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Greetings!

Fred Ellis

FOURTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

"Fighting Bob" was scarcely in his grave before a mad scramble began among the Wisconsin Old Guard as to whether his successor should be Bob, Jr., Governor Blaine, Congressman Nelson or somebody else. Just now Bob, Jr. seems to have the edge, the idea being to take a leaf from the notebook of the Republican Party which has persistently been trying to establish the dynasty of the Roosevelt family by pushing the political fortunes of Teddy, Jr. But whether or not he goes to the Senate, it must be clear that young La-Follette cannot take the place of his father. Senator Norris is willing, but he does not quite fill the bill. Brookhart and Frazier are weak sisters. Wheeler is out of the question. Hiram Johnson, the ambitious freebooter from California, could establish neither contact nor confidence.

"But," writes the New Republic's Washington correspondent, "there is still Borah. As a matter of fact, Borah is the real hope—the one best bet. . . His friends here have a feeling, which I fully share, that the La Follette death will force him forward as the real Progressive leader, and that as such he will in the long run be more effective than any other man. The logic of things, they contend, points directly to him."

#### Effect of La Follette's Death.

Borah, however, is not La Follette. His past history and present connections offer many serious disadvantages. If the "Third Party" movement should now push forward Borah as its leader—a not improbable eventuality—a number of readjustments will be necessary. Borah—or someone else—might serve to crystallize the petty-bourgeois forces almost as well as La Follette did, but La Follette's other functions of confusing and seducing the workers can not be taken over so simply. Swapping horses while crossing a stream is always ticklish business, and especially when the new team is not immediately at hand and furthermore is unused to the harness.

The effect of La Follette's death must be to spread temporary demoralization in the camp of La Follettism and to hasten the separation of the Labor Party forces.

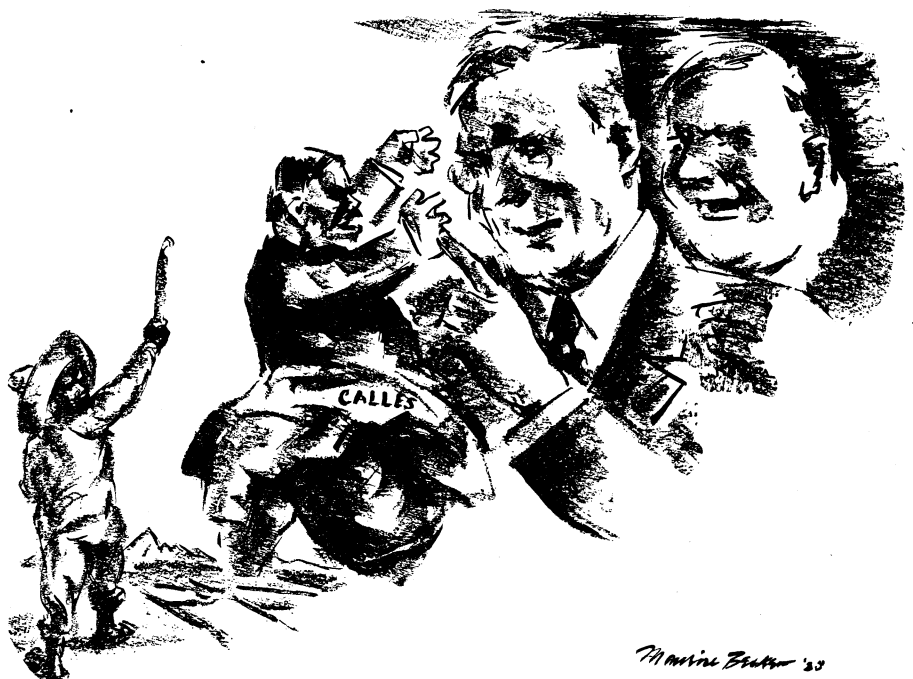
#### Stone and Johnston; the Passing of Gompers.

The death of Warren S. Stone, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the loss of prestige of Johnston of the Machinists, must also operate as powerful influences in this direction. Stone and Johnston have been the two most important links between the trade unions and La Follette. Both rose to public importance in politics on the crest of the movement for an independent party of the workers and both were instrumental in the capitulation of their movement to La Follettism. Johnston is still head of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, it is true, but the setback that he received from the rank and file of the Machinists' Union in the recent grand lodge elections, will tend to weaken his hand there.

More important still is the disappearance from the scene of Gompers. The passing of Gompers marks the break-up of a whole leading grouping in the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and releases many dammed up forces making for working class progress. This is not immediately visible on the surface, but it is beyond doubt. The rule of the small aristocratic unions is at an end. And in the larger unions, where the unskilled workers are becoming a more and more important factor, the movement for independent political action has gained considerable foothold. William Green may be a black reactionary—as he most certainly is—and John L. Lewis may be a pal of Cal Coolidge's, but the United Mine Workers of America which is the source of their power is overwhelmingly in favor of a Labor Party. The A. F. of L. obviously cannot continue to be the barrier to independent working class political action that it was under Gompers. The need of the American workers to enter politics as a class cannot remain permanently unsatisfied.

#### Towards a Labor Party.

Communists should be prepared to take advantage of the situation created by the deaths of La Follette, Stone and Gompers. We must not only throw the weight of our influence into the campaign for rousing the political consciousness of the trade unionists inside and outside of the La Follette movement, but we must also put forward concrete propositions tending to give organizational substance to the Labor Party movement as against La Follettism. We must, however, always bear in mind the general co-relation of forces and the position and role of our own Workers Party. We cannot proceed as though all the strings were gathered in our hands, as though we were the Labor Party. The Communist International has only recently emphasized the fact that the Labor Party must be deeply rooted in the trade unions. If we remember this, we can play a noteworthy part in leading the American workers into taking the first steps toward conscious political activity on a class basis.



WALL STREET'S NEW PUPPET IN MEXICO

Maurice Becker

# The Consolidation of The Revolutionary Government in South China

By Tang Shin See

**H**ONG KONG constitutes the imperialist headquarters in South China. Right opposite this town lies revolutionary Canton, the general staff of the national revolutionary emancipation movement. This town is a thorn in the flesh of the bourgeoisie; it would very much like to destroy it. It has already several times attempted to do so by direct and indirect means.

In the year 1922 the English egged on Chen Shui Ming, who was at that time a follower of Sun Yat Sen, to fight against the revolutionary government. Sun Yat Sen had to leave Canton. But after some months the revolutionary government again established itself in this town. England continued on every occasion to support Chen Shui Ming, whose troops were in East and South Kwantung. This lasted until shortly after the death of Sun Yat Sen.

In the middle of April of this year Chen Shui Ming was finally annihilated by the revolutionary troops. The English incited another general, the governor of Yunnan, against the Canton government. But he was unable to penetrate through Kwangsi (a neighboring province of Kwantung and a sphere of influence of the Canton government). This was how the imperialists carried on their indirect work.

Sometimes, however, they lost patience and made direct attempts against the Canton government. At the end of 1923 the imperialists concentrated their warships before Canton on account of a customs dispute. Sun Yat Sen declared that he was not afraid of entering into war with them; they should only start. But one ship after the other steamed away from the harbor.

In the summer of last year the English supported the so-called volunteer bands of the merchants against the government, and the English consul even went so far as to send a letter to Sun Yat Sen in which he threatened that "if the Canton government fired upon the volunteers, he would take action on behalf of the volunteers with warships."

In October last, Indian soldiers directly supported the revolt of the volunteer bands in Canton.

Now, when the fight for emancipation broke out in Shanghai and the national revolutionary movement threatens to spread over the whole country, the imperialists incited the troops of Yunnan and Kwangsi, who have for a long time been in Canton and who belonged to the right wing of the Kuo Min Tang, to fight against the revolutionary government. Although the treacherous troops had the town entirely in their hands, before a week was over the revolutionary government once again had complete mastery over Canton. This means that the revolutionary forces are capable of defending their government.

The Canton government is not a workers' and peasants' government; but it supports the workers' and peasants' movement; it leads the workers and peasants in the revolution. The government was set up by the Kuo Min Tang. It is well known that, formerly, the Kuo Min Tang was based upon the intellectuals and the army. It is only since 1922 that it has come to rely particularly upon the peasants and workers. As a result the old members formed a right wing within the



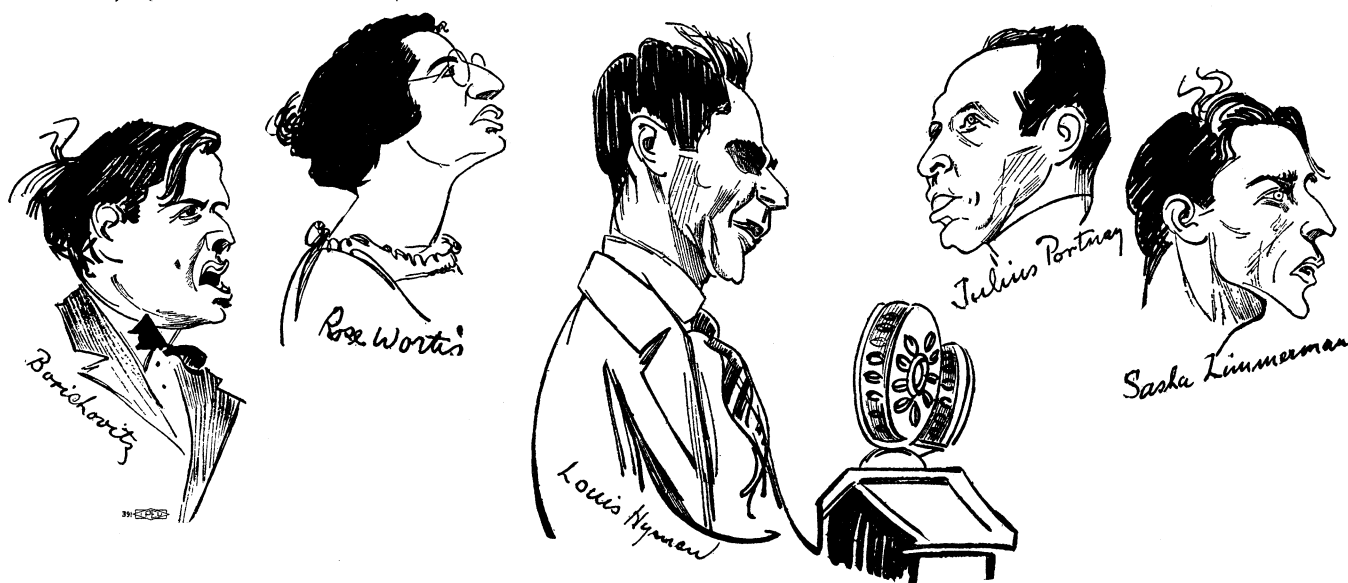
Billie Burke

**MOTHER RUSSIA: NEVER MIND THE BIRTH PANGS OF REVOLUTION. MY BOY AND YOURS WILL STAND AND FIGHT TOGETHER.**

party or became out and out counter-revolutionaries. The two traitors: the leader of the Yunnan troops, Yang Hsi Ming and the leader of the Kwangsi troops, Liu Tchun Wan, were right wing members of the Kuo Min Tang and have meanwhile become counter-revolutionaries. As a result of the fights in Canton, a thorough purging has taken place within the party and this purging of the Kuo Min Tang has rendered the position of the Canton government more firm than ever and has enabled it to come into closer contact with the workers and peasants.

Since Sun Yat Sen established direct relations with the workers and peasants, the Canton government has been protected by the workers and peasants. The fascist revolt in October last year was only defeated by the Canton workers. Chen Shui Ming was completely annihilated solely because the peasants fought against him along with the revolutionary troops. The struggle in this month was likewise so speedily decided because the Canton workers assisted the revolutionary government by going on strike. Many workers and peasants are now being armed (in accordance with the decision of the workers and peasants conference held on the 1st of May in Canton). They are to constitute the Red Guard of the Revolution.

The Canton government has various bodies of troops at



From "The Big Stick," Jewish satirical weekly.

LEADERS OF THE I. L. G. W. U. LEFT WING AT THE GREAT PROTEST MEETING IN YANKEE STADIUM, NEW YORK, WHERE 30,000 CLOAK AND DRESSMAKERS DEMANDED THE RESIGNATION OF SIGMAN, PERLSTEIN AND FEINBERG.

unions, Nos. 2, 9, and 22, by arbitrarily removing their executive boards, they touched the match to the great heap of tinder they had piled up. They soon became confronted with a conflagration which threatens to consume them. It was pushing the rank and file beyond the last limit of endurance, and they revolted en masse.

#### Rank and File Aroused.

The story of this revolt, one of the most spectacular and significant in the history of the American labor movement, need not be repeated. The spontaneous outpouring of thousands of rank and file members to the great mass meetings to protest against the insufferable policies of Sigman & Co., the raids of the administration gangsters to capture the union headquarters, the defense of these headquarters by the rank and file, the enormous meeting at the Yankee Stadium, where 30,000 to 40,000 needle workers gathered to protest against betrayal by their leaders and to organize themselves to defend their interests, the farcical trial staged by the Sigman administration in a desperate effort to discredit the leaders of the left wing and to find some faint plausibility for their brutal expulsions—all these things have received the widest publicity, and striking though they may be, they will be followed in all probability by events even more significant than those that have happened so far.

It is characteristic of the right-wing program of betrayal in every union that the reactionaries seek to cover up and justify their ruinous policies by concentrating an attack upon the left wing and by trying to convince the workers that the danger they have to confront is from the left and not from the right. In the present situation, the Sigman bureaucrats are following this policy with classic orthodoxy. They viewed with alarm the growing strength of the left wing. They awaited only a favorable opportunity to deliver a heavy blow at this left wing. They thought they saw their opportunity in connection with the May Day meetings, and they struck their blow by sweeping out of office 77 members of the executive boards of these three local unions which constitute not only

60 per cent of the International in New York, but also its very best proletarian elements.

In their eagerness to strike at the Communist militants, trade union bureaucrats have in many other unions raised the charge that the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League have been, in the first case in opposition to trade unionism generally, and in the second place a dual union, and upon the basis of such charges they have either expelled members outright from the union or have deprived them of their rights to sit as delegates in Central Labor Councils. But in no case was there such flimsy pretext seized upon as in the case of these suspended executive boards. Once again, even as he did in the case of beginning the expulsion policy in general, Sigman takes the lead in proceeding to extremes to make war upon the revolutionary elements in his organization.

In the New York Times which is pleased to give Sigman and his agents ample space in which to spread their poison against the best members of the organization, Sigman's tool, Feinberg, charges the 77 suspended officials with having violated the Constitution by the commission of the following "crime":

"On May 1st, 1925, the Executive Board of Local 22, and the Secretary-Treasurer of the local, called and organized a public meeting under the guise of a May Day demonstration, which, upon the invitation of the Executive Board and the Secretary-Treasurer of the local was addressed by avowed enemies and opponents of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; the speakers who were invited to address the meeting were members of organizations opposed to all the settled principles of trade unionism, and particularly those of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the American Federation of Labor with which it is affiliated, i. e., the Workers Party, the Communist Party, and the so-called Trade Union Educational League. The speakers so invited advocated at the meeting methods of violence and

# The War in Morocco

**A**BD-EL-KRIM'S victories against French and Spanish imperialism have stirred all Africa and Asia. His armies are pushing on toward Fez, swelling with eager recruits at every advance. The French Communists are lending him active and effective support. It is a life and death struggle for imperialist France.

The negotiation proposals made by Abd-el-Krim were systematically rejected by Herriot and Painleve who organized the blockade of the Riff by swarming the neutral zone with block-houses and then luring Abd-el-Krim into the ambush on the Uergha. The Moroccan events between 1907 and 1911 and the Agadir episode were the forerunners of the great slaughter from 1914 to 1918. The plundering expedition now undertaken by France against the Riff contains elements which may well lead to severe international complications. Not only France and Spain, but also England and Italy are interested in the plundering of Morocco. France waited for the defeat of Spain in order to acquire the Riff territory at Spain's cost.

Just as in 1914, so today we hear of the "attack on France's prestige." Today also we are told that it was the inhabitants of the Riff who first attacked peaceful France. England and Italy are waiting for a favorable chance to demand in the name of their international prestige their share of the spoils. In this manner French imperialism once more lets the Moroccan fire flare up which may lead to heavy international conflicts. This is an imperialist war directed against an oppressed people; it is the war of French, British, Italian and Spanish imperialism against the independence of the oppressed peoples.

By defending themselves the Riff inhabitants are only defending their independence in the name of the right of self-determination of all peoples. The democratic Left Bloc which presented itself to the workers and peasants as the angel of peace, has started the Morocco war in order to do justice to the colonial interests of high finance and the Comite des Forges. The socialists who are part of the bloc, were the accomplices of Herriot in the preparation of the war, and they are now the accomplices of Painleve in the starting and the continuation of the war. They are no better than in 1914; they support with their ideology the imperialist adventures of the Left Bloc, those pacifist pretensions have now unceremoniously been thrust aside.

## The Months Prize News Story

(*"American Federationist," A. F. of L. Organ*)

"June AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, page 440, an error stated that the Executive Council granted the request of the Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705 to amalgamate with the Tea, Coffee, Cheese and Egg Drivers' and Salesmen's Union No. 772. The decision of the Executive Council upon this application was that the Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705 does not come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters."



ABD-EL-KRIM, LEADER OF THE RIFF ARMY OF LIBERATION.

England is intriguing with Spain which is also opposed to the French penetration into the Riff. In the meantime Italian imperialism is taking advantage of this situation by demanding Tunis. It points to France's intentions in order to hide its own ambition for colonial expansion, and in order to hush up its own plans in Tripoli. Because of the international complications, the government of the Left Bloc tries to assure the world that it will confine itself to driving Abd-el-Krim out of the Protectorate and to the defense of the borders. In reality however, the war will be carried on in the form of a blockade whose goal is to force the Riff inhabitants into submission and thus to get hold of their land.

Such is the policy of "peace" which is supported by the Democrats and Social-Democrats of the Left Bloc. Their colonial policy differs in no way from that of the Bloc National. They have prepared the war, they are now prosecuting the war, and they will carry the Morocco war to a finish. This war may lead to another war yet more frightful than that of 1914-18, a war that will cause rivers of blood to flow, and will require thousands of corpses and unparalleled destruction and devastation.

## Amazing

**T**HE new attitude of business men toward employes is "sometimes paternalistic and frequently amazingly generous," according to William C. Dickerson, vice-president of the American Car and Foundry Co., speaking before the United States Chamber of Commerce. The speaker favored the company "union," bonuses, the piecework system and efficiency charts.



JOE HILL, MARTYRED WOBBLER AUTHOR OF "PIE IN THE SKY"—DRAWN BY RALPH CHAPLIN.

interesting detail space forbids recounting, is not the only theoretical error upon which the I. W. W. has come to grief.

#### An "Original Sin."

The organization at the beginning inclined toward, and finally definitely took up dual unionism as a matter of principle. Although millions, then, as now, of unorganized workers lay before the new organization as a rich field from which to gather numerical strength, and many elements among the "founding fathers" inclined to accent the organization of the unskilled and unorganized outside of the A. F. of L. (looked upon as devoted only to the skilled), the influence chiefly of Daniel De Leon, and of Gene Debs, both powerful factors, was thrown to the adoption of a hostile dualist position toward "the Fakeration."

Haywood's more constructive attitude (at that time) was seen in his speech:

**Haywood Aimed at the Unskilled.**

"We are going down in the gutter to get at the mass of

workers. I do not care a snap of my finger whether or not the skilled workers join this industrial movement at the present. When we get the unorganized and unskilled laborer into this organization, the skilled worker will of necessity come here for his own protection."

But the natural reaction to the hide-bound craft unionism and political reaction of the A. F. of L. was an emotional and subjective sentiment that the A. F. of L. was "gone," "impossible to do anything with" and De Leon was the leader in ridiculing the revolutionists who wished to stay in the unions and work to broaden them and make them an organ of class struggle. He said:

#### De Leon—Dual Unionist on Principle.

"Boring from within with the labor faker in possession is a waste of time." He wanted all rebels to get out of the A. F. of L. and form a "union" of revolutionists.

Delegate Dalton of the De Leon Socialist Labor Party said: "We call upon the socialists of the United States to get out of the pure and simple organizations and smash them to pieces."

Debs said: "There is but one way to effect this great change and that is for the workingman to sever his relations with the American Federation and join the union that proposes on the economic field to represent his class."

#### "Boring From Without."

It was generally expected that at the trumpet call of an organization, so perfect and faultless in both structure and principle, the A. F. of L. would crumble like the walls of Jericho and the I. W. W. would not only have the desired masses of the yet unorganized unskilled, but the skilled workers as well—all marching at the double quick toward the goal of the co-operative commonwealth down a broad highway, with all ruts and rocks removed and the pavement strewn with flowers.

Hence, Father Haggerty's "Wheel of Fortune," later known as the "Industrial Union Chart" was diagrammed, showing that there was room for all workers in the I. W. W. Having a great big empty space to put them, the I. W. W. felt it needful to convince not only the unorganized millions, but the already organized that they should leave the existing unions and come under the I. W. W.'s big umbrella, and its appeal was couched so as to get, if not the mass of craft unionists, at least the class conscious ones, sickened with craft unionism and lacking the inspiration of collective effort furnished now by the Trade Union Educational League.

So the I. W. W. drifted into a policy devoted (if not altogether in theory certainly in practice) to dual unionist attacks on other labor unions: to anti-political (instead of its formal "non-political" statement) attacks upon workers' political parties; and to what has been its really beneficial work though crippled dreadfully by the organization's other policies, the propaganda for industrial unionism as an instrument of struggle.

#### Much Heat and No Fight.

The bitter struggle to "throw out the politicians" and cut out the "political clause" from the Preamble, usually stressed as an event of overwhelming importance by both pro and anti-I. W. W., the present writer deems of only academic interest. Firstly, the "politicians" of that day rather deserved the booting they got because they were generally

(Continued on page 476.)



# The Organic Composition of Capital

By Karl Marx



WRITING to his friend Engels in August, 1862, Marx jotted down what is perhaps the first attempt to summarize his views on the organic composition of capital, average rate of profit and rent. At this time, while Marx was juggling theoretically with enormous sums of capital in the library of the British Museum, his own financial condition was one of chronic crisis, owing to the outbreak of the American Civil War which had cut short even the small weekly remuneration he had been receiving for writing articles for the New York Tribune. "It is a real wonder," he says in his letter to Engels, "that under these conditions I can still continue working on my economic theories." The portion of this historic letter dealing with Marx's economic analysis was originally translated by Max Beer for the British Labor Monthly. It is now given here for the first time in the United States. It will be recognized by all students of Marxian economics as a profoundly important document, particularly as it shows the roots of Marx's differences with Ricardo and other bourgeois economists of the same school.

You know that I divide capital into two parts: (1) into constant capital (raw materials, machinery, buildings), and (2) into variable capital, or that part of capital which is spent on wages. Constant capital reappears in the value of the product. Variable capital contains less materialized value than the workman gives in labor back for it. Let us denote constant capital by the letter "c," and variable capital by the letter "v."

Suppose that the necessary labor (that is that part of the daily labor which is necessary for the reproduction of the wage) amounts to eight hours, and that the laborer works twelve hours, then he replaces the variable capital plus one-half of it. This 50 per cent of excess labor I call surplus value.

You know further that I lay much stress on what I call the organic composition of capital, that is on the proportion of constant and variable capital employed in the various trades. This ratio varies in the various trades. In highly developed textile industry, for instance, the ratio between constant and variable capital (c:v) is 80:20, in the tailoring business it is 50:50, in some very highly developed trades it is 90:10, in another trade it is, say 70:30. We see, then, that the organic composition of capital varies considerably. And as it is only variable capital which produces a surplus value or profit, since profit is nothing but the proportion of surplus value to the total capital advanced, then it theoretically follows that equal capital but with different organic compositions will produce unequal surplus values and therefore different rates of profit.

Suppose, as above, that the surplus labor is equal to 50 per cent. If, for instance, £1 value is the product of one working week, then the total wage bill of thirty laborers will be 20 and the value of the product of their labor 30. That is, the laborer receives two-thirds of a pound and he produces £1 value.

The amount of surplus value which a capital of 100 produces in different trades will vary according to the ratio in which capital is divided between its constant and variable elements. I denoted v 20, then the value of the product is equal to 110 (assuming, as above, 50 per cent surplus value or surplus labor). The mass of surplus value is equal to 10 per

cent, likewise the rate of profit, that is £10 profit on a capital of £100, the total profit is £110. Take now the big tailoring trade, the organic composition is c 50, v 50, the surplus value 25, the total product £125. Take another trade, where the organic composition is c 70, v 30, the surplus value 15, the total product £115. Finally, take a trade where the organic composition is c 90, v 10, the surplus value 5, the total product of £105.

We have here, with the same exploitation of labor, for equal amounts of capital in different trades, very different amounts of surplus value, and hence very different rates of profit.

However, if we consider the four capital outlays as forming component parts of a single whole, we get an average rate of profit as follows:

Value of the Produce:	Profit Rate Equal to:	
I. c 80, v 20 .....	110	10 per cent
II. c 50, v 50 .....	125	25 per cent
III. c 70, v 30 .....	115	15 per cent
IV. c 90, v 10 .....	105	5 per cent
Total capital £400. Rate of exploitation 50 per cent		Profit 55 per cent

This amounts to an average profit of 13¾ per cent.

The total capital (£400) considered as being the property of the capitalist class yields an average profit rate of 13¾. And the capitalists are brothers. Competition, transfer of capital, or withdrawal of capital from one trade to the other renders it possible that capital outlays of equal magnitudes in different trades, despite their different organic compositions, yield the same average rate of profit. In other words, the capital outlay of any single manufacturing business yields an average profit rate, not according to the surplus value which it produces, but as an integral part of the total capital of the employing class. It is a share capital of a big concern, and its dividend is paid proportionately to its magnitude out of the total mass of surplus value the laboring class produces.

In order that each of the four capitals given in the illustration, I, II, III, IV, should earn the same average profit, they must each sell their goods at £113. I and IV sell above their value, II and III below their value.

The price fixed in that manner is equal to the expenses



# A Communist Milestone

## The Fourth Convention of the Workers Party of America

By Max Shachtman

THE revolutionary party of the working class is not born with its full vigor, strength, and ability. It develops and reaches maturity only with years of struggle against unhealthy elements and tendencies within its ranks; its arms and mind are steeled and sharpened in the crucible of fiery battle against the enemies of the proletariat; its leadership is built and made firm by test and by the experiences and errors and victories of the workers throughout the world. With the knowledge of its tremendous historical role it aids in the task of leading the masses to their triumph by consciously improving the quality of its revolutionary mettle.

The fourth national convention of the Workers Party of America which meets this month is a milestone in the development of an American Bolshevik party. It is to be held after two highly important gatherings of the Communist International: the fifth world congress and the sessions of the enlarged executive, which considered the bitter defeats of the revolutionary movement in 1923 and their causes, which reflected the crystallization of the sharp struggle for the liquidation of the perils of the right-wing deviations and ultra-left errors on an international scale, which laid down a detailed line for the building of mass Leninist parties in a period of the temporary and partial depression of the revolutionary wave in Europe and its rise in the "backward" parts of the world.

The American party convention is taking place at a moment which follows a period of intense internal discussion and strife over various political differences which will, with

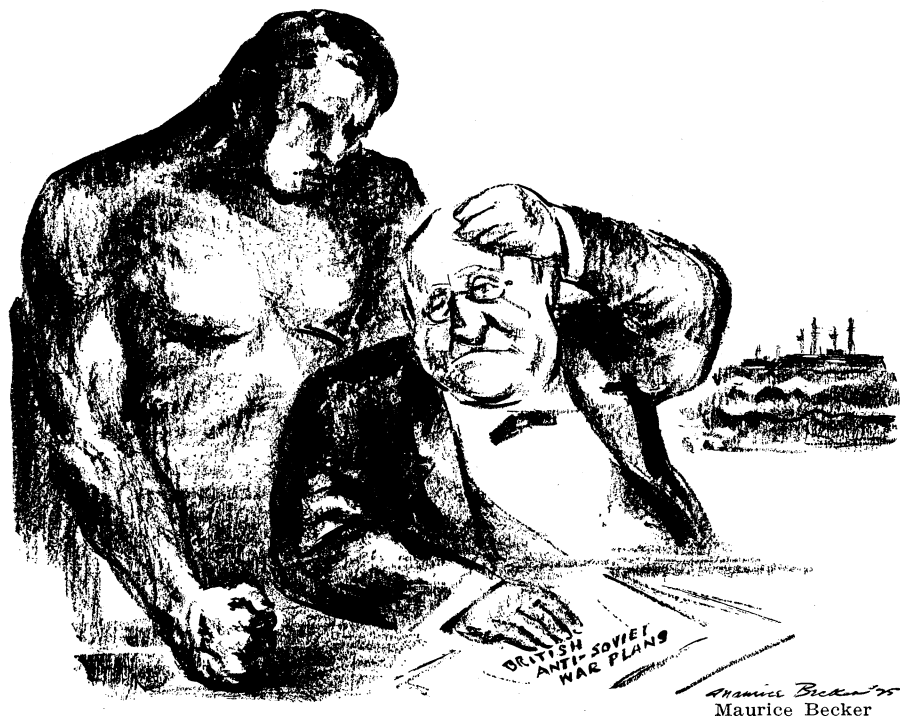
the fraternal aid of the Communist International, result in a consolidation of Communist forces in this country and a greater clarity and definitiveness of political line, more solid theoretical conception and practical pliability.

The delegates will gather at a time when American imperialism is rushing madly towards world domination over the bodies of millions of weaker peoples in ail corners of the earth, and the convention will be confronted by a situation where it will proclaim its revolutionary task of transforming the swiftly approaching world war into a civil war of the proletariat against the ruling class. America, no longer the relatively isolated nation of some fifty years ago, is now a power of the first magnitude and has its far-flung financial interests which a well-knit military machine stands ready to defend and widen at a moment's notice. And a Communist party in this country must put in the forefront of its problems that of combatting imperialism which places under the yoke of slavery the people of the colonies and semi-colonies, which prostitutes broad sections of the aristocracy of labor at home, drags ever broader sections of the working class down to the level of colonial slaves, and sacrifices the flower of the proletariat in its conflicts with other imperialist powers: war.

This is not the only problem of the Workers Party. There are many others which are in many respects unique in the international Communist movement. We are relatively the most decentralized of the Communist parties of the world, with our cumbersome apparatus of language federations and social-democratic form of territorial branches which

can be remedied only by a determined ideological campaign for the re-organization and further organization of the party upon the basis of shop nuclei, along with actual organizational measures to accomplish the aim of a Bolshevik party rooted in the shops and mines. Thus we shall have the means whereby a party can be built composed primarily of the workers in the heavy, basic industries: the miners, the steel workers, the metal and machinery workers and the like.

But shop nuclei by themselves do not make a Bolshevik party. To become the party of the masses, to represent their interests in every single strike, lockout, in every progressive movement in the trade unions, to lead and fight for their bread and butter needs every day, to broaden and intensify every issue that affects the workers, to increase their political mass consciousness—to become, in short, the recognized leaders of the aspirations and desires and struggles of the workers is the aim of the party. To become the champion of the interests of



Maurice Becker  
Maurice Becker

# Symposium of Scabs and Mine-guards



It is a comedy for those who are acquainted with Lewis to watch him perform before the uninitiated but what a tragedy to the trustful miners who give him their confidence only to see it ruthlessly betrayed!

John L. Lewis, international president of the U. M. W. of A., Labor Banker, and ex-committeeman for Coo Cal, the Boston strikebreaker, will never sanction a general strike of the coal miners under any circumstances unless forced to do so by the militant rank and file. The reason for his phrases and his empty gestures is to be found in the 66,000 votes counted for the progressive miners in the last miners' election and the rising resentment against the unconstitutional tactics by which he strives to maintain himself in power.

Anthracite and bituminous miners alike will soon learn that no hope can come from this American king of labor fakers and cast him out of the union which he has nearly destroyed.

The Progressive Miners' Committee of the U. M. W. of A. has the only real solution for the problems facing the miners. In part, it is the following:

Nationalization of mines, with workers control—a policy which Lewis repudiates.

Six-hour day and five-day week, to assure division of the available work among all the miners.

Minimum wage to guarantee the coal diggers a union rate of pay when working or prevented from working through no fault of their own.

Unemployment benefits, to guarantee the miners a living when the mines are closed down, the same to be paid by the coal operators out of the profits from the industry, at union rates.\*



Don Brown

\* If you agree with the Progressive Miners' Committee, aid the committee by subscribing to the "Progressive Miner," 50 cents per year. Send all subscriptions to the international secretary, Alex Reid, 7020 So. Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.



SECOND CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS PARTY, LONDON, 1903.

now active in Karelia; Lydia Makhnovetz, the second delegate from Petersburg, and a sister of Akimov-Makhnovetz; one of the most passionate exponents of Economism, and a right-winger; N. Baumann, of the Moscow Committee; from the North Russian Alliance, in which were united a number of committees in northern Russia, came Lydia Knipovitch, who must still be remembered by the old workingmen and women of Petersburg, where she was active for many years under the nick-name of "Djadenska". The other representatives of the North Russia Alliance was Stopani, the founder of the workers' movement in Baku, and a leading Bolshevik; from the Ufa Committee there were Makhlin and Lenov, who later became an anarchist; from the Kiev Committee, Krasikov; from the Tula Committee, the brother of Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianov, Dmitry Ulianov, in our ranks today; from the Odessa Committee, Zemlyatchka; from the Crimean Union, the Menshevik, Panin; from the Donetz Union, Maschinski, also a Menshevik; from the Don Committee, Gussev, now a Bolshevik, and the Menshevik, Ackerman; from the Saratov Committee, Galkin and Lyadov, both now Bolsheviks; from the Kharkov Committee, Levin and Nikolaev; from the Siberian Union, Dr. Maldenberg, Menshevik, and a member of the Second Duma, and Comrade Trotsky, at that time a Menshevik; from the Batum Committee, Zurbob, later a deputy to the Second Duma, Menshevik and Internationalist; from the Baku Committee, Bogdan Knuniantz, who participated in the first Workers' Soviet, in 1905, and, during the counter-revolution, went over to the side of the Mensheviks; from the Tiflis Committee, Topuridze; from the

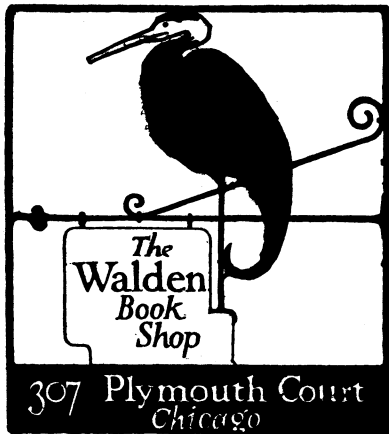
Bund, Kramer, Eisenstart, Portnoy, Liber, Medem and Kossovsky, all Mensheviks; and finally, Comrade Lenin, representing the foreign organization of Iskra, and Martov, representing the editorial board. Plekhanov, Axelrod, Deutsch, and others were also present at the Congress.

#### The Social Composition of the Party at Its Origin.

The Iskra organization and our committee was for the most part made up of students and of professional revolutionists; there were not many workers in it. The workers were still individual figures such Babushkin, and Schatman, who were beginning to make their way out of the worker masses. Due to this fact, the second party congress which laid the foundations of the party, was also in the main not made up of workers. But, despite this fact, the Iskra organization was, in reality, the first Bolshevik organization, playing a great and active role in the revolution, the role of the Communist vanguard. Made up of professional revolutionists led by Comrade Lenin, although not purely working-class in composition, it bore along with it, nevertheless, the worker masses, and gave expression to that which was ripening deep within the proletarian masses. And this group, later the creators of our party, was borne on the crest of the waves of the toiling mass.

#### The Controversy with the Bund.

But to return to the second congress, in which the cleavage between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks was clearly revealed. The first point of divergence was the attitude toward the national question, in other words, to the Bund. Although once again paying tribute to the heroism of the



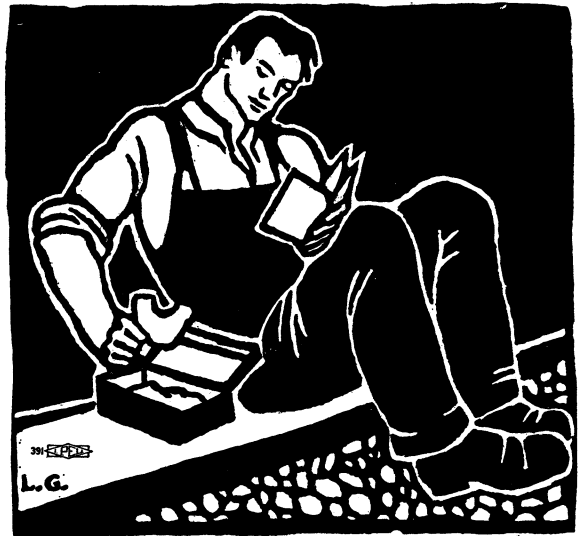
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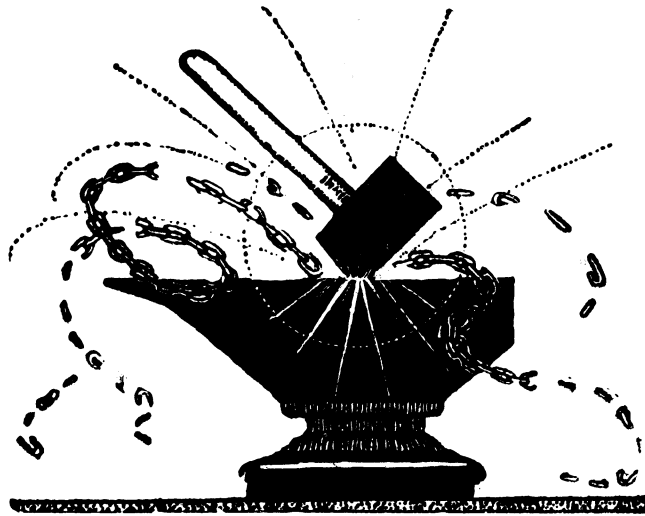
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