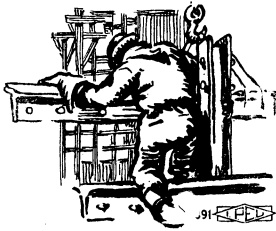


# BUILDING



## FOR WORKING CLASS POWER!

The most advanced, militant section of American workers donated the funds that established the paper that for one year has fought so well in every struggle of labor in this country.

In a campaign during the spring of last year, they secured six thousand new subscribers that has made it the powerful weapon of the American revolutionary workers that it now is.

On March 15 and until June 15, the Second Annual Sub Campaign drive will be conducted to secure 15,000 new subscribers to make the DAILY WORKER a more powerful working class leader, teacher and fighter.

Join the militant workers who will be in it! Send a new sub for yourself, another for your shop-mate or the member of your union. Let us build for working class power!

### SUB RATES

\$6.00 a Year—\$3.50 Six Months—\$2.00 Three Months

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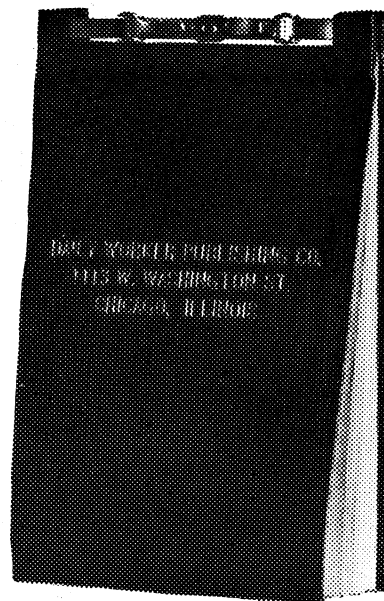
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1113 W. Washington Blvd.

Chicago, Ill.



# 750,000 Irish Workers and Peasants Are Starving!

## AMERICAN WORKERS!

Give, to relieve the famine stricken in Ireland as you gave to the workers and Peasants of Soviet Russia.



## AMERICAN WORKERS!

750,000 Irish workers and peasants have no food and no fuel. Demonstrate your international solidarity by coming to their assistance.

## FACTS ABOUT THE IRISH FAMINE

The entire western seaboard from Donegal in the extreme north to Cork in the extreme south is stricken.

\* \* \* \*

The famine area reaches inland along this stretch of country for about forty miles.

\* \* \* \*

The failure of the potato crop last year was the climax to several bad harvests.

\* \* \* \*

The incessant rains flooded the bogs thus preventing the cutting and drying of peat which is the main source of fuel supply on the west coast of Ireland.

\* \* \* \*

British steam trawlers ruined the fishing industry off the west coast.

\* \* \* \*

The Free State government is more interested in pushing a "hanging bill" thru parliament than aiding the famine victims.

\* \* \* \*

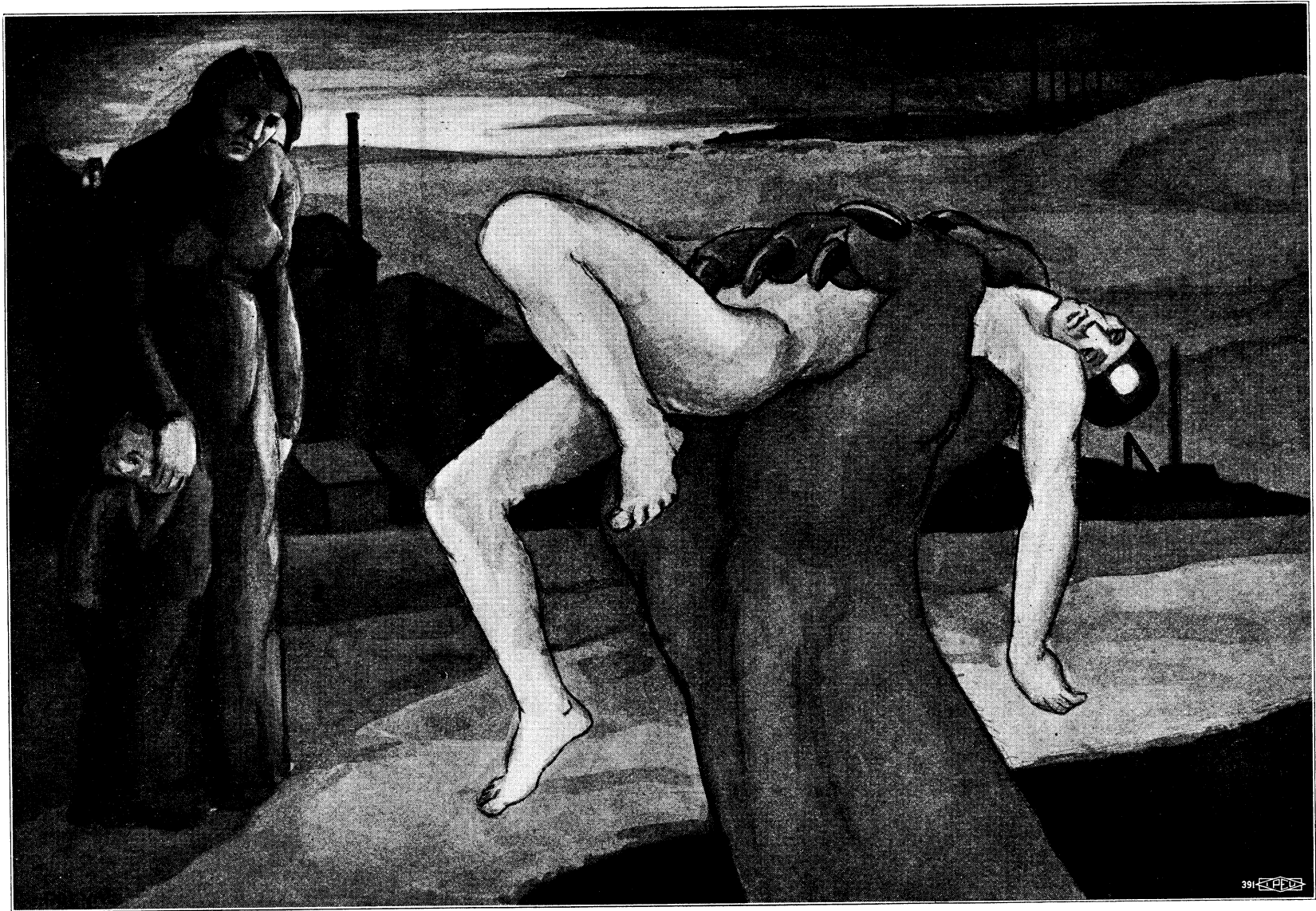
The Irish Workers and Peasants Famine Relief Committee with National Headquarters at 19 S. Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill., is the only organization in America which is active in the aid of the starving Ireland.

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Irish Workers and Peasants Relief Committee, 19 So. Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill.

Find enclosed \$..... for Irish Famine  
Relief from a ..... and  
state nationality  
a member of the ..... Union  
state Union affiliation

Name .....  
Address .....  
City ..... State .....



Juanita Preval

**FIFTY-ONE MINERS KILLED IN COAL MINE EXPLOSION AT SULLIVAN, IND.**  
Proper safety appliances had not been installed "because they eat up too much profit."

that is the daily food of the British workers. The trade union and political movement here is years behind that of Great Britain. The American workers are still obsessed for the most part with the fallacy that this is a land of equal opportunity.

America still feeds herself.

American imperialism moves into the conflict for world hegemony with a steady step. Her limitless resources that no foreign power can capture assure her of the material backing for markets and war. Her capitalists can devote all of their attention to creating the necessary mass psychological background for conquest.

For the present she does not fear Soviet Russia to the same extent as does Great Britain. America has no India along whose northern frontier are peasant and pastoral masses who see in Soviet Russia their deliverer.

Soviet Russia is much more of a menace to Great Britain than to America—Hughes could not see this, or if he did would not act accordingly. He has gone. The assiduous Senator Borah, the liberal middle class appendage to the Republican Party of big capital, gets the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations committee. Kellogg, ex-ambassador to Great Britain, who for eight months has been watching closely the foreign policy of our overseas cousins, takes the job of Secretary of State.

We have now a rough sketch of the world background and it resembles a powder magazine sheltering a number of careless boys who have chosen to hide from their parents while they smoke cigarettes.

All of the ingredients for a first class explosion are present. It has become apparent that what fools are thinking is indeed of some importance.

In the later part of February President Coolidge, Secretary of war Weeks, Secretary of the Navy Wilbur and other high government officials" (we quote from the Chicago Tribune) conducted a school in Washington. The school had but one course in its curriculum—"National Defense as Peace Insurance."

The fools were to be made to do some organized thinking.

The pupils were delegates from women's patriotic societies and the claim was made that they represented sixteen million club-women. They had been called to Washington to listen to the official reasons for a substantial increase in the armed forces. The instructors were almost without exception naval and military men.

Rear-Admiral W. W. Phelps was one of the lecturers. His remarks were given the greatest prominence in the capitalist press. Here are extracts from his lecture featured in the Washington dispatches:

The American open door principle has been invoked to help American citizens secure oil concessions. Wherever we turn, this principle has so successfully been combatted by the imperialistic

powers and fought by our own provincial powers for temporary partisan ends, that American rights and interests have been pretty generally defeated."

Let it be noted that the admiral uses the word "imperialistic" as an opprobrious term. Does America come under that classification? Perish the thought: Do we not know that it is only the enemy whose purposes are unholy and that the God of the Founding Fathers smiles warmly upon our own own unselfish motives?

"The result is that the bulk of the world's oil supply is in English control, and within another generation, when our own oil pools are drained, as they are being drained not only by us but also by England and Japan to conserve their own oil reserves, your navy and merchant marine will be at England's mercy for their fuel."

Here is the ancient foe, the hated redcoat of our school days, parading in full-plumed readiness, the "imperialistic" monster that Phelps, the outspoken militarist names with high disregard for diplomatic usage.

"As people are ordinarily polite the world over, none of them are so rude as to tell us exactly what they think of us. Given all these situations, it is not too much to expect that the nations who owe us huge sums which they spent settling quarrels among themselves, will coalesce whenever they can pos-

(Continued on Page 284)

## American Shibboleths

No. 2 FREE SPEECH.





SOUTHERN SENATOR PLEADING THAT ABOLITION OF  
CHILD LABOR WILL RUIN THE COTTON INDUSTRY

**"Slavery on the Banner—"**

This is the plan from the narrowest and most unimaginative point of view. Taken in this way alone it is a challenge to the American labor movement such as has hardly ever been equalled. It is a bold order for the complete liquidation of the labor movement in the textile industry, for turning onto the street half of the workers of the cotton and woolen mills to become a floating reserve army of unemployed, with the reduction of wages to an average level which has been estimated at \$16.20 per week, the abandonment of the eight-hour day and a lowering of the age-limit for child labor.

In 1864 Karl Marx on behalf of the First International wrote to Abraham Lincoln of the fact that "an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world 'Slavery' on the banner of armed revolt . . ." That slavery had to do with the production of raw cotton on the southern plantations. Sixty-one years later, we are moved to speak of the inscription of the word "slavery" on the banner of cold-blooded, "peaceful" wage-exploitation in the process of spinning and weaving that same cotton into cloth. The analogy is not a bad one. Any wage-labor system is slavery. But here we are dealing with a wage-slavery more intensified and more brutalized than ever before—a form which is really typical now in the postwar epoch of imperialism. And in a way it appears as an *atavistic* development. For the textile barons are actually reaching into the backward sections of the South (where semi-feudal conditions have never been completely eradicated) and are deliberately trying to use these semi-feudal conditions as a lever with which to lower the standards of working class life of the old, classic textile district of New England.

The textile manufacturing industry at least so far as cotton is concerned is no longer a New England industry. Its

outposts reach to Los Angeles, and to Oregon, while its most thriving centers are now found in the backward, until now purely agricultural, regions of Alabama, Georgia, Virginia and North and South Carolina.

The standard of living of these southern states has been adopted as the goal of the entire textile industry. First, after the end of the world war, the textile interests, fat to the bursting-point with profits of war time, poured their surplus into the South. Little local mills were bought up, enlarged and re-equipped as branches of the big New England combines. But more important, huge new mills with vastly improved machinery were caused to grow like mushrooms in the little country towns of 500 to 1000 and 2000 inhabitants, as branches of New England corporations. The kind of labor found there is described by the enthusiastic agents of the mill owners, as "mountaineer" labor. Mill agents speak and write openly of this type of labor as being ideal because it has never known of such a thing as labor organization and is accustomed to the half-starved life of mountain agriculture. Enthusiastic "efficiency experts" shout with joy that there is no age limit (or practically none) for the employment of the children of these mountaineers. Farmers who have hardly known what it is to handle money, leave their mountain corn patches and bring themselves, their wives, boys, girls and babies to work in the mills for "real money," without much regard for the question of how much that money-wage is.

The attitude of the manufacturer toward the easily exploited labor of the South was expressed in the "Standard Daily Trade Service" last December: "Resistance to wage reductions in the South is not expected to be strong, inasmuch as this is a non-union section, but in New England the workers will in all probability unite to oppose them."

And as one of the manufacturers' "experts" said in a recent speech: "One of the big hopes of the South lies in maintaining the class of operatives that they now possess and also extending and intensifying the good feeling between the employee and the employer."

What the concrete substance of this "good feeling between the employee and the employer" in the South is, is stated by the Standard Daily Trade Service: "Wages are considerably lower in the South, to the extent of apparently 25 to 30 per cent. In addition, the working week is longer than in the North. Whereas the week in the Southern mills ranges from 55 to 60 hours, the 48 hour week is more or less general in the Northern factories. Furthermore, the Southern mills have been remarkably free from labor troubles, owing to the fact that unionism has made practically no headway in that section."

**"Welfare Stuff"**

To keep the condition of low wages, long hours and unrestricted exploitation methods in the South, the manufacturing interests have concentrated on "welfare stuff." The Southern villages invaded by the textile princes teem with "employees' clubs," company unions, company churches, etc. Many of the little mill towns are owned outright by the companies and are ruled from the mill office, where the factory superintendent has literally the power of a czar, with the power to hire workers, fire them, evict them from their homes, order them out of town, employ or fire the local preacher, and to control every act of the lives of the entire community.

And then this Elysian field of the South is played up against the standards of living of the North. In their intensive propaganda in New England newspapers the mill owners' spokesmen threaten the New England workers:

"The cotton mills of the South are busy and hundreds of them are running day and night. This is because the costs of production are lower in the South, wages are lower, hours of operation are longer, so those southern mills are getting business. The New England cotton mill operatives can overcome this condition if they want to do so. If they will all double up work wherever possible.—"

While playing this cynical game, the textile financiers of course neglect to mention the process of combination which has brought the whole of the industry, wool and cotton, North and South, practically under one pyramid of control.

**The Growth of the Combine**

The power of the colossal group of mills headed by William M. Wood—"Old Man" Wood of the American Woolen Co. (though he has technically resigned from that company)—is an example of present-day combination. The original woolen company now boasts of sixty woolen mills, located almost entirely in New England. But even this is only a part of that single group headed by Wood. "Old Man" Wood, founder and still in fact head of the big Woolen Combine, now also appears as director general and chairman of the board of the great cotton mill combine called the Consolidated Textile Corporation. This corporation has not only swallowed up the twelve big cotton mills of the famous B. B. & R. Knight company in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, but also twenty-odd other cotton mills or groups



TEXTILE BARON LISTENING TO HIS FOREMAN EXPLAINING HOW THE WHEELS GO ROUND

of cotton mills in North Carolina, Kentucky, Virginia, Indiana, Oklahoma and Texas. It boasts of owning cotton mills with a capacity of 350,000,000 yards of cotton textiles annually.

The big Pacific Mills, famous in the labor history of Lawrence, Mass., now have enormous establishments at Lyman and Columbia, South Carolina. Likewise the New England Southern Mills operate not only in Lowell, Mass., and Lisbon, Maine, but also at Hogansville, Ga., LaGrange, Ga., Tucapau, South Carolina, and Pelzer, South Carolina.

Then there is the big Manville-Jenkes combination of cotton mills, a \$35,000,000 corporation. It not only has three big mills in Pawtucket and others at Manville, Woonsocket and Georgiaville, Rhode Island, but also owns a big mill at Gastonia, North Carolina, and a smaller one at High Shoals, North Carolina, with which it has to compete so fiercely that it took the lead in this wage-cutting drive.

There is little or no real competition between "the North" and "the South" in the manufacture of textiles. The "competition" is chiefly a propaganda picture for the wage-cutting drive; further than that it is a case of the big North and South mill combines (which lead the whole industry in all respects) forcing the New England mill workers to compete in wages and hours with the Southern mill workers.

**"Welfare Stuff" in New England**

So far has the "welfare stuff" been carried in the South—and so successfully—that the mill barons are making experiments with introducing the same system in New England towns. For instance the Lorraine Manufacturing Company's mills at Pawtucket and Westerly, R. I., have begun introducing a system of "honor pins." Small jewelled medals are given to "faithful" employees. This poor slave who has had the "honor" to serve his master for five years gets a bauble to pin on his coat, with one star on it; ten years' service earns two stars, etc. Twenty-five years of slavery without kicking may bend the back and swallow the face, but it is worth while, for it brings from the generous-souled superintendent a nice medal "studded with real jewels," while the poor but honest hand who works in the mill forty years is promised a badge covered with "eight real sapphires" provided that during the forty years his conduct is characterized by "loyalty to the firm." This is one of the cheapest, most peurile examples.

The Pacific Mills have also undertaken to introduce a "welfare" system of corruption of the workers into their northern mills, preliminary to the wage-cutting drive.

And so on, ad nauseam, The "welfare stuff" is being introduced in the North, not for the first time, but on a wider scale than before, as a substitute for union organization.

**Resistance?**

New England textile labor has a glorious record of resistance in the past. There are many reasons to expect the mill workers of Lawrence, Providence, the Pawtuxet Valley, Blackstone Valley, Fall River and New Bedford and other towns, to live up to that record. Since the wage-cutting drive began four months ago, there have been many small sporadic strikes, several thousands of workers altogether, in many districts, being out at one time. But at the moment I write these lines, only a few hundred are out. Every ingenuity conceivable to a big, centralized, thoroughly informed and prepared employers' group has been used to isolate each case of resistance, and to beat it down—or even temporarily to surrender in any isolated section where forcing the issue would cause a spreading of the disaffection. The cuts, decided on long in advance, are being applied dip-

(Continued on Page 275)



## Comrade Frunse

**W**HAT sort of a man is it that has been chosen to fill Trotsky's post as head of the Red Army? Who is this Michael Vassilievich Frunse, the new People's Commissar for War in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Our readers will want to know.

Comrade Frunse is a tried and tested member of the Russian Communist Party, a brilliant propagandist and an organizer of proven ability. He is a Bolshevik of long standing. For a time he was a member of the central committees of both the Russian Communist Party and the Ukrainian Communist Party. One of the most popular soviet leaders in Russia, he springs from poor parents and has spent the greater part of his life fighting the battles of the toiling masses. The capitalist press refers to "M. Frunse's notable military career," but it should not be thought that Comrade Frunse is a "soldier by trade." He got his training as a Red Guard and as an officer of the Red Army. He is one of the new type of the military chieftains who learned their art in defense of the revolution.

Frunse learned his art well. It was he who commanded the soviet armies on the southern front in 1920 when the counter-revolutionary White Guard army of Baron Wrangel was finally vanquished and driven from the soil of Russia. After Wrangel's defeat, Frunse was decorated by the Central Control Committee and presented with a sword on which was engraved a portrait of Karl Marx.

Michael Vassilievich Frunse was born in 1885, of a poor peasant family, at Pitchpeka in Turkestan. His father was a Moldavian who became naturalized as a Russian. Comrade Frunse grew up in the direst poverty and early began to feel the urge of revolt. While a student at St. Petersburg Polytechnic Institute he became a member of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, immediately aligning himself with the Bolshevik wing. In the beginning of 1905 he went to work in the industrial region of Ivanovo-Vosnesensk. He took an active part in the December insurrection.

The Ivanovo-Vosnesensk Committee elected Comrade Frunse delegate to the third and fourth joint (Bolshevik-Menshevik) congresses of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party at Stockholm.

Between 1904 and 1907 he was constantly dodging arrest. Finally in 1907, he was arrested, convicted of membership in the Bolshevik Party and sentenced to four years at hard labor in Siberia. He made his escape from Siberia in midwinter, suffering great hardships.

At the outbreak of the March, 1907, revolution, Frunse was at Minsk, in White Russia. He immediately became one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement there. The months that followed were busy and dangerous ones. In common with every other working class leader, he was facing the supreme test of an open struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. When the November revolution flamed up Frunse put himself at the head of the armed forces of the Shusky-Ivanovsky region, made his way to Moscow with a detachment of 2,000 armed workers and soldiers and threw himself into the fighting.

In April, 1919, Frunse was appointed commander-in-chief of the Red Army forces on the southeastern front.

In June, he was appointed commander-in-chief of all the Soviet forces in the east.

In February, 1920, Comrade Frunse undertook to liquidate the counter-revolution in south Russia and by November of the same year the counter-revolutionary hordes of Baron Wrangel had been routed.

Comrade Frunse does not come as a new man to his present important duties. During the period of Trotsky's illness it is Frunse who has been the actual head of the Red Army.

**Da Zdrastvooyet, Comrade Peoples' Commissar!** We like your record.

## The Death of a Traitor



**F**RITZ EBERT, who died early in March, represented the shame of the entire social-democracy of Germany, and of the Second International. He went down with the armor of capitalism on his back.

A prominent social-democratic leader, protege of Scheidemann, Ebert was lifted to power through the revolutionary might of the workers, whom he and his party cynically betrayed. Ebert was elected to the office which held until his death, at a time when the fate of German capitalism was hanging in the balance. Capitalism was saved for the time being by Ebert and his friends, who drowned the workers' revolution in a sea of blood.

The murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are upon his head.

Shortly before his death, Ebert figured in a sensational libel suit which he instituted against a monarchist editor who charged the President with "unpatriotic conduct" during the munitions strike which took place during the war. Ebert proved that he was steadfastly loyal to the German capitalists and an unashamed betrayer of the German working class. The exposure of social-democratic perfidy brought out at this trial is said to have imposed too severe a strain on the nerves of even the hardened Ebert.

His death is lamented by the bourgeoisie of the world, but not by class conscious workers.

can the work be furthered by magnifying to Negro comrades the mistakes of the party and exaggerating its present strength and abilities.

Ill-balanced comrades who know little of the role of the Negro in American industry and less of the labor movement, comrades who appear to think that the whole problem centers around the right of the races to inter-marry, whose utterances give one the impression that they believe the labor movement, a product as it is of historical conditions in America, is a conscious conspiracy against the Negro workers, comrades who without thought of possible consequences would have the party begin immediately the organization of dual independent Negro unions, such comrades as these are useless in this work.

There are two things necessary before we can mobilize any great number of Negro workers for our program. The first is the development of some Communist Negro leadership. The second is a point of contact with the Negro masses.

There are excellent prospects for securing both these fundamental necessities and with the work already under way in the unions the American Communist party will be able to make steady progress in demonstrating to the Negro workers in industry and the whole American working class that it alone has a program for the working class, black and white, that strengthens it in the continual combat with the capitalists and that will bring the working class through victorious struggle, to full exercise of its power by the proletarian dictatorship under which men and women will be judged by what they do and not by the color of their skin.

Sometime this year will be held a conference of delegates from Negro working class organizations. Every effort must be made to have this conference representative of the most advanced group of Negro workers. It will be the first gathering of this kind in America and will establish a center for organizing work among the Negroes in industry.

There must be established as soon as possible a Communist Negro Press as a vital part of the party machinery. The existing Negro press is feeble when it is not actually traitorous.

The problem of the Negro in American industry has taken on an important international aspect. The colonial regions of Africa, where British, French, Belgian and Italian imperialists exploit the masses of Negro workers, are astir. As in America, the war brought the world to the masses of African Negroes. They discovered that the white tyrants had forced them to weld their own chains; that they were expected to fight and die to perpetuate their own slavery.

White supremacy is no longer accepted at the valuation placed on it by the white robber class.

Writing in a recent number of a semi-official publication of the British colonial office, a colonial bureaucrat tells of the changes taking place in the British African territories. He shows that the Negro tribes are holding tremendous semi-political gatherings at which a high degree of organizational ability is displayed. He writes of the complicated structure of Negro states destroyed by the white invader and tells of the new interest displayed by the Negro masses in the history of their states and customs before the white man came.

He cites their adaptability to modern warfare and modern machinery and warns the British ruling class that new and more subtle methods must be used if the Africans are to be kept within the confines of the empire.

From among the American Negroes in industry must come the leadership of their race in its struggle for freedom in the colonial countries. In spite of the denial of equal opportunity to the Negro under American capitalism, his advantages are so far superior to those of the subject colonial Negroes in the educational, political and industrial fields that he is alone able to furnish the agitational and organizational ability that the situation demands.

The American Communist Negroes are the historical leaders of their comrades in Africa and to fit them for dealing the most telling blows to world imperialism as allies of the world's working class is enough to justify all of the time and energy that the Workers (Communist) Party must devote to the mobilization for the revolutionary struggle of the Negro workers in American industry.

## Arditi di Guerra



### A COMMUNIST ANSWER TO THE FASCISTI

Poster put up by the Arditi in Milan, Italy. The Arditi were organized under the leadership of the Communists to fight fascism and counter-revolution.



## Poem to a Dead Soldier

"Death is a whore who consorts with all men."

**I**CE-COLD passion  
 And a bitter breath  
 Adorned the bed  
 Of Youth and Death—  
 Youth, the young soldier  
 Who went to the wars  
 And embraced white Death,  
 The vilest of whores.

Now we spread roses  
 Over your tomb—  
 We who sent you  
 To your doom.  
 Now we make soft speeches  
 And sob soft cries  
 And throw soft flowers  
 And utter soft lies.

We mould you in metal  
 And carve you in stone,  
 Not daring make statue  
 Of your dead flesh and bone,  
 Not daring to mention  
 The bitter breath  
 Nor the ice-cold passion  
 Of your love-night with Death.

We make soft speeches.  
 We sob soft cries.  
 We throw soft flowers,  
 And utter soft lies.  
 And you who were young  
 When you went to the wars  
 Have lost your youth now  
 With the vilest of whores.  
 —Langston Hughes.

## Park Benching

**I**'VE sat on the park benches in Paris  
 Hungry.  
 I've sat on the park benches in New York  
 Hungry.  
 And I've said:  
 I want a job.  
 I want work.  
 And I've been told:  
 There are no jobs.  
 There is no work.  
 So I've sat on the park benches  
 Hungry.  
 Mid-winter,  
 Hungry days,  
 No jobs,  
 No work.

—Langston Hughes.



## The Day of the Workers

**K**INGS, Emperors, Czars, and lords of Trade  
 Who have the power without the name,—  
 Soon shall your brutal might be laid  
 Low in red Revolution's flame;  
 And from the wreckage of your empire rise,—  
 Flinging the banner of rebellion to the skies,—  
 The new world of the workers, which now seems  
 To the fainthearted, the mirage of idle dreams.

One such republic stands impregnable today,  
 After long years of war devastation.  
 Soviet Russia! Thou hast led the way,  
 Showing mankind how workers rule a nation.

Oh Revolution glorious! Oh banners gleaming red!  
 Through the long years victorious! Above thy mar-  
 tyred dead,  
 A mighty monument to them, the Soviet state now  
 stands,  
 Pointing the road of freedom to the workers of all  
 lands.

Arise, oh workers, then and fight! The days of peace  
 are gone;  
 Class facing class in deadly war, the battle lines  
 are drawn.  
 The conflict wages fierce and fast, and many a man  
 shall fall  
 'Ere the flag of human brotherhood waves peace-  
 fully over all.

—James H. Dolsen.

# Communist Policy and the Peasants

*Speech Delivered at Moscow District Conference of the Russian Communist Party*

By I. Stalin

COMRADES, I wish to say a few words on the foundations of the political line which the Party is taking at present as regards the peasantry. There can be no doubt as to the especially great significance of the peasant question at the moment. Many people are so carried away that they say that a new era, the era of the peasantry has begun. Others are inclined to take the slogan: "The face to the village!" to mean "the back to the town!" Others again even think of a political "Nep." This is of course all nonsense, is pure exaggeration. Apart however from this exaggeration, one thing remains, that is that the peasant question at the moment, precisely at this moment, is gaining great significance.

The first reason why the peasant question has such special significance for us at the present moment, is that among all the allies of the Soviet power, among all the chief confederates of the proletariat — and in my opinion there are four of them — the peasantry is the only ally which can be of immediate help to our revolution. It is a case of immediate help, under the present conditions. All the other allies, who have a great future before them, and who represent a splendid reserve for our revolution, are nevertheless at the present moment not in a position to be of immediate help to our power, our State.

#### Four Allies of Soviet Power.

Our first, our chief ally is the proletariat of the advanced countries. The advanced proletariat, the proletariat of the West, is a gigantic force, and it is the most faithful, most important ally of our revolution and our power. Unfortunately the revolutionary movement in the highly developed capitalistic countries, is in such a condition that the proletariat of the West is not able to give us direct and decisive help. We have its indirect moral support, the value of which to us is immeasurable. That however is not the immediate help which we now need.

The second ally is—the colonies, the oppressed peoples in the less developed countries, which are oppressed by the highly developed countries. That, Comrades, is the greatest reserve of our revolution. It is however developing far too slowly. It is therefore not capable at present of giving us immediate help for the consolidation of our power, and for our socialist economic construction.

We have also a third ally, intangible, impersonal, but of the highest degree of importance. This is those **conflicts and contradictions between the capitalist countries**, which indeed have no direct expression, but without doubt signify a great support for our power and our revolution. This may seem strange but it is a fact. If the two chief coalitions of the imperialistic countries had not had to fight one another to the death, if they had not seized one another by the throat, if they had not been occupied with one another, but had time to concern themselves with the fight against our power, it should not have been able to maintain itself.



STALIN

The conflicts between our various capitalist enemies are, I repeat, our strongest ally. What is there to say about this new ally? World capital began to recover in the post-war time, after several crises. This we must recognize. The most important of the victorious states, England and America, have now acquired such power that they are materially in the position not only to make capitalism more or less endurable in their own countries, but also to infuse new blood into France, Germany and other capitalist countries. This is the one side, and this side of the question illustrates that the contradictions between the capitalist countries do not, for the time being, develop as quickly as they did immediately after the war. This is an advantage to capital and a disadvantage to us. This process has however another aspect. Its reverse side consists in the fact that, in spite of all the comparative stability which capital has for the time being been able to accomplish, the contradictions between the advanced exploiting countries and the backward exploited colonies and semi-colonial countries is becoming more and

This scheme was halted by the death of Gompers, but his successor, Green, has already established the fact that he believes in continuity of policy and will take up the task of controlling European labor for American capital.

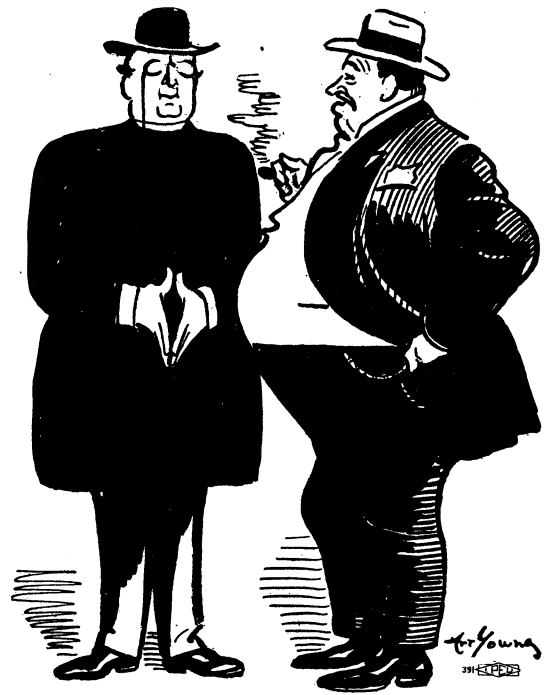
The steps thus far taken for the calling of a world congress to effect trade union unity have resulted in the establishment of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. This has laid the basis for further work in establishing unity between the two most important sections of the European trade union movement. The Russian unions constitute the basis of the R. I. L. U., while the British unions are the most important section of Amsterdam. The establishment of this unity committee is an organizational crystallization of the split in the Amsterdam leadership between the right and the left. This step brings the question of unity vividly before the workers of Europe.

The struggle for unity consists in the mobilization of the workers for the struggle against the reactionary leadership of the trade unions. Unity can be accomplished when the sabotage of the reactionary leaders has been broken, and to do this the workers must be mobilized. "Unity from below," will accomplish this by means of taking the question of unity to the workers in the factories, mines and mills. The organization of conferences on the question of unity, as was done in Britain by the National Minority Movement, and the establishment of unity committees composed of workers belonging to parallel trade unions, in this way the struggle for unity will receive the support of the workers and bring unity.

In America, the Communists are faced with the great task of preventing the American trade union movement being used as an obstacle in the road of world trade union unity. The El Paso convention demonstrated the complete dominance of American imperialism over the A. F. of L. From the defeat of the mildest resolutions, regarded as dangerously progressive by the Gompers machine, to the enunciation of the "Monroe Doctrine of Labor" by Woll, it was shown that Gompersism is synonymous with the control of the American unions by American imperialism.

But in the United States there are signs that a deep-going, left wing development is on the way in the ranks of the organized workers. The results of the elections in the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and the United Mine Workers, where the Communist candidates received thousands of votes that appalled the bureaucrats, and precipitated in the former an orgy of expulsions against the leaders of the left wing, show that thousands of workers are responding to the programs and policies of the Workers (Communist) Party and the Trade Union Educational League.

In every struggle of the workers, in strikes, against unemployment, against the labor bureaucrats, in union election campaigns, the Communists have raised the question of trade union unity. That this is having effect among the workers is shown by the discussions taking place in many local unions, particularly in the miners' union, and the resolutions being passed condemning those who obstruct the work of unity. The continuance of this work, the building of Communist and left wing trade union fractions, establishment of shop, factory and pit committees, and the mobilization of the rank and file for militant struggle against the imperialist agents who dominate the unions in the United States, point the path by means of which the Communists in the United States can aid in the struggle for world unity.



**ENTHUSIASTIC CLERGYMAN:** "Will your firm make us a contribution to help build the new cathedral?"

**CAPITALIST:** "Sure thing, son. We'll take up a collection in the factory this afternoon."

## Between Waves of Revolt

**S**TEP on the cur, he is crushed  
The voice of revolt is hushed.

Friend deceives, foe defeats him,  
Hope abandons, hate eats him,  
Again, as through the ages,  
Seeking work without wages,  
Having life without living,  
Getting naught for his giving.

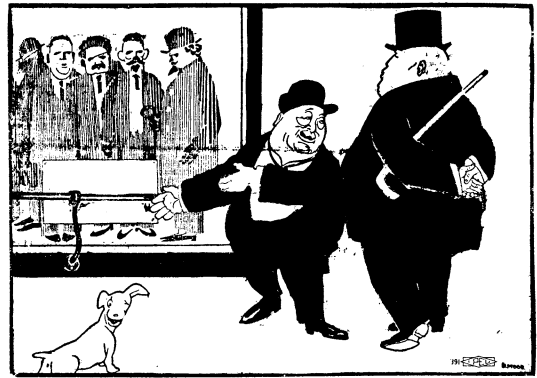
Mother Earth, womb and grave,  
Fondly takes her final slave,  
Final slave and first master,  
In this day of his disaster.  
She gathers, and she heals him;  
She whispers, and she steels him;  
Muscles flex, his eye flashes,  
Hope flames from its ashes!

Step on the cur? But take care!  
He wears an ambiguous air,  
Reflects—and consorts with his clan;  
Is patient—proceeding by plan;  
And the tools that he chooses  
Have ominous uses. . . .  
Politician, employer and king,  
Take heed—he's recoiling to spring!

—J. W. Wallace.

# The Barmat Scandal

Teapot Dome was the acme of respectability compared with the present Barmat Scandal in Germany. The Barmat affair reveals the complete inner demoralization and degradation to which the German Social-Democratic Party has sunk. The banker, Barmat, bought and sold prominent Social-Democrats as if they had been so many sacks of flour or barrels of fresh fish for the market. Through the complicity of Social-Democratic ministers, at the head of which was no less a figure than Bauer, Barmat received 45,000,000 gold marks in special credits and in addition cheated the government out of 15,000,000 gold marks which had been advanced to him by Postmaster General Hoefle (Center party). The Social-Democrats, Heilmann, Hermann, Muller and Wels are involved in the scandal, as is also ex-President Ebert's own son.



"NICE FRESH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS FOR SALE!"

## "Let Your Superintendent Be Your Boss"

(Continued from Page 247)

omatically, one mill at a time, to avoid concerted resistance on the part of the enormous mass of textile workers. And the truth compels the statement that to every appearance the mill owners are "getting away with it," on the whole. The miserable tactics of trade union officials' rushing into each local area of trouble to insist on delaying action and making adjustments separately for each tiny handful of skilled workers, with any concession to the employers that may be necessary to avoid "trouble," serve the employers as full and complete co-operation to put over the "deflation" drive without any real resistance on the part of labor. When we realize that the mill owners' program calls for the complete elimination of labor unions ("Let the Superintendent be Your Labor Leader!"), it becomes almost incredible that trade union officials should strive, not to widen the resistance, but to isolate and dissipate resistance.

The importance of resisting this drive cannot be overestimated.

Nor can the opportunity for the laboring masses be overestimated. There is here an opportunity for a stroke in labor organization seldom equalled in the history of this country.

There are far more than half a million textile workers in the United States, north, south, east and west. They could be made into one of the most powerful labor organizations in the world. But with what instrument can they be united? The organized labor movement practically does not exist in the textile mills. There are unions, yes. And we do not wish to combat, or to weaken in the slightest degree those fragments of unions which do exist. But at best they are but pitiful fragments. Their officials, for the most part, have an outlook which can see nothing more ambitious than the adjustment of each case of friction on a local basis, considering usually only isolated groups of skilled workers (even though these are fast losing their favored position and their numerical proportion to unskilled workers), and accepting any compromise in preference to a struggle.

There is the United Textile Workers, with a handful of members—hardly a handful in proportion to the number of workers engaged in the industry. This is the A. F. of L.

union claiming jurisdiction over all. Its president, Thomas F. Mahon, makes wildly passionate speeches to induce workers not to strike, and his greatest concern in this crisis is to "fight bolsheviks" and to claim jurisdiction for his own stagnant bureaucracy, rather than to organize a mass resistance to the wage-reduction. Then there is the American Federation of Textile Operatives, independent of the A. F. of L. and supposedly a rival union, although its attitude seems to be rather friendly toward a united front of all textile labor organizations. This is a union having locally a strong hold in Fall River and New Bedford and a few other New England towns, but altogether it is an even smaller handful than the United Textile Workers. There is also the Amalgamated Textile Councils, a still smaller union found for the most part in and around Providence. This union openly declares its opposition in principle to dual unionism, and constantly seeks to encourage every move to bring about a united front of all textile unions, as well as endorsing the movement for amalgamation. It never encourages a worker to quit another union, and it recognizes the cards of all other textile unions. But its membership is but a few hundred. Further than these unions there is but a fond memory of the I. W. W., and another tender recollection of the O. B. U.

This is the union situation. In practice it amounts to this: There is no organized resistance to the anti-labor drive. What can be done?

Nothing but an organizational drive on a wide national scale can accomplish a substantial result. The existing unions, all taken together, do not reach into one-tenth part of the field. For under the present wide spread of the textile industry, with the southern mills being played at will against the New England mills, no labor organization can make much of a dent in the situation unless it can reach into the southern states and make at least some showing toward touching the big new mills which are producing now more than half the manufactured cotton products of the United States.

I think this ought to be considered a job for the Communists. But it is a tremendous job, one which would tax the strength of any organization. The Workers (Communist) Party and the Trade Union Educational League have undertaken the job. In New England the party has raised the

description—and this is of peculiar interest—he makes the following statement, word for word:

“The further east of Europe it is (and Russia, as you know, is east of Europe), the weaker, more cowardly and abject becomes the bourgeoisie in its political relations, and the greater the cultural and political tasks falling to the lot of the proletariat.”

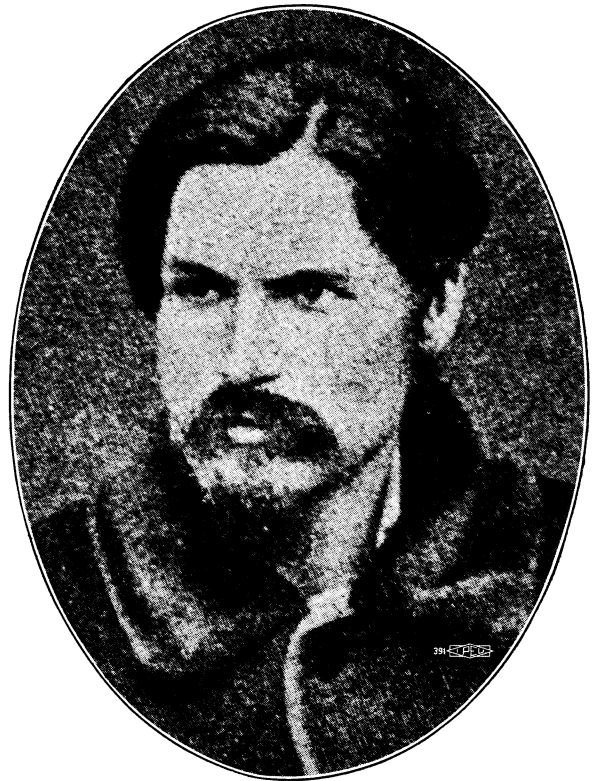
I think that Struve can be forgiven much for these prophetic words. It was in truth, of himself, of his own class that he wrote. And for us it only remains to repeat after him: “The farther to the east, the weaker, more cowardly and abject becomes the bourgeoisie in its political relations.” And no one has demonstrated this more clearly than Struve himself.

#### Economism.

At the end of the nineties, at the time of the first party congress, two currents became discernible, not only on the literary field, but also in the workers' movement, and even in the Social Democratic Party, though the latter had hardly taken on definite form as yet. One of these currents, which received the name of economism, I shall try to outline briefly. At the start I must say that economism was intimately bound up with the struggle of the tendencies appearing within 'illegal' Marxism. And, to state concisely the essence of the controversy between the revolutionary Marxists of this period, the advocates of political struggle, the “Iskrovzti” (the Iskra group), the future Leninists, on the one hand—and the economists on the other, it may be said that everything came down to the role of the proletariat in the revolution, to the question of its hegemony. This concept served during the course of 30 years as the fundamental dividing line, appearing in many settings, and in a variety of forms. In 1917, it lined up the Mensheviks and us on opposite sides of the barricades; in 1895, it assumed the form of a purely literary controversy; and from 1898 to 1900 it resolved itself into a struggle within the party. . . . And now, looking over the facts, you will see that there exists a personal bond between the adherents of economism and the representatives of the right wing of legal Marxism, the future builders of the Menshevik party. There is one and the same line of development: from legal Marxism through economism to Menshevism; next to liquidation, and then to what we have at the present time, when the Mensheviks have definitely gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie. It is one logical chain. The question of the hegemony of the proletariat is of such importance, that no one who commits an error in regard to this question can escape the penalty. Whosoever stumbles in regard to this point, is compelled by the laws of gravity to fall lower and lower.

#### The Origins of Economism.

Economism arose in the second half of the nineties, when social democracy was advancing from the group stage, or “Krushkovshina,” as it was called, to mass activity. What is meant by “Krushkovshina”? From the appellation it is apparent that this was a period when the party was composed of very small, individual propaganda groups. Nothing else could be done at the time, since it was scarcely possible even to gather the workers into individual units. But when the movement began to grow and spread, then, on the basis of the great strike movement to which I have referred, the revolutionists began to set themselves new and larger tasks. They said: “We must not be content with groups, we must ad-



KALTURIN, one of the Founders of the North Russian Labor Alliance, referred to by Zinoviev as the First Nucleus of the Russian Communist Party

vance to mass-activity, to agitation; we must not only endeavor to bring together individual workers, but to organize the working class.” And here, at this extremely important juncture, the tendency known as “economism” was born. I shall now show why it was given this name.

When we began to advance to the mass organization of the workers, then questions of the economic struggle and the day to day life of the workers naturally began to play an extremely important role. Moreover, during the group period propaganda only had been carried on, but when group activity developed into mass activity, propaganda had to be replaced by agitation.

Observe, by the way, that there is a difference between agitation and propaganda. Plekhanov carefully differentiated them. He said: “If we give a number of ideas to a few people, that is propaganda; if we give one idea to many people, that is agitation.” This definition is classic, and really does distinguish agitation from propaganda.

During the group period, propaganda was carried on, that is, a number of ideas, a whole “weltanschauung,” in fact, were propagated among small groups of people; in the agitation period, on the contrary, an effort was made to instill into the minds of a large number of workers one fundamental idea, that of the economic subjugation of the working class.

And so, at this time we switched over to the economic field. It was not at all fortuitous that one of Lenin's first works was a pamphlet “On Fines,” which were at that time imposed upon the workingmen and women of Petersburg, for lateness, poor work, etc. These fines and deductions were

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## Max Eastman on Leninism

(Continued from page 256)

The Soviet Power as the concrete expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat is one more basic principle of Leninism. Then the role of the peasantry and the oppressed colonial peoples in the social revolution, this, too, is an essential of Leninism. And to mention only one principle of the organizational features of Leninism, what about the shop-nuclei?

Max Eastman simply overlooked all these fundamentals of Leninism. The result is a distorted view not only of Lenin wisdom but also of the revolutionary working class movement from which Lenin's wisdom cannot be separated.

The way to Lenin's wisdom and to Leninism lies through Marxism on the one hand and through the actual struggles of the world proletariat during the last quarter of a century on the other hand. The historic role of Leninism in the class struggle is the same as that of Marxism. It is a practical weapon in the hands of the proletarian vanguard, a weapon forged in the era of imperialism and social revolution, for the destruction of capitalism through the establishment of an International Soviet Republic.



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