudal background; there will be plenty more, and more than we want, of these damned Dutch, Irish, Italians, Jews and Hungarians and in the bargain John Chinaman stands in the background who surpasses them all in his capacity for living on dung.

In such a country ever-recurrent tides, followed by just as certain ebbs, are inevitable. Except that the tides grow ever more powerful and the ebbs ever less paralyzing, and so on the whole the thing goes forward. But this I consider certain: The purely bourgeois basis, without any . . . crookedness behind it, the corresponding colossal energy of the development which manifests itself in the crazy exaggeration of the present protective tariff system, will one day bring about a change which will astonish the entire world. Once the Americans begin, it will be with an energy and virulence in view of which we in Europe will be children.

With best regards,

Your F. Engels.

VI.

Carey is the only original economist in North America. Belonging to a country where the bourgeois society did not develop on the basis of feudalism, but which began of itself; where it does not appear as the surviving result of a movement centuries old, but as the starting point of a new movement; where the state, in contradistinction to all former national formations, was from the very beginning subordinated to bourgeois society, to production, and could never make pretensions towards being an end in itself; finally, where bourgeois society itself, combining the productive forces of an old world with the enormous natural terrain of a new one, has developed to hitherto unknown dimensions and unknown freedom of motion, far surpassing all efforts hitherto to overpower the forces of nature, and where finally the contradictions of bourgeois society themselves appear only as transitory moments. That Carey considers the productive relations in which this new enormous world has developed so rapidly, so surprisingly and happily, as the eternal normal relations of social production and distribution, (productive relations which—A. L.) in Europe, especially England, to him really Europe, are interfered with and hindered by the surviving barriers of the feudal period, that these relations appear to him to be reproduced and generalized by the English economics only in a distorted and falsified manner in that they confuse the accidental perversions of their economics with its inherent character—what more natural? (Karl Marx: Carey und Bastiat. Ein Fragment aus dem Nachlass. Mit Vorbemerkung des Herausgebers (K. Kautsky). IN: Die Neue Zeit, 22-2 (1903-04). p. 8-9. This fragment is taken from one of Marx's notebooks dated July to September, 1857; it is one of the preparatory manuscripts to the Critique of Political Economy.)

The New German Imperialism

By Max Shachtman

THE successful entry of Germany into the League of Nations, the development of a Franco-German entente, and the initiation of the European steel trust bring to a sharp focus the developments that have taken place in Germany in the last two or three years.

The Germany of 1926 presents an entirely different picture from the Germany of 1923. The dismemberment of the empire begun by the Versailles treaty, which reached its culmination with the occupation of the Ruhr by Poincare in 1923, the French-subsidized Rhine "independence" movement which threatened to tear away the industrial heart of Germany, the terrible inflation period and the virtual collapse of industry, the Hitlerite movement in Bavaria, the revolutionary movement which collapsed so pitifully in Saxony and Thuringia are today, with the exception of the latter, things of the past. Germany, for the present period, has ended the movement which tended to make it a colony, and is beginning to resume its position as a world power, equal among other European powers, with a strong imperialist policy.

The occupation of the Ruhr by France in 1923, for alleged failure to make reparations payments, contained the menace of French hegemony over Europe on the basis of a powerful economic unity between France and Germany, on the former's terms. England and the United States stepped in just in time to prevent this, and to save Germany from the inflation which was driving it towards bankruptcy and revolution. The Dawes' loan of 800,000,000 marks followed.

Since the Dawes loan, Germany has succeeded to a great degree in re-establishing its industry, and even securing a favorable balance of trade, but at a great cost. It is interesting to trace the methods used in the progress of German capitalism towards a new lease on life.

Rationalization of Industry.

The respite gained by the Dawes loan and the even greater private loans was utilized by the Germans for an intensified program of rationalization of industry. Rationalization was accomplished by a period of rapid trustification in every industry in the form of the horizontal trust rather than the vertical (1).

In the coal, steel, potash, dyes, photographic, electrical, and numerous other industries an impressive series of virtual monopolies were organized. Side by side with this went a rigid economy in production and the firm shutting down of all non-profitable plants. Organized, systematic speed-up and efficiency schemes, a la Ford,

(1) The news that the Linke-Hofmann-Lauchhammer Steel and Engineering Company is to be dissolved and its works be made the nucleus of a new central German steel trust is taken to mean, by German observers, the final disappearance of the once popular vertical trust and the triumph of the horizontal trust.

were introduced everywhere so that German workers today are driven like coolies at a high pitch with the endless chain belt system and piece work, lengthening of hours of labor and decreases in wages.

A faint inkling of the effect of this rationalization upon the German workers is given in a Berlin dispatch which says that:

"Weekly earnings in twelve highly organized groups, which are among the best paid, show an average increase of 37 per cent over the 1913 average. The official index of cost of living, however, shows an increase of 41 per cent over 1913."

And these are the conditions of the highly organized workers who are "among the best paid." Conditions of others, and of the millions of unemployed and part time workers are far worse.

The cheapening of the costs of production through the increased productivity of German labor resulted in a higher composition of capital invested in industry, and, therefore, a fall in the rate of profit.

To check this tendency towards a falling rate of profit by increasing their total profits, the German capitalists again went through the cycle of increasing the relative surplus value and the absolute surplus value by increasing the intensity of labor and the hours of the working day, and, by monopolistic price-maintenance through Cartels, to keep at a peak the sales price of their products.

The home market is, however, extremely limited. Low wages make it difficult for the workers to buy the high-priced commodities; the peasants are burdened by heavy taxes and high rates of interest on loans. To live and expand it is more and more vitally essential that German capitalism secure a foreign market which can fully consume the possibilities of German production. And in such a market Germany must be able to compete successfully, for which a constant lowering of production costs is a primary prerequisite.

There can be no doubt that Germany has already succeeded in a measure in re-establishing its foreign market and securing a favorable balance of trade, as compared with 1924. Where the first nine months of 1924 showed an import balance (exclusive of import and export of gold and silver) of 3,424,000,000 marks, the first nine months of 1926 show an export balance of 359,000,000 marks. This is indicative of the progress that has been made, even though a good portion of the export balance was secured by the export of coal and iron to Great Britain during the process of the miners' strike.

In addition, Germany has exported capital in the following countries:

For an enterprise in Dalmatia for the extraction of bauxite.

Colonial credits amounting to 8,500,000 marks to the firm of Mannesmann Brothers.

The purchase of iron ore beds in Spanish Galicia by the United Steel Works.

The securing of a foothold once more in the Balkans by the acquisition of the Societe Delta in Jugo-Slavia whose strongest client is the Jugo-Slavian government itself.

Securing of ore and timber concessions in Albania and Persia.

Formation of a company having the exclusive rights to the exploitation of mines in Afghanistan.

The installation in Mexico of metallurgical enterprises by the Siemens-Schuckert electrical company.

And so forth and so on.

The Revival of Bank Capital.

It is also obvious that Germany is developing a home loan market. In the first five months of 1926, loans amounting to 1,000,000,000 marks were made in Germany, among them being mortgage bonds, debentures of numerous agrarian loans, etc., etc. Sharp struggles are occurring over German banks' share of loans made by industry. A case in point was the 250,000,000 marks loan of the Ruhr mining trust, of which German banks finally managed to secure 90,000,000 marks, the United States getting only 125,000,000 marks out of the total. The banks of Germany are recovering almost up to the powerful position they held in 1913 so far as the amount of capital controlled is concerned; the big banks now control a greater proportion of Germany's bank capital than ever before. This development, as expressed in the growth of the seven most powerful banks in Berlin (which means in Germany) is as follows (in millions of marks):

Bank	Capital		Reserves	
	1924	1913	1924	1913
Deutsche Bank	150	200	50	112.5
Diskonto-Gesellschaft	100	200	47	81.3
Dresdener Bank	78	200	22	61.8
Darmstadter u Nationalbank..	60	250	40	48.5
Commerz-und Privatbank	42	145	21	22.5
Berliner Handelsgesellschaft..	22	110	5	3.5
Mitteldeutsche Kreditbank	22	60	2.2	9.1

This picture is not complete, for since 1913 these big banks have taken control of numerous provincial banks; some have increased their capital since 1924 (Dresdener Bank to 100,000,000 marks).

These banks, which in the heyday of German imperialism were the organizers and financiers of the great Empire, are striving to establish their hegemony over industry and regain the dominant place they formerly held. Although German finance capital still rests to a large degree upon the American dollar, it has secured a measure of independence which it is fighting to maintain. The Deutsche Bank, for instance, has withdrawn from America 40,000,000 marks of its capital. The growth of these banks forms one of the bases for the growth of the new German imperialism, for colonial mandates, and the investment opportunities which accompany them.

It is especially upon the basis of its steel industry that Germany has been able to rehabilitate itself, and

the growth of its steel and iron exports form one of the strongest bases for its recent development of a demand for colonies and colonial mandates. Two years ago, Germany stood seventh among the steel exporting countries. Last year it had risen to the position of fourth. In the first six months of 1926 it already occupied the status of first. Her exports of this product to the United States have reached the highest total since the beginning of the century. In 1924 some 28,000 tons were exported from Germany; while during the first half of 1926 she shipped to the United States alone some 128,000 tons. And it should be remembered that this exporting of steel to the United States was made possible chiefly through the tremendous loans which have been floated in this country for numerous steel companies of Germany, so that American loans are actually instrumental in helping to organize an active competition against the American steel corporations.

A German-American commission has confirmed the report that Krupps, who borrowed \$10,000,000 here last year, had sold to the Boston and Maine Railroad some 20,000 tons of steel rails at a price said to be about \$32 a ton, or \$10 under the American market price, a form of unexpected competition which caused considerable uneasiness among American steel men. It is additionally significant that, taking transportation costs and duty into consideration, the American sales price made by Krupps is about 30 per cent less than the German domestic price. The "dumping" of German steel products is indicative of the anxiety of Germany to secure a favorable balance of trade and to spread out into hitherto forbidden or prohibitive markets.

Not alone that. Germany, now far more certain of her ground than she has been at any time since the end of the war, was instrumental in organizing the now famous European steel cartel which includes the steel industry of Germany, France, Belgium, the Saar and Luxembourg. England which exported 44,000,000 tons of steel between 1905-15 and only 30,000,000 tons between 1915-24 (a decrease of more than 14,000,000 tons) unable to stand the competition which will press upon it from Europe and the United States will be forced to join it as soon as the miners' strike is over; negotiations for Britain's entry are already under way. In addition, Germany through its control of the Austrian industry, also holds a dominating position in the recently formed Southern-European steel combine.

Only a few weeks after the organization of the European steel combine, one of the features of which is a provision for the payment of four dollars per ton for every ton produced over the allotted quota, the German industry announced that it had already exceeded its quota and would pay into the Cartel the required amount.

With a growing export of steel; with a growing need for raw materials and, more, of export markets; with a growing export of capital to colonial countries and less developed industrial lands, it is to be expected that the sentiment and demand for colonies is increasing tremendously in Germany.

Colonialism—and the Social Democrats.

Scores of organizations, journals, pamphlets and books have recently cropped up which conduct a fervid cam-

paign for colonies. In 1925, the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, founded in 1887, by the notorious Karl Peters, whose shameless treatment of natives caused such an international scandal that even Wilhelm II was obliged to recall him, was amalgamated into the Kolonialen Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft (Korag). In the same year there was founded the Jugendausschuss der Kolonialen Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft. Then an Akademischer Kolonialbund, followed by a Kolonialkriegerdank, composed of former colonial troops and officers. At the head of the Korag stand former imperial colonial governors and imperial officials of the foreign and colonial office.

The patriotic gentlemen of the Social Democratic Party of Germany are by no means opposed to the resumption of Germany's imperialist suppression of colonial peoples, for as Stresemann said to an Italian newspaper correspondent, on the colonial problem "there is a unified opinion in Germany and . . . on this matter the most bitter injustice has been done to the German people." The social democratic member of the Reichstag, Quessel, is also a member of the Interfraktionelle Koloniale Vereinigung of the Reichstag and favors "a revival of Germany's colonial activity." Noske, before his death, in 1924, wrote: "The Social Democratic Party was no friend of colonial policy . . . But looking back at the forty years that have passed interest has risen with the improvement of colonial methods . . . The position of the party experienced a basic transformation." (2) When one bears in mind the history of German colonialism, the frightful persecution of the Hottentots, the cruel and systematic annihilation of the Hereros (1904-5), without counting the terrible regimes of individuals like Dr. Karl Peters, Wehlan and others, it can be seen that this tender solicitude of Noske and his comrades of the S. D. P. D. cannot be aptly characterized except at the risk of losing the mailing privileges for this magazine. (3)

Some success has been accomplished with the problem of securing a colonial basis again for the new German imperialism. In Togo and Kamerun, which were divided between England and France by the Versailles treaty, the huge plantations of the Moliwe-Pflanzungsgesellschaft have been won back and Togo is today once more practically under German influence. In German East Africa, the Deutsche-Ostafrika Gesellschaft has practically recovered its former plantations again. In New Guinea, in Kamerun, and elsewhere in Africa the policy of "peaceful investment penetration" is being systematically followed. But the success that has attended the colonial policy of Germany is by far insufficient.

Today, however, Germany is no longer the dog that was so deliberately kicked around a few years ago. The need for a more united debtor Europe against Wall Street, and of a capitalist Europe against the Soviet Union; and the realignments in European politics which have forced France to seek a new ally in its former enemy, have placed Germany upon an equal plane with

2. Kolonialen Rundschau, April, 1924.

3. The German comrades are not alone. In the New York Nation Philip Snowden, of the British I. L. P. makes an eloquent appeal for the return of the colonies stripped from Germany.

the other European nations. She has been admitted as a civilized nation to the League of Nations. Stresemann speaks at Geneva with the same attention that is granted Briand or Chamberlain. Wall Street is the only one that can even pretend to call the tune to which Germany must dance.

So we find Stresemann after the sessions of the League of Nations saying at the meeting arranged for him by the German colony in Geneva:

"The fidelity with which the native peoples have guarded their faith in the Empire is a new proof that Germany is perfectly capable of administering the colonial territories. One can say today with all tranquillity that Germany has the same rights to colonies as the other powers."

And he added the further challenge of declaring that the question of the responsibility for the war had been dropped at the Geneva sessions of the league, that the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the Reich over its former territories was a prerequisite to the establishment of the principle of absolute equality of rights of nations grouped in the League of Nations.

What German statesman has dared to speak out so frankly and confidently defiant since the end of the war.

And what French statesman has in that period dared to conduct himself with such touching amity towards Germany as did Briand in his post-Geneva negotiations with Stresemann at Thoiry.

After Thoiry.

At Thoiry was laid the political basis for the Franco-German entente which had already appeared in the European Steel Cartel. Briand bowed suavely and said to the German foreign minister, "Between us the war is finished." Stresemann reminded his new ally: "The occupation must be wiped out." And they proceeded to draw up the now famous six points of Thoiry: The progressive reduction of troops of occupation on the left bank of the Rhine. The evacuation, in the course of 1927, of the second and third Rhine zones. The return to Germany of the Saar territory, in its entirety, without preliminary plebiscite, within the next year. The liquidation of the military control commission, its function to be exercised by the League of Nations. Negotiation of a portion of the German Railways (Dawes' loan) bonds as a loan to France. Non-interference by France in Germany's attempt to secure the return of its territories, Eupen and Malmedy, annexed by Belgium after the war.

The astounding nature of these points can be realized only when it is remembered that only three years have passed since the occupation of the Ruhr by the French, and less than that since the British evacuated Coblenz. Only the sad condition of French finances could lead them to propose that part of the Dawes' railway bonds be floated so that a loan might be secured from Germany to rehabilitate the franc. And the desire to secure the loan from Germany was all the more ardent when it was found that no loan might be made in the United States, for at the head of France was pointed the pistol of Coolidge who made it clear through

Mr. Mellon that unless the Mellon-Berenger debt agreement was ratified by the French chamber of deputies and senate no loan could be raised in the United States to bolster up the sagging franc.

The Thoiry conversations aroused almost delirious dreams of grandeur in Germany. Memories of a once mighty Germany, its power reaching from Hamburg and Alsace-Lorraine to the Gulf of Persia, its fingers as far to the east as China and south to southern Africa began to stir again the breasts of Teuton imperialists. With its former solid basis of a powerful steel industry, regained, and ranking first among steel-exporting countries, the mineral wealth of Lorraine again at its command, supported by its strongest enemy, France, installed safely in the League of Nations, who could ignore the possibilities of such former allies as Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria (all of them ravished, deprived of their riches, industries, independence and their road to the sea), or of such possible friends as the Scandinavian countries, which are constantly dissatisfied with one thing or another.

But one factor was omitted from these calculations: the United States. American imperialism had no objections to the shy and modest demands of Germany for a colonial mandate or two, since that would aid in the splitting up of the strength of the European powers. But to find Germany organizing a debtor Europe, to have it replace Wall Street as the financial savior of nations was a bit too much.

Wall Street Steps In.

Germany intended to mobilize sufficient of the Dawes' railway bonds for France to bring in 780,000,000 marks, to which was to be added 300,000,000 marks to be deposited by Germany for the redemption of its economic rights in the Saar. Further, Germany was to give 1,500,000,000 gold francs to Belgium for the return of Eupen and Malmedy. The plan was swiftly and firmly squelched. Wall Street made it plain that the railway bonds would never be floated in the United States. Great Britain too, seeing the menace of a Franco-German accord, made its position quite clear. In a London dispatch to the New York Times we read:

"The British government has notified the French government that it strongly doubts the wisdom of trying to market at this time or in the near future any large part of the German railway bonds provided in the Dawes' plan. . . With the squabble in France over debt ratification and with that squabble due to prolong itself, it would have been doubly unfortunate if the news that the Thoiry plan could not be put through had to come from Washington—or from New York. Wittingly or not, London has saved the United States a disagreeable job."

Decisive steps were also taken immediately to forestall any attempts to permit Belgium to move away from under Anglo-Saxon financial control and towards Germany. A loan for \$100,000,000 was forthwith floated as an International Stabilization Loan, of which J. P. Morgan and Co., the Guaranty Company of New York, and a syndicate of American bankers offered \$50,000,000 for purchase. Pressure was exerted upon Poincare who

began to make public speeches in which his opposition to Thoiry was but thinly veiled.

The failure to consummate the plan to market the railway bonds revealed the fact that despite all of its progress, Germany is still to a large extent under the yoke of foreign capitalists, and that her stabilization structure is not based upon any too firm a foundation. The real test of the Dawes' Plan has not yet been made. It is true that the first two Dawes' years have seen prompt payments from Germany. But Germany has borrowed far more in that period than the initial Dawes' Loan. Besides the 800,000,000 marks of the Dawes' Loan, Germany has borrowed, according to the Berliner Tageblatts, 2,358,000,000 marks between January 1, 1925 and June 30, 1926, as follows (in millions of marks):

Loaned by	First six months		Total
	1925	of 1926	
United States	1,090	650	1,740
Holland	127	105	232
Great Britain	142	68	210
Switzerland	84	43	127
Sweden	23	26	49

From this it can be seen that not only has Germany borrowed more than the entire Dawes' Loan in the first six months of 1926 alone, but that at the rate it is going now, it will have borrowed much more in 1926 than in 1925.

The British bourgeois economist, John Maynard Keynes, estimates that Germany has borrowed on the international loan market, between September 1, 1924, and June 30, 1926, a total of \$844,500,000, including the \$200,000,000 of the Dawes' Loan. During the same period, the Transfer Committee has transferred in one way or another some \$458,000,000. If one takes the discount, the expenses of issue, the repayments of foreign indebtednesses of previous periods from the total of \$844,000,000 borrowed, it will be found that the loans have about equalled the payments in the period mentioned. That is, no real money has been transferred, only book-keeping figures have been shifted from one column to another, and there remains the interest on foreign loans, averaging 7½ per cent which must be paid. The interest alone on debts incurred in the last two years comes annually to about \$50,000,000. And more loans are being constantly made.

The Dilemma of the Bankers.

How long this "stabilization" structure can be maintained cannot be foretold, since its life is not separable from the development of world capitalism. It is certain, however, that it cannot have a very long existence on the present basis. German industry has achieved a measure of independence from American financial control, and is even challenging American industry at certain points; but this independence is a very tenuous one, and its strength is to a certain degree illusory.

The seriousness of the situation has been recognized by the bankers of the world, headed by Morgan. They realize that without a large favorable export balance of trade for Germany—the stabilization of Germany is in large measure the key to stabilization in Europe—the topheavy structure built by foreign loans will collapse. A favorable export balance can be secured for this per-

iod only by the battering down of the prohibitive tariff walls, in America as well as in Europe. It is for this that the bankers' manifesto called.

Germania, the organ of Chancellor Marx and the Catholic Centrum correctly observes:

"J. P. Morgan's interest in lowering customs, particularly in America, is illuminating. He can collect interest on the loans he has made all over the world only if the American markets are opened far wider than hitherto to foreign goods."

Wall Street is, however, in the dilemma of seeking to break down tariff walls so that German industry may be put to work at full blast and its foreign market enlarged to meet its productive possibilities, and at the same time preventing, for example, the formation of the Franco-German bloc which contains so much dynamite for Wall Street control. Germany cannot any longer be hemmed in and isolated so easily. Germany, to be able to honor its debts, must be rehabilitated to a much greater degree. To be re-established to the point of

ability to pay her billions in debts, Germany wants Eupen and Malmedy, the Saar, the return of the Polish corridor and the port of Danzig; Germany wants permission to cement German-Austrian unity, and the return from Italy of South Tyrol; Germany demands participation in the international imperialist division and looting of the world; Germany demands the return of her status that can come with the liquidation of the Versailles treaty; Germany wants the revision of the burdensome Dawes' Plan. German imperialism wants its place in the sun again. Here is the great problem of international capitalism, and of Wall Street in particular. If she is to pay her debts she must be given such privileges and concessions as must finally make her a power than can challenge, if not America, then at least the other nations of Europe, none of which is in much better—if at all better—condition than Germany. For in the kingdom of the blind, the one-eyed man is, if not king, at least possessed of the same strength as the sightless.

REVIEWS

THIS BELIEVING WORLD. A Simple Account of the Great Religions of Mankind, by Lewis Browne, pp. 347. New York, The MacMillan Company, 1926.

THE STORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, By Cuthbert Wright. pp. 316. New York, Albert and Charles Boni, 1926.

RELIGION IN THE MAKING, Lowell Lectures, 1926, by Alfred North Whitehead. pp. 160. New York, The MacMillan Company, 1926.

"SINCE the war religion is on the up-grade again," remarked a well-known cleric a short time ago with natural exultation and, to a certain extent, this claim is not without foundation. There can be no question that the outbreak of the war marked a definite turning point in the development of religion in modern society. "The war . . . released profound emotions among the masses . . . What are the chief types of these . . . emotions? Desperation and fear—hence the strengthening of religion. The churches are again filled to overflowing and the reactionaries are beside themselves with joy. "Where misfortune, there religion!" remarked the arch-reactionary Barres—and he was right." (Lenin) But "misfortune" has not ended with the war. Indeed the war but ushered in a period of profound society decay and disturbance. Post-war society is society in decline, in collapse, and, as in decaying Rome, religion flourishes! "The great crisis of the war," says Bukharin, "which is bringing about the collapse of capitalism before our own eyes, shattering its entire cultural structure to its entire foundations, is producing a . . . psychology of despair . . . a lack of confidence in

one's own powers; this results in a return to mysticism . . ."

* * *

EXAMINING the matter from this point of view, it is not very difficult to discover the essential nature of Mr. Browne's book. It falls into the class of which Durant's "The Story of Philosophy" is the best example. Just as the latter is psychologically calculated to provide a spiritual haven for the poor petty bourgeois wanderers whose moorings have been destroyed by the cultural unrest of the day, so does Mr. Browne's book on the story of religion essay a similar role in the field of religion. And by this token the whole book is to be judged.

Mr. Browne's book is certainly better than the atrocious "Story of Philosophy"; this much we must in justice declare. Mr. Browne is less "smart," less flippant and journalistic, far less superficial, and has an infinitely better judgment and perspective. Yet, objectively, his book is after all "The Story of Religion . . ."

The beginning promises well. The author rejects (though not explicitly) the whole supernatural basis of religion and traces its roots to man and nature. Even his formula—"In the beginning there was fear; and fear was in the heart of man; and fear controlled man."—though neither original nor quite adequate, is a happy one. Yet our author, like an inexperienced magician, falls a victim to his own spells. He does not know how to use his own formula and so he allows it to master him. With a tiring regularity he repeats it mechanically in places where it has no meaning whatever and yet where it must serve as the only explanation. But this

is the price of manipulating undigested phrases, of phrase-mongering.

IN the beginning there was indeed fear! Impotence, helplessness, fear! "The helplessness of the savage in his struggle with nature leads to a belief in gods, devils, and miracles." (Lenin) "Religion is the love of life in the consciousness of impotence." Mr. Browne brings this phase out quite clearly and thus really makes an attempt to probe to the depths.

But this far and no farther. With the decline of primitive communism and the rise of class society, an internal reorganization takes place in the nature and the role of religion in society. The old impotence of man in nature which is beginning to vanish gives way to the new subjection of the masses to a few. The helplessness and fear of the savage in the face of nature becomes the impotence and desperation of the exploited in the face of their oppressors. Religion becomes a kind of "spiritual liquor in which the slaves . . . may drown their human woes, their demand for a life worthy of man." (Lenin). Mr. Browne, being no Marxist, runs adrift here leaving his whole subsequent structure without any basis and is, at best, a pleasant recital of fact mixed with vagary.

With the onset of class society religion takes on a double character. For the oppressed masses it becomes an "illusory happiness," "imaginary flowers adorning the chains." (Marx). To the oppressors it is "opium for the people," very valuable in lulling the exploited into subjection, through threats of the gods, through the enervating effects of ethical codes, and through the promises of heavenly bliss for the virtuous (i. e., for the obedient hard-working slaves). This tendency to use religion to maintain the social conditions out of which itself arose began early. Even in societies where private property was just beginning to feel its way, the cult, the taboo and other religious forms were already taking their place in the protection of property and the propertied. It may be a far cry from those days to the present but the bourgeois expert, Roger Babson, is still maintaining that "the security of our investments depends upon the strength of our churches." Throughout history religion has preserved its role as a form of "social control."

From the intellectual point of view religion is conditioned, of course, upon man's ignorance of the processes of nature and upon his lack of confidence in his own powers in shaping the material universe and in utilizing its forces. Hence it is that material production, involving just this control and manipulation of the forces of nature, has always been the deadly foe of religion. "The practical art by which we help ourselves . . . and make instruments of what religion worships, when that art is carried beyond the narrowest bounds is the essence of irreligion" (Santayana). For this reason the development of technology means an increasing indifference to religion on the part of those directly engaged in the technological processes of mastering nature—the engineers and the workers. "Miners, machinists, and artisans are irreligious by trade." This process has reached its climax in the modern industrial proletariat as LaFargue and Veblen have well pointed

out. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, largely removed from the actual processes of material production and accustomed to live in the world of the personal anthropomorphic relations of business instead of being subjected to the impersonal and mechanistic regime of the machine, retain their religion—even aside from their class interests in doing so.

To Mr. Browne all this is a book sealed with seven seals—at least as far as this work is concerned. Neither the roots nor the role of the religious superstition, ancient or modern, falls within the scope of his understanding. And so the book necessarily becomes an apology for religion . . .

An apology it is—not for the crude old fundamentalism but for the religion of modernism, in particular for the religion of the modernist Jew (for Mr. Browne is a Jewish reverend). For the sake of this apology he must negative all his concessions to naturalism by some carefully turned skeptical phrases permitting his reader to believe anything, by the most extravagant claims for religion and by the most extraordinary forms of special pleading. But what stamps the book indelibly with the black mark of apologetics is its utter failure to understand or to expose the role of religion in the hands of the ruling classes, its socio-political role in brief. As a sort of blind a great deal of hard words are hurled at the priesthood. But no suggestion that religion is inherently an enemy of the masses—even though, at certain times (such as the German Peasant Wars for example) it may have served as a cloak for movements of revolt. Above all, no word as to the utterly reactionary, oppressive, and deliberately slave-driving role of religion—even of the most modernist variety—at the present moment. Hence the whole work never passes beyond the circle of bourgeois apologetics.

As we have mentioned the book enables the confused petty bourgeois to remain religious (which he must) and yet to make some pretence of facing the cold glare of modern science. It is therefore natural that along with "The Story of Philosophy" and a number of other works of a similar nature, it is a best seller. It is the historical apologia for modernism.

Knowing what we do of the book, the author, and his method, we can hardly expect that he will fulfill even the first demands of a scientific history of religion. It is necessary not simply to lay bare the social and psychological roots of religion and to show its socio-political role; it is important to analyze the content of religion (beliefs, cults, forms of worship, etc.) and to study and explain its organizational forms (churches, etc.). And this can be done only on the basis of historic materialism. All of these phenomena can be understood only when referred back to the social organization of mankind and to the corresponding array of class forces. Otherwise, the history of religion become no more than a junkpile of cast-off superstition—a disgusting object to the intelligent reader.

* * *

THE story of the Catholic Church, dealt with by Mr. Wright (*The Story of the Catholic Church*) offers an excellent opportunity for the scientific historian of religion. Christian origins, the decline of Rome, the rela-

tions of Jew, Christian and pagan, the beginnings of church organization and dogma and their transformation under the influence of social change—what a wealth of material. But Mr. Wright's book is unfortunately entirely worthless from every viewpoint but that of style. Mr. Wright brings forth all the usual Catholic prejudices but discreetly hides them beneath a thin veneer of cultured and urbane skepticism. Of course, "intellectually," he does not believe in the "mysteries" of the Catholic faith. But what has mere belief or disbelief to do with the question? Mr. Wright's description of Catholic Romanticism fits his own outlook excellently well: "Briefly, it may be described as religious sentiment without faith. It consists in comprehending, respecting, and sensuously enjoying the dogmas which, at heart, one has ceased to believe" (p. 249). Of course, Jesus cannot be proved to have existed—but, after all, what does that matter if it is a satisfying emotional and esthetic experience to believe in him? Mr. Wright may find fancy names for this attitude but to us it seems to argue such a failure to understand the nature of scientific truth, such a profound intellectual dishonesty, as to disqualify the author on all matters of objective fact. The book is no more than a suave attack upon reason and historic sense, an urbane and sophisticated defence of the Catholic superstition.

For the worker who really wants to understand the rise of Christianity and the forces that molded the Catholic Church at its early period—for anyone who is not satisfied with the obscurantist clouds of words of Mr. Wright—the best work is unquestionably Kautsky's "Foundations of Christianity," recently published in excellent English translation by the International Publishers.

* * *

ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD is "a renowned philosopher," a real "modern thinker." It is therefore all the more significant that he proves himself to be like every bourgeois philosopher—a "diplomat lackey of the priesthood." His book, *Religion in the Making*, is plainly speaking, an obscurantist attempt to maintain religion while dropping its whole content. Frazer has well characterized the strategy of these learned gentlemen. Often when an army evacuates an untenable position it leaves dummy figures in view so as to give the enemy the impression that the position is still occupied. Very much the same has happened to religion. The traditional positions of religion—even the absolutely irreducible minimum of belief in the existence of supernatural beings or powers—have been evacuated one by one under the pitiless fire of positive science. But faith must not die—or else what would happen to "the security of our investment." So lay figures are erected called "religion," "God," "soul," etc. and all bourgeois society, including our learned professors, bow down before them—the professors, of course, with the mental reservation that these idols are something very different from the popular belief. And so reverend gentlemen point exultantly: "See, the soldiers are still on the ramparts. Our positions are being maintained. Professor So-and-so and Dr. This-and-that believe in God and in religion." To ordinary people this is downright dishonesty—but after all it's all for the greater glory of God.

Professor Whitehead is just another of these erectors of lay figures. For example, by defining religion as "a system of general truths which have the effect of transforming character" (!) he is enabled to say a number of complimentary things about "religion," at the same time enabling the pious to exult: "See, Professor Whitehead believes in religion, in God, in the soul, etc., etc." We are sure the theological seminaries will appreciate Professor Whitehead's services to the holy cause but science will hardly prove grateful.

* * *

THREE books—three apologies and defences of religion, under different guises, in different forms. And indeed it is now either for or against. The reactionary bourgeoisie and its intellectual lackeys, among whom we must count Mr. Browne, Mr. Wright, and Professor Whitehead, have now definitely repudiated their scientific materialist past and sunk into the swamp of mysticism. Moreover, religion is a class weapon that must be preserved and kept in good shape. And so the priesthood is given the spiritual hegemony of modern bourgeois learning and science must keep in step.

To the proletariat, however, religion is an enemy—a pillar of oppression. It is significant that the cause of the proletariat and the cause of the advancement of knowledge coincide and that the struggle for one is in the interest of the other. The struggle against religion is a struggle against unreason, ignorance and superstition. The struggle against religion is a struggle against the whole system of exploitation and oppression. "The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is the demand for their real happiness. The demand to abandon the illusion about their condition, is the demand to abandon a condition that which requires illusions." (Marx).

—Apex.

THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF HUMAN SOCIETY, by Franklin Henry Giddings. Pp. 247. The University of North Carolina Press, 1924.

THE title is very descriptive—if titles, like dreams, go by contraries. For the book is neither "scientific" nor is it a "study" of "human society." The chief scientific and sociological interest of the book is as an example of the complete bankruptcy and emptiness of bourgeois sociology as a science.

No one can read this book without being struck with the great diligence Professor Giddings shows in his service to the masters of bourgeois society. He wears his reins without any idea of balking. His profound reverence for big business ("well managed business corporations," p. 41; "intelligently managed corporations," p. 56; "big corporations managed by men of vision," p. 58; etc.) and for money ("the sin, the scandal and the humiliation of obtaining money under false pretences," p. 41; etc.) is interesting merely as showing the type of Professor Giddings' mind; the trend and purpose of his "sociology" are betrayed in his "three generalizations" which, "if . . . true, . . . are damnatory against all programs of communism and socialism" (p. 36). Of course, these "generalizations" like his whole "sociology"—are no more than a crude combination of trite commonplace and unintelligible and meaningless phrases.

Witness the third "generalization" (which is supposed to be particularly fatal to communism):

"The indefinite development of mentality is possible only to human beings who are not only physically detached and free (as metazoa in general are) but also are intellectually free and morally responsible . . ." (p. 36.)

Communism can survive such "generalizations."

Professor Giddings' sociology, in so far as it is intelligible, is fundamentally wrong in its viewpoint and method and frequently in its results. It is simply a bewildered scanning of the surface of society, an empiric tabulation of social phenomena. It gets nowhere as far as an understanding of the genesis, the development and the rule of these phenomena are concerned. Prof. Giddings makes a serious error when he holds up the statistical method as the method of science. The statistical method is frequently very useful for illustration or evidence of fact and especially to provide hints for the construction of hypotheses but it can never of itself penetrate the surface and lay bare the internal relations of the phenomena and their laws of motion. The history of any science (astronomy, chemistry, physics) is sufficient evidence of this fact. The filling-in of impressive and efficient-looking forms (as efficient looking as those in use by Prof. Giddings' masters, the "intelligent business executives") may be very intriguing to young ladies and gentlemen in college and out, but it bears but a remote and indirect relation to sociology. It is simply a learned cloak thrown over to hide the utter rottenness and emptiness of a "sociology" that aspires no higher than apologetics.

This applies not only to Prof. Giddings' system but—in varying degrees—to all bourgeois "sociology" once it attempts to enter the realm of theory and generalization. The only system of sociology that can lay any claim to objective conformity with the facts of social development or to any success in eliciting the laws underlying it is the system whose basic features were indicated by Marx and Engels—the system of historic materialism. One has but to examine it in its latest and best formulation (Nikolai Bukharin, *Historical Materialism, A System of Sociology*, New York, The International Publishers, 1925) to find the life and meaning so conspicuously absent in the hollow constructions of the learned lackeys of the bourgeoisie. And the conspicuous, if only partial success that a number of non-Marxian sociologists and historians (Veblen, Beard, etc.) have had in certain of their investigations is unquestionably to be traced to the coincidence—again partial and sometimes not very deep—of their methods and points of view with the methods and viewpoints of historic materialism.

As a social document Prof. Giddings' book is valuable; it shows the depths to which bourgeois science and learning have fallen . . .

—Apex.

AN OLD MAN'S FOLLY, by Floyd Dell. Geo. H. Doran, New York.

ANN ELIZABETH is a beautiful bourgeois girl who joins the "radical" movement, remains an enthusiastic worker for a couple of years, then meets her lover

and decides that what she really wants is a number of babies and a little bungalow in the country, where she can "get along peaceably with this silly old world." Gosh!

The Socialist Party and the pacifist organizations which flourished before the Russian revolution were infested with just such people as Ann Elizabeth and her lover, Joe Ford, who looked upon the class struggle (when they recognized it at all) not as an arena in which to lick the boss, but as a background against which they could develop their "souls." To most of these people, Greenwich Village and the labor movement were synonymous; the important thing about their activity was the unfolding of their own personalities; and the "radical" movement was a succession of teas, enlivening discussions about almost anything, and an occasional committee meeting in a pleasant home. Later, these "radicals" found a partner, and settled down in the peaceful bourgeois life to which they were born, ready to laugh good-naturedly at their "youthful follies." Some of them even cashed in on their defection by the sale of memoirs to publishers. Floyd Dell's latest book is just such a series of memoirs, disguised in the form of a novel. It is not difficult to recognize in Joe Ford, the young newspaperman who joins the "radicals," and then goes back to magazine work and novel writing in a cozy little bungalow, the Floyd Dell who went from capitalist newspaper work to "The Masses," and thence to a peaceful little cottage at Croton-on-Hudson. From this cottage have issued stories on his "reform from radicalism" for the benefit of the readers of Hearst's International, and novels in which young girls find their souls in the labor movement, and having found them, retire with them to comfortable homes.

The fringes of the revolutionary and semi-revolutionary movement in America are still afflicted with Ann Elizabeths and Joe Fords, but their numbers have diminished since the Russian workers showed the world that revolution is a laborious and rather a dirty job. Of the number still with us, extremely few join the Workers (Communist) Party—they know that the life of an active party member is one of constant work, often not too pleasant or safe, submission to discipline, and the subordination of one's personal desires to the good of the movement. Such a sacrifice the middle-class Rebels have no idea of making. Few of them worry much about their own impotence—in fact, they cheerfully admit it. As Joe Ford says: "We're middle-class reformers, you know, not revolutionists. We don't really expect to accomplish anything. The joke is that we shall probably be put in jail just as if we were actually trying to overthrow the government."

The whole tone of the book is one of extreme individualism. Never is it suggested that the workers in such a movement might submit important questions to a responsible body or that decisions as to what they are going to do concern anyone but themselves. When Joe Ford is sentenced to a term in jail, he decides to begin serving sentence while the appeal is being made, because—why do you think?—because if later on the supreme court should decide against him, it would be bad for the progress of his love affair!

The explanation of why people become revolutionists is typical. ". . . it wasn't just intellectual convictions that made people rebellious; it was usually some crisis in their personal lives." So, for all the pressure of the capitalist system, for low wages, for long hours in sweat shops, for unemployment, we must substitute, as an explanation of revolutionary activity—"some crisis in their personal lives." Of the parlor radicals, Dell's explanation is true. But it is worthless when it is given as an explanation of revolutionary activity in general, and especially of the revolutionary activity of the workers. The workers, however, received very little consideration as a revolutionary factor from Ann Elizabeth and her organization—it is significant that their circulars against the war were sent out, not to members of trade unions and workers' co-operatives, but only to members of liberal and women's clubs.

But the most complete confession of individualism is Ann Elizabeth's explanation of why it was best for her to marry Joe Ford, rather than a bourgeois suitor. "With Joe," says Ann Elizabeth, "I can take all my revolutionary opinions for granted, and get down to the business of living."

So, we are given to understand, Ann Elizabeth's opinions are the only thing that matter! What about the strikes, the anti-militarist work, in which Ann Elizabeth might have made herself useful? Well, such things don't really count. Not that Ann Elizabeth was at all sorry for her activity—far from it. It had helped her discover her soul, and had found her lover, with whom she was now nicely established in a little bungalow. The revolution? Tut-tut!

—P. H.

LOYALISM IN VIRGINIA, Chapters in the Economic History of the Revolution, by I. S. Harrel, pp. 203, 1926. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

THE PRELIMINARIES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AS SEEN IN THE ENGLISH PRESS, by F. J. Hinkhouse, pp. 216, 1926. Columbia University Press.

WHATEVER may be said of the "great Sesquicentennial Exposition" at Philadelphia, the 150th anniversary of the first American Revolution is proving itself profitable from the literary and historical viewpoint. The books noted above are only two of the interesting studies of the American Revolution that the season has given rise to. Both are worth reading and both have important lessons for the modern revolutionist.

Professor Harrel's book on "Loyalism in Virginia" is made up of a series of five scholarly sketches on the alignment of class forces and the economic reasons therefor during the revolutionary and post-revolutionary period. The strange paradox that, in Virginia in contrast to the northern colonies, the land-owning aristocracy supported the revolution while the merchants made up most of the Loyalists is certainly important enough to merit close study and Professor Harrel uncovers the class roots of this paradox quite adequately albeit somewhat vaguely. A few quotations will show his conclusions.

Professor Harrel addresses himself to the fundamental economic problems of the colony for, as he remarks, "the political philosophy of a people is seldom unaf-

ected by the material situation." (p. 7.) The three chief economic problems he finds as—"the land problem, public finance, and private debts." (p. 7.)

"Due to wasteful methods of cultivation and the rapid increase of population the material well-being of many Virginians in 1775 depended upon their development of unoccupied land." (p. 7.) "Agricultural Virginia dependent upon lands for a livelihood looked to the west." (p. 19.) "The royal government . . . raised a legal barrier between coveted lands and ambitious Virginians." (p. 11.) "What the British ministry had closed fast to loyal Virginians, the Revolutionary government opened to the patriots upon the most liberal terms." (p. 22.)

Now as to public finance. "The balance of trade was against Virginia. Usually Virginia exchange was about 15 per cent under par on London. . . The bullion had gone to Europe. Public credit began to totter. Discontent and the demand for paper money became more emphatic. But the British government, fostering the interests of the merchants, was the unwavering enemy of a paper currency." (p. 25.)

"More appalling than the deplorable condition of the public finance was the heavy indebtedness of the Virginia planters to the British merchants. . . With their plantations, slaves, and sometimes household furniture hypothecated, the planters were in an almost inextricable position in 1775; it seemed that nothing less than virtual repudiation could relieve them." (p. 26.) "In October, 1777, when the principles of rifle democracy (emphasis ours—Apex.) were supreme, a law was passed which provided in part for the sequestration of these debts." (p. 27.) No wonder, then, that "of the seventy-two members of the Virginia Merchants Association . . . only three or four were patriots." (p. 63.) "Current political theories in the Colonies and the economic interests of the planters were in harmony," as Professor Harrel laconically remarks.

The five studies in this volume trace these threads in considerable detail thruout the revolutionary history of Virginia. The last two studies show the operation of these class forces in the period after the war and leading up to the ratification of the Constitution in Virginia—"seventeen amendments were proposed to the Constitution and, after endorsing these amendments, the constitutional party was able to muster (in the Virginia convention) a majority of only ten votes for ratification." (p. 160.) They show also one of the real bases for the growth of Republicanism and anti-Federalism in Virginia.

Incidentally, this book contains a number of interesting observations concerning the activity of "the rifle democracy," the "committees of safety," the treatment of Tories, etc., that it would be profitable for the worker of today to ponder over.

Professor Hinkhouse's book, "The Preliminaries of the American Revolution as Seen in the English Press," is a decorous but interesting study of the reaction of the British press to the events in America before 1775. Nothing new or startling is laid bare, but the familiar material is presented in an attractive and instructive way. Professor Hinkhouse's chief conclusion is an essentially sound and valuable one. "This war (the American Revolution) was in truth . . . a civil war." (p. 187.)

It was not merely an abstract struggle for independence. It was a class struggle, waged, with class forces essentially the same, tho in very different forms, in England as well as in America. In America it reached the stage of open civil war (armed revolution); in England the same struggle was seen in the open sympathy and help that many prominent Whigs gave to the American revolutionists long after hostilities had broken out and the Americans declared traitors. This conception—of horizontal class divisions in England and America, not simply the vertical division between England and America—is very significant and fruitful. Professor Hinkhouse brings it out clearly.

Professor Hinkhouse's method is also to be commended altho he uses it to a limited extent and in a somewhat confused way—naturally, considering his class limitations. He undertakes "an analysis of sentiment among English social classes" (p. 202) and uses "this division of class interests" (p. 203) as an argument to prove one of his main points. Elsewhere (p. 48), he remarks: "The student of the period must pay attention to the desires of the English merchant and manufacturer if he would understand English action." That the investigation and analysis of class interests and relations is the basic method of history both of our books show.

We cannot close our remarks about Professor Hinkhouse's book without bringing forward two interesting items for the delectation of our readers.

American revolutionists who are only too familiar with the stories of "Bolshevik atrocities" will be pleased to hear that in the Tory press in England "the Americans were accused of scalping and cutting off the ears of the wounded." (p. 185.)

But surely this one is a gem! "When some shipwrights went out on strike in England in July, 1775, a paragraph (in the London Chronicle) reported that the troubles 'prove to have been fomented by some American Agents here, who are very busy in rendering themselves as useful as possible to the rebels, their masters. . .'" (p. 21.) Our 100 per cent Chamber of Commerce Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, who attribute every strike to "Russian Agents here," are certainly maintaining the glorious tradition; they are following right in the footsteps of—the British reactionaries and oppressors!—Apex.

FOLK BELIEFS OF THE SOUTHERN NEGRO, by Newbell Niles Puckett. pp. 644, The University of North Carolina, 1926.

THIS is an interesting and voluminous account (although the author claims that "the lore presented here is but a smattering of the material existent") of what are generally known as the "superstitions" of the Southern Negro.

Though Mr. Puckett's attitude is of course, the good-humored patronizing "superiority" of the white man, yet a certain sympathy and love for his material—the folk-beliefs—enable him to present the entire picture with a

large degree of objectivity and truth. The book certainly promises to remain the standard on the subject.

It is when he leaves the task of recording data and ventures into the field of analysis of origin, development, and significance of the social phenomena he records that his step becomes less sure. The short description of the American Negro's African antecedents is good—in spite of certain "racialisms." So also is the discussion of the phenomena of acculturation attendant upon bringing the African Negro to America and placing him in the environment of the old South. Especially commendable is the clear indication given as to the role of "superstition" (and religion) in the life-process of mankind (p. 520).

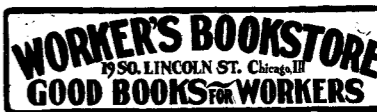
But the folk-beliefs, so carefully studied, are never explicitly regarded as the superstructure growing out of the social conditions under which the Negroes lived and are still living (economic and class relationships) and so they are left resting in the air as it were. We are not shown how the beliefs arose, how they developed and under the influence of what factors, what they mean in the development of human ideology, and why they are peculiar to the Southern Negro (if indeed they are which is nowhere expressly indicated). And so the work is imperfect as a scientific study.

As a scholarly and readable compilation, analysis, and classification of the folk-beliefs of the Southern Negro it seems to be nearly perfect.

—Apex.



A MOST DELIGHTFUL GIFT!
INDIVIDUAL NAME PENCIL SETS **75¢** C. POST PAID
Finest quality leather with coin pocket containing six pencils in assorted colors ANY NAME ENGRAVED IN 18KT GOLD
FREE - SHARPENER - RULER - PROTECTOR - FREE
Send check or money order
U.S. PENCIL CO.
487 BROADWAY, DEPT. 37 Y NEW YORK



WORKER'S BOOKSTORE
19 SO. LINCOLN ST. Chicago, Ill.
GOOD BOOKS FOR WORKERS

THE ONLY CHICAGO STORE
WHERE YOU WILL FIND
ALL LABOR PUBLICATIONS,
FOREIGN AND AMERICAN, AND
ALL COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS SURELY.

The New Magazine Supplement of The Daily Worker Has Become

THE SUNDAY WORKER

Alex. Bittelman Editor

You will find something of interest that every member of the family will enjoy!

WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST

Points out the most important events of the week to keep a worker well informed.

SOVIET RUSSIA

The building up of the world's first workers' government is summed up in a column of news every week.

SHORT STORIES

Written by unequalled writers including: Michael Gold, Barbusse (France), Fritz Kleber, Herminia Zur Muhlen (Germany).

EDUCATIONAL FEATURES

Including a department, "What and How to Read" by V. F. Calverton, Scott Nearing, Solon De Leon, A. W. Calhoun and others.

AMERICAN LABOR

THE NEGRO WORKER
THE FARMER
are treated in weekly features.

A WOMAN'S SECTION

Conducted by Rose Pastor Stokes, splendid writer and artist, Leona Smith and correspondence from London by Florence Parker.

A CHILDREN'S FEATURE

The miniature "TINY WORKER" will delight the youngsters.

POEMS — BOOK REVIEWS — MOVING PICTURE SECTION CARTOONS

By the very best American artists — including: "A Week in Cartoons," Satirical News Summary by M. P. Bales.

Regular Contributors to The Sunday Worker.

A. BITTELMAN, Editor.

Writers

SCOTT NEARING
V. F. CALVERTON
SOLON DE LEON
MICHAEL GOLD
A. W. CALHOUN
HENRI BARBUSSE
HERMINIA ZUR MUHLEN
ROSE PASTOR STOKES
WM. PICKENS
FLORENCE PARKER
MANUEL GOMEZ
EUGENE LYONS
JIM WATERS

H. G. WEISS

A. LANDY
and many others.

Artists

ROBERT MINOR
FRED ELLIS
M. P. BALES
A. JERGER
VOSE
K. A. SUVANTO
JUANITA PREVAL
G. PICCOLI
O'ZIM

4 subs for **\$1**
20 weeks for
IF SENT AT ONE TIME

Name

Street

City State.....

Name

Street

City State.....

Name

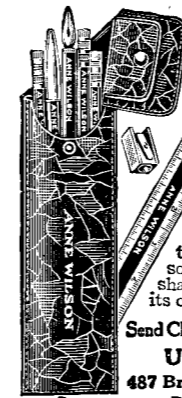
Street

City State.....

Name

Street

City State.....



The Write Gift for Children

Individual Names
PENCIL SETS \$1.00
De Luxe Set: 1 post paid

Finest genuine sheepskin leather case with coin pocket, richly embossed. Any name engraved in 18 kt. gold. Contains pencils and penholder in assorted colors, point protector, ruler, sharpener. Absolutely supreme in its class.

Send Check, Money Order or U. S. Postage.
U. S. PENCIL CO., Inc.
487 Broadway New York
DEPT. 37 Z

The Favorite Restaurant of Radicals and Their Friends

"JOHN'S"

Italian Dishes a Specialty

302 E. 12th STREET, BROOKLYN BRANCH.
NEW YORK CITY 7 Willoughby St.

Popular For Its Good Food, Reasonable Prices and Interesting Companionship

— Private Dining Room for Parties —
John Pucciatti, Prop. Phone Stuyvesant 3816

JUST OFF THE PRESS

The CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

By SAM DARCY.

An illustrated pamphlet describing the conditions of the American working class youth. Never before has the problem of youth been treated more thoroughly. In simple language the pamphlet explains what the Young Workers League is and why young workers should join it.

GET YOUR COPY NOW!

15 cents a copy. 10 cents in bundles of 5 or more.

Send your order to

THE YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE

1113 West Washington Blvd.
CHICAGO, ILL.

The Story

of a great struggle of 16,000 unorganized textile workers

by the leader of the strike



Passaic

by
Albert Weisbord

15¢

DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO
The Source of All Communist Literature
1113 WASHINGTON BLVD. CHICAGO, ILL.

THE SUNDAY WORKER, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., CHICAGO, ILL.