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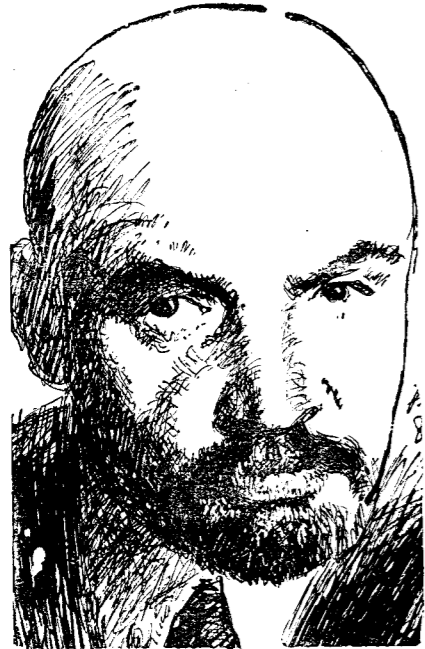
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READ DETAILS ON PAGE 763 AND 764  
OF THIS ISSUE.

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MAX BEDACHT, Editor.

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FEBRUARY, 1927.

No. 16.

## Mexico and Nicaragua

By Ella G. Wolfe

AMERICAN imperialism is on a rampage. It swings its big stick in an effort to whip a few Central American republics into line—so they may be hitched onto the profit coining treadmill of Wall Street finance and oil capital. Mexico is being threatened. Nicaragua is invaded. All the arts of demagogy are employed to justify this plain imperialist aggression. Even Bolshevism is conjured up to play its trick of blinding the masses to the real character of the expeditions. But the facts are too plain. The acts of the imperialists speak too loud.

Mexican oil has sent our battleships into the Caribbean and has landed our marines in Nicaragua. “We” must defeat Sacasa not because he is a bolshevik, not because he is friendly to the working class—nor even because he is a liberal. We must defeat him now because his success would mean a strengthening of the rebellious Latin-American feeling against the U. S. in general—and in Mexico it would stiffen the opposition against American interests, and endanger the easy, steady flow of oil.

We have a vital need of Mexico's oil wells. John Ise in his recent book summing up the oil resources of the United States calculates that at the present rate of American consumption our oil resources will last about six years. Six years! An appalling short period; there is little time to lose. Mexico is still rich in producing oil lands and a number of American geologists who have been busy for years in reconnoitering for Standard Oil report that in the States of Chihuahua, Chiapas and Tabasco alone there are millions of acres of rich oil lands.

In our scramble for oil we must consider not only the 19 million American automobiles that have to be fed daily, but also the fuel supply of a future war. Modern battleships have taken to burning oil. First, because it is easier to store and second, because it emits no tell-tale smoke. These battleships consume millions of gallons. And while these are being consumed on the sea,

other millions are being consumed by the modern motor transport on land. But in the next war the major apparatus will be the airplane which takes even larger quantities of this precious fuel.

But what has Mexican oil to do with Nicaragua? Nicaragua is a good excuse for picking a quarrel. It would be somewhat raw and very unpopular, to say the least, for the State Department to tell the American people that we are fighting with Mexico because we want her oil. Even American statesmen are somewhat concerned by outward appearances, and desire to give a more idealistic reason. So our State Department tells the world that we are landing marines in Nicaragua to fight the influences of Mexican bolshevism. On November 17, 1926, the Assistant Secretary of State, Robert Olds, called the directors of the Washington Bureaus of the three principal news agencies—The Associated Press, the United Press, and Hearst, into a secret conference, and he told them that “it is an undeniable fact that the Mexican government today is a bolshevist government. We cannot prove it, but we are morally certain that a warm bond of sympathy, if not of actual understanding exists between Mexico City and Moscow. A steady stream of Bolshevist propaganda has been filtering from Mexico down through Central America, aimed at property rights and designed to undermine society and governments as they are now constituted. We feel that this picture should be presented to the American people and I desire to ask for your advice and co-operation.”

One of the representatives present asked why the State Department did not make a public statement to that effect. The reply was: “Surely you must realize why the Department of State cannot afford to be directing such a serious statement against a government with which it is on friendly terms.”

The Associated Press fell for this piece of inspired propaganda and published it broadcast—but the “news” fell flat on the American people as a whole and failed

to browbeat Calles into submission on the oil and land laws. Not because the Calles regime is revolutionary—nor always even friendly to labor—but because he is forced by the militant spirit of the Mexican peasantry and working class to make revolutionary gestures from time to time. Calles, like Obregon, before him, has had to straddle in his policy. On the one hand he is constantly bullied and worried by the demands of the American concessionaries with all the power and wealth of their government behind them; and on the other, he is threatened by a well organized militant peasantry and a partially organized proletariat. To remain in power he must try to please these two interests—so diametrically opposed to each other. Up to the present moment the workers and peasants of Mexico have received the revolutionary gesture—while the American concessionaires and bankers have been handed the goods—sometimes quietly—and secretly.

Calles' insistence on the laws regulating land and oil in Mexico is nothing but a revolutionary gesture to his militant constituents. The law decides nothing. It is the supreme court of Mexico that has the final say. And how has the court decided in the past? In every case of oil property brought before it, it has decided that the retroactive provisions of the Constitution do not apply. And it will continue to decide in this manner, in favor of American interests. In fact, in the latest interviews of Calles to the press and in the last conciliatory one of Aaron Saenz, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Mexico, as much has been promised. Our State Department knows this, yet it is kicking up such a fuss. First, because the very existence of such laws are a source of constant annoyance to the Anglo-Saxon. His puritan sense and desire for security urge him on to fight for the repeal. They want to eliminate the red tape of appealing to the court in each dispute. Calles, however, feels that on this he cannot surrender. Such a surrender would bring the workers and peasants against him.

Why is Nicaragua the field of battle for Mexican oil? First, because developments there occurred at the same time as our State Department was browbeating Mexico into a retreat on the oil and land laws, and it could be used as a source of attack against the Calles regime. A brief historic summary of the events leading to the present conflict in Nicaragua will help to further explain.

In February, 1923, at a conference held in Washington between the United States and five Central American states—an agreement was signed providing that: "The violent or illegal alteration of the constitution of any of the countries is a menace to the peace of all and each promises not to recognize a government in another state resulting from a coup d'etat or revolution against a recognized government."

Under certain conditions peace means greater profits to the investor—and the above treaty was calculated to be more profitable in the long run.

In October, 1924, a perfectly legal election was held in Nicaragua, and Solorzano and Sacasa were elected President and Vice-President respectively—defeating the Chamorro ticket, two to one.

Prior to this election the Nicaraguan national bank and the national railways were in the hands of American bankers. The Solorzano and Sacasa government bought back the railway and the bank.

A few months after this, Chamorro, Minister of War in the Solorzano cabinet, with the aid of Diaz, the present president of Nicaragua, executed a coup d'etat against Solorzano and forced the latter to resign—and Sacasa—who then constitutionally was entitled to the presidency, was forced into exile.

Chamorro has always been the friend of American bankers—and as soon as he took power he offered them the Nicaraguan Railway and bank in return for a loan. These bankers pressed the State Department to recognize Chamorro—but in view of the five-power pact signed in Washington in 1923, it would have been too raw even for the American State Department to recognize him. However, if a creature of Chamorro's could be substituted—one just as "friendly"—the State Department let it be understood that recognition would be granted forthwith. Chamorro then decided that Diaz would be the right man, and he had congress (with all the "Liberals" eliminated) "elect" him. Three days later (for the above many reasons), the State Department recognized Diaz as the legal president of Nicaragua. Of course, no amount of word twisting can convince those acquainted with the provisions of the five-power treaty that the U. S. acted in line with this treaty in recognizing Diaz.

Mexico followed with the recognition of Juan Sacasa, the constitutional president of Nicaragua, which infuriated the State Department. It again began to issue statements accusing Mexico of attempting to bolshevize Nicaragua and to endanger the position of the United States in the zone of the Panama Canal; it increased the number of battleships in the Caribbean and suddenly the American press increased its number of stories on the revolutionary movements in Mexico.

In these many troublesome months Mexico has consciously tried to establish friendlier relations with Central America. Her efforts have been feeble and quite unobtrusive. She made several gifts of radio stations to three of the Central American countries—of libraries to others, scholarships for Central American students in the University of Mexico. The State Department has watched these first beginnings with great interest and hostility. Unfortunately the State Department could not state frankly that this Mexican tendency is one of the causes for our hostility—and so the administration began to justify its brow-beating policy in the Caribbean by a number of hypocritical acts.

First: We sent our bluejackets to Nicaragua "to protect her from" Sacasa who had made an agreement with Calles to establish a bolshevist government there.

When that was ridiculed then:

We sent our troops and battleships with 10,000 men to "protect our citizens and our property" in Nicaragua.

When the absurdity of that excuse was ridiculed by the press, then;

The administration trots out the plea that we must protect our property rights in the future Nicaraguan

canal against Mexico. When Sacasa says that no one in Nicaragua is attempting to endanger the treaty granting canal rights to the U. S.:

Then "we will brook no interference in our Caribbean policy."

The inconsistent, hypocritical, uncertain movements of Coolidge and Kellogg has created a general conviction that the massing of so many battleships in the Caribbean has nothing to do with the Nicaraguan affair—that 100 marines could keep Diaz in power but that it is aimed directly at Mexico. As time progresses the intention of Coolidge becomes more sharply defined. First we will defeat Sacasa—even if we have to exterminate all of his followers—and then the U. S. will leave several hundred marines to keep Diaz in power. That settled, our bankers will be once more free to negotiate a large loan to Diaz, who has already announced his desire for the loan in return for which he will turn over the Nicaraguan Railway and bank to American interests, and the U. S. will have added another black page to the history on her policy in the Caribbean.

That settled, the administration will be able to center all of its attention on the Mexican situation. "We" will make no war on Mexico. "We" will not intervene in Mexico. First, because it is too unpopular at the present time. Second, the proposition is too expensive. Intervention in Mexico implies a long drawn out struggle—over thousands of miles of mountainous territory excellently suited to sniping and guerrilla warfare at which the Mexican people are much more expert than the American soldiers. After the long and costly invasion—if the United States takes some of the important and strategic cities, it will entail an enormous army of occupation for many years.

Intervention is really not necessary. With the proper kind of imperialistic tactics so well known to "US" because used so often before—it is possible to get the opposition in Mexico to fight for "US", to overthrow the present regime. The opposition has already promised a modification of Article 27, eliminating the "obnoxious" retroactive clauses, and a revision of the oil and land laws. The State Department need do only two things—first, break diplomatic relations with Mexico, and lift the arms embargo to Mexico. This will mean power, ammunition and plenty of money for the Catholic and landed opposition with which to overthrow Calles. If and when this happens the ensuing struggle will not be short nor simple. Its final success is even doubtful. The opposition will meet adamant resistance from the partially organized peasantry and proletariat which the

Calles government will arm against the counter-revolution. The workers and peasants will fight to protect what few and meager rights they have won during the last decade and a half, for they know that should the Church and landed opposition come to power—all rights will be destroyed.

American imperialism is gradually swallowing Central America. South America is next on the list. The Monroe Doctrine is preparing to celebrate its final triumph.

Mr. Borah, Chairman of the Foreign Relation Committee of the United States senate, protests against the invocation of the Monroe Doctrine. He claims that because no European government is interfering in Nicaragua the United States are not justified in excusing their own aggression as a defense of the Monroe Doctrine. But Mr. Borah is wrong. The Monroe Doctrine was originally the expression of a very clear foresight of the development of American capitalism. It reserved all American territory for United States capitalism at a time, when the latter was still fully occupied in opening its own native resources to exploitation. This period of service of the Monroe Doctrine is now terminated. United States capital, by the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine through its government, has preserved all the choice morsels of American territory from the covetous desires of European capitalist countries. But now it wants to harvest the fruit of this labor. It wants to consume these morsels itself.

There can be no doubt that the present expeditions of American capital in the Caribbean are in execution of the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine is not an instrument of peace. It is, first, a threat of war against all European capitalist governments, if the latter should actively challenge the priority rights of United States capitalism to all territory on both American continents—North and South; and, second, it is a threat of war against all central and South American countries if any of the latter should actively challenge the rights of the United States capitalists to make them their private objects of exploitation.

From this point of view the present military and naval expedition of the United States in the Caribbean must be judged, and any judgment from this standpoint must come to the conclusion that even a temporary "peaceful" settlement of the present controversy cannot mean peace, but merely another step toward the final consummation of the object of the Monroe Doctrine: The economic, political—and military conquest of Central and South America by the United States capitalists.

# American Labor at Cross Roads

By Max Bedacht

AMERICAN capitalism occupies a unique position in present day world history. In the midst of a decaying capitalist world it displays a power, a vitality, a profitability, a tranquility, an air of permanency, that seems to disprove the very thesis of the decay of capitalism. While capitalist decay produced on the one hand the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia, it also produced the highest peak of capitalist development in America. While the Soviet Union is at once an example for, and one of the instruments of a proletarian overthrow of capitalism, America seems at once an example for the possibility, and an instrument for the achievement of a long continuation of capitalism as a social institution. America has become the counter-pole to the Soviet Union on the axle around which revolves the social whirl produced by the imperialist war. While Russia seems to signify the necessity and possibility of the new, America seems to signify the possibility of and vitality for the continuation of the old.

It is one of the tasks of the Americanization of Marxism-Leninism to analyze the historic and immediate conditions of existence of American capitalism and to prove that America is no exception to the rule of capitalist development to the point of necessity and reality of a proletarian revolution, but that it is rather a shining proof of that rule. While we hope to be able to contribute to this task through our coming magazine "The Communist", we can deal in this article only with one immediate phase of the class struggle in America, a phase, however, which denotes a sharpening—and not an ebbing of the class struggle.

The present offensive against the left wing in the American trade unions, and, as a part of that, the recent conference in New York "for the preservation of the trade unions", is symptomatic of the present processes of development in the American labor movement. The American trade union movement does not recognize the existence of the class struggle. But the class struggle does not reciprocate. Its progress does not leave the trade unions unaffected; nor does it leave the conditions unaffected under which the trade unions exist and act. These conditions today demand more and more conscious class action by the workers and, in preparation for such class action, are gradually changing the ideology of the working masses from pro-capital to pro-labor. These are the first steps to an anti-capitalist ideology. The still persisting old and the gradually advancing new ideology within the labor movement itself have come to grips, and have thus caused the enactment of an important battle of the class struggle within the labor movement itself.

America is in many respects fortunate. In Germany, Austria, Italy, etc., the first important struggle between these ideologies took the form of outward struggles be-

tween capital and labor, and led to the temporary defeat of the revolution. In America the main battle of this phase takes place before the revolution. In Germany this battle defeated the revolution. In America the end of this battle will be the beginning of the revolution. The present attack against the left wing in the needle trade unions is a temporarily acute phase in this battle.

## Americanization of Production Standards in Europe Means Europeanization of Living Standards in America.

In this fight the great international problem of the proletariat is brought home to the American worker in form of a purely American issue. While the logical quintessence of the issue is "Communism versus Capitalism", yet the immediate form is much more concrete and much nearer the understanding of the American worker. American capitalism is pictured in Europe as the savior of the capitalist world. In Germany, for instance, there is unity from Hilferding over Scheideman to Stresemann on the thesis that the safety of German capitalist economy lies in the Americanization of production standards. In Germany, this slogan may even mislead the workers for a while. But for the American worker this internationalization of American production standards has a very serious aspect: **The Europeanization of the living standards of the workers.**

This last mentioned danger may not be near enough to arouse immediately a militant reaction among the working masses; yet it is clearly enough discernible. The capitalists anticipate it. It becomes their conscious aim. Their policy, politically, and economically, is a clear preparation for this aim.

American capitalism, because of extremely favorable circumstances, could, up to the immediate past, enhance its wealth by primitive accumulation. In fact, most great American fortunes were amassed via that road—spoliation of the public domain, expropriation of shareholders through stock manipulations, through swindle, corruption, theft. The tremendous and hitherto untouched national resources were thus expropriated by American capital. The newness of civilization in America enabled American capitalism practically to leap over whole periods of development, which painfully employed society in Europe. America needed not to contribute to these developments but could reap their full benefit. Not having to spend much energy for many of the achievements of social development, it could leap ahead—and outrank its less fortunately situated brothers of Europe. Also, because of these favorable conditions for American capitalism, it could advance with less pains for the proletariat. The misery, for instance, which attended the English workers as a result of the change from petty handicraft to manufacture, and from manufacture to machine production hardly touched the American pro-

letariat. The birth pangs of these changes were left in Europe; but America benefited by the changes. The newness of the country did not necessitate with every new invention the discard of all old methods and old means, or a prolonged parallel use of both—old and new methods. As a machinery of production was being built up it was always built on the best and latest achievements necessitating very little discard of antiquated forms. For all of these reasons, American capitalism could achieve much greater results in accumulation by increasing relative exploitation of the workers than were or could be achieved by European capital.

## American Worker Most Exploited—and Most Satisfied.

While thus the American worker became perhaps the most intensely exploited worker of the world, yet this exploitation was less oppressive because it was less noticeable. The socially necessary labor required for the production of labor was so low that even at comparatively short hours and high wages of the American worker, American capital reaped a richer harvest from exploitation than European capital did at longer hours and lower wages. **This is one important reason for the ideological backwardness of the American proletariat.**

But times have changed. The country's reserves of natural resources are almost fully expropriated by American capital. The sources for a further considerable increase of relative exploitation are drying up. One of the contributing reasons for this is the crisis of world capitalism, produced by the imperialist war.

As long as America occupied an exceptional position in effecting within itself a more unified and universal application of best methods—and most effective centralization of means—of production, not only its capitalist class could benefit by this exceptional position, but, in a limited sense, even its proletariat. But with the world-wide application of these "American" methods American capitalism and the American working class lose the position of exclusive beneficiaries of these methods. The immediate reaction, therefore, to Americanization of European industry is a natural tendency of leveling internationally the standard of living of the workers. Since capitalism cannot allow any development to interfere with its rate of profit, it is clear that this leveling process of the standard of living of the international proletariat will not mean an upward revision of the European to American, but a downward revision of American to European standards. That is not an idle prophecy. Our Garys and other leading American capitalists, have again and again predicted it as a result of competition of European labor.

Here we can only mention that the "Americanization" of world production will, of course, also not eliminate, but rather sharpen, the antagonisms between the different national groups of capitalists. And the friend "Americanization" which was to have saved European and world capitalism from defeat, will lead it to new imperialist wars and to utter destruction.

However, we can concern ourselves here only with the immediate dangers lying ahead of the American working class. It is these dangers that have taken on a con-

crete form in the present attacks against the left wing in the unions, which are merely a new offensive of capitalism against the American workers.

## Why the Offensive Now?

The background of this offensive is a two-fold one.

First: The last year has been an unprecedentedly fruitful one for American capitalism. Standard Oil, American Motors, American Steel, etc., have cut extremely juicy melons in form of stock dividends. Stock dividends are paid from accumulated profits. Instead of paying dividends according to profits, the corporations keep "down" the percentage of dividends to 8, 10, or 12% and let the undistributed profits accumulate. After they reach 30, 40, or 50% of the original stock capital, the Board of Directors decide to enlarge their capital. New stock is issued; but instead of being sold on the market, it is paid for out of the accumulated profits and distributed free to the old stockholders in proportion to their holdings. Thus a capital of 100 millions is turned into a capital of 150 millions by a 50% stock dividend, without cost of even one single cent to the stockholders. And next year the 12 or 15% dividends will be paid on 150 instead of only on 100 millions.

According to tabulations made by the Chicago Journal of Commerce, the total profits of the American capitalists in 1926 reach 9 billion dollars and equal almost the total amount of wages paid during that period to the workers employed in American industry.

It need not be emphasized that in time of business depression the initiative for a downward revision of wages is with the capitalists; but these same capitalists display no initiative whatever for an upward revision in years of rich harvest. But in such years the workers generally take the offensive. Yet the last two years have been remarkably free from great labor struggles. In fact, the basic industries only witnessed one great movement in that period—the anthracite strike. And because of the policies of John L. Lewis, even that was practically lost. What is the reason for this phenomenon?

## Trade Unions Are Natural Fighting Organizations.

The American trade unions, like the economic associations of workers in all countries, were formed potentially as instruments of the class struggle. That is, they were formed as a reaction to the necessity for the workers to fight for achievement and maintenance of a decent living standard. But while the class struggle forced its way to the surface in all maneuvers and struggles, yet the ideology of the unions was opposed to the very idea of class struggle. The dominating tendency was not a class but a craft ideology. A guild spirit and not a class spirit dominated. The ridiculous jurisdictional fights within the labor movement are living monuments to this fact.

In the early periods of existence of the trade unions the objective conditions were defeating all theories of the unions. In spite of their guild spirit, they were instruments of the class struggle. In the field of economic relations the unions were the advance guard of the whole working class. The fights of the union for higher wages and shorter hours raised the standard of hours

and wages not only for their members, but for all of the workers. They represented economic class interests in spite of a group spirit and group ideology.

But industrial development has influenced the very composition of the working class. The proportion of the skilled is constantly and rapidly decreasing in favor of an ever growing mass of unskilled workers. This change of the objective situation aids the guild spirit of the unions to transform them from weapons of the workers into instruments against the workers. Under the changed conditions, the union may become an instrument for the raising of standards of hours and wages of its members not at the expense of the boss but at the expense of the great mass of workers, the unskilled, the unorganized.

#### Shall the Unions be Sword or Fetter For the Workers?

In the United States the trade union movement is today confronted with the dilemma: Either the prevailing ideology of the labor unions must find systematic application in tactics and activities of the workers through conscious class collaboration—or a new ideology must conquer the unions, must rebuild them, and must make them conscious instruments of struggle against the capitalist class and against capitalism.

In the first instance all militancy must be suppressed and weeded out from the unions; all battles with bosses must be avoided. The unions must co-operate with the bosses—and must get the bosses' co-operation. A reduction of the numbers organized becomes unimportant. Important remains only the unity of purpose of fighting against the working class and for the bosses. In this case class collaboration contracts become the rule. The comparatively few organized—but skilled—workers become the pace setters in the exploitation of the mass of unorganized and unskilled. And when these unskilled do revolt, when they strike, then the "sacredness of the contract" will keep the necessary number of organized skilled hands in the shop and be the kernel around which the boss can build his strike-breaking productive (working) units.

In the second instance the unions must widen their base. They must make heroic efforts of organizing the mass of unskilled workers. They must break down their craft barriers and amalgamate into industrial unions; they must abandon all B. & O. plan contracts; they must cease strike-breaking tactics under the guise of sacred contracts—in short, they must strive to organize the working class for its economic struggles.

The two tendencies described are battling today in the American trade unions for supremacy. The conscious elements in this struggle are, first, the right wing represented mostly by the old trade union leadership. This group is perfectly conscious of the full implications of the craft unions in the 20th century. This element is for the capitalist system and for the capitalist class. It feels the pressure of circumstances. Only a fundamental change can save the situation for them and for the capitalists. Therefore, instead of giving way to the crying need of widening the base of the unions they insist on narrowing it. Instead of helping to adapt the

ideology of the organized masses to the need of the hour and develop a clear class spirit, they insist on fully adapting the tactics of the unions to the false theory of identity of interest of classes. The right wing says: The difficulties of struggle prove that we must abandon all ideas of struggle against the bosses, and must adopt a line of co-operation with them.

Then there is the left wing. It is under the ideological leadership of the Communists in the unions. It manifests the growing class consciousness among the masses of workers. It reacts to the difficulties of struggle against the bosses by the comparatively weak unions with proposals of strengthening them by amalgamation into industrial unions and by organizing the unorganized masses.

#### Bosses and Reactionary Union Leaders Seek United Front.

The struggle between these two concepts has now entered an acute phase. The reasons for this are manifold. There are, first of all, the advances of the left wing. In the clothing industry these advances were so decisive that in spite of the open support the bosses got from Wm. Green, the president of the American Federation of Labor, they could not conquer the militant fighting determination of the fur workers in the latter's strike and were defeated. But not only within unions does the spirit of the class struggle manifest itself—it even knocks at the doors of the unions from without. Under the leadership of Communists 15,000 hitherto unorganized textile workers of Passaic resisted wage cuts, organized themselves into a union, and forced their way into the folds of the American Federation of Labor in spite of a most bitter resistance of the officials of that body.

These events set two forces into motion toward each other for a conscious united front: The right wing leadership of the labor unions, and the capitalists.

This right wing leadership was always pro-capitalist. But the objective situation made them lead, now and then, a fight of the workers against the bosses for better wages and hours.

The ideological agreement of these labor leaders with the bosses made them good political allies for the latter, pleasant dinner companions, etc. Yet the bosses always felt these friends double-crossed them now and then; they felt that their friendship was not genuine. They realize the value of this friendship, but did not cherish its limitations. A barrier existed between them. This barrier was the fact that the objective role of the unions as fighting instruments for the workers contradicted the theory of identity of class interest subscribed to by the labor leaders. In many instances, this barrier created situations when the friends, labor leaders and capitalists, confronted each other as enemies. But now both have set out to remove this barrier. Now both move to make practice conform to theory. Identity of class interest is to be openly recognized by a practice of co-operation of the classes.

The labor leaders move for this united front with the bosses, first, because it is in conformity with their social concept, and, second, because historic development

demands of them either to fight or to surrender leadership.

The bosses move for it because, first, they want to secure their economic position against possible attacks from the workers, second, because in the inevitable future clashes between the forces of capital and labor they want to be sure of a reliable base of operation in the camp of labor.

#### Offensive Against Labor With Unions as Base.

Out of this background developed the late attacks against the left wing in the American labor unions. These attacks are nothing more nor less than an offensive of American capital against labor. This offensive distinguishes itself from former like attacks by the bosses that in past attacks the trade unions supplied for the workers the main base of resistance. In this present attack the unions have become the main base of operation of the bosses.

For the bosses this development is very timely. The urge for organization among the masses grows with the growth of relative and positive profits. This urge needs initiative and direction. This initiative and direction rests with the organized section of the working class. The natural result of this urge ought to be extended in organizational efforts by the existing labor unions. In the degree in which capital can prevent such initiative and direction of great and serious organization campaigns by the workers the bosses can register victory.

But aside from this immediate aspect the bosses see also the perspective value. The days of "prosperity" cannot last forever. Economic depression is certain in a not far distant future. The bosses succeeded in preventing an offensive of the workers during the favorable period of prosperity. Now they want to prepare for their own offensive in the coming (for the workers) unfavorable period of depression. With "organized labor" a tool of organized capital there will be easy sailing for the bosses. The masses of dissatisfied unorganized workers will be helpless. American capital is indeed dreaming of thus solving the problem of the class struggle and saving capitalism from being sent to perdition by a proletarian revolution.

While this campaign against the left wing has great dangers for the labor movement, yet it is needless to say that this program and its aim are impossible of final accomplishment. All the steps to abolish the class struggle are in themselves acts of intensive struggle against the working class. These acts will not abolish but, on the contrary, will intensify the class struggle.

#### "Socialists" Lead the Fight Against Labor.

The present offensive is given peculiar color and character by two factors.

First, as the direct and outstanding agents of the capitalist class in the American labor movement there appear in this crisis not primarily the hide-bound reactionaries, but the socialists.

Second, while the offensive is directed against the working class as a whole, the struggle is apparently

confined to the issue of leadership over organized sections of the working class.

The first of these factors is making resistance more difficult. The second is making it easier.

American socialists have ideologically shared the treachery of their brothers of the second International. But their comparative separation or even isolation from the actual forces of the class struggle have not made this treachery felt with the American workers. Theirs was really more a sin of treacherous desires than treacherous acts, because their conduct was of too little immediate consequence for the American working class. With the contempt for theory which still dominates the American worker it was therefore extremely difficult to show to the masses the real character of the socialists. Here we have really the first case where the socialists play in the open the practical role which their theory makes inevitable. For the first time in history, the socialists take leadership in an important event in the American labor movement. But this leadership is not one of action for but against the proletariat. Marx's characterization of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie of 1848 fits these "socialists" as if it were made to order.

While applying this criticism we are fully aware that though the American Socialists gained leadership over the reactionary attack of the trade unions bureaucracy against the working class, yet they did not gain leadership over the trade unions movement itself. They are merely used as battering rams. They will never gain leadership over the American trade union movement as Socialists. Despite their desires and their activities, the American Socialists will never play the role in the class struggle which their German brothers, the Noskes, the Scheidemanns, the Eberts, played. The German Socialists gained leadership as revolutionists, and then betrayed the revolution. The American Socialists are already too openly reactionary to ever gain leadership as revolutionists. And the places of an openly reactionary leadership are already taken. Outside of the field of fascism there is no more role open for the American Socialists to play in the class struggle. And it is precisely that role that they are playing now in the struggle against the left wing in the American trade unions.

Meantime, however, there is a sufficient degree of belief in the "proletarian" integrity of the Socialists among American labor, and a corresponding insufficiency of knowledge and understanding of just what proletarian integrity means, to make them serviceable to the reactionaries as their shock troops in their war against the left wing.

To offset the difficulty thus created, there is the possibility of a mobilization of unorganized masses for this fight. A difficult task, in itself, it is true, but an effective weapon, which will and must, in the end, defeat the American capitalist class together with its henchmen of Socialist and reactionary labor leaders.

# American Imperialism and the Fight for the Pacific

By N. Manuilsky

I SHOULD like to direct the attention of the whole Communist International upon the conflicts which develop where the paths of three continents, America, Asia and Europe, cross one another. Three imperialist powers stand face to face there: The United States of America, Japan, and Great Britain.\*

The objective role of attacker on the Pacific will in the future be played by the United States of North America, while the objective role of defenders falls to Great Britain and Japan. American imperialism is intricately bound up with the struggle for world hegemony. In the coming world war, if the fate of humanity is not previously fundamentally remodelled by the proletarian revolution, American imperialism will play the leading role. America is already arming now for this war on the Pacific; there is already an extensive literature which discusses this question in detail; and even the very time (1931-33) is set; plans of operations are described; in brief, the picture which we had several years before the war in Europe, is beginning to resurrect itself. At that time, prior to the world war, one could find in military literature detailed drafts of the German attack upon Belgium, which were later, in the first days of August, 1914, carried into effect with photographic fidelity.

The whole development of American imperialism in the last 25 years testifies that this relentlessly approaching struggle on the Pacific is in no sense a creation of fantasy. The ruling classes also recognize this. Prof. Holl, of Sydney University, one of the most prominent experts on Pacific problems, expressed himself on the situation in the Pacific as follows:

"In studying the situation which has arisen on the

NOTE: This article is an excerpt of a most interesting speech made by Comrade Manuilsky before the full session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. We hold the publication of this speech most timely. A Washington office boy of Wall Street, the Secretary of State is called before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to give reasons for the invasion of Nicaragua by the United States military forces. He appears and treats the Senate Committee like a patriotic fourth of July crowd; he delivers a red-baiting grandstand oration. But another office boy of Wall Street had spoken before him. Coolidge had sent a special message to Congress and in it stated very openly: "We are in Nicaragua because American financial interests demand it."

In the face of the recent developments of American Imperialism and the different and even contradictory explanations given for them by the official agents of American capital, a clear analysis of the perspective of American imperialism is very timely.—Editor.

Pacific," he said three months ago, "one cannot avoid a deep concern. This talk of the Pacific taking the place of the Atlantic as the international arena, must not be taken lightly. Precisely on the Pacific the apparatus for the settlement of international conflicts is weaker than anywhere."

And the same Holl complains with lyrical sorrow, that no such institution as the League of Nations prevails on the Pacific:

"The League of Nations, despite its shortcomings, is a body that tries to be of service in international questions (!). Yet it is impossible to turn to the League of Nations in any more important conflict because the United States is not a member."

It is, of course, an entirely debatable question as to how far the League of Nations can be an instrument "for the settlement of international conflicts". Yet it is extraordinarily symptomatic of the entire international situation that it is just the Pacific Ocean which is not subject to the influence of even so powerless an institution like the European League of Nations.

The notorious Washington conference (1921) gave rise to certain pacifist illusions, because it put a check on the growth of naval armaments. Yet it eliminated neither the causes nor the chances of the conflict, it merely deferred them. Prior to this conference, American imperialism worked tirelessly and persistently on the strengthening of its military-strategical positions in the fight for the Pacific, for the markets of the Far East. In 1898, as a result of the Spanish-American war, the Americans took Cuba from the Spaniards, an island near the shores of Central America and the key to the Atlantic side of the future Panama Canal. At the same time, the United States annexed also another island, Porto Rico, which is of great importance in guarding the entrance of the Panama Canal.

An additional result of the Spanish-American war was the annexation of the Philippines, at the entrance of the South China Sea, on the Asiatic shores of the Pacific Ocean. The Philippines can be compared to a revolver, the muzzle of which is pointed at Japan. The revolver is dangerous, because at the very opening of the war it could be captured by Japan, since the Philippines lie opposite the Japanese naval base of Formosa. Yet the Philippines have economic importance also for the United States. It is well-known that the United States are absolutely dependent upon Britain for their supply of rubber. Investigations undertaken recently have shown that climatic and soil conditions are favorable for the raising of rubber in the Southern part of the islands. On the island of Mindanao and the small islands adja-

cent there can be accommodated at least 1,500,000 rubber trees which will produce approximately 200,000 tons of rubber, enough to supply the world market.

In the same year 1898 the United States, by skillful utilization of the revolutionary movement in the Hawaiian Islands (on the way between the American Pacific coast and the Philippines), annexed also these islands and transformed them into one of the chief links in the chain of naval bases on the Pacific Ocean. In order to comprehend the importance of these islands in the struggle for the Pacific, one must take into consideration the fact that not a single ship can sail across the Pacific and back without at least running into one of their harbors. Aside from the Hawaiian Islands there is not another point on the Pacific where ships can supply themselves with coal and might to a certain extent be reckoned as the Gibraltar of the Pacific Ocean. Here upon these islands at Pearl Harbor the American navy concentrates its aeroplane fleet consisting of 150 aeroplanes. A fleet of submarines alternative with torpedo boats. The dry dock can accommodate simultaneously a dreadnought and a cruiser. The range of the radio station in Hawaii includes China, Australia, and New York. In concrete barracks there is infantry equipped for gas warfare, mine throwers, etc. This is the switchyard of the coming war in the Pacific Ocean. Only very recently the United States assigned 20 million dollars for further fortifications on Hawaii.

All these annexations were only the prelude to a step that is of dominant importance for the imperialist offensive of the United States on the Pacific—the building of the Panama Canal which was completed in August 1914. The cannons' roar of the imperialist war drowned out this event that signified a new Pacific epoch of American foreign policy, so that as a result it failed to receive the attention it deserved. But only after the opening of the Panama Canal which saved the American fleet 8—10,000 miles and the hazardous trip around Tierra del Fuego and through the Magellan Straits, could American imperialism write upon its banners Roosevelt's words: "In the history of mankind there begins a Pacific era", and "the domination of the Pacific must belong to the United States". At the same time it must also be noted that the Washington conference, (which naive pacifist sheets designated as the beginning of a "peaceful" period in the development of Pacific relations), was nothing, other than the carrying out of American plans of advance in the Pacific. At this very conference, the United States succeeded in isolating Japan and in breaking off the latter's alliance with Great Britain. A war by America, against the combined Anglo-Japanese fleet would have been an extremely difficult task. Japan, thanks to its military-strategic position, and its system of coastal fortifications, is almost impregnable against attack from the sea. It could be overcome only by a blockade extending over a period of years. But such a blockade is impossible for the American fleet if at the same time it must fight the British navy with its two strong bases on the Asiatic coast, in Hongkong and Singapore. From this standpoint the Washington conference has strengthened the diplo-

matic position of the United States, while the possibility of a war between Japan and America is by no means eliminated, but on the contrary, it is increased. This military-strategic preparation on the part of America was in conformity also with its economic expansion.

## The Essence of American "Pacifism".

In its economic program of expansion, American pacifism has passed through three stages:

Firstly, the Monroe Doctrine. The origin of this doctrine, "America for the Americans", coincided in point of time with that period in the development of the United States in which the markets of North and South America were the highest goal of the American bourgeoisie.

Secondly, at the end of the 19th century, when capitalism in the United States, as a result of its turbulent development, felt itself restricted within these confines, when the American bourgeoisie for the first time turned its eyes to the Pacific and to the Chinese markets. American capitalism unfurled a new banner upon which was blazoned the program of the "Open Door". The "Open Door" is the policy of every rising young imperialism that comes into the world somewhat belated, i. e., when the world is already divided among other capitalist rivals. When the United States made its appearance in China, it found that country under the practically unrestricted influence of Japan and Great Britain. Great Britain was the first capitalist country which had gained a foothold in China. With the aid of Hongkong, its frontier posts in the Far East, which had been occupied in 1842 under the terms of the Nanking treaty, England had been working for decades in consolidating and extending its strongholds in China. On the other hand, however, the geographical situation of Japan made it easier for this young Japanese capitalism, which at the beginning of the 20th century already considerably developed, to penetrate into China. The virile Japanese imperialism crowded England out of its stronghold step by step. Even though Japanese capital was still weak in Japan itself, it penetrated industry, stock companies, and participated as largest shareholder in the banks. It requires only a glance at the curve of Chinese imports from Japan and Great Britain to convince us of the rapid tempo of advance of Japanese capital in China. Thus in 1870 British imports constituted 37 per cent of the total, Japanese about 2 per cent. In 1923 British imports declined to 13 per cent, Japanese rose to 23 per cent. Thus matters stood when the United States appeared on the scene. In 1910, American imports in China amounted to about 5 per cent, while in 1923 it had already outstripped Great Britain and amounted to 16 per cent. The unsuccessful tariff conference of this year indicates the differences of interest that exist between the United States and Great Britain. Thus e. g., American exports to Asia prior to the war, amounted to only 4.6 per cent of the total, while they rose to 12 per cent, and thereby became a powerful competitor against English trade, which, in addition had been injured by the boycott. What else is there for American imperialism in China, than a policy of the "Open Door"?

The third phase of development of American imperialism begins after the world war of 1914-18, after the economic collapse of Europe which followed this war. The Dawes' Plan is a program of the enslavement of European industrial countries by the far stronger American imperialism. American imperialism no longer contents itself with the countries of Asia, but it invades Europe. In addition to Germany, it also "cleaned up" Austria, it prepares "sanitation plans" for French finances, slinks unobserved into Italy, etc.

Each of these three periods of development of American imperialism also found its expression in the foreign policy of the United States. In view of the three expansion trends of the United States—America, Asia, Europe—this foreign policy is extremely complicated. In the struggle for the American continent the United States comes into sharp conflict with the annexation desires of British imperialism. In Canada as well as in Mexico and Brazil and also in Chile and other smaller nations of the American continent, a stubborn battle for influence over these countries has been in progress for some years between the United States and Great Britain. This antagonism is extremely sharpened by the struggle of these strongest imperialist states over oil and rubber resources (America controls more than 70 per cent of the total oil production, while England has practically a monopoly on the rubber supply).

"The rubber war which we have witnessed for more than a year, has given renewed indication of the original sources of these antagonisms between the United States and Great Britain. With no less clarity, however, they appear also on the Asiatic continent, where an economic rivalry is going on over the Chinese markets between American and English imperialism. This is the first factor which determines the policy of American imperialism, it is pushing America into an armed conflict on the Pacific with Great Britain. In the same manner in which the world war of 1914 was in the main determined by the British-German competition, the future world war will be a struggle between the United States and Great Britain for the position of world leadership. Only under two premises would this perspective be vitiated: if the proletarian revolution were to break out in these countries before the armed clash between them comes to a head, or else, if the disintegration of the British empire takes on a more rapid tempo than heretofore, and if Great Britain were to be crowded out and forced to vacate its dominant position.

Much more complicated is the "European" policy of American imperialism. The distance between the United States and Europe is too great to permit the former to exert, today, any direct intervention in European affairs. Even in Asia, in the fight with Japan, the U. S. A. tries to shove forward a third power. All the more so does it avoid a direct mixing into European affairs. American imperialism intends to play, in our century, the same role that Great Britain played in the 19th century with respect to the continent. The U. S. A. will exploit European antagonisms and make use of first one and then another of the bourgeois states or groups as the instruments of its policy. Thus far England has

to a certain extent been the instrument of American policy. Yet it is by no means excluded that the present rapprochement between France and Germany will be utilized by the U. S. A. against England. Yet precisely this need of America for some big power to serve as its tool is the cause of the prevalent "Anglo-American collaboration". This was the second, "European", face of American imperialist policy. Those comrades, as e. g., Comrade Radek, who put this phase of Anglo-American relation into the foreground, make the mistake of "Europeanizing" this phenomenon too much. It is obvious that this "collaboration" of American and British capital in Europe could not be without effect upon Anglo-American relations also in other parts of the world. But anyone who draws from this the conclusion of a lasting collaboration, who sees in this the decisive point of Anglo-American relations, embarks, upon the road of vulgar pacifism. The "European pacifism" of the U. S. A. is a transitory policy determined by the fact that America is not prepared for direct intervention in European affairs. This "Pacifism", which for the time being contents itself with economic expansion, is no new phenomenon, for the history of diplomacy gives a plentitude of similar expressions of "love of peace."

#### American Policy in China.

That American imperialism is by no means peaceable is clear from the whole history of its preparations for war on the Pacific. But even here the offensive of American imperialism takes on special forms. The military-strategic situation, the naval forces, and the coast defenses of the United States are for the time being still such as to serve only a defensive war. On the Pacific coast, all the way from the most important naval base in Puget Sound down to the border fortress at San Diego, a whole series of important points of naval importance are fortified, including the important harbor of San Francisco. These forts and naval bases guard the United States from attacks that might be made upon it from the Pacific.

The American navy is worse off, however, when it comes to offensive operations. Modern naval warfare demands, for successful operations on the seas, that naval bases be not more than 500 miles apart. Nevertheless America has points of naval support on the Pacific, such as the Philippines, Pearl Harbor, etc., which, because of the vast distances separating them from one another cannot insure the fighting efficiency of the American fleet. Sufficient to point out that the Philippines lie 7,000 miles away from San Francisco, and Pearl Harbor 2,100 miles from San Francisco and 4,800 miles from the Philippines. In addition Japan would probably take possession of the Philippines, so close to the Asiatic coast, immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities. Everybody knows this—that the capture of the Philippines will be the first task of the Japanese fleet. On this question America entertains no illusions whatever. Japan is furthermore irresistible on its strategic naval front, from the northern entrance to the Sea of Japan down to the southern section of the East China Sea.

Japan is much worse off on its flanks. In America

there is being considered a project whereby, simultaneously with naval operations a land army is to invade the shores of Japan. Theoretically such an attack could be executed by thrusts from two directions: a. from the North, from Alaska, by way of Kamchatka in the southern Arctic Ocean down to northern Manchuria; b. from the South, through a landing on the coast of the South China Sea, (French Indo-China), and then into South and Central China. But both of these plans are bound up with tremendous hazards that the troops transport, etc., may be sunk—and this contradiction between the economically aggressive role of American imperialism, and its military-strategic possibilities, determines the attitude of the United States towards China.

The United States has an interest in the rising of a more or less powerful state in eastern Asia, capable of challenging Japan for the domination of the Asiatic peoples of the Far East. Hence the "neutral" watchful waiting attitude of the United States towards the military struggles now taking place in China. If the worst comes to the worst the United States is even ready to make a settlement with a victorious Canton government, since the practical Yankees weigh the perspectives of the Chinese revolution from a business standpoint.

When the armed struggle is ended and the unification of China accomplished, and there enters the phase of economic construction, then the U. S. S. R. will be the only state honestly ready to support the economic resurrection of China. Yet the Americans assume that the U. S. S. R. will for a long time be unable to come to the aid of the Chinese working masses on the economic field. The American imperialists are of the opinion that then their hour will have come. The workers and peasants of China will be compelled by force of circumstances to introduce the "American N. E. P.", and then it will be easy for the United States to make itself master of China. But once American imperialism has taken economic root in China, it will not be difficult for it to break the Japanese rule and to reject Japan's claims for mastery over the Eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean.

Only through such an economic enslavement can China become the arena of the struggle between the United States and Japan. For the same reason American imperialism considers it wise, in contrast to the brutal unadaptable British policy, to appear in China in white gloves. It prefers to apply the contributions which China must pay for the Boxer uprising, for "cultural" purposes for the Chinese. In the mission societies, American imperialism has an army to propagate its influence. It seeks to entice the Chinese bourgeois into American universities because it realizes that in the future they can be utilized as agents of American ex-

pansion in China. All these things are only an advance payment on a profitable business. The interest will have to be paid in the future by the toiling masses of China. This is the essence of American policy. There seems to be little use in discussing these questions with American jingoes.

The question once raised by Lenin for the Russian revolution "Who—and for whom?" is certainly no idle question for the Chinese toiling masses. Great dangers await the great Chinese revolution on the day after its victory. They lie also at present in the web of international interests surrounding China. American imperialism is now the most dangerous, the most cunning, the strongest enemy of the toiling Chinese masses. If the national revolution were to pass into bourgeois channels it would have the "bourgeois democracy" in its wake. But the American imperialists are going to miscalculate, they are bound to miscalculate because they overlook the historical role which China is called upon to play in Asia and on the Pacific. That unclear Pan-Asiatic movement which Japan has thus far endeavored to master, which it has been trying to give the character of a race movement in order to turn it into a tool of its imperialist policy, will unquestionably take on a new face through the victory of the Chinese workers, and peasants' revolution. It will turn into a vast movement of the Asiatic countries oppressed by world imperialism, for their liberation from the imperialist yoke. Japan, which jointly with the white imperialists played an active role in the suppression of the Boxer uprising in 1900, will not fulfill this mission. Only revolutionary China is qualified for this task, and this movement of the Asiatic peoples will be directed against Japanese imperialism as well as that of England and America.

At the same time liberated China will become the magnet for all the peoples of the yellow race, who inhabit the Philippines, Indonesia, and the numerous islands of the Pacific. China will become a major power on the Pacific; it will become a menacing threat for the capitalist world of three continents. China must inevitably clash with American imperialism because the problem of spreading its gigantic population out over the Pacific confronts it even more intensely than it does Japan. China will fulfill this task among the island inhabitants of the Pacific, not with fire and sword, but bound up with the process of the revolutionization of the native population. Yet this is not the most important task of the moment. The Kuomintang Party is now confronted with the chief problem of how it can exploit the antagonisms between the powers that encircle China in order to foster the cause of the revolution. America's position makes possible greater maneuvering. The plans of American imperialism constitute a terrifying economic and military-strategic menace to Japan.



## The Aswell Bill Shall Not Pass\*

THERE is at present before Congress House Resolution 5583, introduced by Congressman Aswell from Louisiana. The ostensible purpose of the bill is the registration of aliens. But the real intent of the bill—as evidenced by its provisions—is a vicious attempt to strangle the American labor movement.

The danger of this bill becoming law is very great. American capitalism wants it. It contains the realization of its dearest wishes concerning immigration. The Coolidge government, through its (foreign-born) Secretary of Labor, has repeatedly urged the adoption of measures provided for in the Aswell bill. And the labor movement is all too apathetic concerning the matter.

One of the reasons for the great danger of this Aswellian monstrosity becoming law is the damnable know-nothingism which prevails in the United States. Know-nothingism is a peculiar American flower, although common logic would doubt that American soil is best suited for its flourishing. It certainly is peculiar. Almost every last inhabitant—save about a fraction of one percent Indians—is either an immigrant, a son or daughter of an immigrant, or is descendant of a not very far removed immigrant ancestor. Yet in this soil has grown the mania that high intelligence, high morality, high ability, etc., etc., are all the exclusive qualities of the "natives" while the "foreigners" are all no good. This Know-nothingism takes for granted that laws directed against "those foreigners" need no justification.

It would be possible to show the role the immigrant played in America. It would be possible to show that while the "native" heroes of American railroad history from the "American" Huntington to the Canadian Hill, have only despoiled American railways, while labor—native, Irish, German, Italian, and, yes, Chinese labor, have built them. It would be possible to show that the fortune made by the "native" Scotchman Carnegie out of the American steel industry was the product of labor, native, Irish, English, Slavic, Italian, etc. America could still be where it is—even though the "natives" Huntington, Marshall Fields, Carnegies, Hills, Strausses and Schiffs, had never been born. But if the millions of Jims, Mikes, Guiseppes, Fritzes, Abes, Ivans and Arvids had not come over the ocean and worked, cultivated, plowed, built, and sweated there would be no America. Whether these are the Jims, Mikes, etc., of today, or whether they are the ancestors of the natives of today does not matter. What does matter is the fact that the detested foreigner, the hounded alien, is the builder of America.

But all this is not decisive in the consideration of House Resolution 5583. The bill is not directed only against the aliens. It will hit them first. But the

effect of the attack on the aliens in the execution of the provisions of this bill will be one injuring the whole working class and especially its organized section.

### The Unavoidable Effects of the Aswell Bill.

The first effects of the bill, if it should become law, would be:

1) The leveling of a yearly tax from three dollars for minors over 16 years of age, to ten dollars the first and five dollars the following years on all adult aliens; an oppressive, an inexcusable tax collected almost exclusively from the lowest paid and most exploited workers.

2) The organization of another army of government payroll hounds with full and unrestricted power to hound to death any real alien, any alien looking citizen, or any one they choose to accuse of being an alien, for no other crime than that he or she was not—or is under suspicion of not having been—born a native of the United States.

3) The establishment of a national rogues' gallery with names, datas, fingerprints and antecedents of every resident of America who has committed the unspeakable crime of not being born a native of the United States.

4) The transformation of every United States consulate in foreign countries into an agency for the hiring of strikebreakers.

What will be the further result of the operation of this law?

The law stamps every foreign-born worker as a criminal. His crime is to be attested to by an identification card. If this attest is missing, the crime of not being born a native of the United States, is punishable by two years' imprisonment, a fine of \$5,000 and deportation.

This may seem absurd. But upon that absurdity Mr. Aswell and Mr. Coolidge's Secretary of Labor hope to raise profit-bearing fruits for American capital.

How will they achieve this feat?

Very simple: The aliens are declared criminals on general principles. Then a whole pack of so-called government agents are sicced on them. Should the alien dare to join his fellow workers in a strike, then these "government agents" will threaten him to the point of submission—not to the law of registration which he may have complied with—but to the terms of the boss.

How would such an outrage be possible?

Well, there is a penalty of deportation on the alien not only for not registering, but also for not behaving like a desirable citizen. And, judging by the source of the law, we can declare without a chance of serious contradiction that striking is not desirable behavior within the meaning of this law. Anyhow, there is no strike which is not officially and legally outlawed by police orders, injunctions, etc. It is clear that there is no loophole for the foreign-born worker. He either works for the wages the boss condescends to grant him—or he is deported.

### No Defense—No Jury for the Culprit.

You will say: Well, there is a legal process. Even convicted thieves and murderers find many times (in fact often) a safe retreat in some nook of this legal process.

Be disillusioned, dear reader. It may be safe for the state to provide in the legal processes safe retreats for thieves and murderers. But that does not hold good for the fellow who has committed the crime of not being born a native of the United States. No chance of escape for him. No court of justice, no jury, no legal loopholes. The "agent" who arrests him, appears also as a witness before the judge and the jury which decide the criminal's fate. And to clinch the matter the same agent is also judge and jury. Final decision rests with the Department of Labor which gave the power to the arresting, witnessing, jurying, and judging agent. The law does not even guarantee counsel to the victim.

The operation of this law, therefore, would turn the foreign-born worker into an outlaw. Thus put completely into the power of an army of corrupt government agents he is at best made a victim of unending blackmail. The main aim, however, is to threaten and intimidate him into strikebreaking or other knaveries against organized labor.

This will be the result of the operation of the Aswell bill.

This is the aim which Aswell and the Coolidge administration desire.

This, the Aswells and Davises declare, is unwarranted slander. What they really want is to keep a check on the alien criminals.

### How to Catch Alien and Other Criminals.

If the matter were not so serious this would be an occasion to laugh. We live in the city of Chicago. Native and alien bootlegging gangs are carrying on a bloody war. Dozens of victims of this war were buried last year. But the murderers are still free. Armored cars with mounted machine guns, manned by these gangsters, are racing and shooting through the streets of the city. A member of the state attorney's staff, wandering arm in arm in the street with one of these murderous "aliens" who was only a few days before acquitted of the crime of murder, is himself shot down, murdered by machine guns. Another one of these guardians of the law, in similar company, escapes from a volley of shots fired at him and his companion only by a hair's breadth. But none of the murders is brought to justice.

If Mr. Aswell and Mr. Davis and Mr. Coolidge want addresses of undesirable aliens, why not address a letter of inquiry to a list of District Attorneys, Chiefs of Police, Republican and Democratic ward heelers, and other high and low politicians all over the country who grant political protection to native and alien criminals in exchange of a share in the spoils of their unlawful pursuits. If these gentlemen are willing to give the information, Aswell and Davis and Coolidge can save themselves the trouble of harassing, victimizing, insult-

ing, fingerprinting, intimidating millions of poor, exploited, defenseless alien workers by a registration law. But if these honorable politicians continue to cash in on their political power by selling political protection, then we are certain that the alien registration provided by the Aswell law will turn out worse than the biblical slaughter of the innocents. Not only will every harmless worker be hounded while the scoundrels will be left unmolested, but the scoundrels will be sworn in as agents to do the hounding.

In passing, it may be remarked here that the whole philosophy expressed in the argument, that this law is to help in sifting out of criminals, is an insulting Know-nothingism. It proceeds from the theory that anyone who committed the crime of not being born a native American, can be rightfully suspected of any other possible knavery. However, the decisive point of the law is that it hangs the Damocles sword of deportation over every alien worker. And experience proves that this sword will not come down on the neck of a rich alien scoundrel for merely committing a few murders, but it will certainly come crashing down upon the heads of the poor workers who may violate anti-picketing injunctions, or anti-strike laws.

### Aswell Bill Wants to Defeat One Section of Working-class by the Other.

The law as proposed is class legislation pure and simple—anti-working class legislation. It sets up the alien part of the working class as outlaws. It intends to disable alien workers for the labor struggles by threats and intimidation. Thus it weakens and defeats the native workers in their struggles and causes the defeat of the whole working class. To get the full significance of the law, let us add that according to the precedent set by Judge Busdick in California, any judge can outlaw any labor organization by a mere injunction and thus make for the alien workers mere membership in any such labor union a crime punishable by two years' imprisonment, \$5,000 fine and deportation. This makes it possible that a worker who has worked steadily for years, raised a family, has a home, can be taken from his family, stripped of all savings, thrown into prison for two years and then deported.

### Capitalist Civilization.

Capitalism is so proud of its civilization. It prides itself on its liberties, its sense of fairness and justice. It forms societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals. It protects birds and beasts. It parades its humanitarianism. But all that is mere tinsel. Real capitalist civilization, real capitalist humanitarianism, real capitalist justice, real capitalist liberties, grin in hideous ugliness through the folds of this law. Capitalism's god is profit. Its sacrificial victim is labor.

But there is still another important feature of the law. Section 19 contains the realization of a fond dream of the American bosses.

According to the official theory of the American labor movement, there is no class struggle. The union con-

\*This article was prepared on request for the Workers' Monthly by the Chicago office of the Council for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

siders itself not an organization of workers, but as a guild of journeymen in a certain trade. This guild is to protect the interests of its members not only against the bosses but also against the journeymen in other trades, against other workers. It was natural that from this philosophy there should develop the idea that the interests of American labor can be served also by clinching a monopoly on the American labor market for the labor already on this market. It is not the place here to show the fallacy of this idea. Suffice it to say that this idea gave birth to the demand of an embargo on immigration. For a long time these demands remained unheeded. But finally the American capitalists had congress limit immigration. The American Federation of Labor leadership said that this was the result of its policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies at the polls. But in reality it was the desire of powerful capitalist interests that brought about the passage of this law.

For decades American capital depended on immigration. With the rapidly growing exploitation of hitherto untouched national resources grew the demand upon the labor market. It grew so rapidly that the natural growth of the American army of labor could never supply the need. Unrestricted immigration became an indispensable necessity for American capital. This period of American capitalism is now past. The development of native industry has slowed down. Now unrestricted immigration, while still attractive to some capitalists because of its promise of cheaper labor, has lost its attraction for the capitalist class as a whole. It would unduly increase the industrial reserve army and thus create a more or less permanent labor crisis. And such a crisis is a hothouse for the awakening of class instincts among the workers. Therefore, we are blessed now with a virtual embargo on immigration.

#### "Selective Immigration."

But the appetite of the American capitalist for docile and cheap labor has not diminished. So he replaced the principle of unlimited with that of selective immigration.

Up to now selective immigration was a mere term. It is true, the immigration law favored certain nationalities,

and the necessity for a visa gave the American consuls a chance to weed out undesirables (radicals). But only an Aswell law would make selective immigration really selective. It would turn every American consulate in foreign countries into a strikebreaking agency. And the immigrant caught by it unaware, would be subject to deportation if he would not go to the place for which he was contracted by the consul.

It is true that the law only provides for contracting of certain trades to certain states or cities, and not to certain bosses. But the local agent of the Department of Labor in the immigrants' point of destination would complete what the consul left undone. He would get the immigrant into the striking establishment, or would deport him.

This paragraph 19 of the Aswell bill, is if possible, more vicious than the other provisions of the law. It gives away the real intent of the bill. The bill is frequently using the term of "Americanizing" aliens. But that is exactly what the bill intends to prevent. The immigrant gets Americanized when he acclimatizes himself to American conditions, American standards, etc. That is what the bill intends to prevent. It puts the immigrant under constant and special police vigilance. And if he should show signs of Americanization, if he should become active in a labor union, if he should want American wages, then Mr. Aswell's "Americanization Engels" would swoop down on him and tell him that American capital can use only docile slaves. And since native workers cannot be kept sufficiently docile by police measures it is up to him, the immigrant, to give an example in docility. If the immigrant refuses, he is imprisoned and deported. If he accepts, he will be a good cheap slave for the boss—and an economic weapon in the hands of the boss to make docile also the native worker, over whom the police have not as much power.

This law must not pass. Neither nationality nor creed, color nor political convictions must be permitted to interfere in one united front of American labor in a mighty action to defeat this proposed legislative monstrosity.



# The Youth and the Labor Movement

By L. Plott

II

## The Working Youth and the Trade Unions.

IF the purpose of the American labor organizations is to improve the conditions of the American working class, it has not proved this in regards the young workers. The American working class youth whose ranks are made up of unskilled young workers, still remains today the most exploited and underpaid section of the American working class.

There is a very limited number of young workers in the American trade unions. Many of the trade unions do not take in young workers, regardless of the years of service and experience in their industry. Other unions make it difficult for young workers to join the union, by requiring high initiation fees, high membership dues, age limit etc. This makes it impossible for the young workers to become union members. It is true that not only do the trade unions fail to take in young unskilled workers, but adult unskilled workers as well. The total number of organized workers in the United States in 1920 was 4,881,200, while the total number of wage earners in the same years was 26,080,689. The percent organized in 1920 was only 18.7. (Organized workers in 1923 decreased to 3,780,000). This becomes still clearer when we analyze each individual industry.

The efforts of the American working youth today should be concentrated on securing better working conditions and generally in the improvement of their economic position. This can only be achieved through organization. The initiative to organize the working youth must come from organized labor. Nothing has been done in this direction. Against the working youth there seems to exist a kind of traditional hostility. Even many of the progressive and left wing trade unions could not get rid of the unhealthy and incorrect attitude towards the working youth, while the unions under conservative leadership look askance at a militant struggle against employers for better wages and working conditions to which organization of youth would undoubtedly lead. The bureaucratic labor leaders condemn class struggle and substitute for it class collaboration.

A great majority of the workers that are organized are known as the aristocracy of the American working class. They are the best paid. The further progress of our industries, and the possibility to compete on the international market demand the introduction of more up-to-date labor saving machinery and cheap labor power. This results in the employment of more child and unskilled labor. This in turn is harmful to the skilled workers who are mostly organized. More and more skilled workers will be thrown out on the streets, as their work will be done by machines operated by young unskilled laborers working for lower wages. Being unorganized, these young workers have no power to resist the employers.

Regarding the high wages received by the aristocracy of labor, we do not know how long these high wages will prevail. It would be interesting to quote the chairman of the railroad owners' association, J. D. Shatford, and hear what he has to say about the future wages of the American workers:

"If we attempt to compete with Europe, we must reduce our prices. This can only be done by the reduction of the price of labor. If we can't reduce labor costs, it means we shall have to lose much of our business manufactured articles." (Magazine of Wall Street, May 22, 1926.)

When we compare American imperialism with British imperialism in the time of the latter's bloom, we will find that Great Britain succeeded in bribing the upper strata of the working class for a long period of time, whereas American imperialism promises nothing permanent even to the aristocracy of labor.

A loan made by a British banker to a colony or to an other undeveloped country was transferred to the British industrialist. The latter exported locomotives, rails, machinery and other manufactured products that were made in England to the borrowing countries. The British imperialists made a double profit. But what is important to us is, that all exported commodities were manufactured in England. This gave employment to the British workers. England was really "the workshop of the world." The skilled workers of Great Britain had a chance to enjoy the offal of the British imperialists.

American imperialism, on the other hand, is greatly expressed in the export of capital. This capital is employed in greater proportion to run and build new factories in the foreign countries. This threatens the American working class with unemployment and wage cuts.

The American workers will have to fight to maintain their present standards. The workers can effectively resist the employers, only when they will be organized. Therefore the young workers, as well as the rest of the unorganized and unskilled, will have to be organized and taken into the trade unions.

## The Social Role of the Working Class Youth.

We now know the number of young workers employed in our industries today, and are also familiar with the role of the youth in production. In accordance with that we see that the working youth is an important section of the working class. This could not be said when the apprenticeship system was in existence. We did not have at that time a crystalized working youth.

We stated at the beginning that "the ruling class must secure the confidence and support of the youth to maintain its power." We shall now see how far this is true.

#### A—The Youth as a Bridge Between the Foreign-Born and the Native Workers.

The American working class today is not revolutionary and does not threaten the existence of American imperialism. In addition to the relatively tolerable working conditions that the American capitalists give to certain sections of the American workers, so as not to arouse the latter's hatred or awaken their class consciousness, the American capitalists apply another method to exploit the workers. They split the ranks of the working class, destroy the solidarity between the American and foreign-born workers and between the skilled and unskilled. The immigrant worker is a stranger to the American worker. The English language which the immigrant does not master separates him from, rather than unites him with, the native proletariat.

The children of the American workers, who are Americanized or American-born, do not understand the native workers. The large majority of the American youth is English speaking. The foreign-born workers will be brought closer to the native workers through their American children. The toiling youth will help unite the American working class.

Organization alone will not solve the problem of the American youth. Today we have labor organization and labor leaders who do not serve the interests of the workers. The leadership of the labor organizations is of great importance. The trend in the American labor movement predicts that the future leaders will come from the ranks of the working class youth.

It is no more than natural that this prediction should be correct because the youth knows the language, traditions and customs of the American workers. The United Front Committee of the Passaic Textile Strikers is a good example of the initiative displayed by the youth. The bourgeoisie recognizes this fact. They watch carefully the role the youth is going to play in the future development of the American labor movement. It would be interesting to quote here the secretary of the Boys' Department of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association C. C. Robins.

**"A great national contribution can be made just now by dealing widely and wisely with the wage earning boys. The mass power of these boys should not be underestimated. The control of every labor union in the country will be in their hands in a few short years." (The Wage Earning Boy, C. C. Robins, p. 21.)**

#### B—The Youth and the Future Labor Party.

The bourgeoisie is not only paying attention to the activities of the young workers in the labor movement. They are also considering other social and political questions that affect the youth. The spokesman of the Y. M. C. A. continues further:

**"Nothing is clearer than that combination of labor are necessary and desirable. When wisely handled they further the cause of social justice and contribute to national progress. At the same time no mass of men can use such power for the benefit of themselves and society without the choicest kind of**

leadership. That leadership can not come from the colleges. If these working boys have a correct understanding of a few fundamental principles of economics, it may keep them from throwing their mass power against law and order and safety of property. Their votes will change national, state and municipal elections. Men vote less by party today than ever before. It is a great opportunity of centuries to teach young wage earners their civic responsibilities. The ideal they absorb before they are twenty will determine the use of their power as union men and voting citizens. (C. C. Robins, p. 22.)

No comments are necessary to explain the above statement. This speaks for itself. The American bourgeoisie considers the toiling youth an important factor in our social life. They see the million army of the American young workers. They weigh their mass power more correctly than many of our labor leaders today. The bourgeoisie is very careful with the young workers. Yes, "if wisely handled"—which means, if skillfully fooled, the former will be able to further oppress the working masses.

Up till now the American workers, misled by the ruling class, believed in the two political parties of the American bourgeoisie. But the workers can use their power for their interests as well. Independent political action by the American workers is not an impossible thing, and the working youth will contribute a good deal to it. **"Their votes will change national, state and municipal elections."** It is possible that in the past the then immediate interests of a certain strata of the American workers coincided with those of the American bourgeoisie. The father of the young worker voted traditionally for the candidates of the bourgeois parties, but the son may not imitate his father. His political consciousness will be determined by the economic factors of his every day life. **"Men vote less by party today than ever before."** This fact is obvious in our political life of today. The masses have lost their traditional belief in one political party. The "best man" principle is now widely accepted. This is not only true of the masses.

The awakened consciousness of the American workers demand a political party of their own. The success of such a party will be guaranteed by the millions of the American young workers especially if the labor movement demands the franchise for young workers 18 years of age and over.

#### The Youth and the Church.

The bourgeoisie is keeping the workers in subjection by various means. One of these is the church. It is interesting to know what will become of the church, when the working youth will find out in whose interests the church serves, and for what purpose it exists today? We Communists say that the church is not a friend of the workers but a tool of the bourgeoisie. This statement is strongly denied by an adherent of the present order.

**"If the facts (the church as a friend—L. P.) can be clearly stated to the working boys, their mind may be clarified and their allegiance retained for**

the church and Christ's service. No more disastrous teaching can come to these boys than the following at the present current in some circles both in America and abroad:

**"FALSE PREMISE I.—The present organization of society is unjust to the day laborer. It must in some manner be destroyed, and a wholly new organization of commerce, trade and industry be inaugurated before the poor man can secure fair treatment.**

**"FALSE PREMISE II.—The church and all christianity are a part of the organization of society.**

**"False conclusion. Therefore, the church and all organized christianity must be destroyed before the working class can secure social justice . . . Wage earning boys are bound to take sides in this question. They can't avoid, their whole future on the way they decide it, and the progress of christianity will halt or advance as these working millions throw their influence for or against the church. (C. C. Robins. pp. 39-40).**

We must carefully weigh the importance of the above quotation. This is said in the name of an organization which had a membership in the United States in 1925 of 968,929 and an expenditure in the same year of \$51,914,400. The above must be true. The Y. M. C. A. is an organization that is trying to divert the young workers from the class struggle and from their class interests.

There is no reason to believe that here the power of the toiling youth is overestimated. Why don't we give as much thought to the youth as the bourgeoisie? The above proves the important role of the youth in society, and we are convinced that to maintain a social order it must have the support of the working class youth.

#### The Problems Before the Young Workers' League.

What is the revolutionary working class doing to win the support of the youth? The bourgeoisie is doing everything in their power to win the youth to them. It uses the press, the school, the church to intoxicate the youth with patriotism, with respect for law and private property, loyalty to the employer and so on.

They create various organizations to distract the youth from the path of the working class, divert their minds from their class interests, make of them loyal, obedient and efficient workers and keep from radicalism or revolutionary activity.

What has been done by the American revolutionary workers of the present day, to counteract the influence of the bourgeoisie? First of all, we must know, who are today the revolutionary workers. The socialists? They never earnestly considered the problems of the young workers. It is one of the great questions which they neglected in the past and they still pursue the same policy at present. The youth responds only to those who are willing to struggle, who are honest to the principles and doctrines they preach. The socialists avoid the class struggle no less than the conservative labor organizations. They have nothing to offer to the young worker. The only one, therefore, that is inter-

ested in and capable of leading the youth is the Young Workers' (Communist) League. The Young Workers' (Communist) League is not afraid of the class struggle. It is the vanguard of the young workers, and is always in the front ranks of the young proletariat. In other countries this was proved by the loss of countless lives of young Communists. Here in the United States, we have not as yet openly collided with the capitalists on a large scale. The Communist league is young, its membership is small in proportion to the young workers employed. Its influence is felt only in a few shops of some industries. The membership has not yet become bolshevized.

But what are the future prospects? They are promising for the Young Workers' League if the latter understands its tasks and takes them seriously. Although the American young workers know very little about the Y. W. L., their circumstances will compel them to know more. The young workers have nothing to expect from the capitalist order of society. The illusion of opportunity and advancement that was the best means of the American bourgeoisie to deceive the young workers, has now vanished and melted away. The day when a business could be started on a shoe string has passed and will never return. What capitalism wants of the young worker is the following:

**". . . not every boy would prove to be a genius, but North America is not so much in need of geniuses today as she is in need in a very large number of efficient and God fearing citizens." (C. C. Robins, p. 21.)**

Hence it will only be through struggle that the young workers will be able to better their conditions. And when it will come to struggle the young Communists will show who they are. It is not the fault of the young workers that they don't know much about the Y. W. L., it is the fault of the League as well. The social composition of the membership, the majority of which is employed in small shops where great masses of young workers are not found, greatly affects this.

The present situation of the League should not be justified with the argument that the American youth is lightminded and is not interested in political or social questions, but only in sports. This is not correct. True the youth likes sports, but we have nothing against sports as such, in fact sports free from bourgeois dominance, to develop the body should be encouraged. What concerns us, is the fact that sports are used as a means to divert the youth from their class struggle. If sports are a good means with which to approach the young workers, let us practice it.

This is not the only way we can make contact with the American young workers. The average wage of young workers is about \$15, whereas they work 50 hours or more per week. On these two issues as well as on many other economic questions which affect their daily life we can successfully approach the young workers. To secure better conditions the young workers will have to struggle with the bosses. Then strikes will take place, the state will participate. The political machine of the capitalist class will be shown up to the workers

and the political enlightenment of the young workers will begin.

We can approach the masses of the American young workers on many questions of vital immediate interest to them in their every day life in the shops. Therefore the shop nucleus will be the best way of approach. The bourgeoisie devotes much attention to the big shop where a great number of young workers are employed. Sport and other clubs (parts of the company union scheme) and Y. M. C. A. branches are established in big factories. Therefore our activity must be concentrated on big shops. We now have a clear understanding of the working class youth, its role in society and in production. We can not be passive. The bourgeoisie is very active. They can afford to offer much that attracts the youth. They have an experienced personnel

who know how to deal with young workers. This should not frighten or stop us. The historical developments are on our side—the contradictions in the capitalist society are so strong that no matter what the bourgeoisie may do, they will not be able to avoid the awakening of the young proletariat. Therefore our problem is that of building a real Communist league, a league which will have the character of a mass organization of the American young workers. To be able to do this, we must study more and know more about the life and problems of the youth. We must understand our opponent organizations better and know how to counteract their tactics. So that when the opportunity and time comes, we shall know how to utilize that weak link in the capitalist chain, the miserably exploited and war-endangered youth of this country.

## Apprentice Training in the U. S. S. R.

By C. A. Hathaway

FOR years the American trade unions have struggled with the problem of apprenticeship. Every union has clauses in its constitution regulating the number of apprentices, the conditions of their training, the number of hours they shall work and the wages they shall receive. But in spite of the good intentions of the unions, the introduction of more and more machinery, especially that of an automatic or semiautomatic character, requiring less craft skill, has caused capitalist industry completely to disregard the training of young workers. Today in America, with the exception of a very few trades, apprenticeship has passed out of existence and those young workers who are drawn into industry, instead of being taught a trade, are exploited by the bosses to a greater extent than even the older workers.

It is true that during the last few years a large number of trade schools have been established in America. Many of these are privately owned, and in very rare cases do the unions have any voice in their affairs. In most cases they have been used by the employers as clubs against the workers. In the great open shop drive of 1921, students from these schools were used to scab on the trade unionists who were struggling to protect their working conditions.

### Apprenticeship in Soviet Russia.

In the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics the training of young workers is now on a much different basis. Here the workers control the industry of the country, and the trade unions, which on January 1 this year had 8,303,000 members, have no difficulty in receiving real consideration when this problem is discussed. They have a strong voice in regulating both the conditions of employing apprentices in the factories and in the conduct of the trade schools which are today becoming numerous throughout the republic.

Before the revolution, however, the conditions of the workers were very bad. Under czarism the average worker's child received only two years schooling before starting his life as a worker. Apprenticeship systems in existence were designed (as they are in America today) to exploit the young worker for as long as possible and to the greatest extent possible. In the textile industry, for example, the children went into the factory at the age of 12, worked from 8 to 10 hours per day, and had to serve ten years to become a weaver and fifteen years to become a spinner. During this long period they received thirty-seven kopeks (18c) per day in wages.

### The Skilled Labor Supply.

The training of new workers became a serious problem immediately after the revolution. During the period of the war and of the revolution following, large numbers of workers were incapacitated for factory work. After the successful revolution many others were drawn into the administrative apparatus of industry, the soviets, the party, and the trade unions. Still others left the industrial centers during the famine period for the villages in search of food. These factors, together with the continuous growth of Soviet industry, made the training of workers an immediate and vital question.

How to meet this pressing need was the problem. Those comrades who were directly responsible for raising the productivity of industry proposed the drawing in of a large number of apprentices. The Young Communist League, which had organized over a million young workers following the revolution, supported by the Communist Party and the trade unions, pointed out that this was more than merely an industrial problem, that in addition it was a problem of raising the cultural level of the great mass of young workers.

Upon the insistence of the communist youth movement a plan was worked out that provided for the taking care of the immediate industrial needs by drawing in an increased number of apprentices. They insisted that long apprenticeship periods be cut down and that evening classes be conducted at the expense of the factory. They further insisted that this was to be merely a temporary measure and, as their ultimate plan, they proposed the setting up of factory schools in which the apprentices would not only be taught trades, but also social and cultural subjects.

### New Apprenticeship Methods.

The reader will remember that before the revolution the apprentices entered the factory at the age of 12, worked long hours and spent many years learning their trade. This has been completely changed. Today they enter the factory at the age of 16, and work only six hours per day until they reach the age of 18, after which they work eight hours. The period of apprenticeship has been greatly reduced. In the case of the textile industry one becomes a weaver now in from six to nine months and a spinner in three years.

Two methods of training apprentices, the individual plan and the group plan, are used. Under the first plan, the learner is assigned to a skilled craftsman, who receives a bonus of 10 per cent in wages to teach him the trade. Everything about the machine, the material and the technique of the trade is personally taught. In the case of the group plan, an instructor, whose duty it is to teach them to operate the machines and the processes of the trade, is assigned to a group of beginners. A general supervisor is employed in the large factories, whose duty it is to check up on the work of apprentices, both individual and group, and see that they are properly taught in all branches of the trade.

Evening classes are conducted in all of the industrial centers for the further training of these young workers. Up until now attendance at these classes has been voluntary, but during the past year there has been a growing tendency to compel all apprentices to attend these classes as a condition for advancement.

The apprentices join the trade unions immediately upon starting work in the factory and altho they pay dues only in proportion to their wages, they enjoy the full privileges of union membership. (This is in contradistinction to the policy of most A. F. of L. unions, which have set up numerous barriers against apprentices enjoying full trade union rights). They receive from 15 to 20 roubles per month to begin with and regular raises in accordance with the union agreement until their apprenticeship is completed, when they receive the wage paid to workers in their trade.

These facts, one must admit, show a big improvement in the consideration given to young workers, but they did not satisfy the trade unionists and the Communists, and especially did they fail to satisfy the Young Communist League, which militantly fights at all times for needs of the youth. They insisted on nothing short of the factory school.

### The Factory School.

Many factory schools have been established throughout the Soviet Union, in fact they exist in all industries and in nearly every large factory. In the metal industry there are about 100; in the textile industry there are 45 and in all other industries they are established in proportion to the development of the industry. The number of students is increasing very rapidly as the following figures for the textile industry show:

	April 1924	October 1925
Total number of schools.....	44	45
Number of students .....	5600	7443
Number under 18 .....	4981	6616
Percentage of women .....	36%	45%
Percentage of students in the Young Communist League .....	46.5%	41.8%

The central school of the Orekevo-Zuevo Textile Trust now has an enrollment of 965 students. It was established in 1921 with an enrollment of 100, which has steadily increased each year. In 1924, the first hundred students graduated and last year 180 more completed their course. Of these graduating students, 95% went to work in the textile industry and the remaining 5% took up work as functionaries in the party, the trade unions, etc., or were sent to higher technical schools for further training. All of these students have proven themselves to be more disciplined, equally skilled, and more interested in raising the general technique of the industry than the older workers. They have strongly supported the campaigns of the Communist Party for more economy and efficiency in operating Soviet industry.

In the metal workers' school, connected with the "Icaar" and "Motor" factories in Moscow, there is an enrollment of 186 students, 15 of whom are girls and 94 of whom are members of the Young Communist League. In this school, which is younger, 37 have graduated and have likewise proven the efficiency of the school as a means of training skilled workmen. Both of these schools the writer visited and studied and in each case was inspired by the methods of teaching the students and by the social, political, and industrial outlook acquired by them.

### The Aims and the Curriculum.

The aims of the factory school are two-fold: namely, to train skilled workers, especially workers qualified to take over the lower administrative positions in the factory, and secondly, to raise the general social and political outlook of the students. The time of the students is divided between practical work and theoretical study, four hours a day is given to each.

In the school, training is given first in the study of the industry with which the school is connected, its technique and its organization, and then in the directly related subjects such as machine construction, organization and planning of work, mathematics, physics, economic geography, and draughtsmanship. These schools are supplied with all of the machinery and equipment used in the industry, or, as is the case with the smaller schools, they make use of the machinery in the factory.

# The Relation of the Workers Party to Religion

By N. Lenin

THE speech of the deputy Surkov in the Duma debate on the budget of the Synod, and the discussions in our Duma fraction over the draft of his speech, have raised an extremely important and at the present moment topical question. Interest in everything connected with religion has today undoubtedly taken hold of considerable sections of "society," and has also made its way into the ranks of the intellectuals who stand near the labor movement, and even into certain working-class circles. Social Democracy must definitely make clear its attitude to religion.

Social Democracy builds its whole world conception on scientific Socialism—that is to say, on Marxism. The philosophic basis of Marxism is, as Marx and Engels have repeatedly pointed out, dialectical materialism, which has taken over the historical traditions of eighteenth-century French materialism and of the materialism of Feuerbach in the early nineteenth century—that is, of materialism which is absolutely atheist and definitely hostile to all religion. We recall to mind that the whole of Engels' *Anti-Duhring*, which was read in manuscript by Marx, accuses the materialist and atheist Duhring of the inconsistency of his materialism, because he leaves a backdoor open for religion and religious philosophy. We would further call to mind that Engels in his work on Feuerbach brings against the latter the reproach that he fought religion not in order to annihilate it, but in order to revive it, to discover a new "elevated" religion, etc. Religion is opium for the people—this Marxist fundamental principle is the pivot of the whole Marxist world conception in questions of religion. Marxism regards all present-day religions and churches, each and every religious organization without exception, as instruments of bourgeois reaction, which serves as a shield for the exploitation and deception of the working class.

At the same time, however, Engels repeatedly condemned the attempts of those who wished to be "more left" or "more revolutionary" than Social Democracy and to introduce into the program of the workers' party a direct confession of atheism in the sense of a declaration of war on religion. In 1874, in the discussion of the famous manifesto of the Communist refugees, the Blanquists, then living in exile in London, Engels treats their noisy declaration of war on religion as folly, and expresses the view that such a call to war is the best means to revive interest in religion anew and hinder the actual dying out of religion. Engels blames the Blanquists for their inability to see that only the class struggle of the working masses, which draws the widest numbers of the proletariat into a conscious and revolutionary political activity, that only this is able really to free the oppressed masses from the yoke of religion, while the declaration of war on religion as a political task

The secondary subjects taught in the schools are of a social and cultural nature such as elementary political economy, the history of the labor movement (including the trade unions in all countries, the Comintern, Y. C. I., the Young Communist League and the Communist Party) and Russian history, grammar, and literature. During the first year two hours per week is spent on political economy and during the second year four hours per week.

The teaching in these schools is done by specialists in each subject and not necessarily by Communists; for example, in the textile school previously referred to, out of forty-five teachers on the staff, only seven are members of the party.

## School Administration.

The schools are financed by the factories with which they are connected. Its supervision, however, is in the hands of the factory management, the trade unions, the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. The direct management of each school is in the hands of a committee composed of representatives from the teaching staff, the students, the trade union, the factory trade union committee, and the Young Communist League.

A modified application of the Dalton plan of teaching is used in most of the schools. Each class elects a students' council, which has the closest relationship with the instructors and acts in an advisory capacity on all questions affecting the class. They examine the programs proposed for study, make assignments, correct and distribute all themes. By this method the individual initiative of the students is drawn upon to the utmost. In the Orekevo school, out of the 965 students, over 400 are drawn into these students' councils.

The students in these schools receive regular wages, just as if they were working in a factory. During the first six months they receive from eighteen to twenty rubles per month and each six months thereafter, they receive an increase, based upon their work, which is determined by a committee of three composed of one specialist, a trade union representative, and a student representative. The students become members of their

trade union immediately upon starting in the trade schools, just as apprentices, with full rights and privileges.

## Enrollment of Students.

In spite of their growth these schools cannot as yet take care of all the young people who endeavor to enroll, so the question of who shall be accepted becomes a serious problem. In order to overcome this, committees are set up, composed of representatives from the trade unions, the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, the factory management, the students, the women's committees and from the Commissariat of Education, who, together with the school superintendent, select all students.

In order to be eligible for the school the applicant must have had from five to seven years elementary school training, be more than 15 years old (these conditions vary slightly in various localities), and pass a physical and mental test. The social and economic conditions of the applicant and his parents are gone into by the commission as a further factor in making their choice. As a rule preference is given to the children of workers in the factory with which the school is connected.

## Building for the Future.

These schools, which are being established at a very rapid rate throughout the entire country, are the most inspiring development in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Here one sees many inspiring things among the ranks of the workers, who have the same revolutionary outlook today that promoted them to carry through the successful revolution of November, 1917. But in these schools one sees them turning out workers thoroughly qualified technically to manage the industries of the country, yet thoroughly imbued with a revolutionary ideology.

The Russian Communist Party is the guiding force back of these schools, not because of an autocratic power wielded over the workers, but rather because it has won the confidence of the workers during the long struggles that have been and are now being waged to establish socialism here.



the trouble to think, the history is a tangle of senseless contradictions and vacillations of Marxism: a mess of "consistent" atheism and "indulgence" towards religion, an "unprincipled" vacillating between the r-r-revolutionary war on god and the cowardly wish to suit one's words to the believing workers, the fear of frightening them away, etc. In the literature of the anarchist phrase-makers many attacks on Marxism after this fashion are to be found.

But whoever is even in the least able to take Marxism seriously and to go more deeply into its philosophical foundations and the experiences of international Social Democracy, will easily see that the tactics of Marxism in relation to religion are completely consistent and fully thought out by Marx and Engels, and that what the dilettantes and ignoramuses consider to be vacillations are a direct and necessary conclusion of dialectical materialism. It would be a great error to believe that the apparent "modernization" of Marxism in relation to religion finds its explanation in so-called "tactical" considerations, in the sense of the wish "not to frighten away," etc. On the contrary, the political line of Marxism in this question is inseparably bound up with its philosophical foundations.

Marxism is materialism. As such it is no less hostile to religion than the materialism of the eighteenth century Encyclopaedists or of Feuerbach. This is certain. But the dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels goes further than that of the Encyclopaedists and Feuerbach, in that it applies the materialist philosophy to history and to the social sciences. We must fight religion. That is the A B C of all materialism, consequently also of Marxism. Marxism goes further. It says: we must know how to fight religion, and for this purpose we must explain on materialistic lines the origin of faith and religion to the masses. The fight against religion must not be narrowed down to an abstract ideological preaching; the question must not be brought down to the level of preaching of this character; the fight must be brought into close connection with the concrete tasks and activity of the class struggle, which is directed to the elimination of the social roots of religion. Why does religion maintain its hold in the backward strata of the town proletariat, in the strata of the semi-proletariat, and in the mass of the peasants? Because of the ignorance of the people, answers the bourgeois progressive, the radical or bourgeois materialist. So: down with religion; long live atheism; the spreading of atheist views is our principal task! The Marxist says: Wrong! Such a conception is a superficial, narrow bourgeois view of "spreading light and culture to the people." Such a conception does not explain deeply enough the roots of religion, does not explain it materialistically, but idealistically. In the modern capitalist countries these roots are above all social. The social oppression of the working masses, their apparent absolute impotence before the blind forces of capitalism, which daily and hourly inflict upon ordinary working men and women sufferings and atrocious tortures a thousand times more frightful than all the extraordinary happenings, such as war, earthquakes, etc.—here is to be sought the

deep present-day roots of religion. "Fear has created the gods." The fear before the blind power of capital—blind because its action cannot be foreseen by the mass of the people—the fear that hangs like a menace over every step of the proletarian and the small owner, and can "suddenly," "unexpectedly," by "accident," inflict upon him poverty, downfall, to be turned into a beggar, a pauper, a prostitute, hand him over to death by hunger—here is the root of present-day religion, which the materialist must before all and above all hold before his eyes, if he is not to remain stuck in the children's shoes of materialism. No mere books of propaganda are ground down by the convict system of capitalist forced labor, who are at the mercy of the blind destructive forces of capitalism, so long as these masses have not themselves learnt, as a united, organized, systematic, conscious force, to fight against this root of religion—the domination of capital in all its forms.

But does it follow from this that a book of propaganda against religion is harmful or superfluous? Not at all. Something quite different follows. What follows is that the atheistic propaganda of Social Democracy must be subordinated to its principal task—that is, to the carrying forward of the class struggle of the exploited masses against the exploiters.

Whoever has not thought out fully the fundamental principles of dialectical materialism—that is, of the philosophy of Marx and Engels—can misunderstand this basic principle, or at least not understand it at once. How is this? Shall the propaganda of the spirit, the propagation of certain ideas, the fight against the thousands-of-years-old enemy of culture and progress—that is, the fight against religion—be subordinated to the class struggle—that is, to the fight for definite practical aims in economics and politics.

An objection of this character belongs to those customary objections to Marxism which arise from a complete ignorance of Marxist dialectic. The contradiction which troubles those who argue thus is the living contradiction of living life, i. e., a dialectical not a verbal or artificial contradiction. To place an absolute unbridgeable barrier between the theoretical propaganda of atheism—that is, the annihilation of religious belief in certain sections of the proletariat—and the success, progress and conditions of the class struggle of these elements means not to argue dialectically, but to turn what is a movable relative barrier into an absolute barrier, to separate forcibly what in living reality is inseparably bound. Let us take an example. The proletariat of a given place and industry is divided, let us suppose, into the progressive section of conscious Social Democrats, who are naturally atheists, and backward workers, who are still bound to the village and peasant traditions, who believe in god, go to church or are at any rate still under the influence of the local priest, who has, let us suppose, formed a Christian trade union. The Marxist must unconditionally place in the foreground the success of the strike movement, must resolutely in this struggle work against any division of the workers into atheists and Christians and actively expose any such division. In such circumstances atheist propaganda can

be seen to be both superfluous and harmful, not from the point of view of the philistine who does not want to frighten off the backward sections, or to forfeit an electoral seat, but from the standpoint of the real progress of the class struggle, which under the conditions of modern capitalist society will bring the Christian workers over to Social Democracy and atheism a hundred times better than bare atheist propaganda. The preacher of atheism would at such a moment and in such conditions only be playing into the hands of the priests, who would wish nothing better than a division of the workers, not according to their participation in the strike, but according to their belief in god. The Anarchist, who preaches war on god at any price, would in reality only be helping the priests and the bourgeoisie (just as the Anarchists in their action already helped the bourgeoisie). The Marxist must be a materialist—that is, an enemy of religion—but a dialectical materialist—that is, one who takes up the fight against religion, not abstractly, not on the basis of an abstract, purely theoretical, unchangeable preaching, but correctly, on the basis of the class struggle, who practically accomplishes his object and teaches the masses most widely and best. The Marxist must be able to take into consideration the whole concrete situation, must know how to find the border line between anarchism and opportunism (this border line is relative, movable, changeable; nevertheless it exists); he must neither fall into an abstract phrase-making empty "revolutionarism" of the anarchist nor into the philistinism and opportunism of the small bourgeois or liberal intellectual, who shrinks from the fight against religion, forgets his task of his, reconciles himself with the belief in god, and lets himself be led, not by the interests of the class struggle, but by petty, miserable considerations—to cause pain to no one, to drive away no one, to frighten no one—who guides himself by the wise rule, "Live and let live," etc.

From this standpoint also must be determined the special questions which bear on the attitude of social democracy to religion. The question is, for example, asked whether a minister of religion can be a member of the Social Democratic Party, and this question is commonly answered, with any reserve, in the affirmative, by a reference to the experience of the West European Social Democratic parties. This experience, however, is not a simple product of the application of Marxist doctrine to the labor movement, but is a consequence of particular historical conditions in West Europe, which are absent in Russia, so that an unconditional affirmative answer to this question is here incorrect. One cannot say absolutely and for all conditions that ministers of religion cannot be members of the Social Democratic Party, but neither can the opposite rule be laid down. If the minister comes to us to common political work, and fulfills his party work with understanding, without bringing himself into opposition to the party program, then we can receive him in the ranks of social democracy, since the opposition between the spirit and fundamental principles of our program and his religious convictions can only concern him and remain his personal contradiction; a political organization cannot examine its members as to whether there is not a contradiction between their

conceptions and the program of the party. But an instance of this type could naturally only be a rare exception even in Western Europe, and in Russia it is still more improbably. If a minister should enter into a Social Democratic Party and then wish to take up as his principal and almost his only work an active religious propaganda in the party, the party would undoubtedly have to expel him. With regard to groups of workers who have still retained their belief in god, we must not only admit them into the party, but should energetically draw them in; we are absolutely against the slightest injuring of their religious feelings, but we win them in order to be trained in the spirit of our program and not in order to take up an active fight against it. We allow inside the party freedom of opinion, but only within certain limits, which are determined by the freedom of the formation of groups; we are not obliged to go hand in hand with those who actively propagate points of view which are rejected by the majority of the party.

Another example. Should one under all circumstances condemn a member of the Social Democratic Party for the declaration, "Socialism is my religion," as one would for the propagation of points of view which correspond to that declaration? Oh, no. A deviation from Marxism and therefore from Socialism is very definitely here, but the meaning of this deviation, its specific gravity, as it were, can vary in different situations. It is one thing when an agitator or someone coming before the masses speaks in this way, in order to be better understood, to draw interest into his subject-matter, to express his point of view more vividly in forms which are more accessible to the undeveloped mass; it is quite another thing when a writer begins to propagate some god-construction or "god-constructing" socialism (for example, in the spirit of our Lunacharsky and his associates). Just as in the first case censure would only be captious cavilling or an uncalled-for limitation of the freedom of the agitator, the freedom of the teacher's methods of work, so in the second case censure by the party is necessary and obligatory. The maxim, "Socialism is my religion," is for the one a form of transition from religion to Socialism, but for the other—from Socialism to religion.

Let us now consider the conditions which in Western Europe have produced an opportunist interpretation of the thesis, "Proclamation of religion as a private affair." Certainly there are also general causes here in play which at all times lead to opportunism, as the surrender of the permanent interests of the working class for the sake of temporary advantages. The party of the proletariat demands from the state the proclamation of religion as a private affair, but does not regard as a private affair the question of the fight against the opium of the people, the fight against religious superstition, etc. The opportunists distort the question so as to make it as if the Social Democratic Party actually regarded religion as a private affair.

But in addition to the vicious opportunist distortion (which in the debates of our Duma fraction on the treatment of the question of religion was not at all made clear) there are also certain historical conditions which have produced the present, so to speak, excessive indif-

ference of the Western European Social Democrats in questions of religion. These are conditions of two kinds. First, the task of the fight against religion is an historical task of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, and in the West this task has to an important extent, or at least partially, been fulfilled by the bourgeois democracy in the epoch of its revolutions against feudalism and mediaevalism. Both in France and in Germany there is a tradition of the bourgeois fight against religion, which was begun long before Socialism (the Encyclopedists and Feuerbach). In Russia, in accordance with the conditions of our bourgeois democratic revolution, this task also falls almost entirely on the shoulders of the working class.

On the other hand, the tradition of the bourgeois war against religion in Europe has produced a specific bourgeois distortion of this war in the hands of anarchism, which, as the Marxists have long ago and repeatedly shown, stands on the basis of a bourgeois world conception, despite all the "vehemence" of its attacks on the bourgeoisie. The anarchists and Blanquists in the Latin countries, Most (who was a pupil of Duhring) and his associates in Germany, and the anarchists of the 'eighties in Austria raised the revolutionary phase in the war against religion to the highest pinnacle. What wonder that the European social democrats today fall into the other extreme! This is comprehensible and even in a certain measure justified, but we Russian social democrats must not forget the special historical conditions of the west.

Secondly, in the west, after the conclusion of the national bourgeois revolutions, after the introduction of more or less complete freedom of religion, the question of the democratic fight against religion was already to such an extent historically overborne by the fight of bourgeois democracy against socialism, that the bourgeois governments consciously attempted to draw the masses away from socialism by sham-liberal crusades against clericalism. Such was the character of the of the "Kulturkampf" in Germany, as also of the fight of the bourgeois republicans in France against clericalism. Bourgeois anti-clericalism as a means to draw the attention of the masses away from socialism in the west is what preceded the present "indifference" among social democrats towards the fight with religion. This is also comprehensible and justified, since the bourgeois and Bismarckian anti-clericalism must be held in check by the social democrats on the ground that the fight against religion must be subordinated to the fight for socialism.

In Russia the conditions are quite different. The proletariat is the leader of our bourgeois democratic revolution. Its party must be the spiritual leader in the fight against all remains of mediaevalism, including the old official religion, as also against all attempts to renovate it, or reconstruct it either on a reformed basis or on a completely new one. If Engels corrected with comparative mildness the opportunism of the German social democrats—who, in place of the demand of the workers' party that the state should declare religion a

private affair, put forward the proclamation of religion as a private affair for social democrats themselves and the Social Democratic Party—it can be imagined how a taking over of the German distortion by the Russian opportunists would have earned a hundred times sharper criticism from Engels.

Our Duma fraction, in declaring that religion is opium for the people, acted entirely rightly, and has in this way established a precedent which must serve as the basis of all future acts of the Russian social democrats in questions of religion. Should one have gone further and set out in full detail all the atheist conclusions? We think not. This might have called forth an exaggeration of the fight against religion on the part of the political party of the proletariat, and have led to a blurring of the boundary between the bourgeois and socialist fight against religion. The first task which the social democratic fraction could do in the Black-Hundreds Duma has been honorably accomplished.

The second, almost the most important task of social democracy—the exposure of the class role of the church and the clergy in the support of the Black-Hundreds government and of the bourgeoisie in their fight against the working class—has also been splendidly fulfilled. Certainly, there is still much to be said on this theme, and the social democrats will on further occasions know how to amplify the speech of Comrade Surkov; but his speech was nevertheless excellent, and it is the duty of our party to spread it among all party organizations.

Thirdly, the right sense of the thesis which is so often distorted by the German opportunists—the "proclamation of religion as a private affair"—should be explicitly made clear. This, unfortunately, Comrade Surkov did not do. This is the more to be regretted, as the fraction had already committed an oversight in this question, namely, the error of Comrade Belousov. The debates in the fraction show that the discussion on atheism concealed the question of the right interpretation of the demand for the proclamation of religion as a private affair. We shall not lay the blame on Comrade Surkov alone for this error of the whole fraction. More, we state openly that it is the fault of the whole party, which has not sufficiently cleared up this question and has not sufficiently made social democrats aware of the meaning of Engels' comment concerning the German opportunists. The fraction debates show that there was an unclear approach to the question, not a deviation from Marxism, and we are convinced that this error will be put right at a later meeting of the fraction.

In broad outline the speech of Comrade Surkov is, as said, of outstanding excellence and should be circulated by all our organizations. In the handling of this speech the fraction has shown a conscientious fulfillment of its social democratic duty. It only remains to wish that correspondence concerning the debates in the fraction should appear more frequently in the party press and so build up a close ideological unity in the activity of the party and of the fraction.

# Ultra-Left Menshevism

By Heinz Neumann

(Continued from last month.)

## 4. NATIONALIST NARROWNESS.

BEFORE the war the petty bourgeoisie of all capitalist countries was the outspoken bearer of reactionary nationalism. In every country it felt that its fate was insolubly bound up with the interests of the native bourgeoisie. The proletarian revolution dealt a heavy blow to this ideology, but its last traces have not yet been rooted out. The imperialist contradictions of the post-war period produce and favor patriotic sentiments of every kind. Especially there where the national question is of decisive political significance is petty bourgeois chauvinism experiencing a new period of bloom. It also exercises a decisive influence on a part of the leftist fellow-travellers of Communism. Nationalist narrowness which many times reaches the heights of the coarsest social-patriotism is no accidental deviation but belongs to the inner content of the left radical ideology. Theoretically this manifests itself in the inability to put the questions of the international revolution on an international base; practically it manifests itself by justifications of imperialist advances through left—sometimes even "internationalist"—phrases, especially when these advances are directed against the Soviet Union.

What distinguishes the proletariat from all bourgeois revolutions, what differentiates the Comintern from the Second International, that is the indivisible unity of its theoretical and tactical fundamentals. Leninism, that is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian world revaluation, is alone in a position to understand and to lead the proletarian revolution in its totality, in its international entity. Leninism is not the product of the backwardness or the peasant character of Russia, as the Mensheviks maintain. Leninism is the theoretical formulation of the experiences of the revolutionary movement of all countries; it is the only universal proletarian theory of the present day. The first chapter of Lenin's "Infantilism" is headed: "In what sense can one speak of the international significance of Bolshevism?"

There the international significance of Bolshevism is explained as follows:

"During the first months after the Russian proletariat had conquered the political power (Oct. 25—Nov. 7, 1917), it might have seemed that the proletarian revolution in other countries would be very little like ours, because of the tremendous differences between backward Russia and the advanced countries of Western Europe. But we have now considerable experience on an international scale which pretty definitely establishes the fact that some fundamental features of our revolution are not local, not peculiarly national, not Russian only, but that they are of international significance. And I speak here of international significance, not in the broad sense of the word—not some features because all fundamental and many secondary features are, in the sense of their influence upon other countries, of international significance. No, in the strictest sense of the world that is, taken in its essence or in the sense of the historical in-

evitability of a repetition on an international scale of what we in Russia have gone through, one must admit some fundamental features of our revolution to be of such international significance."

"Hence the international significance (in the strict sense of the word) of the Soviet power, as well as of the fundamentals of Bolshevik theory and tactics. This the "revolutionary" leaders of the Second International, Kautsky in Germany, Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler in Austria, failed to understand and, therefore, turned into reactionaries and advocates of the worst kind of opportunism and social treason.

We cite this standpoint of Lenin in detail because it is of the greatest importance for a total understanding of Leninism and for the correct solution of the present issues in the Comintern.

Lenin again and again points to the specific peculiarities of the Russian Revolution—the backwardness of the country, the great influence of the petty bourgeoisie—but he never sees in these the essential points. Thus he writes in his article: "Economics and Politics in the Epoch of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat:"

"It is inevitable that the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia will distinguish itself from that in more advanced countries through its serious backwardness and through the petty bourgeois character of our country. But the fundamental questions—and the fundamental forms of social economy—are the same in Russia as they are in any other capitalist country. Because of that the peculiarities do not touch or change the essentials."

In the "Infantilism" Lenin analyzes in a brilliant form the origin of Bolshevism not only from the Russian but also from the international proletarian revolution. "The Russian Revolution," he writes, "had at its disposal such a wealth of international connections, such an excellent orientation in regards to world forms and theories of the revolutionary movement as had no other country in the world."

About the origin of Bolshevism as a theory and a tactic of the international proletarian revolution, Lenin writes in the same article:

"On the other hand, Bolshevism, built upon the granite foundation of its theory, has behind it fifteen years (1903 to 1917) of practical activity. This practice supplied a wealth of experience unequalled in the history of the revolutionary movement. No other country has gone through by far as much during these fifteen years as Russia did as far as revolutionary experience is concerned. Quickness of change of the different forms of movement (legal and illegal, peaceful and stormy, underground and open, small circles and mass movement, parliamentary and terrorist.) In no other country was there concentrated into such a short span of time such a wealth of forms, shadings, and methods of struggle of all classes of contemporary society as in Russia; and nowhere did the struggle ripen so quickly as in Russia because of the backwardness of the country and because of the horrible yoke of czarism which caused the Russian movement to be especially anxious and successful in the application of 'the last word' of political experience of Europe and America."

All ultra left groups without exception question the international importance of Leninism and combat the leading role within the Comintern of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They look upon Bolshevism as an insufficient, backward national Russian theory against which they attempt to raise an especial "west European Communism."

This west European standpoint was formulated very diplomatically by Bordiga in his speech at the Sixth Enlarged plenum of the E. C. C. I.

"It cannot be questioned that the historic road which the Russian Party traveled cannot contain the development of all the historic tendencies which other parties will meet on their road. . . . The development of Russia does not present the basic experience of the international proletariat and cannot show how the proletariat can defeat the capitalist liberal, parliamentary, modern, for years constitutional state which has developed an ability to defend itself."

Bordiga, whose speech was one continuous hidden attack against the leadership of the Comintern by the C. P. S. U., comes to the conclusion that the Communist International must replace Leninism by another and broader theory:

"The International must accept a broader conception. It must develop solutions of problems which lie outside of the Russian experience."

In the same direction moves the well known but more clumsy offensive of Maslov against the Third World Congress of the Comintern which "brought to the European parties more harm than good because it pushed them toward the right." Maslov maintains that at the third congress Lenin went over to the opportunists, misunderstanding completely the character of the German Party.

Domski again writes in his polemic against the united front tactics that "in the period of struggle for the retention of power, the Bolsheviks have developed many tactical methods which they falsely transfer to the west." (Nowy Przegląd, 1923, Page 421.)

All of these standpoints start from the premise that Leninism is not applicable in western Europe under the intricate conditions of the class struggle in these capitalist countries. Thus the ultra lefts deny the whole history of Bolshevism, its wealth of experience in the class struggle of all countries, its proletarian class character, and its international base.

Besides that, the theory of the ultra lefts is in absolute contradiction to the practical attitude in their struggle against the policies of the Comintern. The struggle between the Leninists and the lefts touches exactly the western European problems and the specific conditions of the western European countries: how the united front policies can be applied considering the strong social democratic traditions, the work in the trade unions, concentration of gigantic industrial concerns, the exploitation of parliaments, the unmasking of bourgeois democracy, the struggle against the bourgeois republic, etc. Are these "Asiatic" peasant questions? Or are they questions of life and death of the proletarian revolution in Western Europe? It is exactly in the controversy about these questions that Bolshevism demands that the tactic of the western European parties start from the specific peculiarities of the western European countries. But the petty bourgeois "western Europeans"

maintain the opposite, anti-proletarian standpoint of sectarianism.

Unable to concede the revolution as an international problem, they attempt to demolish the unified basis of the Comintern, world bolshevism, and to replace it in each country by a specific national bolshevism.

At the end of the Communist Manifesto, Marx writes about the "German or true socialism":

"It proclaimed the German nation to be the normal nation and the German petty bourgeois philistine to be the normal man. To every villainous meanness of this normal man it gave a hidden, higher, socialist interpretation, thus turning it into the exact opposite of its real meaning."

Following this example Maslov creates a German, Bordiga an Italian, Domski a Polish Leninism, each one passing his own "Leninism" for the true one.

Their common tendency is their adherence to west Europeanism in contradistinction to Moscowism. They call upon the Communist Party of the Soviet Union within the Comintern, and demand of it: "Hands off Western Europe!" But this left battle slogan is only a spiritless echo of the activity of the imperialist bourgeoisie which mobilized for war against Moscow in the name of western European culture and western European profits.

The struggle about the international significance of Leninism is still carried on in the realms of theory. But with the beginning of a complete struggle against the C. P. S. U. the ultra lefts are nearing the standpoint of the Second International.

The nationalist narrowness of Domski, the leader of the Polish opposition, manifests itself in a left social patriotism.

During the Russian-Polish war Domski publicly polemicized against "a Soviet regime brought to us from without by foreign (!) troops." He protested in a sharp letter against the offensive of the Red Army. When the Soviet government turned Vilna over to Lithuania Domski wrote: "Vilna is anything but a Lithuanian city." This was his way of saying what General Zeligowsky said: "The Vilna territory belongs to Greater Poland." At the same time Domski warned the Soviet government not to demand "any imperialist (!) peace clauses no matter how well intentioned they may be." In 1923 Domski fought against the transmission of the Leninism of the "ruling party of Russia" into Western Europe. In 1924 Domski condemned as "anarchy in the Eastern provinces" the partisan warfare of the White Russian peasants against the Polish oppression. In 1925 he fought as opportunist the whole line of the Comintern in the Communist parties of the west.

Domski is the most perfect, the slickest, but not the only representatives of left chauvinism. Korsch and Schwartz, who, accompanied by the applause of the German nationalists, and to the joy of all partisans of the League in the German Reichstag, voted against the Russian-German Neutrality Treaty because "it might create the necessity of war," are Domski's worthy successors. German national bolshevism, by the way, has already become famous by the fraternization of the ultra left communists, Wollfheim and Lauffenberg with the monarchist generals in 1914 to 1924.

Bordiga is the topmost, Domski and Korsch the lowest step in the downward way from "western European Leninism" to the objective support of imperialist generals and diplomats. Their common starting point is the petty bourgeois narrow minded provincialism, the inability to raise the problems of international revolution from an international viewpoint.

##### 5. ANTI MOSCOW-ISM

In the speeches and writings of the German ultra lefts most space is taken up by a struggle against the politics of the Soviet Union in their Communist Party. The baiting against the Soviet Union goes as a continuous thread through the total propaganda from Urbahns, who at the last district convention in Berlin condemned the policies of the C. P. S. U. as liquidatory and revisionist, over Korsch, who pictured the U. S. R. R. as a "country of rising capitalism," to Schwarz, who in a membership meeting in Saxony declared that "the necessity may arise of overthrowing the Soviet government by an armed insurrection" (whereupon he was duly thrown out of the meeting by the members). It is clear that the attacks of the Korsch's and Urbahn's supply water for the mill of the Social Democrats, and the reactionary trade union leaders, the agents of the League of Nations and the proponents of intervention in Russia. But it is not sufficient to establish these connections in a general way. Simplifications and vulgarizations are not the best methods to kill ultra left tendencies. It is necessary to uncover their concrete characteristics. Anti-Soviet agitation and the defeatist liquidatory and chauvinist tendencies of the ultra left ideology have their peculiarity which distinguishes them from Menshevism of the old order. The peculiarity of ultra leftism consists in the fact that it carries on its disintegrating work under seemingly left slogans, that it attacks the proletarian dictatorship from an alleged r-e-v-o-l-u-t-i-o-n-a-r-y standpoint. Thus their policies become especially valuable for the bourgeoisie and especially dangerous for the proletariat.

Attempts for such a "left tactic" can be found already with Kautsky and divers other slick counter revolutionists. Kautsky's slanderous pamphlet "The International and Soviet Russia" obtained its infamous reputation because it embodied the change of front of the formerly leading Marxists into the ranks of the most obstinate and most determined counter-revolutionists. Today, in the moment of like advances of ultra lefts on the fringe of our own camp, it is time to remember that Kautsky too often covered his treacherous track by "left" arguments. Even the formulation of the subject of his book—"The International and (!) Soviet Russia"—is exactly the most favorite theme of Korsch and Urbahns. Already in the first chapter which bears the sneering caption "Bolshevism as a Brother Party," Kautsky writes that the Bolsheviks employ state power "in order to destroy all proletarian organizations which do not listen to Moscow, by means of brutal force, or where that is impossible to poison them by lies and deceptions."

The relation of the Soviet state to the international proletariat is pictured by Kautsky as follows:

"The leadership of the Third International located in Moscow which is only a tool of the Soviet government and lives only of the subsidies of the latter feels that the subsidies granted by it to other Communist parties entitle it to be their absolute master. Like in the Russian empire it does not permit any opposition in these parties. Many honest (!) socialists who believe in the effectiveness of Bolshevik methods were repulsed by the Third International because of the absolute obedience demanded of them. Only characterless scoundrels and ignorant, brainless illusionists can maintain their standing in it."

Compare with this the last expressions of the German ultra lefts and you will find that in them are reflected completely and unreservedly the conception of Kautsky. Korsch travels through city and country to make known that the international policies of the "Russian State power" are contrary to the class interests of the western European proletariat, and are damaging the Communist parties outside of Russia. He writes:

"The identity is interrupted between the national interests of the economic and political reconstruction in the workers' and peasants' republic of the Soviet Union and the international interests of the revolutionary proletarian class struggle."

Korsch, Urbahns, Bordiga and Co. never tire to attack all Communists who defend the course of the proletarian dictatorship as a "characterless party apparatus maintained by Moscow money and pledged to absolute obedience."

The ultra lefts have not even enriched the vocabulary of the counter-revolution by one single original idiom. Only once in a while they decorate the police style of Kautsky by shamefaced loans out of the Communist terminology. Kautsky writes:

"Thus the Soviet government has been busy for years mainly to enslave and corrupt the proletariat within and without Russia to enervate it, to befuddle it."

Where Kautsky says "enslaving, corrupting, enervating," Urbahns is satisfied with "revision and liquidation."

Kautsky writes that the Bolshevik regime does not lead toward but rather away from socialism. Of the Bolsheviks he says that they live off the exploitation of the proletariat, and that they become the bitterest enemies of the proletariat. Kautsky proves the necessity of an "armed uprising in Russia" by the assertion that "all that was possible in the line of reaction is already at the present being practiced by the Bolsheviks to a degree that cannot be surpassed."

This standpoint is remarkable insofar as Kautsky does no longer, as he did eight years ago, attack the policies of the Bolsheviks as a mandate socialist declaring the Bolshevik policies as too revolutionary, but that he takes the position of an alleged proletarian revolutionist calling for a struggle against Bolshevik reaction. Kautsky no longer poses as an open defender of the democratic bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary, as a defender of the exploited proletariat against the reactionary Soviet Power.

Kautsky, whose white guardist program is rejected even by Otto Bauer and the whole Second International, is using left arguments against the Bolsheviks. Kautsky who is even accused of right deviations by the Menshevik emigration does not find a ready ear anywhere in the world—except with the German ultra lefts.



Korsch writes:

"We have already learned that even the best 'workers and peasants government' which existed up to now, the Russian Soviets, are in the last analysis not a dictatorship of the proletariat, but the exact opposite, the dictatorship against the proletariat, the dictatorship of the Kulaks."

If that is correct what does there remain to be done by the Russian proletariat except to rise against the dictatorship of the exploiting Kulaks? After that it is only necessary to decide whether the "coming proletarian uprising against the Soviet power" is to have a bloody or a non-bloody character—a question which Kautsky considers through many pages.

Kautsky, like the cadet Miljukow and all other counter revolutionaries, bases his greatest hopes upon disintegration and splits of the Bolshevik Party:

"With the growing deterioration of the community, there must develop an opposition in the ranks of the ruling elements and their supporters in the Communist Party and in the Red Army itself which may become dangerous."

One of the German lefts, Katz, transfers these hopes to the present opposition in the C. P. S. U. He advises them to "disregard all legality and begin action."

"We know," he writes, "that an open advance will mean civil war and perhaps flights into Switzerland. But what can a capitalist Russia be to them? They must decide!"

Kautsky's pamphlet closes with the consideration that it is impossible to prepare the counter-revolutionary uprising in a military sense. "To prepare it ideologically, however, is not only possible but even necessary."

To accomplish this—although hopeless—task is the present feverish endeavor of Korsch, Katz, and their ally Urbahns. With their left arguments they make ideological preparations for the revolutionary intervention of the imperialists against the reactionary Soviet state. As the bearers of ideological intervention in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat, they complete the ideological, make easier the financial, and further the military intervention of the bourgeoisie. And all that is done with left arguments and with pitiful success.

How can we explain the anti-Bolshevik ideology of the ultra-lefts? Its source is the complete inability of the petty bourgeois to understand the essence of the proletarian dictatorship. The working class of his own "fatherland" is already a foreign power to him which he considers with suspicion and contempt: the proletarian dictatorship in Soviet Russia, in a "foreign" country, is a completely dark object for him. The policies of the victorious working class are a sealed book for him. Nothing is more instructive than a comparison of the judgment which was formed about the Soviet Union by hundreds of social-democratic and non-party workers' delegates from all capitalist countries on the basis of their own class experiences, with the contortions which the left petty bourgeois spreads under the influence of the bourgeois Menshevik propaganda. The modern industrial worker of Europe and America, even though he may be politically backward, sees the difficulties of the proletarian dictatorship, especially the negative sides of the N. E. P., not in a worse light than Korsch, Urbahns, and their international allies. But

the worker, raised in the struggle, sees with uncorruptible class instinct, the decisive, the fundamental points of the only Soviet Republic of the world. He understands the essence of the proletarian dictatorship, the construction of Socialism, the class character of the Soviet state, the relation of the Soviet state to the proletariat, from his own proletarian standpoint, and it is in just these main problems that the ultra-lefts completely capitulate before the ideology of bourgeois society. The radical petty-bourgeoisie enters primarily a political alliance with the revolutionary proletariat, an alliance for a struggle to save itself from economic ruin. The special economic interests of the proletariat in regards to its immediate partial demands (wages, hours and conditions of labor) as well as its social aims, do not concern the petty bourgeois at all. That explains his opposition to trade union work. The petty bourgeois divides politics from economics. He sees in the revolution only the political side in the most narrow sense of the word. Thus, his 'politics' lose all class character and develop into an aim in themselves, thus creating politicians, pure and simple.

With this conception the petty-bourgeois approaches the problem of the proletarian dictatorship. He measures it by the standard of the bourgeois revolution from which sprang his own bourgeois world. He expects of the proletarian revolution and of the proletarian dictatorship a quick advance from success to success, dramatic effects, ecstasies day by day, the quick achievement of the climax. He does not understand the real proletarian revolution which constantly criticizes itself, returns to the apparently already accomplished to begin it anew, which seems to throw down the opponent only so that he may gather new strength from the earth, until the millions of the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry finally achieve the ultimate victory. "One of the main differences between the bourgeois and the Socialist revolutions," declares Lenin in his report on the question of the Brest-Litovsk peace, "consists in the fact that the bourgeois revolution which originates in feudalism builds up its economic organization within the folds of the old order via the road of revolution, even though it be only the commercial relations which gradually change all sides of feudal society. The bourgeois revolution was only confronted with the task destroying all connections of the former order, of sweeping them away, of throwing them away."

The bourgeois revolution is completed by the taking over of power, while the proletarian revolution must use the conquered state power as an instrument for the elimination of the capitalist conditions of production and for the construction of socialistic economy.

"In an entirely different position does the Socialist revolution find itself. . . Here there are added to the tasks of destroying the old, new tasks of unheard of difficulties—organizational tasks."

These differences the petty bourgeois cannot see. He is void of an understanding of the creative tasks and the creative results of the proletarian dictatorship. He understands the dictatorship only in a banal and literal sense as the execution of an unlimited power. The mere application of unlimited power which at all times im-

presses the petty bourgeois most is an indispensable part but not the decisive sign, the class sign of the proletarian dictatorship. The use of an unlimited power based upon force which the petty bourgeois admires is characteristic also of other dictatorships than the proletarian, for instance, the Bonapartist, the regime of Mussolini or Pilsudski.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, according to Lenin, is not only the unlimited power for the suppression of the exploited, but at the same time a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry and an instrument for the complete construction of Socialism, for the transformation into a classless society.

The petty-bourgeois is unable to even raise the problem of the construction of Socialism correctly. He demands a hurrah solution; he expects the institution of Socialism by law according to the example of the bourgeois revolution. He is constantly haunted by the conceptions of the posted with which the German social democrats in 1919 won numberless petty bourgeois for the constituent assembly: "Socialism wherever we look! . . . Socialism marches!" That is the ideal dream of the average left narrow-minded bourgeois.

In reality the construction of Socialism is not a march but in all countries a difficult, stubborn, long-drawn-out struggle between Socialist and capitalist economy, a contradictory process of struggle between both forms of economy for the leadership over and absorption of the small producers, primarily peasant economy. The Socialist construction is a process of a slow but certain elimination of the capitalist by the Socialist elements of economy based upon the political and economic power of the proletarian dictatorship, upon the conscious activity of millions of producers under the leadership of the working class and its Communist party, upon the active solidarity of the international proletariat.

The left petty-bourgeois does not believe in the possibility of a complete victory of Socialism in a backward country. Of all the slogans of the opposition in the C. P. S. U., the west-European ultra-lefts, like the most, by far, the one which denies the possibility of the construction of a complete Socialist society in one country. The ultra-lefts considered this slogan as "the question of the Comintern."

Because Socialism is not ready-made and present "wherever we look," because it can develop only in a process of years of struggle, therefore the petty bourgeois denies in toto all possibility of its construction. He looks upon the N. E. P. as a deviation, as a one-sided restoration of capitalism. Therefore he attacks the economic policies of the proletarian state which is based upon the admission of capitalism within certain limits with a parallel retention of the commanding positions in the hands of the Soviet state, although this policy presents the only road to victory of the Socialists over the capitalist elements of economy, presents the only road to the establishment of complete Socialism. The petty bourgeois, who only knows and recognizes the economic rule of the bourgeoisie doubts very decisively the ability of the working class to draw the peasantry into the process of Socialist construction. The petty bourgeois sees

in Soviet Russia only a building up in general, a building without perspective, a building without the possibility of Socialist construction. Dominated by the belief of the supremacy of capitalism, full of disbelief in Socialism, he sees—like Otto Bauer—in the first proletarian dictatorship in the history of the world, only an "interesting experiment," that is, an attempt, the outcome of which cannot be foretold. The only difference is that Otto Bauer leans toward the belief that the experiment will be successful while the ultra-lefts—more Menshevik than even the Austro-Marxists—are convinced that it is impossible to get along without the bourgeoisie.

Because they deny the Socialist basis of the proletarian dictatorship, therefore, they also reject its political superstructure from the conception of the Russian opposition. They not only consider the Soviet state as a bureaucratic structure which is completely under the influence of the well-to-do peasants, the class line of which must be corrected; they go even further. They consider the Soviet state as a Kulak state under a disguised capitalist rule, as an enemy and exploiter of the worker and poor peasant. An unavoidable result of this judgment is the attack upon the foreign policies of the Soviet state as "red imperialism." With these conclusions, the ultra-left theories return from the proletarian dictatorship to their own practical and political sources. They arrive at the formulation of Kautsky: "The International and Soviet Russia." We have seen before that the ultra-lefts answer this question for the Third International in the same concrete form as Kautsky answered it for the Second International. According to them the policies of the Soviet State are in contradiction to the class interests of the international proletariat and the international proletariat must put itself in opposition to the Soviet state. This answer, at the same time, is a positive position to the only question in which there does not exist a full guarantee against a prevention of Socialist construction, against the restoration of bourgeois order in the Soviet Union. **The construction of a class antagonism between the Soviet state and the international proletariat is a position in favor of imperialist intervention.** Here the political development of the petty bourgeois left opposition in the Comintern reaches its destination.

## 6. DOWN WITH ULTRA-LEFT MENSHEVISM.

We have investigated the social meaning of the ultra-left groups and have found that they transfer the pressures and inner reactions of the bankrupt and raving petty bourgeoisie upon the Communist Parties of the west. We have examined the political contents of the ultra-left line and we found that its main role consists in pulling the bourgeois policies to the foreground. They are an instrument to disturb the revolutionizing process within the social democratic working masses, an instrument for the furthering of chauvinist tendencies, for the agitation in favor of a struggle of England and the League of Nations against the proletarian dictatorship, for the isolation and discrediting of the Communist Parties.

We have finally considered the ideological basis of the ultra-left tendencies and found in them the following five main lines:

1. The inability to understand the essentials of the revolutionary epoch—which in practice leads to defeatism.
2. The inability to proceed from a proletarian class standpoint—which in practice leads to sectarianism.
3. The inability to understand the leading role of the Communist Parties in the working class—which in practice leads to liquidation.
4. The inability to raise the problems of the international revolution from an international viewpoint—which in practice leads to nationalist narrowness to social patriotism.
5. The inability to understand the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat—which in practice leads to anti-Bolshevism, to anti-Moscowism.

Can such a tendency be considered left? It is clear for every thinking worker that this tendency is a right one. Its main characteristics are the characteristics of Menshevism. That they call themselves lefts must not mislead a Marxian. History of the labor movement gives enough examples of tendencies which called themselves left, but in reality were counter-revolutionary. The Russian Socialist Revolutionaries before 1905, rejected every minimum program and combatted Lenin as an opportunist. In 1905, the Mensheviks characterized Lenin's slogan for a "provisional government" as opportunism of the worst sort. The Trotskyites fought for years against Leninism from the left. The Otsowists who later on turned into open liquidators maneuvered under an ultra-left mask. All of these tendencies were in reality opposed to the revolution and anti-proletarian. That the petty bourgeois critics and revisionists of Leninism called themselves Leninists is only an expression of their own weakness and a sign of the inner strength of Leninism. The lefts in the Comintern are Leninists just as much as the Kautsky of today is a Marxist. The disguise of the right Menshevism as a left Leninism, this fundamental characteristic of the ultra-left line in the Comintern is nothing but a political masquerade. However, political masquerades can only last a certain time. When the struggle enters an acute state, then the masks fall and the left petty bourgeois openly joins Menshevism. The Russian Otsowists united with Potressov, Trotzky united with the right liquidators in 1912 to form the August bloc against Leninism in Vienna. A similar process is developing at present in the Comintern and the C. P. S. U. The Russian and international opposition is entering the state of the August bloc. It travels from the farthest left to the farthest right wing. It throws off its mask.

The development of the international ultra-lefts toward Menshevism is being accelerated by its international unification. By electing the leaders of the Russian opposition as its own leaders, by going with the enemies of the party, Medvedieff and Shliapnikoff, by discontinuing the struggle against Russian Trotskyism (the "destruction" of which has kept them alive for years), the Urbahns, Korsch, Bordigas and Domskis, offered their hand to the Souvarines, Rosmers and Schoenlanks, the renegades of Communism. The only thing that prevents them from openly joining organized Menshevism, the ideology of which they have already ac-

cepted, is the fear of being unmasked before the working masses.

The ultra-lefts are defending themselves indignantly against the statement that they represent petty bourgeois ideas and petty bourgeois interests. If they would not do that, they would not be petty bourgeoisie. Marx writes in the Eighteenth Brumaire:

"One must not think that the petty bourgeoisie, as a matter of principle, wants to realize egotistical class interests. On the contrary; it believes that the particular conditions of its own emancipation are the general conditions on the basis of which modern society can be saved. It would be equally wrong to conceive of all of the democratic representatives as petty shop-keepers or as people who idealize the petty shopkeepers. In their education and their individual position they may be far removed from them. What makes them representatives of the petty bourgeoisie is that in their ideas they never succeed in crossing the boundary line which life sets economically for the petty shopkeeper. Therefore they come via theory to the same problems and the same solutions to which the petty shopkeeper comes via the road of practical interests dictated by his social position. This is in general the relation of the political and literary representatives of a class to the class which they represent."

The leaders of the ultra-left opposition find themselves in exactly the same relation to the non-proletarian anti-Communist Party petty bourgeois. What conclusions can we draw from that. For every Leninist, for every loyal party Communist, for every revolutionary worker, there is only one conclusion possible: pitiless struggle against these groups to their complete dispersion and destruction. May they continue the spreading of their slander of the "opportunism" of the "fourth of August" of the Comintern. The workers know that their political road does not lead to a fourth, but back into the old treacherous second international. Their defeatism, their liquidationism, their nationalism, their incitation against Moscow—all this is the life and unadulterated spirit of Menshevik social treachery.

The Comintern has succeeded in meeting all right advances. It fought against and was victorious over the serious right mistakes of the Polish party, the right fraction in the German and all other parties and will not even for a moment discontinue its struggle not only against the right deviations, but also against all left and ultra-left groups.

The struggle against ultra-left Menshevism is also a struggle against the right. It is that as much as is the struggle against the English Socialist, Hicks, who writes about the "damn Russian money." It is that as much as is the struggle against the French "Socialist," Paul Boncour, who celebrates Polish militarism as the "guardian of civilization against Bolshevik barbarism."

The Comintern must and will pitilessly carry on its struggle against ultra-left Menshevism to the very end. All ideas of conciliation and diplomacy must be eliminated. It fights for the proletarian revolution against petty bourgeois cowardice and principlelessness. It fights for the proletarian dictatorship against its enemies and slanderers. It fights for the unity of the Communist World Party, against its disintegration into a mass of factions and national groups. The Comintern cannot permit to have at its head the pace setters of the anti-Bolshevik bloc. It must proceed from a defense to an attack. Down with ultra-left Menshevism!

# Between the Past and the Future

By Victor Serge

LITERATURE puts the problem of culture as a whole, on the very morrow of the revolution. And it is chiefly in virtue of its relation to culture in general that literature interests us.

With the end of the civil war (1921) the new Russian literature made a spurt forward that is truly marvelous. Yet no one is satisfied and it is apparent that a crisis has been reached. Self-criticism, sternness against self, painful consciousness of the immense difficulties in solving the problems of today.

But it is only by comparing it with foreign literature, by placing it in the entire atmosphere of post-war European culture, that Russian literature must be judged—and not by its own internal exigencies. Once this is done it appears astonishingly full of vigor, depth, variety, novelty. In no other country has there been any such springing up of new talents, of such works demanding attention. Here are the so-called "Fellow Travellers of the Revolution: Boris Pilnyak, Vsovoled Ivanov, Babel, Seyfoulina, Constantine Fedin, N. Nikitin, B. Kaverin, V. Chklovsky, Zostchenko, I. Tyniarov, Mayakovsky. There are the press writers and proletarian poets: S. Semenov, B. Lavreniev, Seratemovich, Fourmanov, Glakov, Bezymensky, Levevich, Sadoviev, Libedinsky, Yarov, Demian, Byedny, Sanikov. To these names we must add the newcomers who have attempted to renew their inspiration: Alexis Tolstoy, Ehrenberg, Veressaiev, Andre Sobel, Vladimir Lidin.

In spite of its great difficulties, I have been making an attempt to follow the development of literature in Europe and especially in France. I cannot help continually comparing the Russian writers and those of "over there." I think of Paul Morand offering gentlemen what they want of life—an ample gama of spiced pleasures. I think of M. Jean Giraudoux to whom Europe is a map, shaped and reshaped at will, by kind-hearted bourgeois. I think of Julien de Philippe Soupault whose life was stupidly consumed like a discarded cigarette. I think of M. Drieu la Rochelle, this wag of Mortherlant whose opinion is: "Everybody is right," militarists above all. I think of the young conscious bourgeois, full of vanity, who would like to get up . . . And then I think of the young Russian literature and it seems to me that it passes far beyond these men and their works. Its richness is—that it is alive. It is alive because it is the literature of a country "on the march," a country where millions of men filled with the deepest, the most essential human interests, have undertaken the task of rebuilding the world. Among all the servants of the ruling class, the writer is the most enslaved. It is his natural mission to re-create his masters, to make them noble in their own eyes, to cultivate their state of consciousness, and to extend their influence to the subject classes who are deprived of their creative faculties. During the forward development of a ruling class, litera-

ture grows, it enlarges the sphere of its comprehension, renews itself thru contact with the masses, and achieves the summits with durable works. But the epochs of decline and reaction have the narrow and poor literature they deserve.

Our morrow of the revolution has many literatures, in the main opposed to each other, because many contrary currents are struggling within Soviet society—the revolution continues its endless molecular reorganization. But all are alive because they all represent social forces in action, men victorious, vanquished, adapted, uncertain—but all in the struggle, compelled to solve in their every-day conscious actions the problems that are solved by routine elsewhere.

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WITH all its contradiction and variety, has the Russian literature any general characteristics? I will believe these characteristics are: interest in the great problems of social destiny, the conflict between the reactionary forces and consciousness, the rejection of pure psychology, i. e., of thought and sentiment detached from action, the rejection of pure esthetics, i. e., of art separated from life, the feeling for the life of the masses, the feeling for collective action, the feeling for the destruction of the old and the birth of a new world . . .

I find these traits in works of the most different character. Writers who came to the revolution the day after its victory but who are attached by all their past to the old society, Russian or European (Alexis Tolstoy, Elie Ehrenberg) sought for a new orientation. Alexis Tolstoy, an observer of the customs of the old regime, surrendered himself to a fancifully conceived novel of utopian imagination ("Aelita") and to the historic drama—a double escape from the present. Ehrenberg has also devoted himself to works of imagination built on fantastic logic. In appearance he seems to study the new customs but in reality he follows the old ones with his skeptical and realistic style (Jules Jerenito, The Trust for the Destruction of Europe). Its sarcastic despair has taken the whole universe as a stage and the end of all civilization as its theme. The subject is not new but the scope is broad, vast. A writer is formed by many years of incubation, observation, and assimilation. He can only create new personages when he lives with the masses, when he has penetrated their soul, when he knows how they think, speak, love, suffer . . . What types of new Russia can Alexis Tolstoy and Ehrenberg reveal to us in this period of struggle, pain and love? The Russian society they have known exists no longer: enlightened bourgeoisie, intellectuals, officers, court nobles, small bourgeoisie, uprooted cosmopolitans. They know nothing of the Putilov worker, of the young Communist girl student, of the party nucleus organizer . . . Ehrenberg studies in the present the types that

belong to the past: the mediocre adventurer, the rugged petty bourgeois . . .

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THE most talented young writers are not Communists. Boris Pilnyak is undoubtedly one of the most characteristic. He is the son of the revolution which he loves and admires. But after all, to him the revolution is a squall, a storm, a formidable outbreak of elementary forces. A rather anarchistic conception, common to both intellectuals and peasants. Seen from the outside by one who does not identify himself with it the revolution does indeed appear as a formidable outbreak. Pilnyak does not penetrate into the idea of class consciousness of the proletariat. What are social factors taking on the aspect of uncontrollable elements to the mind that does not discern the forces behind them. Just like the "wild winds" of the poet—which also behave according to strict laws. To the captain of a vessel the winds are not "wild forces" but rather regular forces, familiar and to be made good use of, to be mastered. This conception of the forces of the revolution is the product of nothing so much as of the prodigious ignorance of the intellectuals who, brought up as a part of the old culture, are strangers to proletarian thought, to revolutionary theory, to the Marxist conception of the future social order.

Constantin Fedin, in his beautifully written book, "Cities and Years," wherein he too admires the revolution externally, is haunted by the ethical considerations of the old Russian intelligentsia (from Dostoyevsky to Tolstoi). It is a poignant work, but deceptive—a problem without a solution, an impasse. A man passes thru war and revolution as thru a wakeful dream. He is harmless, he sheds no blood, he does not "crush a single flower." The man is finally killed and properly so. The author refuses to let us know whether he approves of the killing of the man or if he sees in it the fulfillment of a natural law. The drama of revolution reduces itself to the crushing of a man—a weak man—by the uncontrollable elements . . .

In the books of Pilnyak and Fedin, the Communists are real—at times very beautiful, active, devoted, facing death courageously, but better still, knowing how to live, i. e., how to conquer, how to work. But they too are observers from the outside. Their soul remains closed. You see them pass, you hear them speak; you can never penetrate their inner life. But under their leather coats they are nevertheless men of flesh. To European authors the Oriental is likewise "impenetrable"—Brahman or coolie they depict with the same minute, intelligent, limited and narrow-minded observation.

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THERE are authors who have studied the world of outlaws, bandits, bullies, adventure seekers—the world that is found in the lower depths of our big cities (Babel in his scamps of Odessa, Baverin in his "Repair," "Vassili Andriev," etc.). Russian literature has always manifested a tenderness for these "irregulars." They are victims, rebels, vanquished, eccentrics, outcasts. Note that the five terms here are also justifiably applicable to many of our intellectuals. Between the for-

mer and the latter there exist a secret kinship attested to by such as Gorki. The Bohemian intellectuals understand the proletarians they find among these "irregulars" much better than they do the factory proletariat. Their success in the study of outlaws is in contrast to their inability to penetrate the inner life of the Communists and of the revolutionary workers in general. Is this not another manifestation of the same unconscious anarchism that Pilnyak shows in his conception of the revolution as a tempest?

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THE old writer Veressaiev, whose "Notes of a Doctor" on the Russian-Japanese war were epochal, is the author of a novel properly entitled "In the Impasse." In it the position of the small bourgeoisie during the revolution is depicted—hesitating, discontented, scrupling, hostile to the whites—reactionaries but patriots—hostile to the reds—pitiless, barbarous, human elements—hostile to the socialists but nearer to them than to the others . . . Aside from its literary value such a work is a social document; the aphorisms of Marx and Lenin on the petty bourgeoisie are often repeated—perpetual hesitation, incapability owing to their economic position of maintaining a political line, and driven to one side or the other. No other book shows the profound truth of the abstract Marxian theory.

Recently I read a novel by another gifted writer, M. Nikitin. It is a well-constructed novel, "The Flight," mastering the new form, brief, epileptic, excluding psychological development even when it becomes necessary to reveal a psychology, having one surprise after the other in store for the reader. The subject is: two officers of the old regime now occupying subordinate posts in the Red Army, find themselves useless, tired, deprived of any aim in life, astray. One commits suicide; the other helps him and goes insane. This frightful book is the work of a young man of twenty-nine, formed during the revolution. He has written other stories expressing with a rare power some aspects of the civil war. This book is also a social document. While I was reading it I could not help thinking of Savinkov's suicide. The flight! The old S. R. terrorist, the old revolutionist, the old accomplice of Kornilov, the old counter-revolutionary bandit who recited his pitiless mea culpa before the revolutionary tribunal of Moscow. He too took a flight the next day—from the window of his prison cell. He was all bruised. He felt the chaos . . .

I thought of our poet Sorge Yessenin's suicide last December. He sang the audacity of request . . . the nights of outlaws . . . the cabarets of Moscow . . . his inexpressible suffering at finding himself in new Russia without being able to understand or to follow the revolution with the depths of his soul. I thought of Yessenin whom la Boheme had stolen from us and killed . . . Astray! Astray! I was still thinking of these dead when the papers announced—the suicide of Andre Sobol.

An atrociously logical end for the existence of an unadapted soul! A revolutionist and prisoner under the old regime, almost a counter-revolutionist at the beginning of November; then he rallied, a tormented idealistic conscience overcome with scruples; a brilliant tal-

ent, hypersensitive; overwhelmed with the sentiment of his impotence to break with the past. The past has killed this artist as it crushes an entire generation before our eyes.

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LESS numerous but often excellent are the works that are largely impregnated with the new spirit, in line with the regenerative efforts of the revolution. They draw their inspiration from two sources.

Some draw their inspiration from the civil war—as the peasant masses saw it. Vsevoled Ivanov pictures the red partisans of Siberia in some very enjoyable stories ("The Partisans," "The Blue Sand," "The Shaded Train"). Lydia Seyfoulina is one of the popular authors of Russia. She is of Tartar origin, a peasant and a school teacher. She depicts the revolution in the village in a rural language mingled with the rich but simple style of Tolstoi. Her characters are true, living, firm in the Russian soil; you see them one and all. Thru their actions we can understand the awakening consciousness that guided them thru the revolution and we can see that order has, at last, triumphed over the elementary forces . . . The old red peasant Ataman Pegikh makes the sign of the cross as he falls under the blows of the whites and says: "Lord, God, receive the soul of the Bolshevik Ataman." Seyfoulina is very near to the Communists.

Other remarkable works find their inspiration in the revolutionary epic. The exaltation of the hero is justified by the recognition of the new forces of victory: the force of a conscious people fighting for its cause, the incomparable moral force of the revolutionists. Of the whole epoch our epic literature is the only true one because the people is born thru the accord of the poet with the individual, the masses, the laws of history—an accord crowned by victory. Among the works of this kind we must mention "Red Cavalry" by Babel and the poems of Nikolai Tikhonov, one of the most gifted masters of the new Russian poetry. Babel and Tikhonov fought in the civil war—Babel in the Budienny cavalry and Tikhonov elsewhere.

Two groupings have exercised a marked influence on Russian literature during the past period: Serapion on the one hand and the Formal School on the other (B. Eichenbaum, V. Chlovsky, I. Tynianov). The latter school claims that form is the decisive primitive factor in art. Altho it is fought by Marxist criticism on account of its repudiation of the sociological method and its indifference in the field of ideas, this school is nevertheless given credit for its insistence on the study of

the forms of language and on style, so necessary for all literary mastery.

ON the whole, the Russian intelligentsia of the post-revolutionary period is overwhelmed with the burden of its origin. This intelligentsia is recruiting mostly from the petty bourgeoisie who sided with the enemy in October, 1917. Although its attachment to the new Russia is natural and profound, yet it has been fed on the past, a culture of the vanquished and the condemned. For our epoch this culture is the most insidious spiritual poison. Capitalism forms men in its image—its spirit penetrates the language, the style, the very way of reasoning—it makes the soul of man, especially of the artist. The artist is admitted in communion with generations of men of noble intelligence; he is accustomed to consider the culture of a minority of owners as the culture of humanity and to look upon its social laws as continuous natural laws. From his position among the privileged servants of bourgeois society the artist enjoys a specious freedom, he exercises his influence over the treasure of social inheritance. As his mission, he has the elaboration of the ideal of the ruling classes, the justification of their existence—he is the most refined form of their consciousness. He fails to see his chains—he believes that he bears the torch forward. In reality he follows and serves but he suffers under the illusion that he is a guide. Yet his mandarin dignity permits revenue to accompany his honors.

On the morrow of the revolution culture—moral, social, family, customs, beliefs, ideology—appears to collapse and the victorious proletarians and peasants stand out as barbarous. Proletarian thought, destined to become the animator and initiator of a new culture, is still seen under the rude and austere forms of an intellectual discipline, a doctrine of struggle fortified by action. Such are the causes for the disorder that the recent literature reveals to us.

Russian literature is at the cross roads and is drawn apart by opposing tendencies: back to bourgeois democracy the call of the past and—forward and the future! Literature has much to give to Europe and to the world. It will develop with Soviet society; thru struggle and adaptation it will contribute to the formation of the future proletarian ideology.

Today it is often lacking—compared to the revolution. But it is much ahead of the Western standard—in its experience, its traditional humanism, the influence of the proletariat over it despite itself and despite its internal struggles.

# Trade Unionism as It Is---What and How to Study

By Solon De Leon

IF I were deported as a Red and could take with me only one book on American trade unions, I would want that book to be "Trade Unionism in the United States," by Robert F. Hoxie. No other single volume gives so clear a picture of the motives, structure, control, and history of organized labor.

Let us then, set out with this excellent guide to study trade unionism. But, Hoxie asks at once, have we only one kind of unionism? Do all unions want the same thing? Clearly not. An analysis of what particular unions want is therefore necessary before we can decide whether unionism is good or bad for the workers.

Beginning with the easy question of structure, Hoxie shows that unions are not even all built alike. Some are—well, what is a local union? A national craft union? A city central body? A state federation? A national or international federation? An industrial union? A general labor union?

Next comes an analysis of union aims, which are more important than the way a union is constructed. Hoxie was the first to apply psychological principles to the study of trade unions. He divided labor organizations into four "functional" types—business unions, friendly or uplift unions, revolutionary unions, and predatory or hold-up unions. Why did each of these spring up? What are examples of each? Which are the most common? Which have advanced the cause of labor, and which have not? Are violence and disregard of the existing law ever justified in union activity?

The next section takes up the historical causes which led to the growth of different union structures and different kinds of activity. The first unions, formed shortly after the American revolution, were naturally local in area and craft in form. Why? Why did unionism develop just then and not earlier? How many workers realize that the legal right to organize was won only after forty years of bitter struggle? During that time the employers repeatedly attacked the unions in court, and had them declared illegal conspiracies. The story of this struggle is well told by Hoxie.

Hoxie advances the idea that union forms tend to follow the structure of industry and of capitalist organization. Does this idea seem reasonable? On that basis, how can you explain the gradual joining of craft unions into city central bodies, state federations, national federations, and finally a federation of national craft unions? The spurt in union organization which took place during the Civil War led to the formation of the Knights of Labor. What sort of body was the Knights? How did it come that the American Federation of Labor, a much later body, was able to overthrow the Knights and assume leadership of the American un-

ion movement? Growing dissatisfaction with the Federation led to the organization of the I. W. W. Why did the I. W. W. fail?

Though the unions aim at more democracy in industry, Hoxie points out that in their own affairs they are likely to be controlled by officers. What influences cause officials to lose touch and sympathy with their own rank and file? Can you tell from your own experience why the rank and file do not exercise more control? No doubt the membership should secure more voice in union affairs—but how try to get it? Without strong left wing criticism and organization a union is likely to drift into more and more conservative policies. How can left wing activity be strengthened and improved?

The part dealing with employers' organizations is especially keen and helpful. Most employers are "open shoppers." They seize every opportunity to smash the workers' organizations. Yet Hoxie shows that they have their own organizations and find them very useful in the class struggle. Hoxie vividly describes the methods used by "American plan" employers' associations in fighting unionism. It is well to learn these methods and be prepared to defeat them. On the other hand, some employers prefer to make business deals with business unions. Can you see any advantage to the bosses in this?

Another brilliant section of the book takes up the question of labor and the law. The capitalist state, always the guardian of the interests of the capitalist class, has written enormous volumes of legislation controlling the activities of workers, individually and in their unions. Do these laws recognize that society is in constant change, or do they assume that what was right or wrong in the past must always be right or wrong? Do they emphasize the individualistic or the social point of view? Do they place property rights above personal and social rights, or just the opposite? Are the laws adjustable to new conditions, or are they rigid and inflexible? Are they clear, or contradictory and confusing? Answer these questions from your own knowledge, and then see what Hoxie says about them.

When unionists and employers agree on wages, hours, and conditions of labor, the process is called "collective bargaining." Hoxie clearly shows why the employers' bargaining power is greater than that of the workers. How can the workers increase their bargaining power? Should unions favor or oppose standardization of conditions? How far is it wise for unions to make concessions to employers for the sake of making agreements? Business unions frequently enter into deals with monopolistic employers, to force higher prices for their product. Is this wise union tactics? Then there is the

(Continued on page 762.)

## REVIEWS

"UTOPIA IN CHAINS". A Study of Red Russia. By Morris Gordin. Houghton-Mifflin Co., N. Y.

FOR a number of years I have advertised Bolshevism as a panacea a cure-all, but I discovered that my panacea was a poison. It is my duty to tell the people that I had been poisoning them." This sounds like the confession of a serious thinker who unburdens his soul after discovering thru conscientious search that his teachings have been all wrong and that he feels in duty bound to correct his erroneous teachings.

Since I am a Bolshevist myself, my curiosity was considerably aroused by the above quotation from Gordin's book, which adorns the jacket. I have a great deal of conviction as to the correctness of Bolshevism; but when a fellow whom one had considered a comrade in arms turns against one's principles, and exclaims with tearful eyes and a quivering voice that he has detected the complete incorrectness of these principles, then one cannot help but sit up and seriously consider the charges brought against these principles, and the causes that wrought the change in the mind of the former comrade. But in searching Gordin's book for this cause, I was completely disappointed. My search for even one single idea which would disprove Bolshevism was absolutely unsuccessful. Searching for any idea between the covers of the book fails. The book of the self-styled poison-peddler contains no revelation either as to the nature and composition of the "poison" nor as to how he detected its poisonous character. In other words—the book neither gives a presentation nor a refutation of Bolshevism. No. Gordin is assuredly not a serious thinker.

But then, perhaps the author is one of those trusting souls who are carried away by sentiment but who never try to understand what they embrace. They just as quickly embrace a cause on superficial grounds as they abandon it. There are many—all too many—of that species. They are perfectly honest. They have a perfectly good heart, but their thinking apparatus is somewhat out of order.

However, the author of this book does not belong to that class, either. He is not a sentimentalist, nor is he a fool. He knows on which side his bread is buttered. In Russia his Bolshevism is beyond reproach. In America, his patriotism does not permit doubt.

If we believe Gordin, even the doubting quiver of an eyelash by a dissatisfied member of the Communist Party of Russia, was ferreted out by the terrible Cheka, and the very least that happened to such a doubting Bolshevist who did not accept his leader's command without hesitation, was his expulsion from the party. Mr. Gordin, however, was not expelled. He succeeded even in the period of his most severe doubts and inner

struggles, in hiding these doubts and in continuing cashing in on sincere and undoubting Bolshevism. Needless to say, that his present American patriotism is of the same hard-wood quality. He may have doubts, for all we know; but he will never be caught with these doubts; no, not he. That would interfere with his cashing in.

But why do I doubt his sincerity? He may not know what Bolshevism is, he may not be able to present nor to refute Bolshevist principles. But he may have been convinced by bad practice of Bolshevism in Russia that it is no good. In fact, that is his claim. Why should I not believe that certain happenings in Russia really did disillusion him? Because I know of my own—that is, of first-hand knowledge that a number of the reasons given in his book for his change of mind are outright lies made to order by Gordin himself. I was in Moscow in 1921, and know of my own knowledge that a number of events described by Gordin are most miserable and conscious contortions of actual facts. Judging by that, I am unquestionably justified to draw my own conclusions as to the veracity of the rest of his testimony.

Needless to say: The book is absolutely worthless for the student of Soviet Russia or of Bolshevism. Not because it is opposed to both, but because it is absolutely insincere in its conception, completely incorrect as to facts, and just plain mercenary in its conclusions.

It is really amazing how a publishing house with the reputation of Houghton Mifflin and Company could accept a publication of it. But it seems that any concoction of lies becomes good and acceptable history if they are wrapped up in American patriotism. The publishers do not seem to consider that the evil smell of the contents will eventually discredit the wrapper.

M. Bedacht.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON." The Image and the Man. By W. E. Woodward. 460 pp. Boni and Liveright. \$4.00.

HISTORIC research and historic science, like every other science, is a motive power for progress. But it, too, like all other sciences, has been almost completely prostituted by and to capitalism. Instead of teaching what was and why it was, conventional history generally confines itself to teaching that what is best that can be, and that thoughts of change are criminal.

This subordination of historic science to an extra-scientific aim, is especially sickening when it runs wild in the biographies of great men. No attempt is made in these biographies to present the man as he was, to study and present the motives for his actions, and to connect these motives with the general economic needs and problems of his days. The conventional biographer

does not study the man, his work and his time, and then present his conclusions. As a rule he starts with a ready-made picture of the man, with an image, and then he scans all historic material available for proof of the likeness of his idol. And where facts do not conform to the picture, the "historian" touches up the facts but leaves the false picture untouched.

Heroes of the American revolution are, perhaps more than other Americans, the subjects of such biographies. Especially George Washington has been a favorite subject of biographical imaginations, until the popular image of the hero of the cherry-tree has lost all attraction that any leader of great movements naturally possesses for the active man of today. The conventional biographies of George Washington have created an expressionless, inhuman doll, and have stood up this doll in an airless room, stuffy from the unrealities of moralizing nursery tales.

In the face of this fact, it is indeed a relief that very successful attempts are made at present to open the windows of this room to give admittance to the fresh and invigorating air of historic realities and facts which are bound to blow from its pedestal the false image and to put in its place a true picture of the man and his time. Although one cannot expect success at the first attempts, yet it is certain that works such as that of W. E. Woodward will go a long way in accomplishing this task.

The George Washington presented by Mr. Woodward is a living, loving, eating and drinking human being and not a demi-god. Mr. Woodward's Washington is a land speculator, a soldier, a plantation owner, whose class consciousness made his abilities very serviceable for his time. And since the interests of his class happened to lie in the direction of general social progress, therefore his activities became intimately connected with the foundation of 150 years of unprecedented development of capitalist America.

Mr. Woodward does not always completely unearth—or even fully understand—the inner connections of all of the class movements of the American revolution. But he is fully conscious of the existence of opposing currents. He sees and describes two parallel movements: the revolution of the creditors and that of the debtors. He sees and pictures Washington's role as a leader of the revolutionary creditors. While this is interpreting the economic background of the American revolution too narrow and does not do justice to the historic role of the revolutionary bourgeoisie of these days, yet it is infinitely nearer to the truth than all the conventional histories and biographies of that time and its heroes.

For the edification of the irrepressible democratic spirits who see in the American revolution the revolt of those who believed that all men were created free and equal against those that insisted on differentiating between the born gentleman and the rabble, Mr. Woodward pictures the undemocratic haughtiness of Washington. The author gives a picture of the revolutionary army with its haughty officers' corps, recruited exclusively out of the ranks of the "gentlemen" and

the rank and file, soldiers detested and lashed by their patriotic officers, and finally cheated by the equally patriotic money speculators.

Mr. Woodward's biography of George Washington should be read by every proletarian student of American history. Not only are the contents of the book different from conventional productions of biographers of "the father of our country." But also his style is different. It is refreshing. It disdains from using a pseudo-scientific verbiage which hides behind high-sounding and difficult phrases, all the nothingness of patriotic idolatry. Mr. Woodward tells every-day facts in an easily comprehensible but refreshing style which makes the reading of the book a real pleasure. The book deserves a million circulation in the United States. —M. B.

**"A MANIFEST DESTINY." By Arthur D. Howden-Smith. 530 pp. Brentano, N. Y. \$2.50.**

**A** MANIFEST DESTINY is a very interesting book. It is a historic novel with a subject out of our own American past. But though its subject is of the past, the educational value of the book is a very present one.

The book deals with the activities of Dr. William Walker, an American adventurer and filibusterer of the fifties of the last century.

"A Manifest Destiny" is an instructive book. It gives lessons in methods of imperialist conquest. Its theme is that it is the manifest destiny of American capitalism to rule the world. In order to help in the fulfillment of this manifest destiny, it is necessary, first, to conquer the world. William Walker, the organizer of filibuster expeditions, is the tool of this manifest destiny. He finally ends at the hands of a Hondurian firing squad. But manifest destiny does not end with him. American capitalism is still at it, and this book, by Arthur D. Howden Smith, gives an insight into character, method, and even origin of this manifest destiny. A knowledge of these things is especially valuable today, when manifest destiny is again running amuck in Nicaragua, where the greatest portion of this story is placed. —Criticus.

**SEX EXPRESSION IN LITERATURE, by V. F. Calverton. Boni and Liveright, New York, 1926.**

**I**F any one doubts the excellence of V. F. Calverton's "Sex Expression in Literature" (Boni & Liveright, 1926, \$2.50) he has only to read Allen Tate's review in the *Nation* in order to be set right. Translated into plain English, this naive piece of criticism amounts to no more than saying that Calverton can not possibly be on the right track, because if he were, there would be no more work for critics like Tate (who, by the way, is described as "a poet and critic of New York", whatever that may mean.)

What Calverton has really done is to make a beginning at exhibiting the correlation between literary expression and the basal social development of mankind. Beginning with the Elizabethans, we are given ample evidence of the fact that literature is essentially a vapor thrown off by interacting and evolving social forces. In particular, the moral tone of literature corresponds to the moral requirements of the stage of civilization. An overripe ruling class projects its vital interests into loose, free, unguarded literary expression, with free reference to sex, whereas a rising class, under necessity of maintaining a stern morale for the climb, finds a barer, chaster, primmer literary voice. At present we are in the waning of an epoch. The luxurious bourgeois level seeks the same laxities of charm as did an effete aristocratic class three centuries since. What sort of balance will be struck by a triumphant proletariat is not yet clearly apparent.

So much for the book that Tate reads with such scorn, thereby betraying, incidentally, the fact that whatever formalistic knowledge he may have of the professionalism of literary criticism, he is ignorant of life and of the social relations that it embodies.

Tate's first blunder is in undertaking to limit closely "the sociological criticism of literature." Of course, the conventional critic has to do that, for he knows no sociology. His rage is akin to that of the old fashioned handicraftsman running amuck against the introduction of the machine. The preservation of his own craft skill and craft pride is obviously the chief thing in the universe. To be sure, literature has significance only as an expression of social experience (inasmuch as culture and social experience are identical), but that fact means nothing to the infatuated critic, who feels bound to flatter literateurs as if they were in some sense the vehicles of causeless, rootless, (bootless) ideation and sentiment. It is a wonderful tribute, for sure, that critics of the Tate stripe would pay to literary men by treating them as if there were some other source of their life and spirit than in the common stream of human striving. There was a time when such a method would have savored of deification; now it indicates merely dehumanization. The only kind of writers that could properly be judged by any other than sociological canons would be the sort of folks that Poe described as "neither man nor woman . . . neither beast nor human . . ." When the traditional type of criticism takes a writer, it treats him in some such wise—as if he were either a queer machine or else a mummy.

Tate's second blunder is in undertaking to distinguish between correlation and causation. He is willing to concede "a correlation between a society and its literature" but not a causal relation. Here the critic's metaphysical infatuation crops out clearly; as much as to say that causation implies some kind of a god behind the scenes pulling wires. If Mr. Tate would take even the most elementary course in scientific method, he would learn that science recognizes no causation save correlation. If there is a "correlation between a society and

its literature", then unless the literature is the "cause" of the social phenomena of the time, it is either the effect of them or the effect of the same set of causes. Very likely Mr. Tate would be satisfied to picture the Elizabethan age as an effluvium from the brain of Shakespeare. Science would ask, however, what experiences had combined to give Shakespeare a human mind at all and a mind congruous with the age. Moreover, it would not dwell long on any individual. It would understand that literature is not an individual output but a social product, just as all personality, all individuality is a social product built up out of experience in group life. The notion of any creative faculty in an individual mind is preposterous from the scientific point of view. All creation is a group process.

But Tate has not penetrated far enough into either psychology or sociology to know what such assertions mean. He naively asks: "If there is a perfect causal relation between society and letters, why are not all writers equally good?" As if the correlation were with the individual mind and its product and not with the total literary output of a period. Individual psychology has not advanced far enough to give a full account of any individual, tho we may be sure that nothing happens without a cause; but social evolution is not an account of individuals; it is an account of groups. What Tate needs to learn is that the literary type of an age is set by the selective influence of the social environment rather than by its creative consequences. All sorts of output of the most diverse sorts may be essayed at a certain period, but the significant thing is that while much of it falls flat and is forgotten, the literary expression that becomes typical and is cherished is that which fits the social circumstances and their needs.

And then there is the question of sex. One might have suspected Calverton of possessing a sex complex inasmuch as he chose to name his book after an incident rather than after the main theme, which is the materialistic interpretation of culture. But Tate certainly has a sex complex inasmuch as he has fallen for the title and has been led by it to scent nastiness in a book that is entirely free from anything of the sort. If Mr. Tate were not obviously a prude, he would not possibly be affected as he is by what is, after all, only a secondary element in Calverton's scheme of thought. It is only fair to say, however, that Tate may have read Harry Barnes' introduction to the book, and have taken offense at it. It could even be argued that Barnes is too much a crusader in what Tate facetiously labels "The Holy War", but why light on Calverton for picking an introducer (and a title) that would help sell the book? Very likely the publishers had a deal to do with those choices anyway.

So that's that. It is a comfort to know with the advent of Calverton and a school of criticism that knows something about social forces, the game is about up for the flock of dilettantes who have been toying with literary values and fashioning out of nothingness futile cobwebs of criticism that might, perchance, mean something to overprofessionalized pedants with a flair for

unearthly values incommensurable with human experience. The stage is at last set for a criticism that will comprehend life as a social experience and will measure all art by the fidelity of its correspondence to group interests and tendencies. We shall learn to know that there is no absolute goodness or greatness in anything but that all is to be judged in relation to time and place and circumstance. Calvretton has paved the way and while his first two books are not the best he will ever write they are to be hailed as the dawn of an era.

A. W. Calhoun.

**"THE PRIVATE LIFE OF HELEN OF TROY" and "GALAHAD" by John Erskine. Published by Bobbs Merrill Co., Indianapolis.**

"THE Private Life of Helen of Troy" is the wittiest and most amusing book that has been published for some time. It is in no sense a historical novel and makes no effort to picture life and social conditions 2,500 years ago. Practically all of it is clever conversation—Helen explaining her views to her conventional daughter, the family gate keeper asking Menelaus why he did not kill Helen in Troy, talk between Helen and Menelaus, Helen and the gate keeper, the gate keeper and the daughter. Orestes murders his mother (Helen's sister) because she had murdered his father. Then he drops in and marries Helen's daughter and there are pages and pages more of witty talk. As light reading, this book is highly recommended.

"Galahad," Erskine's latest book, is a sad dud. It is as insignificant as "Helen," there is no action and all the sparkle has been rubbed off. There is no excuse at all for printing it. —J. K.

**THE WORLD OF WILLIAM CLISSOLD" by H. G. Wells. George H. Doran Company, New York.**

WELLS has published some fifty books and thirty short stories. Much of his early work is very amusing—his short stories, his two per cent science yarns such as "Time Machine", "Invisible Man", "First Men in the Moon". His best work is probably "Tono Bungay" a delicious picture of soap bubble finance, advertising and the Sacred English County Family. About fifteen years ago he was bitten by the Messianic flea. His theme is simple—mankind lives muddled, planless, wasteful, mean lives, let us by scientific humanitarian organization remedy this. He sees a dozen ways to reach Socialism—mankind has been bombed into it in "The World Set Free", dreamed into it in "The Sleeper Awakes", cometed into it "In the Days of the Comet", educated into it in "A Modern Utopia" and Einsteined into it in "Men Like Gods". In "The World of William Clissold" (I hope this will be the last) the executives of the Steel Trust, Standard Oil, the Allgemeine Elek-

trizitaets Gesellschaft, the Royal Dutch Shell and the rest are going to get together and give us a Socialist Society whether we want it or not.

There are two reasons for Wells' popularity with the bourgeois women who buy his wares. It is well-known that he is "safe". In the last war he rallied loyally to "King and Country"; not only does he loathe the "wasteful" interference of labor unions or Communists, even the rose water Fabian Society proved too strong for him and he left it twenty years ago. Besides he writes a muddled liberal sociology that just suits Mrs. Bourgeois. He admits that changes come but assures her they will be gradual and painless.

In 797 pages he sets forth one act—that society is in flux, that from primitive man (whose technique of production he ridiculously misrepresents) to this ninth year of the Russian Revolution Society has changed steadily. He does not see this fact clearly and makes no attempt to connect this change with changing ways of production. He furiously denies that there was a compact Feudal System or that there is a compact Capitalist System, or that men can be divided into bourgeois and proletarians. His stuff is loose, windy and negative. He can not tell what a class is or describe modern society from the economic viewpoint.

There never was a "Feudal System" but in the middle ages European society was predominantly feudal, based on agriculture. There were vestiges of earlier forms in backward sections and Craft Guilds in the towns. Then in 1,500 and 1,600 the rising city bourgeois became more and more important economically till today the world is predominantly capitalist, though Africa and Asia have more primitive forms and Soviet Russia a more advanced form. Wells is unable to see what a class is—it is a group of people playing the same part in production. Wells is silly enough to think that a worker, who rides on a train (becoming thereby employer of the train crew!) or who hires carpenters to build a shack for himself is by that de classe! Industrial capitalists, peasants and workers—the members of each group bear the same relation to all the members of other groups and each group forms one class. A well-paid electrician and a sweated tailor both own no tools and live on wages. A millionaire banker and a shoestring contractor both live on surplus value produced by workers. A peasant owns or rents land and farms it.

The story in these two ponderous volumes is thin—Clissold is a gifted industrial chemist, separates from his wife, beds with decorative damsels, gets rich, spouts drearly on education, money, the past and future of man, sex, advertising and at last—thank God—dies. He does not care to brave the feminists himself so he calls his latest street walker to give her views on woman psychology. She tells him women are liars, vain and greedy parasites, incompetents unable to get by on their own—all this is innate inferiority, not due to environment.

Now that the disciples of Marx rule one sixth of the world and plan soon to rule the rest of it, it is neces-

sary for dilettant philosophers to pay their respects to him. Wells does from page 152 to 192! It would be too much to expect an elderly hack like Wells to read Marx, so we need not be surprised that we are treated to a medical and Freudian analysis of him! We are told that his digestion and liver were bad, that he did not exercise, smoked too much and was a shy resentful scholar. "He it was who poisoned and embittered Socialism so that today it is dispersed and lost and must be reassembled and rephrased and reconstructed again slowly and laboriously while the years and the world runs by." We learn that Marx was a "down-at-heel aristocrat in a state of bruised self conceit"; that the "stock Communist insult is to imply that an adversary isn't a born gentleman." (After five years in the American movement, I thought the stock insult of those, who can not reason, is that one's adversary's father was not a proletarian!). Do not forget that William Clissold is an extremely wealthy industrialist. Yet in his discussion of Marx, the venom of the Grub Street hack shines through—at least twice in every page we are told that the main objective of the Communist is to punish the petty bourgeois! Why is Clissold so interested in the welfare of the petty bourgeois? We also learn that Soviet Russia is a muddled failure—and this idea is tediously elaborated.

In his "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" Engels points out that the English bourgeois, wise in his generation, scorned atheism and clung tightly to his moth-eaten religion—not that he needed it himself but because religion is the best dope to pacify angry workers. Already so many workers have forgotten God that other pap is needed to soothe them. It is, therefore, well for the bourgeois to preach evolutionary, rationalist, pacifist class-collaboration. The bourgeois is certainly decayed—it is a far cry from the bold, lucid prose of Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" and "Age of Reason" to this clumsy stuff.

Swans sing before they die:  
'Twere no bad thing  
Should certain persons die  
Beore they sing!

—Patrick Kurd.

**NEGRO WORKADAY SONGS, By Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson. University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1926.**

THIS volume is a collection of the songs of Negro laborers as they can be heard today in certain areas in North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia. The authors have taken down the words of songs sung by laborers in construction camps, railroads, and mills, in local jails, county chain gangs, state and federal prisons; by itinerant laborers and casual wanderers, and by itinerant musicianers and songsters. The chapter head-

ings give some idea of the types of song included: "The Blues: Workaday Sorrow Songs," "Songs of the Lonesome Road," "Songs of Jail, Chain Gang and Policemen," "Songs of Construction Camps and Gangs," "Just Songs to Help With Work."

The Negro worker in the South has managed to get into his songs some of the truths that he would be lynched for proclaiming from a soap box, or even a church. Remembering farm days he sings:

"Niggers plant the cotton,  
Niggers pick it out,  
White man pockets money,  
Niggers does without."

Another song, called "Nothin' to Keep," begins:

"Up at fo' 'clock,  
Work till dark,  
Wages han',  
I'm de man. . . ."

"Hope I die,  
Mo I try,  
I comes out.  
'Owin' 'boss mo',  
I comes out,  
Lawd, owin' boss mo'."

There are two more songs of this type that deserve quotation:

"Sack an' basket all that I pick,  
Sack an' basket all that I pick,  
Sack an' basket all that I pick,  
Never stop for nothin', even if you sick . . ."

"White man in starched shirt settin' in shade,  
White man in starched shirt settin' in shade,  
White man in starched shirt settin' in shade,  
Laziest man that God ever made . . ."

And again:

Missus in de big house,  
Mammy in de yard,  
Missus holdin' her white hands,  
Mammy workin' hard . . ."

O! marse ridin' all time,  
Niggers workin' 'round'.  
Marse sleepin' day time,  
Niggers diggin' in de groun'.

Some of the songs, while giving an effect of humor, nevertheless portray very accurately conditions in the South. An example is the following stanza referring to the Ku Klux Klan:

"They're gonna hold a meeting' there,  
Of some society;  
There's 'leven sheets upon the line,  
That's ten too much for me."

"X"

## Trade Unionism as It Is—What and How to Study

(Continued from page 756.)

whole question of state intervention in labor disputes. Are government mediation or conciliation ever of benefit to the workers? Would you agree to voluntary arbitration of a dispute in which you were interested, if you were bound beforehand to accept the arbitrator's decision? How do you feel about the growing demand of employers to make arbitration compulsory?

Under union programs Hoxie compares a number of different union demands. He shows that these demands are drawn up on immediate consideration as practical means of improving the condition of workers in that particular union. He raises a number of interesting tactical questions. Should unions seek to increase output in the hope of getting more wages? Are the unions justified in limiting output? Should unions resist or encourage the introduction of new machinery? See whether you agree with Hoxie's answers.

Scientific management under capitalism has two objects—to squeeze more profits out of the workers, and to break up trade unions. Hoxie, who wrote another valuable book on this subject alone, shows how motion study and the stop-watch aid in subdividing processes and destroying the workers' craft skill. Hence arises the question, can the unions co-operate in time study and scientific management plans without endangering their own existence? On the other hand—and this is a point which Hoxie fails to raise—could not scientific management be used to great advantage by the toilers themselves under workers' control of industry?



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## To All of Our Readers

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BUCHARIN.

COMMUNIST activity can be effective only if its aim and its adaptation to existing conditions fits in all cases into the unified concept of the Marxist-Leninist theory of social development. Not only must the active Communist and the student of Communism know this theory—he must also understand the application of this theory to the specific, historical, ideological and physical conditions confronting him.

The regular Communist press cannot supply this knowledge. This press is primarily a fighting instrument. It must act more actively leading than teaching. Its subject matters are more the obvious every day needs, troubles and problems of the workers and not the deeper and more intricate problems of class relation. It is clear, therefore, that the regular Communist press cannot supply the theoretical needs of the revolutionary movement.

Our Workers Monthly was conceived by the very realization of this fact. The Workers' Monthly was a merger of the Liberator, the Labor Herald and the Soviet Russia Pictorial. While combining features of all three of these former magazines, the Workers' Monthly was to be merged gradually into a theoretical organ of Communism. Its policy was from the beginning to fill gradually this need outlined above. Pursuant to this policy, the magazine has undergone a constant change. Now our Workers Monthly has practically completed its evolution. We propose that this inner change, the practical accomplishment of the aim set, be now outwardly recognized. Neither name nor cover conform any longer to the contents. The very appearance of the magazine must denote the gradual inner change which it has undergone. Therefore, the name of the Workers' Monthly will be changed. Beginning with next month's issue, that of March, 1927, the magazine will appear under its new name:

### THE COMMUNIST.

The changing cover design will be abandoned and a permanent design will take its place. This permanent design is more in accord with the character of the magazine and will show the contents, volume number and current number on the outside. This is most important for library purposes.

To make the magazine handier for library purposes, it will appear in a smaller form, 6 x 9 inches. To make up for this loss of space the pages will be increased from 48 to 64. This will make out of every issue of The Communist a handy pamphlet. The contents will make it a desirable pamphlet which every subscriber wants to keep.

In order to fill the need of a theoretical organ of Communism, the magazine will have the following departments:

#### 1. EDITORIAL.

This regular feature will consist of editorial notes about important events. These editorials will be written by the leaders of the Workers (Communist) Party and will indicate the party's conception of these events.

#### 2. THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL ARTICLES.

These articles, too, will be a regular feature of the magazine. Outstanding events will be treated by competent Communist writers. Problems of the American working class will be analyzed to convey a thorough theoretical understanding of them.

#### 3. INFORMATIVE AND STATISTICAL MATERIAL.

Articles of this character will appear from time to time as material for editors, propagandists, agitators and students of Communism.

#### 4. MARXIAN STUDIES OF AMERICAN HISTORIC PHENOMENA.

The main purpose and task of The Communist will be the "Americanization" of Marxism-Leninism. We mean by that the application of Marxist-Leninist analysis to American history and American conditions. There is very little American Marxian and Leninist literature. Neither American history as a whole nor even important phases of it have as yet found a Marxian-Leninist explanation. Important American historical events, political and religious movements of all sort, all rooted in American class divisions and class relations, have remained untouched by Marxist-Leninist historians. The Communist intends to publish from time to time Marxian studies of such phenomena as contributions to an American Marxian literature and for a better understanding of the conditions under which the class struggle proceeds in America.

#### 5. WITH MARX AND ENGELS.

This regular feature will receive great attention. While it is our main task to apply Marxian-Leninist science to America, it is not less necessary that we acquaint our readers with the teachings of our theoretical leaders. Not only is a great portion of the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin inaccessible in the English language, but even writings of these men about America and American conditions are still unknown. We want to help in remedying this.

Comradé Avron Landy, who is editing this department, has already prepared some excellent material which will be published in the first issues of "The Communist."

#### 6. INFORMATIVE AND ANALYTICAL ARTICLES ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION.

The Soviet Union is the outpost of the proletarian world revolution. The problems which the Russian pro-

letariat has already solved, still await solution with us. The problems which the Russian proletariat has yet to solve demand our aid in the solution. We must know and understand all problems connected with the Soviet Union. Articles in this classification aim to give a thorough understanding of these problems.

7. BOOK REVIEWS.

Our book reviews are not only to be a guide to proletarian readers. They are also educational, and therefore, very valuable general reading material for subscribers of our magazine.

8. CLASS STRUGGLE DATA.

As a permanent feature of The Communist, we will have several pages of current historical data indispensable for propagandists, editors, etc. These dates gathered at the end of each year in a complete volume of The Communist, will present a tremendously valuable source of references, not unlike a yearbook.

1. The first issue of The Communist will be the March issue of our magazine. Among other valuable material it will contain an article with important statistical material about United States economy. But its chief feature will be a reprint of statements, letters, etc., by Marx and Engels about the Paris Commune. About one of these letters Lenin wrote that he wished that it would be found framed on the walls of the home of every worker in Russia. This material has been in the past absolutely inaccessible to the English reader. It is of tremendous value. It gives to this issue of The Communist a permanent value.

No revolutionist, no student of Marx, can afford to miss this and coming issues of The Communist.

THE WORKERS MONTHLY.

# The COMMUNIST

VOL. VI.

NO. 1

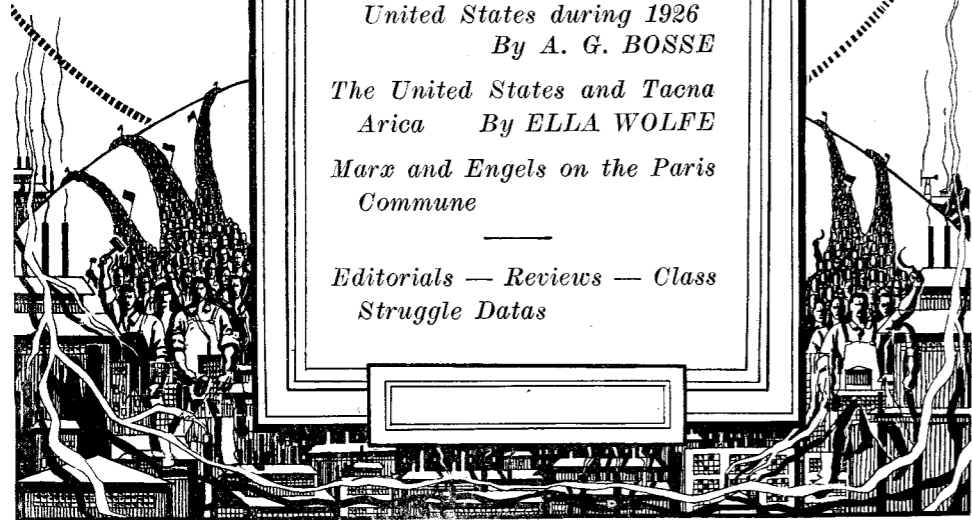
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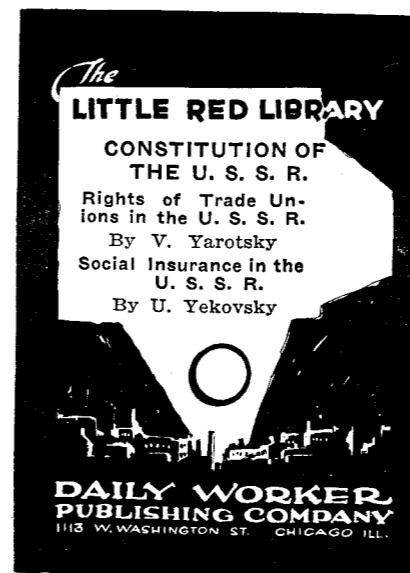
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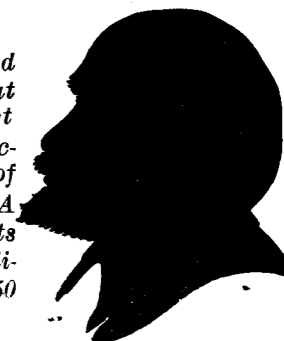
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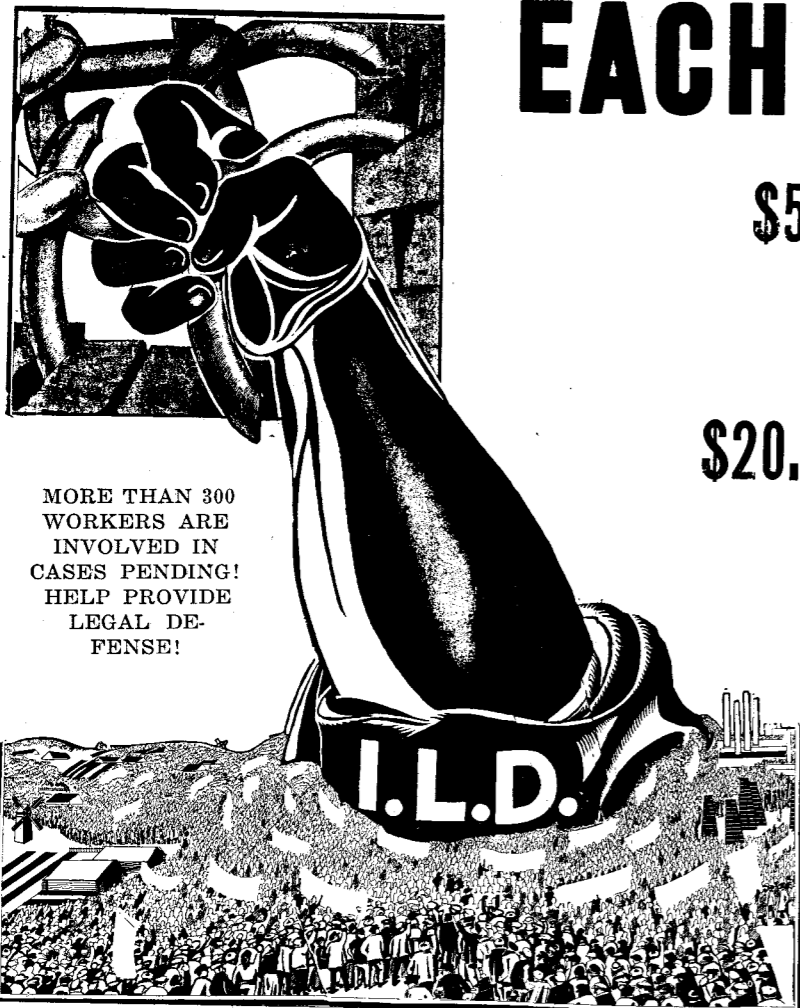
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