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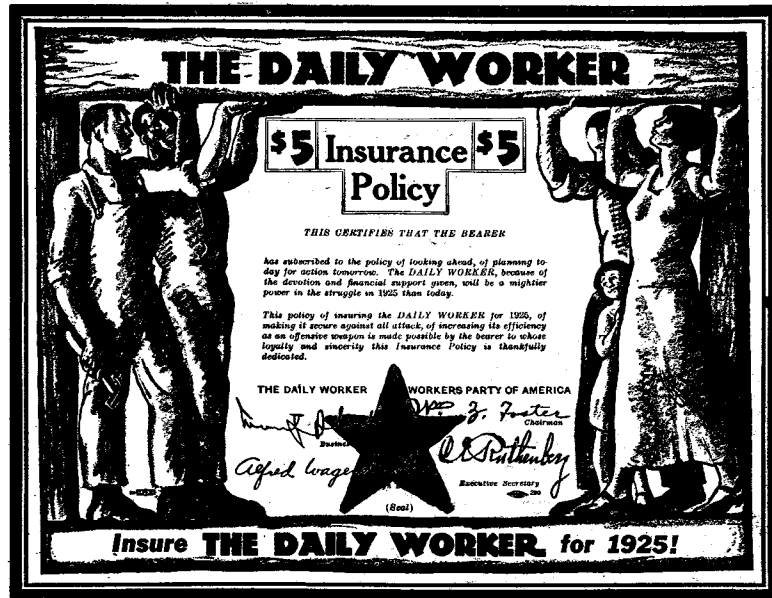
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No. 3.

Lenin, Leader and Comrade

By Alexander Bittelman

LENIN is not dead. Just look at the movement which is carrying his banner. Search the hearts of his followers. Look into the eyes and listen to the breath of the hundreds of thousands of the millions of the awakening toiling masses throughout the world, and you will say the same as I do. Lenin is not dead. He is still the leader. And he will continue to be the leader of the oppressed and persecuted just as long as there is a single capitalist fortress to be stormed, to be taken and destroyed by the battling armies of the revolutionary proletariat.

In fact, one is almost tempted to say that Lenin is now more potent, more life-generating, more inspiring to thought and action than when he was actually among the living. Do you know, that since his death, which is less than one year's time, hundreds of books have been written in Russia, which were immediately translated and published in nearly every other language.

And will it be an exaggeration to say that millions—literally millions—are reading about Lenin, are studying Lenin and are becoming converted heart and soul to the great cause of Communism exemplified and embodied in the life and death of Lenin?

He was great in his life and he is still greater in his death. He had left to the militants and revolutionary workers of the world an inexhaustible treasure of knowledge and experience. Nearly every phase of the class-struggle, nearly every problem that arises today in the great conflicts between capital and labor, would become more intelligible and easier of solution in the interests of the working masses, if considered in the light of Lenin's work and Lenin's teachings.

The Old Bolshevik Guard

One might ask a question. Wherein lies the great dynamic power of Lenin's teachings? The answer to that would be: In the Old Bolshevik Guard. It is this body of Communist men and women, comparatively small in numbers, that transmits to the writings of Lenin the power of moving earth and heaven, the

force of calling forth the most intense loyalty and devotion, in short, it is the Old Bolshevik Guard that makes the dead leader the living, inspiring soul of the revolutionary working class all over the world.

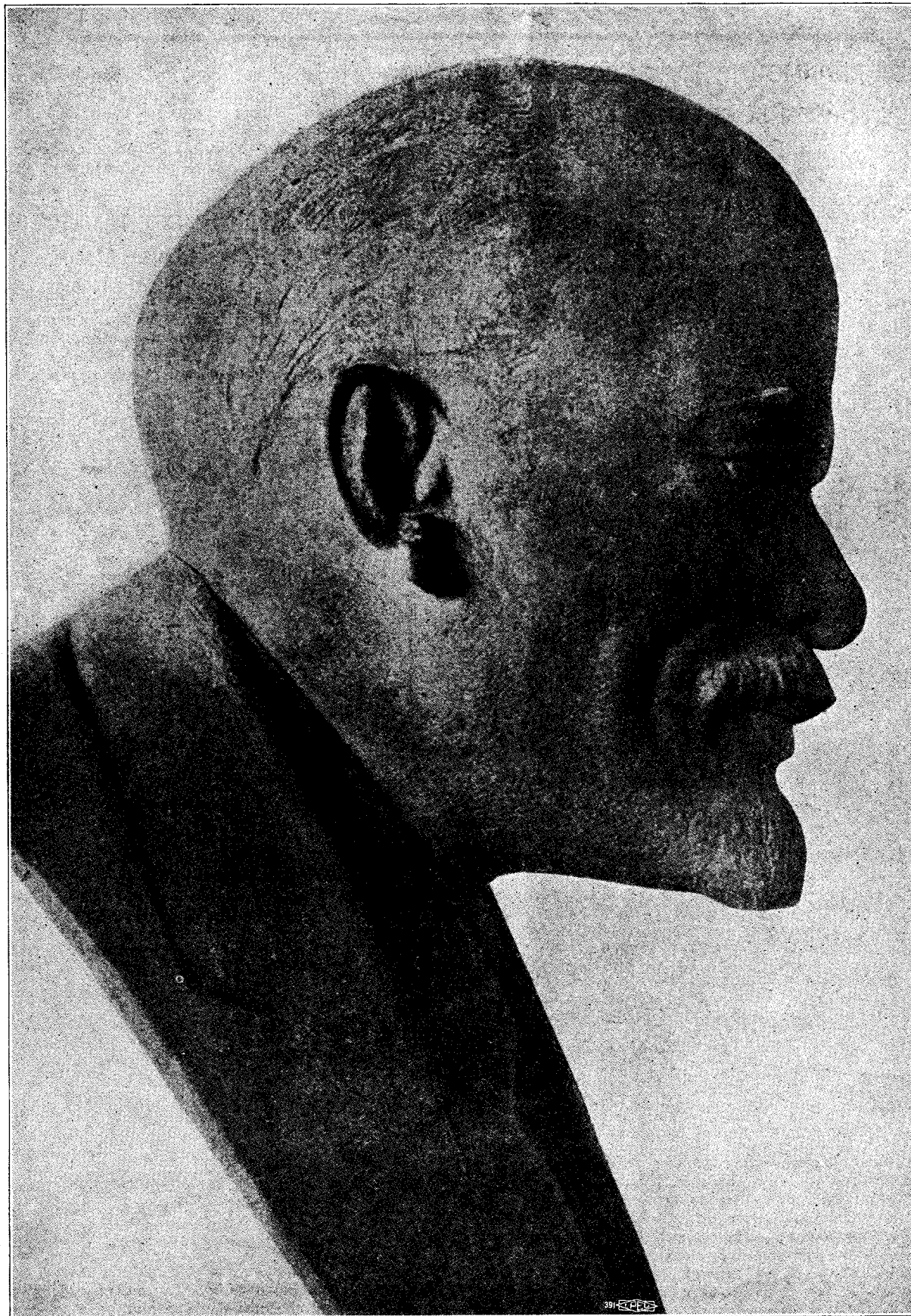
This Old Bolshevik Guard, now led by Zinoviev, Stalin, and Kamenev, has grown to political maturity under the personal guidance of Lenin. Most of these old Bolsheviks in the Russian Communist Party have lived with Lenin and worked with him through many long years. They have not only come to learn his teachings, but through long periods of personal association in revolutionary work have actually imbibed the very secret of Lenin's method and of his revolutionary genius.

Gregory Zinoviev, President of the Communist International, has been associated with Lenin for nearly two decades. The present head of the international Communist movement has come to revolutionary maturity under the eyes of the Great Leader.

The same is true of I. Stalin, Secretary of the Russian Communist Party. Stalin had been in contact with Lenin practically since 1903. During many critical months and years in the life of the Russian Revolution and the Russian Party, Stalin had been working hand in hand with Lenin in maintaining the party and extending its influence.

Lenin's ways of building the Russian Communist Party were as simple as they were great. Although with the most tremendous sweep of revolutionary imagination, which was operating with millions upon millions of human beings, Lenin also manifested the greatest and most scrupulous care for winning over to his cause single individuals. Time was never wasted, as far as Lenin was concerned, whenever an opportunity arose for winning over to the support of Bolshevism a good, working class militant. Many a day, and week, and month were spent by the busy Lenin in personal conversations and persuasions with militant youngsters in the revolutionary movement.

Thus did the great leader build the foundation for the greatest working class party on earth, the Russian Communist Party. In this way did Lenin train and



educate the general staff of the Russian Revolution. The Old Bolshevik Guard is that fortunate lot of men and women who, having themselves imbibed the warmth and magnetic power of the radiating rays of Lenin's personality, are now transmitting that power to hundreds of thousands of workers and poor farmers in every corner of the globe.

Lenin's faith in his party was the most characteristic and significant feature of his whole personality. There were periods in the life of the revolutionary movement of Russia when nearly everyone but Lenin were losing faith in the future of the Russian party. Such, for instance, was the period between 1908-1911, of which Stalin writes as follows:

"The party, having been defeated by the counter-revolution, was passing through a period of complete disintegration. Scepticism and faithlessness in the party was rampant. It was a time of wholesale desertion from the ranks of the party not only of intellectuals but partly also of workers. . . . It was at that time that the idea arose of liquidating the underground party and of organizing the workers into a legal, liberal party."

What were the arguments of the liquidators? They were very simple. The defeat of the Revolution proves that the working class is not yet revolutionary, that it does not respond in large masses to revolutionary slogans. It also proves, according to the liquidators, that a revolutionary party cannot become the leader of the masses in their daily struggles. Therefore, the liquidators proposed the formation of a moderate party, a sort of liberal, Social-Democratic party. And what did Lenin say? Stalin continues:

"Lenin was then the only one that did not succumb to the general epidemic but on the contrary continued to hold aloft the banner of the party. He proceeded patiently and tenaciously to concentrate the dispersed and defeated forces of the party, fighting against all and every anti-party tendency in the labor movement, always insistently and courageously defending the party."

Of that period Zinoviev writes, that "those that have not lived through that period will hardly be able to imagine the state of mind of the workers during the years 1908-9-10. It seemed as if a tremendously large stone wall collapsed upon the breast of the toiling masses, and that there will never be an end to the oppression of the Czar."

It was black and hopeless. Menshevism and liquidationism were triumphing. No faith in a revolutionary party. No belief in the ability of such a party to grow and to become the leader of the masses. The Mensheviks were demanding a new party, a moderate party, one that would not frighten the workers away by its "impossible" program and policies.

Lenin and his little group of Bolsheviks firmly stood the ground. They had faith in their party. They believed that objective conditions and the creative power of their activities will sooner or later bring

the masses again into struggle and consequently will put the revolutionary party of the workers into position of leadership. And so it happened. Beginning with 1911, after the famous events on the Lena, the workers of Russia began to regain their old militancy and optimism. The party established in Petrograd its legal organ "Zvesda" (The Star.) The ice was broken. The party came back to life. Lenin and the Bolsheviks were vindicated. The "impossible" party of revolution was starting out on the great road to victory.

Comrade Stalin speaks of that in his brilliant little booklet, "Lenin and Leninism." Not the literary style, which was also peculiarly Leninist in every little detail, but the style of work, the way in which Lenin would go about his everyday activities. The beauty and force of this style was a combination of two great psychological traits, which Stalin calls the revolutionary sweep of the Russian and the practical business efficiency of the American. The harmonious blend of these two characteristics make up Lenin's style of work.

In the process of building the Russian party, Lenin was continually at war against a certain characteristic of the Russian revolutionists. It was the love for the revolutionary phrase, for the sake of the phrase itself, because it sounds nice and grandiloquent. Nothing was more repulsive to Lenin than this kind of revolutionary phrasemongering. Those who are familiar with the history of the Russian Party will recall many incidents showing Lenin in full armor and at his very best in the struggle against the empty well-sounding phrase, against grand bombast, self-deceit, and revolutionary inflation.

One recalls Lenin's continuous fun-poking at Trotsky for the latter's weakness in succumbing to a nicely adjusted system of revolutionary strategy expressed in brilliant, blinding, phraseology. For instance, the theory of "permanent revolution." Lenin disliked very much Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution." Why? Because it was based upon a fundamental error in the analysis of the social forces in Russia which could have proved fatal to the revolution, had the Russian Party accepted Trotsky's theory. Trotsky simply did not see the peasantry. He had not the least conception of the tremendous revolutionary role which the peasantry was to play in the struggle against Czarism and in the proletarian dictatorship itself. That is why his theory of "revolution in permanency" provided for no such thing as a revolutionary alliance between the workers and peasants of Russia, that is, precisely that "little" thing which made it possible for the proletariat to seize power and hold it for over seven years. As against this grand scheme Lenin issued the slogan (in 1905) of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. With Trotsky, the image of revolution in "permanency" became so intensely brilliant as to completely

overshadow all the concrete and definite stages through which the struggle would have to pass in order to complete the process and reach the stage of socialist revolution. While Lenin, visualizing more fully than anyone else the continuity of the revolutionary process and its permanency, at the same time he never for a moment lost sense or sight of the role of the peasantry at each particular period in the process of the revolution.

The difference between Lenin's and Trotsky's conception of the Russian Revolution was in a sense the difference between Hegel's conception of history and Marx's. For Hegel history was the development of an idea; that is, first comes the idea which, being the dynamic force in social life, sets in motion events and struggles, and in these struggles the idea finds its realization. In other words, history is the realization of an idea.

Marx took this Hegelian method of explaining history and turned it upside down, with the result that the "idea" assumed its proper place. It was no longer able to parade as the prime mover of social events, but had to satisfy itself with the more humble role of a product and result of economic and other material forces which were more basic to the life of society.

With Trotsky, who has a weakness for grand ideas, the "permanent revolution" became something of an Hegelian idea with all the magnetic powers of generating life. While with Lenin the idea of the revolution was merely the generalization of a process of a whole series of concrete struggles each with its own peculiarities, each demanding special strategy and tactics, each to be treated not alone as part of a grand scheme but on the basis of the peculiar economic and political conditions of that respective period.

The greatest revolutionist of all times was the greatest enemy of the revolutionary phrase.

The American party may pride itself on the fact that it occupied a great deal of Lenin's attention. Lenin, I believe, was the first one in the Communist International to appreciate fully the great importance of the American labor movement for the success of the world revolution. He was undoubtedly the first one to express these views in public.

Lenin liked America, the great concentration of its industries, its magnificent power of organization, and the grand scale upon which things are being done in the United States. Practical business efficiency, coupled with scientific methods of organization, was to Lenin a basic prerequisite for the success of the proletarian class struggle.

It goes without saying, of course, that Lenin had very little sympathy with the empty contempt for what some people call "theory" which is so prevailing in the American labor movement. Lenin used to say that this contempt for revolutionary theory means in practice submission to the theory of the bourgeoisie.



STILL HE DIRECTS THE STRUGGLE!

The truth of this statement we in the United States should know better than anybody else.

His famous struggles against the "economists" and so-called "practical workers" in the Russian movement was the most fruitful ideological struggle from the point of view of building the Communist Party. In this struggle (1890-1903) Lenin had established once and for all the role of revolutionary theory in the class struggle and the leading role of a Communist Party.

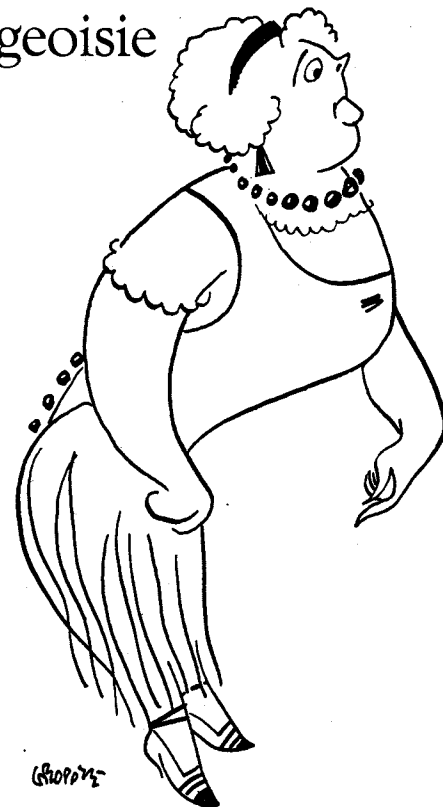
As Stalin says, the success of the social revolution depends upon the combination of two characteristics, the revolutionary sweep of the Russian and the ability to do things of the American. Lenin therefore knew that the moment the American labor movement becomes imbued and impregnated with revolutionary theory and spirit it will become the most powerful factor in the world struggle for proletarian power.

Lenin is right. And in commemorating the first year of his death, we can do nothing better than to dedicate ourselves once more to the great task of Bolshevikizing our own party and of bringing the message of Leninism to the entire working class of America.

Our Bourgeoisie



A "CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY"



"TOOTSIE, IF YOU DON'T COME HERE THIS MINUTE, MAMA SPANK."



W. Gropper



Adolph Dehn

DISCUSSING THE VICES OF THE WORKING CLASS AND PLANNING TO CURE THEM BY INCREASING THE HOURS OF LABOR.

The American Federation of Labor Convention

By William Z. Foster

IN its 43 years of history, the American Federation of Labor has held many reactionary conventions. But the one in session in El Paso, Texas, Nov. 17-25, was the worst ever. Absolutely nothing of a constructive nature was done. On the contrary, a strong drift to the right, to more intensified class collaboration, was evidenced in all its deliberations. There were 375 delegates in attendance, representing a padded membership of 2,865,979, a decrease of 100,000 for the year. Even the building trades organizations, in spite of the greatest building boom in American history, claimed an increase in membership of only 20,000. The convention was opened by the delegates singing the "Star Spangled Banner," and by a Catholic priest asking a blessing. Patriotism and religion mix well with the usual proceedings of A. F. of L. conventions.

Following out the imperialistic lead of the American capitalist class, the trade union bureaucracy also arranged for conventions of the Mexican Federation of Labor and Pan-American Federation of Labor to be held in connection with that of the A. F. of L. The Mexican Federation convention was held in Juarez, just across the Rio Grande. The two bodies held joint sessions on two days. The Pan-American Federation held its meeting in Mexico City a few days later. The poisonous influence of Gompersism was spread through all these conventions.

The Question of Political Action

One of the most pressing problems before the convention related to the political attitude of the Federation. Before the convention Lewis, Hutcheson, Berry, and many other prominent leaders affiliated to the republican and democratic parties, made strong protest against Gompers' endorsement of LaFollette. A split threatened, but the sly old fox Gompers, averted it. He mollified these ultra-reactionaries by refraining from all criticism of the old parties and demanding "a strict adherence to the policy of non-partisan activity." He declared, "The American labor movement must be as free from political party domination as at any time in the history of our movement. Our non-partisan policy does not imply that we shall ignore the existence or attitudes of political parties. It does intend that labor proposes to use all parties and to be used by none."

Gompers declared that labor has always failed in independent political action and he denied emphatically that the A. F. of L., in the past campaign, had favored the formation of such a movement. He said, "It will be noted that the A. F. of L. did not endorse a third party movement. It expressed preferment for the election of senators LaFollette and Wheeler, the independent candidates, and their platform, as more nearly representing the hopes and demands of labor." He talked prosperity. He minimized the election defeat. He declared, "Labor has no complaint to make against the 68th congress," and "labor fared almost phenomenally well in the elections." He made the ridiculous claim that 125 democratic, 40 republican, 3 farmer-labor party, and 1 independent congressman, "friends" of labor, had been elected.

Sentiment for a labor party, was conspicuous by its absence. Due to the activities of the T. U. E. L. militants in the 1923 conventions of the Molders and of the Potters, resolutions for a labor party were adopted. These were shamefacedly introduced by the respective delegates and then allowed to die an unlamented death under the withering scorn of the reactionaries. The resolution of the left-wing stated that, "The necessary mobilization of the real power of the labor movement for its own protection and the effective defense of the workers' interests can only be accomplished under the leadership of a revolutionary party, the Workers Party, aiming at the destruction of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government." It was, of course, overwhelmingly beaten.

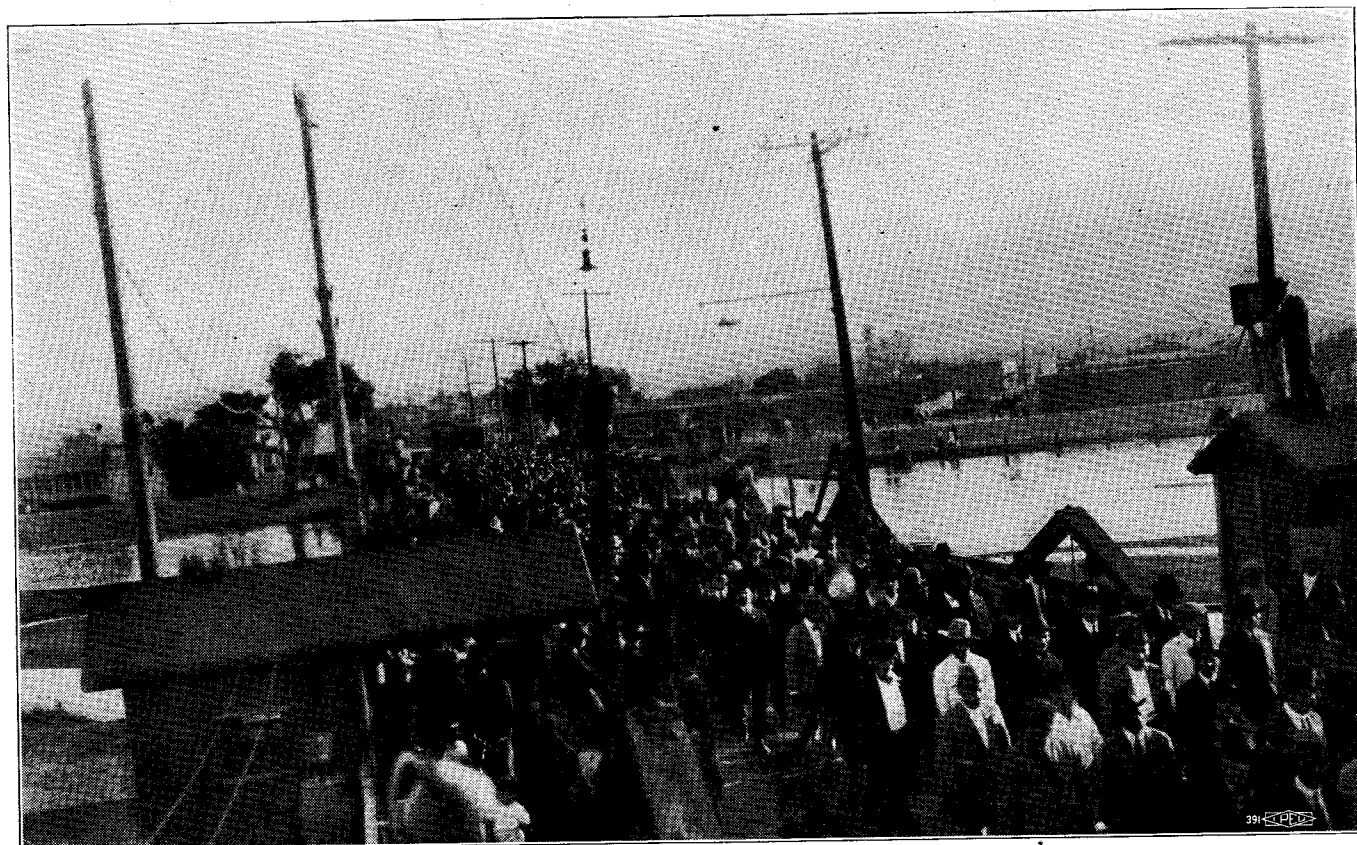
The A. F. of L. Executive Council came forward with a proposition cementing the alliance with the LaFollette petty bourgeois movement and opening the door for cooperation and participation in the eventual third party. Salient sections of this read:

"Changes in laws shall be advocated where necessary, to make the functioning of independent political movements more readily effective. . . All non-partisan political campaign committees shall be maintained on a permanent basis. . . There are other progressively-minded groups composed of persons who cannot by their occupation or station in life be affiliated directly to the trade union movement, but who are sympathetic and responsive to the needs of the American wage earners and to our non-partisan campaign policy. To embrace these helpful influences in labor's political campaign committee with the cooperation and approval of the Executive Council, be directed to devise a plan and procedure that will accomplish this end."

The Left-Wing and its Program

The left-wing was practically unrepresented at the convention. A. F. of L. conventions are made up almost entirely of the upper layers of the trade union bureaucracy. Each of the 120 affiliated unions send their highest officials. These make up the convention delegation. The rank and file have no representation. Hence, the left-wing has little opportunity to be heard effectively. What few rank and filers might come from the central labor councils, which are entitled to one delegate a piece, are usually deterred by the fact that A. F. of L. Conventions are commonly held in such out-of-the-way places as El Paso. This offers no handicap to the officials. They look upon the conventions as so many joy rides. The El Paso affair, with its bull fights and drinking orgies, was in harmony with this spirit. Typically, the next year's convention will be held in Atlantic City, "the playground of the world."

The Trade Union Educational League militants introduced a series of resolutions dealing with leading points



MEXICAN DELEGATES, CROSSING RIO GRANDE TO A. F. OF L. CONVENTION AT EL PASO, BEING INSPECTED BY U. S. IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS WHO STOPPED ALL WHO WERE NOT "SUFFICIENTLY WELL DRESSED."

in the left-wing program. These included resolutions calling for a General Labor Congress, to consist of representatives of trade unions, workers' political parties, shop committees, the unemployed, etc., for the purpose of consolidating the ranks of labor politically and industrially and to launch a militant attack on the capitalist system; the recognition of Soviet Russia, abolition of racial discrimination against the Negroes; nationalization of the mines and railroads; amalgamation of the trade unions; organization of and relief for the unemployed; demand that all the forces in the Pan-American Federation of Labor be mobilized for a struggle against American imperialism; condemnation of imperialist schemes against China; demand that the R. I. L. U. plan for international unity be endorsed and the solidarity of labor be achieved; protest against criminal syndicalism laws, against the deportation of Oates, Mahler, Moran, and Nigra; the organization of the youth; release of Mooney, Billings, Ford, Suhr, Rangel, Kline, Sacco, Vanzetti and other political prisoners; condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan and American Legion.

Almost all of these propositions were either ignored or voted down overwhelmingly. A flurry developed over the amalgamation question. Swales, the British delegate, stated in his talk that in England amalgamation movements were on foot affecting 3,000,000 workers. The A. F. of L. convention, however, showed its contempt for progress by voting down almost unanimously the amalgamation proposition. The resolution on Russia was treated with the usual avalanche of "red" baiting and misrepresentation. In the matter of the

release of political prisoners, the convention, following its usual course, tipped its hat to the subject by adopting mild resolutions protesting against the imprisonment of Mooney, Rangel, Kline, Sacco, and Vanzetti. Nothing was done about organizing the unorganized or to relieve the starving unemployed in the mining districts. No steps were taken to check the "open shop" drive, beyond a few empty threats by Gompers and Woll against wage cuts on the part of the employers.

In the face of this bankrupt condition Gompers had the brass to say that "The American labor movement is the strongest and best organized in all the world," that "labor has never occupied so favorable a spot in the nation's proceedings," and that "It is with immense satisfaction that we note the growth of constructive and progressive thought on every hand."

Class Collaboration

The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations are fast dropping the last traces of militant struggle and are developing an elaborate and settled policy of class collaboration in every sphere of their activity. In the Montreal A. F. of L. Convention, in 1919, the Plumb Plan, calling for "government ownership and democratic management" of the railroads was adopted. It has since been repudiated. At the Portland convention last year government ownership of super-power plants was endorsed. This year it was repudiated and a simple policy of government regulation demanded. The one time militant denunciation of the in-

junction evil has also been dropped. On all sides class collaboration is the order of the day. Mr. Gompers specifically denied any revolutionary intent on the part of the unions. He said:

"The trade unions are not inclined towards the Marxian theory of government. To the contrary, they are manifesting a constantly growing interest and participation in the institutions dependent upon private and co-operative initiative and personal and group adventure."

Matthew Woll, Mr. Gompers' understudy, informed a waiting world, that "Industrial democracy cannot come through the workers alone, we need help of the employers." Mr. Morrison the Secretary of the A. F. of L., outlined the slave ideals of the trade unions as follows:

"Wouldn't it be ideal if every man who wanted to work could be assured of a job, of pay enough to take care of himself and family, and an opportunity to educate himself and children, and to have somethings to live on in his old age."

The so-called "Baltimore and Ohio Plan," the system of class collaboration developed by the Machinist union after the loss of the great railroad shopmen's strike in 1922, was given Mr. Gompers' blessing in these words:

"An outstanding example of the development that follows from cooperation (A. F. of L. term for class collaboration) is the relationship existing between the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L. and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Under the agreement between the unions and the company, wages and conditions of work were negotiated and it was agreed that the unions would cooperate with the management to reduce the cost of repairs and to improve the methods of work. A program of workers' education is in progress of development, to be coordinated with shop work. This cooperation development is commanding the attention of the railroads everywhere as it demonstrates efficiency and economy."

That other form of "cooperation," or class collaboration, labor banking, received fulsome praise at the convention. Labor banking takes the representatives of the unions directly into the organizations of the capitalists. It infuses them with the spirit of social peace and class collaboration. It destroys the last remnants of militancy. Naturally, therefore, it is in high favor with the A. F. of L.

The report shows that in the last few years 30 labor banks with resources of \$150,000,000, have been organized. About 60 more are contemplated. One enthusiast for labor in finance declared; "If railway workers saved 20 per cent of their wages, in 5 years' time they would own 51 per cent of all the stock of all railroads in the United States." Thus "labor banking offers a peaceful way to the revolution. All talk of struggle and organization is superfluous." A strong point in the financial system of the labor banks, so it was urged, is that they do not finance strikes, as these are bad business propositions. They will not fight capital. "They have demonstrated that the interests of capital and labor are identical."

A recently-launched scheme of class collaboration is the formation of insurance companies. According

to the report of the special committee charged with investigating this subject, the total amount of money invested in insurance in the United States is 60 million dollars, and the annual income therefrom is 10 million dollars yearly. Profits in life insurance average 20 per cent, and in fire insurance from 141 per cent to 1157 per cent. With these rich fleshpots in sight, the bureaucrats are hot-foot for the insurance scheme. They depend upon the labor banking system to help them launch it. The report of the committee says:

"It is fully conceded that the insurance business is the safest, surest, and most simple of control and management of all present commercial enterprises. We heartily endorse the principle involved and recommend that the national and international trade union offices study carefully the report of the special committee on this subject. It is further recommended that the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to call a voluntary conference of all national and international officers within the coming year, for such action on this important proposal as shall appeal to the best judgment of those attending."

American Imperialism

The El Paso convention breathed the spirit of imperialism. One of the most popular speakers was Colonel Drain, commander of the American Legion. A notorious "open shopper," he lauded Gompers as "the friend of kings and presidents." In its report, the Executive Council declared squarely for militarism. It said, "Pacifism in any form is obnoxious to your committee, which is in agreement with the purpose of amply safeguarding our nation and its people and democratic institutions against any and all invasions." In accordance with this principle, the 14 metal trades unions called upon the United States government to strengthen the navy. The congress also endorsed the proposition of Citizen's Military Training Camps. It voted against Japanese and Mexican immigration, and for the restriction for immigration generally.

In the conventions of the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Pan-American Federation of Labor, Gompers carried on a militant defense of American imperialism. He cooperated openly with Calles, the tool of American big capital. The whole delegation of the A. F. of L. convention were invited to Mexico City to attend the inauguration of Calles. Carrying on just enough of a fake denunciation of American imperialism to win the confidence of the unthinking, Gompers industriously did the work of his American masters. In the Pan-American Federation of Labor, which was made up of delegates from the United States, Canada, Panama, Guatemala, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, Nicaragua and Mexico, with the important countries of Argentine, Chili, Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Haiti, and Cuba not attending, he waged a war against all manifestations of revolutionary spirit. Matthew Woll exposed the sinister imperialistic designs of Gompers inadvertently, saying:

"The outstanding feature of the convention was the close cooperation developed between the labor movement of the United States, Mexico and Canada. Closer relations of the three governments and peoples is bound to follow. I feel sure that our rapprochement is going to

knit more closely the wage workers of the western hemisphere. Indeed, I foresee a Monroe Doctrine of labor. By that I mean united resistance against attempts by foreign labor to get a foothold either in concessions, property, or economic principles or aspirations."

In Mexico City the revolutionary left wing carried on an active campaign against the Gompers-Morones combination. The Mexican Committee of the Red International, combined with the Trade Union Educational League of the United States, and the Pan-American Anti-Imperialist League, issued a manifesto denouncing Gompers as an instrument of Yankee Imperialism, saying:

"He sabotaged the protest of the Third Congress against the occupation of Santo Domingo. He sanctioned the occupation of Haiti. He proposed that the United States government pay 25 to 35 per cent less wages to Latin-Americans in the Panama Canal zone than to workers from the United States. He opposes any fight whatsoever against Yankee imperialism, and he says so frankly. He opposes the yearly protest on the first of May, because it is revolutionary. He breaks strikes declared in solidarity, and in general he breaks them because they endanger capitalism. He opposes the entrance of the workers of North America into politics as a class, not because he is an anarchist, but because he wants them to remain within the capitalist parties. Always Gompers follows in Mexico the policy of the United States government. Gompers must not be re-elected president of the Pan-American Federation. The Pan-American Federation must convert itself into an instrument of struggle against Yankee imperialism."

Busy as Gompers was seeking to lash the workers of Central and South America to the chariot of American capitalism, he was not too busy also to attend to the imperialistic necessities of the American capitalist class in Europe. When it was the policy of the American government to support the League of Nations, Gompers also supported wholeheartedly and participated actively in the Amsterdam International. When the League of Nations was repudiated by American capitalism, Gompers grew cold toward it also, and withdrew from the Amsterdam International. Now that the capitalists, thru the Dawes Plan, are entering into an active struggle to dominate Europe and find the world court a convenient instrument for them, naturally their lickspittle, Gompers, follows along in their train. The convention endorsed the World Court. And Gompers begins to maneuver to get back into the American International again. He said:

"We are eager to join an international labor movement based upon the same principles of voluntarism. We are willing to cooperate if we can be assured a basis that will enable us to maintain our integrity—a condition necessary for our own virility and continued progress."

But Gompers will not join the Amsterdam International, except upon his own terms, which are those of American imperialism. He will demand the exclusion of the Russian trade unions, the prevention of unity between the Amsterdam International and the Red International of Labor Unions, an intense struggle against Soviet Russia and every manifestation of Communism. Grassman, of the German trade unions, who was a delegate at the convention, fell in with Gompers' proposals. He indicated that the right wing

of the Amsterdam International will be receptive and he invited the A. F. of L. to send a delegate to the next convention of the German unions. The two English delegates, Cramp and Swales, will in all likelihood also advocate the Gompers plan in the British trade unions.

Jurisdictional Fights—Socialist Traitors

The convention was marked with the usual string of ridiculous jurisdictional fights, most of which could be easily remedied by amalgamation. There were fights between the hatters and capmakers, the teamsters and railway clerks, the electrical workers and railway signalmen, the carpenters and coopers, the granite cutters and stone cutters, the upholsterers and sign hangers, the teamsters and the street car men. But the most serious struggle was between the carpenters and sheet metal workers, over the question of metal trim. This dispute has been going on for a number of years. The building trades department has voted against the carpenters, but the latter have refused to obey its decision. Consequently, the carpenters were expelled from the building trades department. At the building trades convention just prior to the A. F. of L. convention, a resolution was adopted demanding that the A. F. of L. revoke the charter of the carpenters. But it was lost somewhere in transit. The carpenters have 350,000 members. This enables them to violate many decisions and to get away with it.

One of the fine fruits of labor's recent plunge into business is the dispute between the United Mine Workers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. The B. of L. E. owns several coal mines in West Virginia, which it operates upon an "open shop" basis. All attempts of the U. M. W. of A. to unionize the mines failed, with the result that a strike has been in force since April 1st. The Executive Council was instructed to make another effort to settle the dispute, and in case of failure to so advise the whole labor movement.

The three conventions, in El Paso, Juarez, and Mexico City slopped over with praise of Gompers. This arch-faker was belauded endlessly. In this contemptible work, none exceeded the ex-socialists, who made up about a third of the A. F. of L. delegation. They went to extremes. President Sigman, of the International Ladies Garment Workers, called Gompers the greatest labor leader in the world and presented him with a costly bust done in Italian marble. Oscar Ameringer, another socialist renegade, slobbered all over Gompers and whitewashed him of his crimes against the working class. Into this orgy of imperialism, class collaboration, senseless jurisdictional fighting, and general betrayal of the interests of the working class, these renegade socialists entered whole heartedly. Whatever revolutionary or near-revolutionary ideas they might have held in years gone by, they displayed none of them in this convention. They demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of the Socialist Party in the United States.

Of course the old guard was re-elected. Gompers, tottering on the brink of the grave, was again given the job of heading the organized workers of this country in their struggle against the capitalist class. With the movement clamoring for militant leadership and aggressive policies, this old fossil, agent of the capitalist class, was foisted again upon the back of American labor. As delegates to the British Trade Union Congress, there was selected one Adamski, in addition to Evans of the Electrical Workers. Adamski

is a Gompers messenger boy. Although a convention delegate for ten years, he has never been known to take the floor. He is an official of the United Garment Workers and is used by that organization when it has particularly contemptible strike-breaking to do, as in the case of Michael Stern in Rochester.

A striking end to these three conventions was the death of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. He died of a complication of diseases, which were brought to a crisis by the high altitude of Mexico City. He was hurried at the point of death from Mexico to the United States, dying shortly after crossing the American border. The capitalist press mourns his death. Gompers was 74 years of age and connected with the labor movement for almost 60 years. He was a Jew, and born in London, England. He participated in the formation of the A. F. of L. in Pittsburgh in 1881, and has been an officer of that organization ever since. He was elected president in 1886 and has served continuously in that office, except in 1894 when he was defeated by John McBride. He was a member of the Cigarmakers' union.

The outstanding feature of the El Paso Convention was the powerful movement developed for the still further extension of the already complicated network of schemes of class collaboration. The meaning of this is clear. The policies of the reactionaries have failed utterly to maintain the trade unions in any semblance of militancy. The weak craft unions have proved unable to withstand the ferocious attacks of the well organized employers, and the political policy of the Gompers machine has been equally futile. The labor movement is in retreat before victorious capitalism. The growth of the class collaboration movement is the bureaucracy's recognition of that fact.

The bureaucrats see quite clearly that the old policy of the unions is obsolete. But they refuse to adopt the left-wing remedy for the situation, amalgamation, independent class political action, and a general policy of class struggle. In the crisis they adopt a policy of surrender. They aim to turn the unions into company unions, into mere adjuncts of the capitalist organizations—all they are interested in is to maintain some sort of an organization which will furnish them revenue enough to pay their fat salaries. Hence, the widespread development of class collaboration, as noted above in this article. The extension of the labor banks, the B. & O. Plan, and now the inauguration of the insurance scheme, as well as the long term agreement of the Miners, and many other similar developments all point in the same direction. The bureaucrats in the unions are unwilling to fight the employers, they want to subordinate the unions to them altogether.

In this crisis the duty of the left wing is clear and imperative. The revolutionaries in the Trade Union Educational League must renew the fight for the adoption of militant policies and leadership by the unions. The Gompersian leaders are hopelessly reactionary, nothing constructive can come from them. They are allowing the unions to be torn to pieces, and are helping the employers to do the job. The Socialists and the so-called Progressives are in the same boat. They have no ideals, no program, no militancy. The only quarter from which leadership can come is from the left-wing. The fate of the labor movement depends upon the growth and development of the revolutionary forces in the unions. We must realize this fact and redouble our efforts for the extension and establishment of the Trade Union Educational League in every phase and stage of the trade union movement.



EL PASO

Fred Ellis

At the "Red October" Candy Factory

By Anna Louise Strong

EVERYONE likes to visit the Red October Candy Factory, because they always give you candy to eat. Good candy, too; the best chocolate in Russia. That makes it pleasanter than the macaroni factory, for instance, for who cares to eat raw macaroni! . . . However, this was not the only reason why we picked out the Red October for our visit.

The other reason was that the president of the Food Workers was going there on business. We had met him in Melnichansky's office in the Labor Temple, and we liked his looks. The factory inspector in our party (there was a factory inspector from New York, a settlement worker from Philadelphia, and myself) whispered to me that she had never seen such a wonderful face. She went quite into raptures over it,—so full of strength, and patience, and honesty and purpose. . . . There are a lot of faces like that among the leaders of the Russian labor movement; but she wasn't used to them, having just come from New York.

"We want to see one of your big, well organized factories," I said to him. "Where you have clubs and day nurseries and everything else running" . . . Of course I knew that I was asking to see the "show places," and that some folks in America would sneer at this. But when you go traveling to any other country besides Russia, what is it you want to see? Why, the show places, where you can see what they are trying to do, and what ideals they set before themselves. Backward industry and old style factories can be found anywhere. Why is it only in Russia that the "show places" are mentioned with scorn?

"You might see the Red October Candy Works," he said. "I am on my way there now."

We stepped into an easy-running automobile (trade unions seem to have more automobiles than any other organization in Russia), and we went out to the factory. As we went, the president told us that there are 37,000 workers in the Moscow Food Workers' Union, of whom about half are women. Women and men—of course they get the same pay for the same kinds of work. But women in the past have been untrained; there are not so many of them in the skilled occupations. So as an actual fact, the average wage is higher among the men.

We went up a flight of stairs in a tremendous brick building and came to a spacious office where about twenty women were talking in groups or bending over desks. They had all-over aprons and white kerchiefs on their heads. "This is the office of the Shop Committee," they told us, "the workers have come in on various problems."

Up another flight, and then the office of the director. Before the revolution he was a candy worker himself in this factory. A Communist, naturally. During the revolution when the workers seized the factories, the old manager stayed on for about a year. He was elected chairman of the workers' control committee. After a year the old managers left; conditions were too difficult for them. Meantime the workers' committee had learned the business.

Half a dozen workers were around the desk of the director, discussing some technical problem. He turned to us. "Suppose you go over to the Day Nursery first," he said. "If you wait till you finish with the factory, the babies will be gone."

Here is the Day Nursery, then, a two story brick building in charge of a trained nurse. It is as exquisite a nursery as I have ever seen. Upstairs are the small babies, from two months to a year. The matron puts big white coveralls on us, so that we will not bring any infection from the street into the babies' room. There is one room for the tiniest tots, from two to six months, another for the babies from six months to a year. The children over one year are downstairs.

"The mothers bring them at 8.30 and nurse them," we are told. "At nine the factory opens. At twelve and again at three the mothers have an hour off to come and nurse their babies. At four they go home."

"Does the factory close at four?" we ask the director. He explains that it is running two shifts at present, from nine to four and from four to ten. Seven hours in the day and six hours in the evening. "Of course the legal day is eight hours, but we have not yet finished our big dining-room. The workers voted to work seven hours straight without intermission, instead of eight hours with a lunch-time stop. Next month the dining-room will be finished and we will go on an eight hour basis."

"But your mothers cannot do as much work as an unmarried woman," I said. "They are only working five hours. Do they get the same wages as the others?"

"Certainly," said the director. "Even on the piece work jobs, the mothers are credited with the extra two hours work which they didn't do."

"Do the mothers have to pay to leave their babies here?" I asked. "Of course not," they said in surprise. . . .

"And can you take all the babies from the factory?" . . . "At present we can take all," replied the nurse. "We have just enlarged the building from fifty to one hundred beds, and we have more space than babies. Whenever there are more babies, we shall enlarge again. During the time when there was not enough place for everyone, we gave first chance to the babies that needed it most, that is, of course, the babies who have no fathers!" . . . Our settlement worker seemed a bit startled at the simple way this was stated.

We went down the hall, saw the bath-room, the isolation room, then down to the reception room, with its closet full of clean linen-bags containing the children's home clothing. "Every child wears nursery clothing while here," they explained. "They come at eight-thirty and the mothers change their clothes. They are washed, and then given cocoa. Then the older youngsters downstairs play until noon, when they get their lunch of soup and cereal. After lunch they all sleep until their mothers come."

Down this hall also we passed, and saw play-rooms and sleeping-rooms, so arranged that while one set of rooms is in use the other is being aired. Here was another isolation



YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE NUCLEUS COMMITTEE IN A RUSSIAN FACTORY

room. "The nurse examines the children when they come, and if they are sick, they are not accepted. But if sickness starts during the day, they are put in the isolation room till the doctor comes on his daily rounds."

"What happens if they are sent home," asked the settlement worker. . . . "If they are very sick, they go to our hospital. Otherwise our doctor calls at the house to see them" . . .

"But the mother loses a day's work. Does she get wages?"

"Oh, yes, she gets her wages, but not from the factory. The social insurance pays her wages on a paper signed by the nurse which says that we sent her home with a sick baby."

We were a trifle appalled at the heavy cost imposed on industry by all this care. Still more so when we found that every mother gets four months off when her baby is born. Her wages are paid by the social insurance, which also gives her a full layette for the baby, and then adds 25 per cent to her wages for a year, to offset the extra expense of the child.

"Mothers and babies must be a tremendous expense to industry," we remarked. . . . The director smiled: "Mothers and babies are always expensive to someone," he said, leaving us to think over the question of who, after all, should pay for mothers and babies.

Then he went on. "Of course the chief burden falls not on the individual factory, but on the social insurance. We pay an amount equal to 16 percent of our total pay-roll into the social insurance. The burden is distributed."

"But don't these mothers upset everything, going out every three hours? Tell us, as manager of a factory, how you like it?"

He looked puzzled at our point of view. "Of course it is inconvenient," he said "It is just as inconvenient for them as it is for us" . . . And again I got the point of view which considered the babies, not as the charge of one woman but as a community responsibility.

But we pressed the point. "If two women wanted a job from you and you had only one job, and the women were equally skilled, but one was a mother with a baby and one was not, which would you take?" . . . "But it would not be thus decided," he declared. "If I have no technical reason for choice, then the factory committee decides. They would ask first which is a union member. If both are members, they would consider which needs the job most. Perhaps it is the mother; perhaps, on the contrary, the mother has a working husband and the single woman is entirely alone. It is simply a question of need."

"But when you have to lay off workers, how do you choose?" we persisted. . . . "The shop committee helps pick out the ones who can be dropped with least suffering. Usually in that case the mothers are the last to go."

We couldn't get behind his reasoning anywhere. It was quite evident that he took it for granted that industries should provide for babies. So our factory inspector tried another tack. For she was from America, where they take it for granted (in theory at least), that mothers ought to stay home and look after young babies and children, to keep them out of mischief. She wanted to see how continuous was the

*) First of series of articles "Among the Moscow Workers."

care provided here.

We were passing a sleeping room where a baby of a few months was staring wide-eyed at the world, and whimpering: "Ma—ma." The nurse was patting his hand gently and speaking in soft tones. The baby's eyes went from her to the ceiling and back. "Ma—ma," he whimpered, a little more softly.

"There, you see, he wants his mother," she said, accusingly. "Yes," said the nurse without apology. "It is his first day here. "He will get used to us."

"Do they stay here long," we asked. "In America one trouble is that the mother changes her job and the baby changes his nursery every few days." . . . "Here they stay long," answered the nurse. "We have even had three babies from one mother. When she takes one out, she puts another in!"

"Oh, yes, when she takes one out. When they are three years old; you send them away?" . . . "We send them to the kindergarten," answered the matron.

The kindergarten was a building equally large in the next block, also maintained by the factory, for children from three to eight. And when they are eight they go to school in the morning, but in the afternoon they have the Young Pioneers organization. All of these were near at hand. The fortunate mother of three youngsters in different places could come after work and pick them up at the Young Pioneers, the kindergarten and nursery and then slip round the corner to the Communal Residence where she had her apartment.

It was clear that the children were completely cared for, from two months before birth till the day when the boy or girl entered the factory or was sent to the worker's college or university. But our factory inspector turned to the president of the union.

"Is this your ideal?" she said. "That the child shall be cared for outside the home. Or it is merely done as a matter of temporary need? Do you intend always that mothers shall go to factories?"

His face lit up. "Certainly," he said. "It is our idea



A TYPICAL "MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE" in a Russian Factory, Representing The Economic Council, Union, and Shop Workers.

that a woman shall not stay in a little room, as a cook for a man and a nurse for a baby. She is a social being and a citizen, and needs to mix with her fellow-workers part of the day, just as her husband does. When evening comes, she also is at home."

Well, we were answered. And we passed out and saw the fine new dining-room just nearing completion, where 1500 workers will be able to get fifteen cent dinners. We saw one of the eight Communal Houses, where rent is from ten to fifty cents a month, according to the wages you are getting. We saw the Workers Club Building, with a group of Pioneers with red neck-kerchiefs coming out.

And we realized what a factory means in Russia, and why the women would rather go there than home. It is not merely a place to work, it is a social organism, the basic social unit of the Soviet Republic.

Forever and ever until we die,
Through the once sweet air and the once blue sky,
The thud of feet, the invisible throng,
Beating the accent of their wrong.

—Sara Bard Field.

CITIES of a coming race
Are stones upon the prairies.
Silk to robe a scornful queen
Munches chinaberries.
Comes poison for a martyr's cup
On swaying dromedaries.

A war to kill ten thousand men
Are casual words that quarrel.
Wool to make a conqueror's cloak
Grazes in the sorrel.
The wind propels a pointed seed
To make a hero's laurel.

Margie-Lee Runbeck.

We Whom the Dead Have Not Forgiven

I cry to the mountains; I cry to the sea;
I cry to the forest to cover me
From the terror of the invisible throng
With marching feet the whole night long,
The whole day long,
Beating the accent of their wrong.

We whom the dead have not forgiven
Must hear forever that ominous beat,
For the free, light, rippled air of heaven
Is burdened now with dead men's feet.

Feet that make solid the fluid space,
Feet that make weary the tireless wind,
Feet that leave grime on the moon's white face.
Black is the moon for us who have sinned.

And the mountains will not cover us,
Nor yet the forest, nor the sea.
No storm of human restlessness
Can wake the tide or bend the tree.

The Rocky Mountain Miners

By Jack Lee

YOU can't find out now what the Anaconda Copper Mining company makes in yearly profits, but in 1916, before the Industrial Relations Commission, C. F. Kelley, Anaconda vice-president, boasted that the company cleared \$11,000,000 per year. The company makes enough to expand. During the last ten years it has bought and merged with itself the International Smelting & Refining company, which cost it \$10,392,709, and the United Metals Selling company, which cost it \$6,624,583, and the Pilot Butte company, at a cost of \$1,125,000, and the American Brass company, which cost \$22,500,000 (with some Anaconda shares thrown in), and the Alice Gold and Silver company, Inc., and the Walker Mining company, and the Arizona Oil company, and the Anaconda Lead Products company, and the Copper Export Association, Inc., and oh, lots of others besides these big ones—quite a number of South American companies lately, too.

Moreover, the 188 enterprises mining copper in 1909 produced but \$134,618,987 worth of the metal, whereas the 195 enterprises mining in 1919 produced \$181,258,087 worth. Some correction should be made for rise in price of copper, but still, the field has expanded out of proportion to the increase in even these nominally independent enterprises. The Anaconda, of course, has a grip on the western smelters. Over in Michigan, the Calumet & Hecla functions as the Anaconda does in Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Chile, Peru, and other places. Probably they are the same company, too. At any rate, they do not compete seriously.

What of the Workers?

So much for the mining companies, and the mineral product itself. Now, what about the fellows who really do the work of getting the metal out of the ground?

When you remember some of the epic struggles of these western miners and think of Ludlow, Bisbee, Butte, and the fighting that took place there, you wonder what sort of men live in these crowded copper camps, and lonely silver-lead camps, and seem at times so extremely militant and well-organized, and at other times so confused and helpless.

In the first place, you should recollect that there are five main national groups: Irish, Poles, Mexicans, Finns and "Cousin Jacks" (Cornishmen). The employers keep thousands of stool-pigeons, and agents provocateurs, and subsidize national churches, and promote national newspapers, just in order to keep nationalistic differences sharp and well-defined. At periods of open and flagrant class war, such as the times of the massacres and the decade of militancy in the Western Federation of Miners, these nationalist groups have been able to sink their differences and unite, but only temporarily. No one needs the Communist teachings of internationalism more than the metal miners need it, and no group of men in the world would repay the effort of the teachers better.

Then, it must be remembered that the metal miner is a sick man. Prospecting is a fine, healthy trade, though poorly paid. At the present time, open pit, or steam shovel mining, is not so bad. The old "single jack" and "double jack" (hand mining) method was healthy as long as mines did not go too deep, as they usually didn't, being without machinery.

But the compressed air power drills—the "jack ham-

mers," "wall machines," "piston machines," "swivel tails"—drove hand mining out of existence. There are still a few old-timers who refuse to hold a jack hammer in their arms, and stick to hand mining. They are used for prospect holes. During the last ten years a further reduction in man-power has resulted from the substitution of the one-man drill for the two-man drill.

Eliminating the Metal Miners.

Though the output of ore has increased, there are actually fewer miners engaged each year than there were the year before. In 1909 each employe in the copper mines put in motion \$5,846 of capital, and produced for the master during the year \$2,586 worth of copper; in 1919 each employe put in motion \$19,526 of capital, and produced for the copper companies during the year, \$4,146 worth of copper. In the lead-zinc mines in 1909, each employe operated about \$3,700 worth of capital and produced during the year about \$1,800; while in 1919, the capital per man was nearly \$9,000 and the product per man per year was about \$3,500. In spite of the much greater capitalization and much greater product in 1919, there were employed in all the non-ferrous metal mines in 1919 some fifteen thousand fewer workers than in 1909. In comparison with the capital, the reduction in man-power is greatest in the copper industry, in which, by the way, there is an almost perfect example of the tendency, pointed out by Marx, whereby the increase of constant capital proportionately at the expense of the variable capital brings a lower rate of profit, though a greater absolute profit.

More machinery and a reduction of the number of men employed in the industry, means fast work to hold your job, harder work, and willingness to take risks. The risks have increased. Deeper mines mean more accidents in the shafts, and they mean greater heat.

Consider how these men work. There are three shifts in most mines; the morning shift starts at 7:30 a. m., and comes off at 3:30 p. m.; the night shift starts then and comes off at 11:30 p. m.; the graveyard shift starts at 11:30 and comes off when the morning shift is ready to go on. Every two weeks the men change shift, and there has to be a re-learning of all the appetites and physiological functions, sleep, etc.

In the bigger towns, like Butte, the miners live in as crowded and insanitary conditions as East Side New Yorkers do. In little company towns, hidden out in the canyons, they live in a "crummy" bunkhouse, and in either case, they do not sleep with air enough around them or heat enough in winter. Then they rush out of their beds, in the middle of the night, maybe, through snow and ice, forty degrees below zero, sometimes, into the cages that take them below. The surface men, ore sorters, engineers on hoist and compressor and pump engines, hoist men themselves, dumpers, carpenters and surface shovelers very seldom go below and do not suffer from hot mines and dust.

In the Bowels of the Earth.

But the miners and muckers are carried down, in some mines, nearly a mile—frequently more than 2,500 feet. They probably go down a straight shaft, which is like the elevator-well in a large building, with elevators, called "cages," run-

ning up and down. At "levels" every hundred feet—vertically—some of the men get off, and go to the "face," that is, the working place. Some work in "drifts," merely tunnels, running out horizontally, starting from the shafts. The face of a drift is vertical, or nearly so, and the machine miner drills holes seven or eight feet long, more or less horizontally back into it with a compressed air drill. A good deal of dust is thrown out, unless the drill is one of the sort that washes out the chips with water. If the miner is sinking a "winze," which is a new shaft, started in the floor of some undergrown working, and not at the surface of the ground, he will probably be standing to his ankles or higher in water; while if he is "raising," that is, starting a shaft at the bottom, and going up through the roof of some underground workings, he will have a horizontal face, above him, and will probably not be able to use a water drill, as the water would all fall back on him. In that case, he "eats dust," which is thrown out of the hole by the compressed air exhaust. There is invariably plenty of other dust in the mine, for the companies prefer the dry drill method—it is quicker and less expensive. Every movement of the drill in a dry mine, every explosion, stirs up rock dust, and makes more dust. Even the cars that run down the drifts carrying ore and waste rock on very narrow gauge tracks, stir up dust in their passage. The mucker, shoveling rock into the cars, raises clouds of dust—all this in a confined space, and in mines of 2,000 feet depth or more, in a temperature ranging from 90 degrees to 100 degrees Fahrenheit.

Destroying the Miners' Lungs.

The dust in copper and zinc mines is largely flint, or silica. Its finer particles are flakes; under the microscope they look surprisingly like little knife blades. All underground workers have silicosis or "miners' consumption" to some degree. This is not true tuberculosis, though the symptoms are similar—it is merely an accumulation in the lung tissue of quantities of these flint knives which have sliced through the walls of the air passages. Silicosis paves the way for, and invariably induces true tuberculosis, sooner or later, unless the man quits his job.

Government figures prove the death rate from tuberculosis is thirteen times greater in Butte than in Michigan, which is also a copper mining state. (Bureau of Mines, Technical Paper 260).

Men, particularly in raising and sinking, work in cramped positions, and in very bad light. Miners' nyastagmus, a disease of the eyes, and also a trembling of the face and hands are therefore very prevalent. Cramped positions and falls are common to men working in "stopes," also. (Stopes are large chambers irregular in shape, from which ore is being taken.)

The excessively hot and humid atmosphere in deep mines is itself depleting and emaciating, raising blood pressure and raising the mouth temperature in some cases to 102 degrees, which is decidedly fever heat. The conditions make it impossible to think quickly and this increases the chance of accidents. (Public Health Reports, Jan. 28, 1921) In 1916, several thousand workers in the Mother Lode of California, were discovered to have hookworm, and it is certain now that other mines are likewise afflicted.

Leaving the overheated mine at the end of the shift, and walking in sweat-soaked garments to a "wash-house" is somewhat conducive to pneumonia, as many a miner or mucker has discovered.

Practically every worker in silver-lead mines is "leaded,"



AT THE BOTTOM OF A SHAFT PREPARING TO HOIST A LOAD OF ORE

or has what is called in another trade, "painters' colic." Not infrequently the miners die of it.

Then it must be observed that all this country is very high, 10,000 feet to 14,000 feet above sea level, and altitude alone plays queer tricks on men's minds. It makes them morose, and quarrelsome, usually, though sometimes hysterically jolly. Many a time I have come off shift at 7:30 a. m. with a raging headache and spots dancing before my eyes, and sat down to an utterly tasteless breakfast. It was not that the food was so bad but that we all felt too sick and tired to eat. Then for hours we would sit in one long row along the bunkhouse wall, not talking, not thinking, just sitting there with an utter loathing each of us for his neighbor. It's a great life. You really have to live it to realize it—and then you won't. You only see it properly after you have left it for several years.

Take a "leaded" or tuberculous miner, up eleven thousand feet, shut up in a bunkhouse with two hundred or two hundred and fifty other men, and you have a most uncertain proposition. He surely is ready to fight, and he usually fights his fellow workers. The problem is, how to use in a fight with the mine owner some of this rage that is now going to waste.

The national divisions, and the unsanitary working conditions, plus the inevitable stool-pigeons, explain, I think, why the best fighting proletarians in the world, and in some ways, the best educated to the iniquities of capitalism, fail to do better at present; why they waste their time in futile personalities and group conflicts, and sink into worse and worse economic and social conditions.

A powerful union could easily wring bigger wages from the companies, and force installation of dust-laying devices.

Good wages (machine miners get \$4.75 to \$5 at present, but living is expensive) and the two-man drill (one-man at present), and abolition of contract work, would wipe out the evils of unemployment and the slum conditions.

We need a fight, and miners surely can fight. At present though, they need organization. The two unions which exist—dually—among miners and smelter workers do not afford even the protection of their name to as much as five per cent of the miners. There are about 80,000 mine workers, and probably 20,000 smelter workers in these Rocky Mountain fields who could be organized into one industrial union. They have a tradition in favor of militant action, and recent experience in it. They are not divided by craft pride or skill to the extent that workers are in other industries. Their divisions are largely artificial, and boss-made, with the exception of nationalities, and this difference cannot be kept alive forever. A little energetic agitating, and who knows . . . ?

A Disillusioned Intellectual

By A. BITTELMAN.

"Leaves From A Russian Diary." By Pitirim Sorokin. New York. E. P. Dutton & Company.

ONCE upon a time, when he was young and hopeful and innocent, Pitirim Sorokin believed in the people, in socialism and in revolution. He was a prominent member of the Party of Socialist Revolutionists. He thought he loved the people and hated the people's exploiters.

Now he thinks he knows better. He is older, riper and more experienced in the ways of life. He has seen a revolution. He saw the masses in action and he became another man. Now, he hates the masses and loves their masters. This is the substance of Pitirim Sorokin's confession published under the title: *Leaves From A Russian Diary*.

Professor Pitirim Sorokin is one of a group of counter-revolutionary intellectuals deported from Russia by the Soviet government some two years ago. He came to the United States and became professor of sociology in the University of Minnesota. Now he has published his diary which is a sort of confession and political "credo" combined.

It makes interesting reading. It reveals, against the will of the author, the innermost corners of a petty-bourgeois soul, frightened, terrorized and almost crushed by the power and grandeur of the titanic struggles of the Russian masses. Pitirim Sorokin was in the very center of Russian events between February and November of 1917. He was the personal secretary of "premier" Kerensky.

In January, 1917, Sorokin enters into his diary the following:

"Today I met three soldiers, friends of mine, just returned from the front. One of them spoke with such hatred against the government (the government of the Czar—A. B.) the expressions of the others of indignation and discontent in the army were so extreme that they shocked me. The army then may precipitate the revolution. I should prefer not to have it so."

On February 28 he enters the following note:

"What I observe now in the soldiers in Petrograd, their manners, the expression of their faces, does not please me.

Something distinctly menacing is reflected in their behavior."

Mind you, all this was written on the eve of the first revolution which overthrew the Czar and put into power the government of Prince Lvov and then the government of Kerensky. But Pitirim Sorokin is already frightened to death. The mere sight of the masses in revolt is driving terror into his heart, making him wish that even the bourgeois revolution should not take place. He is almost ready to make peace with the Czar—he, a Socialist Revolutionist—in order to forestall the great uprising of the masses.

Then comes the period of March—November, 1917, which led to the proletarian revolution in November. During this period Pitirim Sorokin is Kerensky's secretary. And here is an entry in his diary for the months March-April:

"More and more I hear the 'capitalists' denounced and even menaced. The workers have it obstinately in their heads that all their misfortunes were deliberately caused by the bourgeois. That the government must be purely socialist, and that a general massacre of all 'exploiters' must take place is rapidly spreading among the masses."

Note the quotation marks attached to the words "capitalists" and "exploiters," and then read:

"I sometimes long for some powerful force to appear and put a tight bridle on all these rabid and uncertain groups."

The terrorized petty-bourgeois is already longing for a military dictator, a Kornilov, Denikin or Koltchak, to put a bridle on the workers who want a "purely socialist government." And when in spite of all its enemies the workers' revolution emerges victorious, Pitirim Sorokin joins the active counter-revolution. He continues in this way for over four years. He fails. He is defeated. He comes to Petrograd, and by permission of the Soviet government resumes teaching in the University. As professor of sociology, here is what he teaches:

"In my speech I pointed out the new guide-posts which would be followed by the new generation. Old idols of socialism and Communism, atheism and revolution, had fallen and should be forever abandoned. Old teachers of life, Marx, Engels and others like them, had lost their authority and should forever be forgotten. They had led us to the edge of the abyss. Individual freedom, individual initiative and responsibility, cooperation, respect for liberty of others, reform instead of revolution, self-government instead of anarchy—these were now and should be our social ideals."

In short, a hundred per cent Garyism, complete surrender to the "ideals" of Morgan, Rockefeller and Hughes.

And so the story will run:

Once upon a time there lived in Russia a petty-bourgeois intellectual. His name was Pitirim Sorokin. He thought he loved the masses and hated their exploiters. So he joined the party of Socialist Revolutionists. But when the masses arose to overthrow their masters, and made a revolution and established Soviets, Pitirim Sorokin got frightened; then, in revulsion against the revolution, he joined the ranks of the people's enemies. And in doing so, he was simply one of the many petty-bourgeois intellectuals who thought they loved the masses, while in reality they were infatuated merely with their own petty-bourgeois notions and illusions.

Pitirim Sorokin is a badly disillusioned petty-bourgeois intellectual.

History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

(Translated from the Russian by A. Bittelman)

HISTORY supplies many examples to prove our contention that political parties are class instruments. There was a time in America when the Northern and the Southern states were fighting each other on the issue of slavery, but this did not prevent the young bourgeoisie to appear very shortly before the whole world as a powerful bourgeois state, standing firmly on the principle of private property and without in the least denying the principle of present-day capitalist slavery. One might bring in many examples of conflict between bourgeois parties, but all these would merely prove our proposition that a party is part of a definite class.

Then I want to draw your attention to one more possibility. It would be wrong to think that a class creates its party mechanically, ready-made and fit in every respect to represent and defend the interests of that class. Things don't happen as simply as this—that class number one has a party number one and that class number two has a party number two. Social life and struggles are much more complicated. We know that single individuals are liable to make mistakes. They would sometimes believe that they belong body and soul to a certain class and then, when the test comes the real decisive moment they would find out that they really belonged to another class. The road of development of individuals is a winning road. At certain periods in their development they bring forward certain programs. In course of time and under pressure of the class struggle, in the storm of great events, which raise to the surface new sections of a given class and bring forward new problems, these individuals change affiliations and undergo a change of groupings and only after many years have passed, when the struggle reaches its decisive phase, do there appear those fundamental questions which finally determine the divisions that correspond to each given class. So that, if you approach this problem in too schematic a manner, and too simplified a fashion, you will seem to find many contradictions. That is why this question of this phase of our life must be approached scientifically as befits Marxians—that is, freed from mechanistic conceptions of social phenomena. It must be understood that a party is not born overnight, but that it forms itself in the course of years, undergoing within its ranks definite social regroupings, that certain groups and individuals accidentally join one party, leave it, and join another. And only in the process of struggle, when we have before us a more or less completed cycle of de-

velopment, does it become possible to say that a given party corresponds to a given class.

The above analysis supplies an answer to the question as to what are the mutual relations between a communist party (a Bolshevik party) and the working class. But then the argument can be made: If a party is part of a class, if our party as part of the working class is thereby its representative, its vanguard and its leader, how does it happen that there are other workers' parties? What about the Mensheviks, who call themselves a party of workers, and the Socialist Revolutionists, who declare that they are defending the working class? And speaking in terms of world affairs, what is the Social-Democracy and the Second International, which are also bound with the working class? Do not these facts contradict our definition?

This is not an academic question. On the contrary, it brings us close to the very substance of the thing. What I said about the bourgeois parties is true in a certain measure about the workers' parties. Neither the working class nor a working class party is born fully grown and completely formed. The working class is formed in the course of decades of gradual development. The population of the villages migrates to the towns. Part of the peasants return to their villages and part of them remain in the cities gradually assimilating the surroundings of factory life. It is in this way that a working class is being formed with a working class psychology. Similarly, it takes decades of development for the formation of a party of the working class. Certain groups have been working on the theory—considering the matter subjectively—that they were defending the interests of the workers, as for instance the Mensheviks in the first revolution. Then, when history placed on the order of the day the problems which I attempted to describe above—those fundamental problems which bring people to the separation of the ways, turning friends into enemies, putting erstwhile collaborators on opposite sides of the barricades, causing civil war—it is then and only then that real realignment takes place and that the basis is laid for a definite party. This process, which is closely bound up with the life of the masses, will come to an end only at the complete victory of socialism and the disappearance of classes and parties. This is not a chemical process which can be observed in a test-tube from beginning to end. Social phenomena can be understood only by generalizations arrived at through deep investigations, effects and events

involving the actions of millions and tens of millions of people.

At the present time, the Second International still has considerable connections among the workers. But it is true nevertheless that the Second International is in substance nothing but a fraction of the bourgeoisie—its left wing. There are, of course, many honest workers who are members of the Second International. We have several parties of workers with but one working class. But this is the point to be remembered—that while they are several parties of workers, there is only one proletarian party. A party can be a workers' party by composition but not proletarian by its tendencies, its program and its policies. We can see that in the capitalist countries of Europe and America, where there are several parties of workers, but only one proletarian party—the Communist party.

There are in those countries not only Social-democratic parties, but also Catholic parties, and trade-unions following the lead of the church, etc. All these are parts of the working class, but not its advanced section. The members of those parties may be workers, but by their policies they are merely fractions of bourgeois parties.

Anniversary Dates.

All that was said before is necessary for a clear understanding of the history of our party. The creation of our party, or, to use a philosophical term, "the process of becoming a party"—all the preliminaries to the historic period of our organization, which developed in the course of many years—all this is nothing but a process of gradual crystallization of a working class party within the ranks of the working class. Consequently, when we speak of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our party, this must be understood in a conditional sense.

The Northern Russian Labor Alliance, which was formed with the cooperation of Plechanov, and was led by the carpenter Kalturin, and the machinist Obnersky, should be considered the first nucleus of our party. This Alliance came into existence at the end of 1877 or the beginning of 1878 in Petrograd, and was the first organization to proclaim the idea of political action by the working class. This organization was of course not yet Marxian. Forty-five years have elapsed since the formation of the Alliance, and it might be correct to consider the history of our party as dating from the formation of the Northern Russian Workers Alliance.

The Group for the Liberation of Labor was formed in 1883. It was formed at a time when the generation of revolutionists, led by Plechanov and Axlerod, had already rid themselves of their "populist" illusions; in fact, they had broken with "populism," realizing the necessity of building a party based on the working class. In 1885, this group made public the draft of a

program for a Social-Democratic party, and is, therefore, the first Marxian organization in the history of the revolutionary movement of Russia. Because of this fact, this organization could be considered the starting point for the history of our Party, and in this case we should have to say that we are now celebrating the fortieth anniversary of our Party.

The third historic date is that of the First Congress of our Party, which took place March 14, 1898, in the city of Minsk. If, therefore, we take this Congress for our starting point, then we are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of our party. It must be said, however, that this last date is rather accidental. The First Congress of our Party passed away without leaving any permanent impression. The organization which was created in Minsk was destroyed almost within twenty-four hours, the participants of the Congress having been arrested, together with the whole central committee of the party.

Then comes the Second Congress, in 1903, which was begun in Brussels and completed in London. Strictly speaking, this Second Congress was really the first congress of the Party, and considered from this angle we should now be celebrating the twentieth anniversary of our Party. Then again, in 1905, we held the Third Congress of our Party in London, which was the real congress of our Party, the congress of the Bolshevik Party, since there were no Mensheviks present there. (That was at the time of our split.) This Congress could also be considered the first congress of our Party for the reason that it was there that the Bolshevik tactics were formulated on the eve of the revolution of 1905. Thus we might say that we are celebrating the eighteenth anniversary of our Party.

And finally, we might also say that the history of our Party begins with the time when we completely broke with the Mensheviks, which happened in 1912, when we began restoring our own Party after a long period of counter-revolution, on the basis of the new proletarian wave created by the strike on the Lena, and the events following the strike. I refer here to the All-Russian Conference which took place in Prague, and where we said the following, "The old Central Executive Committee is no longer in existence. We are beginning to build our Party anew." Thus, if we want to be exact in our dates, we must say that it was there, in Prague, after the defeat of the revolution of 1905, and the period of counter-revolution following it, that we created the basis of our Party.

Following this line of reasoning, we might say further that a complete break between ourselves and the Mensheviks took place not in 1912 but in 1917. That also would be true because it was after the February revolution following the overthrow of Czarism, that the attempt was made to call a joint congress of the Social-Democrats, to be held in this very hall, to which were invited all Social-Democrats, and before

whom Comrade Lenin appeared with his famous theses, which have become part of the history of international socialism—the theses on soviet power. Up until that moment, we believed that it was still possible, after the fall of Czarism, to unite the Social-Democracy, to bring together the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

And lastly, it might also be said that it was only at the Seventh Congress in 1918, after the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, when we decided to change the name of our party and call it the Russian Communist Party—that it was only then that our party was finally formed.

The Process of Formation of our Party.

I have mentioned all these dates in order to show that what is important is not the formal matter of a date, but the real living process of the formation of a party. And speaking of the formation of parties, I want to say that this does not happen as simply as it is represented by Vodovozov—namely, that the followers of certain “ideals” come together and say: “Well, suppose we form a party.” No, things don’t happen as simply as that. A party is a living organism, connected by millions of ties with the class from which it springs. It takes years and even decades for a party to become formed. Now then, if we start with the Northern Russian Labor Alliance, formed by Kalturin, we shall have to decide that our Party is forty-five years old. On the other hand, if we begin with the date when our Party became known as the Communist Party, then its age would be only five years. Then, if we start with the First Congress of our Party, it would be twenty-five years old. And if we consider the beginning of our Party with the formation of the Group for the Liberation of Labor, then our Party’s age would be forty years. Hence it can be seen that the living dialectical formation of a party is a prolonged, complicated, and difficult process.

A party is born in pain, and is subject to constant transformation, regroupings from within, splits, and trials in the fire of struggle, before it becomes finally formed into a party of the proletariat, into a party of a definite class. And even then, as I already remarked, the process is not yet finally completed. The coming into the party of new groups, and the departure from it of old ones, will continue for a long time yet. All this we can observe in our Party. If we examine the present social composition of our Party, we see that even at this date, after forty-five years of development, there are still going on definite regroupings within our Party and a constant rejuvenation of its elements. You will also see that while the number of peasants in our Party has grown considerably since the revolution, yet their influence upon our Party is continually decreasing. You will also see the growth of the city proletariat, the coming and going of whole groups of intellectuals. It is therefore necessary to examine

the Party as a process of development, comparing it with the living struggles of the masses. It is only from this point of view that we can get a proper understanding of our Party.

Populism (Narodnichestvo).

I have already said that the first period in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement is the period of struggle between the Marxists and the Populists—a struggle which, in some of its phases, was undoubtedly revolutionary—which reached its highest point in the seventies. Populism has written into the history of our struggles many glorious pages, and has shown many unforgettable examples of personal courage. The heroism of certain Populists who left their families, their class and class privileges, and “went to the people,” as the expression goes, was a beautiful phenomenon indeed, and should be honored by every one of us. But at the same time, Populism as such was not a movement of the proletariat. It was not accidentally that they used to say, in those years, “We must go to the people.” The conception of “class” was non-existent in Russia at that time. The revolutionists of those years were familiar only with the conception of “people.”

Of course, we are all for the people. And it goes without saying that it is a very good word. But if you examine it from the point of view of scientific definition, you will find that its content is very vague and that those who used the term did so purposely in a vague sense. By the term “people,” they understood in those days primarily the peasantry, because the working class was still in the first days of its development. For this reason the Populist movement, although revolutionary, was petty-bourgeois. From which it does not follow, however, that we reject the inheritance of that period, and that we refuse to see the beautiful examples of heroism and extraordinary courage manifested by the revolutionists of the Populist period.

The Attitude of the Communists Toward the Great French Revolution.

You will recall the attitude of the Communists toward the great bourgeois revolutionists of the French revolution of 1789. This attitude of ours is well known. We have nothing but the greatest respect for these revolutionists, particularly for those who manifested exceptional devotion to the masses. We study the history of the great French revolution, and are inducing our youth to follow our example in this matter and to develop themselves on the experiences of the great materialists of that epoch. And, by the way, a student of philosophy would learn much more from the materialists of the period of the great bourgeois revolution than from the recent, half-baked Marxian revisionists.

It is for this reason that our Party considers of prime importance the publication, first of all, of the classics of materialism. We are trying to bring up our youth in the spirit of respect toward the great representatives of the great bourgeois revolution. Of course, we understand the class basis of that revolution. We know that while the revolution sent a monarch to the guillotine, it also enforced laws against labor unions. Nevertheless, these representatives of the great bourgeois revolution were the first shock-troops of struggling humanity against feudalism, the defeat of which opened the way for the growing forces of the proletarian revolution. The great past of the bourgeois revolutionists does not, of course, change the fact that the present generation of bourgeois politicians are nothing but agents of capital. We know very well the difference between Marat and Robespierre on the one hand, and Poincare, Briand and Viviani on the other hand. We know that the representatives of the bourgeoisie, at the time of the great French revolution, because of the domination of feudalism, were compelled to carry on a struggle against slavery and reaction, while the present representatives of the bourgeoisie, such as Poincare and his friends, although they parade as the inheritors of the great French revolution, are yet nothing more than humble tools in the hands of bourgeois reaction. Our attitude toward the Populists should be determined from the same angle.

The Attitude of the Communists to Populism.

We know the value of Jeliabov and of Sofia Perovskaya and of all those who, in the days of Czarism which was oppressing Russia with brutal rule, dared to take up arms against the autocracy of the Czar, to lead into battle the first revolutionary groups, and to face the hangman bravely and courageously. It is true that this movement to the people was not a proletarian movement. It is also true that this revolutionary movement was only slightly and faintly tinged with socialism. Nevertheless it was a great movement, just as great as the beginning of the great French revolution. These Populists made the first breaches in the wall of Czarism, and the powerful fortresses of autocracy. They were heroes. They had broken with prejudices, had destroyed the chains which bound them to their privileged class, and had courageously entered the struggle for political freedom. We know that they had colored their struggles at times with socialist phrases, without having any definite socialist program. But we know that they could not have had such a program when the whole substance of their struggles did not go beyond the ideal of bourgeois democracy. It was for this reason that the executive committee of the “People’s Freedom” (Narodnaya Volya) found it possible to address an open letter to Abraham Lincoln.

We are ready to take off our hats even to the

Decembrists, a still earlier generation of bourgeois revolutionists struggling against Czarism. These people, who were in the literal sense of the word the very cream of our aristocracy and nobility, separated themselves from their class, broke with their families, relinquished their privileges, and entered into a struggle with the autocracy of the Czar. They, too, had no socialist program. They, too, were only bourgeois revolutionists, which is no reason for us to reject their inheritance. On the contrary, we say theirs is a glorious chapter in the history of our movement, and we bow our heads to the first representatives of revolutionary Populism, who knew how to sacrifice their lives for the masses in those days, when the working class had just begun to come into existence, and there was no proletariat and consequently no proletarian class party. But at the same time we know that between Jeliabov and Perovskaya on the one hand, and Gotz and Chernov on the other hand, there is just as much difference as between Robespierre and Marat on the one hand, and Poincare and Briand on the other hand. Gotz and Chernov say that they are continuing the cause of Populism, to which we reply: “Yes, you continue it in the same way in which Briand and Poincare continue the work of Marat and Robespierre.”

I repeat, that among the Populists of the first period, speaking of single individuals, there were stars of the first magnitude. There were people who will forever remain the brightest examples of self-sacrifice, heroism and devotion to the masses. But this movement, when examined minutely, when taken as a whole and analyzed as such, will prove to be a non-proletarian movement, although it was a great step in advance.

The Pre-Historic Period of the Russian Proletariat.

Our proletariat came into existence in the process of many decades, even a century. I would recommend the book of Martov on the history of the Russian Social-Democracy, which, though it is written from the Menshevik point of view, and contains, therefore, many wrong Menshevik ideas, still could supply us with quite a number of interesting facts. The beginnings of the Russian working class can be found in the seventeenth century. It was at that time that Russia saw the first large factories, that the differentiation began in the ranks of the enslaved peasantry, resulting in the appearance of the first groups of artisans, half-slaves, half-freemen.

If you study the works of Tugan-Baranovsky (a non-Marxian writer) and also Lenin’s work on the development of capitalism in Russia and also the works of Struve, you will find numerous facts to prove that the first movement of workers in Russia began in the eighteenth century.

In 1796, we find serious protest movements among the factory workers of Kazan. In 1797, in the province of Moscow. In 1798 and in 1800 again in Kazan. In

1806 in the province of Moscow and in the province of Jaroslav. In 1811 in the province of Tambov. In 1814, in the province of Kaluga. In 1815, in Jaroslav. In 1816, in the province of Petersburg. In 1817, again in Jaroslav and Kazan. In 1818, in Jaroslav. In 1819, in Kazan. In 1821 in the province of Voronezh and Kaluga. In 1823 in the provinces of Vladimir, Moscow, and Jaroslav. In 1829, in Kazan. In 1834, in Kazan and in the province of Moscow. In 1836 in Kazan. In 1837 in the province of Tula. In 1844 in the province of Moscow. In 1851 in the province of Voronezh.

Furthermore, students of the Decembrist uprising have proved on the basis of historic documents that at the time of the December rebellion in 1825, there were present on the Senatorial Square factory workers of Petrograd. And when the military of Nicholas I. began forming their ranks against the Decembrist rebels the workers openly expressed their sympathy with the rebellion.

In 1845, the Government of Nicholas I. felt compelled to issue the first law, providing criminal punishment for strikes. In 1848, Europe experienced a storm of bourgeois revolutions, and although these revolutions had very little effect upon Russia (except that the Czarist government had sent its military to subdue the Hungarian revolution) yet in an indirect way these revolutions have made themselves felt also in our country.

A few more fundamental dates. The year 1861 saw the liberation of the peasants and the beginning of the liberal bourgeois movement. Gradually the numbers of Russian workers were increasing, assuming mass proportions at the end of the seventies. Yet the first revolutionary circles that appeared after the Decembrists had no working man in their midst.

The Circle of Tschaikowsky.

The first revolutionary circle is the circle of Tschaikowsky, formed in 1869. To this circle belonged S. Perovskaya, M. Nathanson, Volkhovskoy, Shishko, Kropotkin, and Kravchinsky. These names are very significant. Tschaikowsky, for instance, is still alive, though politically he was dead long ago. He participated in the bourgeois revolution of 1917, was a member of the first Central Executive Committee, and then occupied a position on the extreme right—to the right of even the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries. He was one of the inspirers of the disgraceful campaign which charged Comrade Lenin with being a German spy. He was later appointed governor of Archangel by the English. Then he cooperated with Kolchak and now, having been thrown by events into the waste-basket of history, he has taken up residence in Paris.

Sofia Perovskaya, as you know, lost her life in 1881. She participated in the preparations that led

to the assassination of Alexander II. and has entered into the history of the revolutionary movement as one of its most glorious characters. M. Nathanson died only recently. He was a left wing Socialist-Revolutionary, standing very close to us, particularly since the absurd uprising against us by the left Socialist-Revolutionaries. He broke with the right wing of this group before the revolution. He was with us in Zimmerwald, and is therefor in a certain sense a founder of the Third International. The remaining members of Tschaikowsky's original group are dead, some of them physically, other politically as members of the party of the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The history of this little group clearly shows the development and ideology of Populism. Kropotkin became an anarchist, while Nathanson became an internationalist quite close to the Communists. Tschaikowsky exposed himself definitely as a representative of the bourgeoisie, and no one will now dispute the contention that he was nothing more than a bourgeois revolutionist and a poor, mediocre democrat, who did not even know how to defend the bourgeois democracy. He has not accomplished even one one-hundredth part of what was achieved by the real bourgeois revolutionists when they were making their bourgeois revolution.

The first working-class circle was formed in the middle of the seventies—around 1875. Its most prominent participants were the weaver, P. Alexeiev, Malinovsky, Agapov, Alexandrov, Krylov, and Gerasimov. These are the outstanding names. You are all familiar with the famous speech of P. Alexeiev. Some of his contemporaries are still alive. One of them, if I am not mistaken, is Moiseyenko.

The Southern Russian Labor Alliance.

In 1875, Zaslavsky formed in Odessa the Southern Russian Labor Alliance. The program of this organization was not as clear as the program of the Northern Russian Alliance which was formed three years later. It is this fact, perhaps, that indicates from the very beginning the difference between the North and South of Russia, which has been running through the entire course of our revolution. Now there can be no doubt that the North will occupy in the history of our revolution the place of the most revolutionary section of the Russian working class, while the entire counter-revolution found its place and was maintained mainly by the southern part of Russia.

The difference in the social strata in these two sections of our country left a definite impression on the nature of these two workers organizations, the Southern and the Northern. If we compare the programs of the two Alliances, we will find that the Northern Russian Labor Alliance was much closer to us and to the revolutionary truth and it will become clear that this Alliance was of the first to appreciate the meaning of

political struggle and the method of approach to a mass revolutionary movement of the workers.

Marxism and Populism.

In order to understand more clearly the mutual relations between Populism and Marxism, it is necessary to keep in mind the background upon which these two were manifesting themselves. First, the absence of a large working class, which at that time consisted of a number of small groups having their beginning in the seventeenth century. Second, the heavy and oppressive rule of the Czarist autocracy. Then again, an important feature of that background was the movement toward the people, which meant a movement toward the peasantry, with its vague and complicated program. Further, the courageous struggles of small groups of revolutionaries who had no proletarian point of view, the formation of the first revolutionary circles, consisting of intellectuals and then, 1875, the appearance of the first workers' circles, still connected with the ideology of Populism.

I have already spoken of Tschaikowsky. It was he who embodied the ideology and practice of Populism. At the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies. Tschaikowsky gave the fullest expression to the best sections of the revolutionary intelligentsia. He was a political worker laying the foundation for the revolutionary movement. The same Tschaikowsky in the twenties of this century, is something entirely different. He is very definitely a tool in the hands of Kolchak and the English bourgeoisie.

Thus you can see, from the example of one individual, the two phases of populism. There were really two streams, two tendencies, in this movement from its very inception. One of these was represented by Jeliabov and Perovskaya. It created heroes such as Sazonov and Balmashov. The other tendency, which became very articulate in the eighties, made up the right wing of Populism—the wing that could hardly be distinguished from the liberals in its literature as well as in its practise.

The Populist movement of the seventies, taken as a whole, was a movement of bourgeois revolutionists, which, however, has done great service. The victorious proletariat will always pay homage to these revolutionists, but will say at the same time: "Don't imitate their weaknesses, don't repeat their nebulous phrases about the 'people.' Speak about classes, go to the proletariat, and know that the industrial proletariat is the basic class, the only one which will lead the struggle for human liberation."

We know, of course, that the Populists couldn't help being weak, vague, and nebulous, for they were living when the working class was just being born. What we must take from them is not their weak sides, but the things that were strong within them, clear and definite—namely, the idea of devotion to the

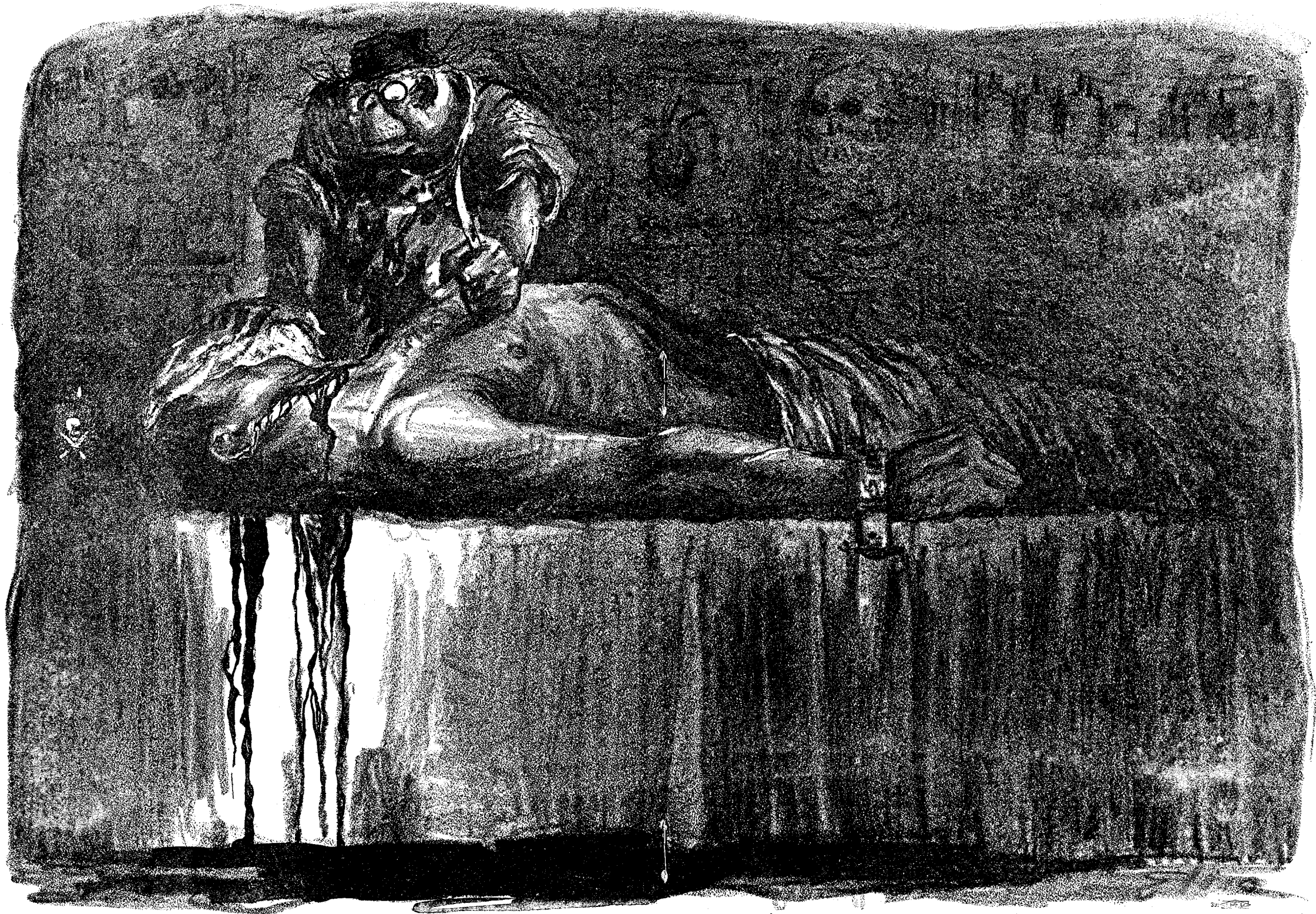
masses, the idea of self-sacrificing service, their courage and idealism, their ability to break with class prejudices and to relinquish class privileges, their readiness in hours of trial to go against the stream. The darker the night the brighter shine the stars. In the dark night of Czarist rule, there were shining brightly the stars of Jeliabov and Perovskaya, and for this the victorious Russian working class and the workers of the whole world will never forget their names.

Bourgeois Revolutionists and Proletarian Revolutionists.

We know that there was within the Populist movement which began in the seventies and continued throughout the eighties, one tendency—the tendency of the liberal bureaucrats, which has found its expression in certain movements in our literature, whose ideology is very close to that of liberalism. It was this ideology that determined the development and the end of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. This was the background against which the first groups of proletarian revolutionists made their appearance, which constitute the real foundation of our Party. We must hold firmly to the idea that there are bourgeois revolutions and proletarian revolutions, because it is only by keeping this fact in mind that we shall be able to understand all the transformations of the party of the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

And really, as long as the immediate revolutionary task was victory over Czarism—that is, a bourgeois revolution—these Socialist-Revolutionaries had energy, enthusiasm and determination. They knew what they were fighting for, what they were sacrificing their lives for, and have therefore given the world such powerful individuals as Gershuny. But when the bourgeois revolution had been substantially completed and the next task was the carrying on of a proletarian revolution, the Socialist Revolutionaries immediately lost all their vitality and strength. They became to us more dangerous than the ordinary bourgeois counter-revolutionists, because all their energies, experiences, and conspiratorial training, as well as their connections with the masses, they turned immediately against the revolution of the working class.

We must distinguish between the two phases in the development of the Socialist-Revolutionaries as well as in all the transformations undergone by Populism. Up to a certain moment, these were bourgeois revolutionists. They were a factor of progress, which we had to support, with which we had to establish a united front against the autocracy of Czarism. They continued to function as a force of progress up to the moment when the working class assumed power, overthrowing the classes of privilege, the classes of property, the land-holders and the bourgeoisie. From this very moment, when the order of the day was a struggle against the land-holders and the bourgeoisie,



Letting the "Red" Out of Labor

Fred Ellis

the Socialist-Revolutionaries immediately turned their front against the workers and against the proletarian revolution.

The Struggle Between the Proletarian Revolutionists and the Bourgeois Revolutionists.

The whole first period in the history of our party is nothing more than at first a half-conscious and then a fully-conscious struggle of the proletarian revolutionists against the bourgeois revolutionists. I repeat:

Fable

SOBERLY the speckled cow
sniffs at the dung of yesterday,
swishes her tail in wonder
at the permanency of all things,
and ponderous,
turns to stare at the hills.

Meanwhile a flock of sparrows descending
suddenly out of nowhere,
fall to bickering shrilly
over the choice morsels.

Fact, fact, fact,
quacks the goose
waddling through the filth
of the barnyard. . . .

Edwin Seaver.

Suspension Bridge

UP, up!
Astounded!
Strand after strand caught to the night,
Perplexity of planes,
Dissonances of direction,
Sluices of moist light,
Pendants of little, clinking lights;
Layer on layer of darkness woven
With a complexity of cables and raiillery of rails
Thicker than an elephant's trunk!
A herd of massive mammoths mightily upholds the bridge
As we walk out of darkness into darkness
Above an onyx of changing facets
Though a dark maze of metal . . .

Where the spider that has spun this web?
Labor, builder of all things built,
Entangled in a web of its own weaving,
Confused by its own creations,
Inexplicably patient, inextricably involved.

Lithe and exquisite—
Two dancers in a ballet of bridges—
Clasp hands above a mother-of-pearl river
As we watch the sun rise.

—E. Ralph Cheyney.

As long as the issue was a struggle against Czarism, we had a united front. But as soon as the proletarian revolutionists began a struggle for winning over the masses to the ideas of the proletarian revolution, our ways parted. From that moment on, the struggle between the proletarian revolutionists and the bourgeois revolutionists determined the main line of development of our Party and of our country.

End of First Lecture.

(Continued in the February Issue)

At the Waning of the Moon

POOR little old moon,
Cringing so soon
After stalking up the night
To your full height,
Now you are dark again,
Like men,
Who wane so soon
And cannot be themselves again and new
Like you . . .
But no,
I had rather be a man and really go,
Old moon.

Witter Bynner.



A. Dehn

THE BOURGEOISIE

Notes On Shop Nuclei

By Martin Abern

IT is, therefore, necessary, by profound, energetic and systematic work to carry out the decisions adopted by the Executive of the Communist International in January, 1924, in furtherance of the decision of the Fourth Congress on this subject, and which the Fifth Congress hereby confirms. The congress regards it as one of the important tasks of the Communist Party in the near future to effect a reorganization on the basis of the Factory Nuclei."

The Fifth World Congress of the Communist International, reaffirming the decisions of the Third and Fourth World Congresses that "the basis of organization of the Communist lies among the working masses themselves, in the factory, at the place of work," that is, in Shop or Factory Nuclei, emphatically stated again that:

Sink Party Roots In Factories.

"No Communist Party can be considered as a serious and solidly organized communist mass party if it does not possess solid communist nuclei in the shops, factories, mines, railways, etc. . . . Especially will the struggle against the capitalist offensive and for the control of production fail, if the communists have not at their disposal solid mainstays in all shops and if the workers have not created their own militant bodies in the shops (shop councils, etc.) The Congress therefore considers its as one of the main tasks of the Communist Parties, to sink their roots more than hitherto into the factories. . . ."

The political situation, nationally and internationally, more than ever demands a change in the Party structure, a Party built on and within the factories, in order to carry on the struggle for the daily economic needs of the workers, and, further, for the conquest of political power by the proletariat. If the Communist Parties did not consider nor understand the importance of the decisions of Shop Nuclei organization, that period is past. There has been discussion and greater clarification among the Workers Party members. Wherever there are possibilities, organization must start throughout the Party. In localities (Chicago, Gary), the work is already begun. But, the reorganization must be fundamental, not superficial. The Shop Nuclei formed must be basic Party units with full powers such as payment of dues, officers, right to send delegates to central bodies, conferences, conventions, etc. Too much emphasis cannot be laid on this.

The Workers Party as a whole now realizes and sees that it is correct that the Shop Nucleus, or the group of Party members working in the same shop, factory, mill, is to be the basic political and organizational unit of the Workers Party. Still, the complete historical, and political necessity for today and the future, for shop nuclei organization is not yet fully grasped. When it is, reorganization of the Party will be swift.

Revolutionary Aim Demands Shop Nuclei

In nearly all countries in the world, Soviet Russia, Estonia, Finland, perhaps a few others, to be excepted, it is

to be noted that both the social-democratic parties and the Communist parties have the same organizational forms. Yet the objective of the Socialists and the Communists are as far apart as the poles. This sameness of the organizational structure in both is contradictory for the political purposes of each. The revolution is not achievable through the social-democratic parties, because of both their organizational structure and political viewpoint; principally and practically, they are the organizations of counter-revolution. The political program and tactics of the Communist Parties are correct. But the organizational form in nearly all of them is inept for revolutionary ends.

The Socialist Parties, purely parliamentary and reformist organizations, require electoral machinery. Their activity is conducted within the limits of capitalist democracy. An electoral machinery, based on residential districts and organizations is therefore built up.

But the Communist Parties, the Workers Party of America, cannot correctly be organized like a Socialist Party. Communists struggle to pull the entire workingclass into the everyday battle against capitalism and its supporters and leaders. The Communists, further, aim thereby in time to get control of the means of production and distribution and to seize political, the State power, for the exploited masses. That means that the communists must have the closest contact with the masses and must be organized among them as Party units. To achieve the slogan and aim of the Communist: Deeper Into The Masses, requires that the Workers Party organization shall be the party members organized within the shop, factory, railroad, etc. Our influence among the masses cannot be increased, as our Communist propaganda and agitation warrant, unless we remove our social-democratic structural heritage and reconstruct on the shop basis.

We are living under greatly changed economic and political conditions in the United States too, which is now full-blown as an imperialist nation. The world is existing in a period of shrieking militarism, battling imperialism, struggle, conquest, war, starvation, Soviet Russia excepted. The day of the so-called comparative peaceful advocacy and development of Socialist or Communist thought is long past.

Get Mass Contact With Shop Nuclei

Our Party, as well as its brothers, must fit its party structure to the need of the hour—a party basis which can mobilize the party membership for any action in quick notice. That structure is the shop nucleus. The factory or shop nuclei, are the form of organization must likely to ensure the permanent contact with the working masses, while the strategy of the united front, on the concrete issues and needs arising among the workers, such as strikes, unemployment councils, general labor councils, injunctions, etc., is at this stage the best method of stirring up the masses for the fight. The Workers Party must shift the center of activity

from our territorial branch, our place of living or rather sleeping, to the factories. Go to the masses—the best of many ways is thru the shop nuclei organization—that is the best way to Bolshevize or to Leninize our Party. This is the experience of the Russian Communist Party, of the German Party, the Czecho-Slovakian Party. That will prove to be true also in America. Through factory or shop nuclei organization, the social composition of the Party will be improved. We shall be in a better way to gain the industrial proletariat in the basic industries in America. The aim shall be that the “absolute majority consist of industrial proletarians, so that the overwhelming majority of the party members may be included, in the factory, workshop and farm nuclei.”

Mobilize Members Quickly and Effective

The effects of the existing territorial branch on the Workers Party are too glaring to need much elaboration. The slowness and difficulty with which any party campaign, parliamentary, industrial, relief, educational, Daily Worker drive, strike, etc., is carried through, is patent even to the blind. But shop nuclei organization means speedy mobilization of the party membership for any activity or emergency. An order or instruction issued to the party membership through the territorial branches as today takes at least two weeks before meetings are called and an attempt is made to carry out the program. Hence generally a bad delay, incomplete results, even failure sometimes. Instructions or programs issued by the national office direct to the secretaries of the factory nuclei can bring action within one day, within one hour if necessary. The parliamentary campaign of the party of 1924, if carried on by a shop nuclei organization, would without a doubt have mobilized the membership with far greater ease, efficiency and results than the decadent party structure did. For other actions in unions, strikes, etc. the shop nuclei form is strikingly superior.

The Workers Party, has decided now to begin reorganizing into shop nuclei on a practical basis, selecting the places most suitable to the change. In the process of organization on the shop nuclei basis throughout the world, many lessons have been learned, from which the Workers Party of America will profit greatly.

No one under-estimates the problem of shop nuclei organization in America. With a small party, with the existence of seventeen language federations in the Workers Party, we have plainly one of the most difficult problems in the Communist International. Yet it can be solved to the satisfaction of the entire Party. The Party must keep uppermost in mind that it shall not destroy the old, the territorial branch, before the new, the shop nucleus, is functioning well. Every care and precaution must and will be taken not to destroy or hinder the language propaganda work. In fact, during the transition period, from the territorial branch to the shop nuclei and also during the time of shop nuclei organization only, the work of conducting the communist work among the foreign workers can, must and will be increased. Propaganda, within the factories among the foreign workers, carried on in an organized manner will be far more productive than the present unorganized, in fact, activity. It must be remembered by all that every measure attempted now by the Party to organize on a shop

nucleus basis is a transition measure until the party is completely reorganized. The transition program proposed below will undoubtedly be subject to change in the course of practice, though many features are basic and permanent. Every precaution is being taken not to harm in any way, quite the contrary, the most of the federations.

The Shop Nucleus, The Shop Committee, The T. U. E. L.

In proceeding to carry through the shop nuclei reorganization, the party members must also keep clearly in mind the types of organs employed by the working class in the struggle against capitalism. The three main organizations to be remembered are: the shop nucleus, the shop committee, or council, and the trade union committee, or T. U. E. L., or minority movement within the trade unions.

The shop nucleus is the political unit of the party based on the place of work and is the leader of the work among the workers. The shop committee or council is the organization, the delegated body, of all the workers, party or non-party members, conducting directly the job problems in a given factory, and aiming for the control of production. The Shop Committee also forms the basis of the industrial unions of the future. The trade union committee, the T. U. E. L. in America, is the organized minority movement within the trade unions with a program for revolutionizing the unions. None negates the other. All connect with each other. The shop nucleus, the political unit of the party is the mainspring and leader, properly, of the shop committee and trade union committee. It conducts the political struggle in the shops, leads the shop committee work. The existence of the political organization on the job cements properly the political and industrial work among the masses. The trade union committee, the T. U. E. L. carries on the political and industrial revolutionary work within the trade unions. The three together unify, solidify with one another, and make certain of revolution.



INTERNATIONAL WORKERS AID FEEDING STRIKERS' FAMILIES IN GERMANY

The Activities of American Agricultural Commune in Soviet Russia

A CAREFUL study of activities of American agricultural units, commonly known as communes, organized through the efforts of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, reveals the important part they are playing in the development of Russian agriculture of today.

As compared with other agricultural countries, pre-revolutionary Russia shows the lowest imaginable state of agricultural development. In economic bondage by the landed aristocracy and political slavery by the czarist autocrats, the Russian peasantry was in a state of virtual chattel-slavery and represented the worst pauperized elements in the world. The world war has caused a conspicuous shrinkage of the sowing area, life-stock and general inventory in the agricultural communities of the country. The civil strife, foreign intervention, blockade and the dreadful famine of 1921 have caused a further and final depression in the agricultural field. Thus, in 1922, with the cessation of hostilities and civil war when the country turned to its economic re-habilitation, we find the sowing area, life stock and inventory 50 per cent below the normal pre-war standard. Economic and political conditions were responsible for general illiteracy of the peasants and ignorance of modern agricultural methods.

While it is true that one of the first acts of the October revolution in 1917 was the transference of the entire land to the Russian peasants, yet this beneficial and long-desired measure could not work miracles and affect an immediate educational revolution among the millions of Russian peasants. Re-establishment of agriculture, as the most essential part in the program of general economic reconstruction of the country, has been of necessity rather a slow process.

With the question of civil war the Soviet government has launched an energetic campaign and has taken measures with a view of raising the standard of agricultural knowledge among the peasantry. The Government has published numerous agricultural pamphlets and books, organized agricultural exhibitions, schools, colleges, experimental stations, etc.

The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia aims to render assistance in this process for economic rehabilitation of Russia. The agricultural units organized by the Society become experimental model farms for the peasantry in the district where the American agricultural communes are active. It has been established that these communes which have settled on land in Russia, bringing modern implements and machinery, are oases among the primitive peasant settle-

ments and lands. Introduction of the rotation system, tractor work, well-established poultry and dairy farms, beehives economies, various shops, auxiliary to agriculture, comfortable living quarters and barns, have produced a marked impression upon the peasantry, who with much eagerness try to adopt the new and more advantageous agricultural methods.

What have the American agricultural units accomplished? A few illustrations will show the range and scope of the commune's economic activities.

The following figures represent the live-stock inventory of all American communes settled in Russia:

Inventory of the communes		
	at time of settlement	At present.
Horses	64 heads	334 heads
Big cattle	79 heads	459 heads
Small cattle	166 heads	722 heads
Hogs	113 heads	1,147 heads
Fowl	62 heads	2,467 heads

The communes upon their arrival in Russia during 1922-1923 have taken over live-stock inventory estimated at \$8,000. Their live-stock inventory at the present time is worth \$71,000.

The activities of the American communes have come to the foreground especially this year in the regions affected by the drought and in the poor crop section. Below are given two comparative tables, showing crops gathered by the communes and local peasantry in two provinces.

The first table shows the crops of commune "LENIN," organized in New York in 1922, left for Russia in the spring of the same year, settled in Kirsaniv County of Tambov Gubernia:

Kind of Grain	Commune	Local peasantry	Differences
(pood to a desiatin.	Pood—36,1	English lbs.	Desiat.—2,61 acs.
Rye	54,4	33,3	21,2
Winter Wheat	57	29,5	27,5
Oats	41,6	16,9	24,7
Millet	66,6	4,6	61,8
AVERAGE	54,9	21,1	33,8

The difference is yet more striking in Saalsk County, of Don Region, where commune Seyatel (The Sower) has settled, as shown on the table below (in pood to one desiatin):

Kind of Grain	Commune	Local Peasantry	Difference
Rye	53	4,1	48,9
Winter Wheat	92,5	4,7	87,8
Spring Wheat	40	4,6	35,4
Barley	15	7,7	7,3
AVERAGE	50,1	5,3	44,8

The above difference, more than anything else, convinced local peasantry of the advantages of machine-farming and modern methods in agricultural work. In the localities af-



AMERICAN FARM MACHINERY IN A RUSSIAN COMMUNE

ected by drought the communes show to the peasant that with the modern methods in farming he may even attempt to fight the elements.

The American communes are spreading the agricultural knowledge not only in the localities where they settle, but also direct educational work among peasants in other sections.

The agricultural communes, re-immigrated to Soviet Russia, have received from the Soviet Government, in all, about 21,015 desiatins of land, of which 10,401 desiatins were ploughed and 8,119 desiatins under sowing in 1924.

Aside from the agricultural communes, the Central Bureau S. T. A. S. R. had organized and sent to Russia six industrial groups, which have established in Russia several shops and factories.

The agricultural and industrial communes and groups organized by Central Bureau S. T. A. S. R., have taken with them to Russia:

1. Machinery and agricultural implements, gold rubls. in the amount 1,836,600
2. Personal effects in the amount 1,181,000
3. Cash in the amount 401,922

Over 1,600 persons have re-immigrated to Russia with the agricultural and industrial communes.

The entire work of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia is being directed and supervised by the central bureau of the society, located at 799 Broadway, New York City.

In Russia this work of organized re-immigration is supervised by the Permanent Committee on Immigration of the Council of Labor and Defence (KOMSTO) in Moscow.

The organized re-immigration to Russia has just started and judging by the success achieved by some of the communes—such re-immigration will increase tremendously, because thousands of Russian immigrants in America are convinced of the advantages of organized rather than individual re-immigration.



GIVING THE PEASANTS A PRACTICAL DEMONSTRATION OF VALUE OF MACHINERY

Consequences

By Jack Wilgus

THE mountains of Winding Bridge are honeycombed. Swift air courses dark caverns, laden with odors of blasting powder. Incessantly comes the falling of picks, muffled voices of men, shadows are always on the go, throbbing machines claw a hold as they work their iron jaws further into the mountains, and nature, hard driven, gives up its black treasure to the lines of waiting cars. Above is the haze-hung sky and in the village life moves on; a woman bends over a tub of clothes, another swings an iron in rhythmic motion. A young wife feeds a two-day old babe. She is listening with pleasure to a monotonous jangle without tune on the piano at Anderson's.

John threw his picks clattering to the ground. His wife, her hands dripping with soap suds, came to the door in wonderment. She was a pretty, red-haired girl, just seventeen, with the poise of a queen, so attractive that men on the street stared her devouringly from head to foot and turned to look after her; a seductive beauty that makes one remember as the night wears on and sleep won't come, that fills one with vague hatred for one's own "woman" where she sleeps, snoring, after a fearful day over an ironing board; a loveliness, John Prendle let it be known, he intended to keep all his own.

"Why, John So early?" she exclaimed, for a miner seldom shows himself when the sun is shining; his task is beneath the mountains.

"I'm home because I got fired."

"Fired!" Her voice echoed his dazedly, then burst forth, "How can it be John?" "No, you are kidding me, Boy!" "Why, John, it was only last night when you held me in your arms in bed that I told you we'd have a baby and now, winter coming on, the only thing you can do is—come home fired." She sobbed convulsively.

"I couldn't help it, Ellen," he said, looking directly down into her eyes. "I lent a hand to a new man who they had bringing coal out of the mine; he driving the electric, me on the last car of the train. For some reason, he couldn't stop 'em and the whole bunch ran away, me hanging on for dear life, riding like a man on a steer, just jumpin' through them dark twisting hallways; faster'n any roller coaster. Naturally, we upset on the curve outside; an' the superintendent, Holroyd, there to greet us as we came outa the mountain like fifty little demons. He was sure some sore, seeing all that coal spilled. Now a super ain't no right to lose his temper over an accident what I couldn't help, an' when he called me a name, I can't tell you why I up and belts 'im in the eye, and got myself fired for my pains. Now he's home, sick-a-bed, an' here I be."

His wife gave him a searching glance from yellow boots to the scar on his forehead, a scar he had brought home from France; her arms akimbo. Then, not in the least knowing why, she clutched him to her and kissed him fiercely.

That night John dropped in at Anderson's and a riot ensued. That huge, bare room became a seething pandem-

onium resounding with cheers for the man who knocked out Holroyd. Drinks were forced upon him,—the girl at the piano, a cigarette in one corner of her bright red lips, struck up a dance and the din grew to astounding proportions. Soon there was no more room to dance, so many came in; but, the couples remained in embrace, jazzed away on two feet of floor. John, the man of the hour, could have had anything he asked for that night, from the little brunette at the upright piano, to the whole hall,—anything but employment. He left so drunk, it took three huskies to help him home, the whole crowd cheering right to his shanty door, where Ellen waited in bed for him, longingly.

The days sped by and January came with its usual epidemic of influenza, to find John still idle. Blizzard followed blizzard in quick succession across the heavens and the sun never showed itself.

On just such a night Ellen's baby was born,—and died. It was nothing so unusual for a baby to die in Winding Bridge, but Ellen's condition was serious. The old doctor sat by her most of the night, watching her thin, pinched child-face, so very white against the soiled bedding; following each labored gasp, feeling her pulse. At last he got stiffly to his feet and walked into the kitchen.

"She may not die" he said to John, "but, you've got to feed her."

"Where can I get food?" John pleaded for help, the first time in his life.

"I'm not a priest, I'm a doctor" the old man snapped, as he went cruching away in the snow. John wondered what he meant by that, as he slouched into a chair by the range, listening to the fire; how it roared,—the flames sucked greedily up to the chimney by the wind. The wind moaned dismally and then rose, note by note, to a high, piercing scream, gripping and shaking the shanty angrily.

"God!" John spoke scarcely above a whisper. "God help me for her sake. Don't let her die." Then he straightened up rigidly.

"Was he going to let that little girl starve while a big husky hulk like him sat by a stove, praying and sobbing like an old woman?" He brushed his cheek dry with his shirt sleeve and, leaping up, swung in two gigantic lurches over to the cupboard; he yanked both sides open. It stared him in the face—completely empty; as he had known it would. He swore the most awful oath of his life and headed for the door, without any idea where he was going. Benson had given him credit until the company, the owners of Benson's outfit, had called a halt. Of course, he would willingly steal, but as everyone was in about as bad a fix, he could think of no place to plunder.

At that moment, an unexpected answer came to his prayer. There was a loud thumping at the door. John yanked it open. A gust of wind careened into the kitchen, burdened with a deluge of snow. After it plunged Holroyd, a huge bundle under each arm, muffled to the ears. John put his shoulder to the door, forced it to in the face of the wind and turned to the superintendent.

"Dead?" the latter required, jerking his head toward the sick room.

"No, not yet."

"Here's some feed for her" Holroyd tossed John a bundle which he instantly ripped open; when Ellen was fed he could hear explanations, now was no time for talk.

"This here other bundle I'll lay in the cupboard; it's

powerful touchy stuff." He deposited the package with careful respect on the shelf.

When John emerged from Ellen's room with an empty cup and saucer he pulled the door to quietly and asked the other what was up.

"There's a strike, John, just called."

"Couldn't have picked better weather to lose a cause in" John replied sarcastically.

"That's to be seen; if I can get the militia brought in we'll give 'em a blow they won't forget and I'll get some recognition." "John, I've got to have someone to dynamite a mine in Winding Bridge this very night and you're picked to touch off 44."

John jumped as if he had seen a gun pointed at him.

"What! You think I'm such a dum-ox as to leave my wife half dying, an' go to prison an double-cross the strike?"

"All right." The other leap up briskly, "I'll be hunting another man to do the trick."

Then he pointed a finger, surprisingly long and lean for a man so short and squat; he pointed it toward the bedroom.

"Yer woman must eat, an' if your too much of a coward to — —"

"Don't you call me no coward, or I'll crack yer skull."

"All right, Prendle. You hit me once at 44, now beat me up again! A fine rep you're getting. And one of these fine days you'll be called 'fighting Prendle! whose wife died last January of starvation. And your 'strikers' aren't feeding your wife."

"Shut up! Imbecile!" John flung back, but the trap had sprung.

"I'll blow all hell up," he agreed, "if you see my woman gets fed."

"I will, John."

"An' if I gets shot or sent to jail, what of her?"

"Prendle, she'll be took care of an' you ought to know that."

"As I understand you," John spoke low so there would be no chance of Ellen hearing, "I'm to dynamite 44." "It's all set, so I won't be the joker, eh?"

"Of course."

"An' you very thoughtful-like give me the one nearest town, where the guards is stationed!" John snarled, towering two feet above the other.

"That's all right. You ain't being watched. Nobody'd suspect you with yer wife dying, to be out blowing up mines!"

In the drifting white haze of snow, at midnight, a tall figure approached the door across the tracks at 44; bent into the storm carrying a big bundle. The door gave slowly, strained by the wind, tugged open by force of muscle. Then it slammed to, sending the echo down low stone halls with an eerie rumble.

Twenty minutes must have worn away.

Then the door opened with a great shove and a man emerged from the mountain in much more haste than he had entered.

Down the hill, over stones, plunging thru drifts of snow, in a veritable panic John rushed away. Suddenly there came a roar what rose from the bowels of the earth, a belching gash opened and the air went scarlet; the ground seemed to rise and hit him on the back, and stones fell with dull heavy thuds, accompanied by the staccato crash of splintering timbers.

All Winding Bridge is corded with alleys, blind alleys, twisting alleys, and alleys through which railroad tracks snake about. John soon made his way into one of these, running along behind a line of sidetracked empty cars. The whole town was out. A fierce wind drifted the snow hither and thither like ocean billows, luckily covering his footprints.

Between two stores he obtained a view of the main street. Men were running along with lanterns. Two guards passed carrying sawed off shot guns. Suddenly he ducked just in time, for three men from the office ran down the alley each with a long range rifle.

He reached his gate unseen and darted up the walk; gently he opened the shanty door and listened. Ellen's breathing was all he could hear. Once in her room, he leaned over her whispering her name, but she was asleep, for there was no answer.

At the side of the kitchen stove he watched and counted the hours away like the beads of a rosary; feeling that the last bead his fingers closed on would be jail. The window paled and brightened at dawn, but still John crouched, waiting. What he waited for came as he had known it would.

A heavy slow knock!

"My God!" John breathed hard and summoned courage to open the door, rather than have it knocked in. From that moment on surprises followed in quick succession for John.

There in a shaggy coat of rich fur, long military boots, and a hunting cap, stood the giant whose word ruled Winding Bridge, his stern face looking into John's frightened hunted eyes, not unkindly. This was the manager of the big system of mines that tunnelled under all the country-side.

"May I come in John? It's a trifle chilly cut here!"

Once before the stove he toasted his big flabby hands and shifted from foot to foot; then he turned to John with an intensive gaze that withered the miner's courage, and unexpectedly smiled.

"John, you look sick. You have had a hard pull, haven't you?" John's stupefaction grew at this unexpected friendliness instead of a pair of handcuffs.

"You need work badly, and, John, I need you at 44. You know, I suppose what those beasts did?—Blow up 44, our best mine and here we've got a big contract to fill. Now, John, I'm going to beat them down to their knees; I'll show them what it means to defy the hand that feeds them. First,—the militia has proclaimed martial law. Second,—the company store is closed, no food sold to union men on credit any more. Third,—a trainload of men are coming tomorrow from West Virginia. They'll be begging me to take them back at any price and I'll let them beg a bit before I do, too. Hunger is a hard taskmaster and they'll do most anything after a few days at his hands."

"I've had to get a new superintendent, John. Holroyd was shot by mistake by one of the guards. Wasn't much good anyway. This new fellow is the son of the president of our company; a college miner, if you know what I mean; but, he needs an old-time miner who is used to handling men to assist him. I've given it a lot of thought and at last I've decided on my man; a good miner, steady habits, a handler of men, who needs the place. John, you're my man! I'll make you Assistant Superintendent up at 44. Call around at my office tomorrow noon to start out. We've got to clear up the mess they made first. Give me your hand on it, man;

you'll help me beat them to it yet, with their dynamiting and plotting."

John swayed physically because in his mind the very foundations swayed, threatened to collapse. He felt carried on a stream. There was no good in battling—he was but a chessman being played between two factions—he must accept or lose his wife. She was coughing, even as he thought over it all. No alternative! And the manager standing in wonder at his hesitation. He held out a very shaky hand; the manager shook it.

"I'll be with you, sir."

As soon as the door had closed Ellen called out, asking who it was.

"The manager."

"The manager!" came back in feeble surprise.

"Yes, he's made me assistant super," and sitting on the edge of her bed, he told her that someone had blown up 44 and that there was a strike. She was too feeble to ask questions, or to wonder at his taking a side opposed to his fellow laborers. He sat by her bed, stroking her warm, perspiring forehead very softly, gently, until time to feed her some broth.

And so it happen that John went back to work at 44, not a laborer as when he had been fired, but an assistant superintendent; there to rebuild what his own hands had torn asunder.

* * * * *

Passing with a visitor from New York, a few days later, the superintendent pointed to John saying:

"Best worker I've ever had."

The other remarked he looked a husky beast.

"Yes, beast he is, but he has a wife, who is sick now but would make Fifth Avenue look around in awe; a little doll with eyes and hair the color of flame."

The New Yorker nudged and winked.

"Your doll?"

"No, not mine. Playing dolls is a bit risky in a heathen village like this; but she is the most seductive little thing. Why every old hen in the valley watches her, for fear their husbands are going in to see her when John's on night shift. Poor kid, she's too sick to see anyone, let alone entertain designs on these dirty beasts."

"You're pretty stuck on her yourself," the other chuckled, "and a flirtation might liven this dead hole up a bit for a young fellow."

"No, not for me" the superintendent answered, but he wondered if the other wasn't perhaps a bit right at that.

* * * * *

The stubborn siege of attrition wore on; day by day men coming over to the enemy lines, as cupboards grew bare, and their wives threatened dire consequences if they did not get back to work. At last the strikers lost, and John hired back the beaten men.

With Spring, a feeble season in that bleak valley, the sun grew hotter, the rivers slowly dried to oozing mud basins, the dust floated thickly. Still the mountains took on very little color; they were doomed to everlasting grey and brown, like the lives they fed.

To Ellen, Spring brought strength and renewed vigor and the merry trilling laughter she had lost for so long.

Spring wore on giving way to summer and its scorching hot days. With John, life remained as before; he stayed

apart, alone except for Ellen. And he saw no hope in the future.

John had once been very popular in the valley. Now, if he passed a group they looked away; if he met one of his old chums, the miner would pass by without speaking. No one ever dropped in for a smoke in the evening; no one asked him to play cards at Anderson's. And each minute stab, found its way straight to his heart.

He worked well, feverishly, sometimes a little wildly, —as if straining every resource to keep out of reach of his invisible tormentor. With each new week, he grew a little more stooped and thin.

If Ellen dropped a kettle or slammed a door, he would leap to his feet trembling. His nerves were taut, vibrating, on the verge of breaking like a tight violin string. At times he felt as though he must stand up and yell, swear, smash, break everything in the little cabin, and his head would throb. But he determined to keep away from Anderson's as long as his will was master. Sometimes, he would glance swiftly over first one shoulder, then the other. Why, he was unable to explain. Nor could he explain his uneasiness while inspecting the miles of dark, twisting tunnels.

* * * * *

Then one hot morning in mid-July, when the day awoke with a dry dusty fever, John's resistance broke down. His thirst burned like a blast furnace; he could not get by Anderson's; in he must go and drink or else completely lose control of himself.

When he crossed to the bar, a complete hush fell and every eye in the place fixed on him in an obstinate stare. The superintendent was drinking a mint julip at the bar. John nodded and ordered a whiskey straight. Still no one spoke and the staring eyes remained fixed, like flies on a sultry day; if he returned a glance, the stare would flit away, only to light again as soon as he took up his glass. This infuriated him; it was more than his nerves could stand. He gulped down glass after glass and his face lost its whiteness, turning blood red.

Suddenly he turned toward the superintendent and shook his fist in his face.

"Damn you" he shouted, while the superintendent, slightly pale, stood his ground, a hand on his glass of julip. An awful hush fell.

"Do you want to know who blew up 44?" The man looked at him steadily, but said nothing.

"Well, I did. I blew it up all alone." He threw a bill on the counter and went out, while consternation gripped the hall. But the superintendent, his expression unchanged, placidly sipped a second julip.

The sun still had its highest point to reach, but John went home and to bed, slamming the door in his wife's face. When he awoke, it was to the strange tune of a disagreeably familiar voice issuing from the kitchen. Dazed, his head swimming, John shuffled, bare feet, to the door.

There, at the kitchen table sat the awe inspiring superintendent of 44 and Ellen, both over coffee and cakes, as jovial and popping over with mirth and good natured bantering, as if there had been no confession—and of all things

for that man to be having coffee and cakes with the "likes of Ellen!" If John was dazed before, now he was stunned.

"Well, lad, feel better after your nap?" The superintendent had spied him in the door and was smiling benignly from his resplendent intellectual heights down, down below to poor John Prendle.

"What ever got into you, Prendle, to play the jackass; can't you keep away from booze?"

"It weren't booze."

"Well, we won't argue. Only John, you forgot your wife for a spell, when you made that confession, eh? What could she do, with you in prison?"

"I'm going to give you your chance Prendle; you've got guts and I like you. If you're away on the night train, you'll never hear of this dynamiting again; also, I'll get you a job in a West Virginia mine, give you a letter to a man I know down there. Remember, though, you must go tonight."

John indeed felt grateful, but his face was too white and strained to show any feelings at all.

"Thank you, Sir," he said, and turned to his wife.

"Git your duds packed, Ellen."

"John, you can't take her." The superintendent's voice was stern now, and he crossed to where husband and wife stood close together. "Take her to a strange town, where there's not even a shanty you can call your own? That would be folly John. You leave her here and when you can buy a home down there, I'll see her safely on the train; you can trust me to see she's safe here, can't you?"

"Yes Sir," and again John felt a great favor had been done him; why his master should show him any leniency was more than his dazed brain cared to solve.

He went away that night, carrying a few clothes in a bundle; a bent figure with an ash-grey face, who had no smile of cheer for his wife. He just picked up his load and climbed into the car.

Ellen saw the train round a bend, heard its engine screech into the stillness, like a wildcat in the mountains. It was very dark and late as she started up the road toward home; an alert little figure in the dusk, straight as a willow, unbent by the winter that had broken her strong husband.

She noticed a big red auto, a little ahead, with curiousity; cars are rather rare in such country and soon she knew who it belonged to.

"Hello, Ellen." It was the superintendent who hailed her. "Thought you'd feel blue tonight, and might like a ride."

It was the first time he had ever asked a girl in that poverty-stricken hole of a town to ride with him. Ellen felt a surge of pride at such attention and she climbed quietly in.

Up through steep ravines, around precipitous bends, down appalling steepes, the big machine glided, silent, with perfect ease; and its driver guided it with hands that were well accustomed to having their way. Under a gigantic old oak, on the highest ridge of the mountains, the car drew to a stop.

Ellen felt a heavy arm circle her waist and a big hand closed on her like a vice, intimately,—so that her pulse beat wildly and he drew her, unresisting, over to him, caressing her until she had to bury her face against his shoulder; it burned a scarlet hue.

"Not a kiss, little kitten?" he asked.

He caught a faint, smothered reply scarcely audible.

"Yes, Sir."

The A. F. of L. and Trade Union Unity

By Wm. F. Dunne and Wm. Z. Foster

THE drive for unity of the world trade union movement launched by the Red International of Labor Unions has produced two major responses.

First the rapprochement between the British Trade Union delegation and the All-Russian trade unions.

Second, and rivalling it in international importance, the manifest tendency of the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy to affiliate with the Amsterdam International, or rather to absorb the Amsterdam International, and thereby to become the labor agency of the House of Morgan in Europe.

No revolutionist can observe what took place at the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor at El Paso, at which Grassman, representing the German trade unions was present, without being convinced that just as American finance capital is now supreme in Western Europe, so does the American labor bureaucracy, carrying out the instructions of its imperialist masters, intend to strive for leadership of the Amsterdam International.

American imperialism will insist on this as an additional guarantee of no resistance from the trade unions to the enforcement of the Dawes Plan.

The El Paso convention proved that the drive on the Communists culminating in the unseating William F. Dunne at the Portland convention a year ago was no mere outburst of bureaucratic injured vanity but part of an agreement with American imperialism whose full implications were made plain at El Paso.

The American Federation of Labor bureaucrats follow the American flag and act as policemen for American imperialism in every country in which it operates. El Paso showed the bureaucrats in feverish activity directed towards two objectives:

1. The participation of the Mexican labor movement and its delivery to American imperialism.
2. The establishment of the American Federation of Labor as the auxiliary of the Dawes Plan in Europe.

We can lay this down as a major premise:

The entry of American finance-capital into the world arena explains the re-entry of the A. F. of L. into the international labor movement.

Let us trace briefly the actions of the A. F. of L. in the last decade.

The withdrawal of the A. F. of L. from the Amsterdam International was timed to coincide with the period of "neutrality" of American finance-capital and government. The failure of Wilson to secure endorsement for the League of Nations was followed by the isolation of the A. F. of L. from direct participation in the affairs of the international reformist organizations but in America it carried on a policy of militant hostility to Soviet Russia.

With large sections of the Amsterdam International showing evidences of friendship for the Red International of Labor Unions and Soviet Russia in spite of the Dawes plan, with unity of the world trade union movement becoming more probable every day, and with this phenomenon show-

ing increasing signs of being the most dangerous opposition to the counter-revolutionary offensive of the American imperialists, with characteristic disregard for disguise always shown by the American ruling class when its power is threatened.

The A. F. of L. bureaucrats at El Paso were forced to throw aside all pretense and come out openly as the labor wing of imperialism. During the year that has elapsed since Portland, the labor bureaucracy has conducted an intensive campaign against the Communist Party in the United States and at the same time has extended its activity to the semi-colonial areas exploited by American capital—Canada, Mexico, Guatemala, Santo Domingo and Porto Rico. It has laid a base in all these countries for further aggression by American imperialism.

In Canada, the efficiency engineer employed by the bureaucrats of the Machinists' Union, conducted an investigation of working conditions on the Canadian National Railways—owned by the Canadian government—and succeeded in having the government adopt the infamous Baltimore and Ohio plan—the class collaboration scheme that makes of the unions mere efficiency organizations operating in the interest of the capitalists.

In Mexico, the emissaries of the American Federation of Labor, cooperating with the agents of American finance-capital, threatened the officials of the Mexican Federation of Labor with the withdrawal of support unless the "labor" government of Mexico and the Mexican labor movement, adopted the A. F. of L. policy towards the Communists and met the terms of the American bankers. These agents of American imperialism were successful. The officials of the Mexican Federation of Labor forgot all their previous denunciations of American imperialism and the blood shed in the dozens of counter-revolutionary massacres engineered by American capital.

They adopted the anti-revolutionary and anti-Communist policy of the A. F. of L. and, forgetting that the Mexican Communists were the first to mobilize against the counter-revolutionary de la Huerta in the last counter-revolution, Trevino, secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor and tool of Gompers and Morones, its president, caused to be passed the following clause of a resolution:

"The Mexican Federation of Labor does not permit, and will not permit, the establishment in Mexico of Communist Parties dependent upon and directed by the Third International of Moscow."

The Mexican delegation then proceeded to El Paso and its surrender to American imperialism was greeted by Matthew Woll, heir apparent to the throne of Gompers, in the following words in an interview given to the Daily News of Chicago:

"The outstanding feature of the convention was the close co-operation developed between the labor movements of the United States, Mexico and Canada. Closer relations of the THREE GOVERNMENTS and peoples is bound to follow. INDEED I FORESEE A MONROE DOCTRINE OF LABOR. By that I mean united resist-

ance against attempts by FOREIGN CAPITAL or FOREIGN LABOR to get a foothold either in concessions, property or economic principles or aspirations."

The El Paso convention endorsed military training camps, the resolution of the American Legion (the organization of ex-army officers) asking for universal military service, it asked for representation in the war department and it demanded more battleships and endorsed the world court and League of Nations.

Of these policies Woll said:

"We did not lose sight of practicalities in approving these instruments of international concord. Organized labor declared for every measure of self-defense and for the defense of our people and institutions. We approved the training of the youth of the land to develop the body and mind and the spirit of patriotism.

The rejection of independent working class political action was hailed by Woll as "a repudiation of the thought that American wage-earners desire to institute a class government."

The American Federation of labor delegates were the guests of the Mexican government at the inauguration of President Calles and there was complete accord between the Gompers clique and the yellow socialists who swarm in and around his cabinet like flies around a dung-pile. This amity is due to the fact that the Calles government has capitulated in the most abject manner to the American bankers and because the Obregon government—its predecessor—had severed relations with the British government—the most powerful rival in Mexico of American imperialism.

"The Monroe Doctrine of labor" as voiced by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy means therefore that the A. F. of L. will fight exploitation of Latin-American workers—by any other force than American imperialism.

Mexico was attached to the chariot of American imperialism at El Paso. Let us see what was done to further the Dawes plan in Germany.

Every capitalist press correspondent at El Paso struck the same note relative to the conferences that were held between the Amsterdam leaders present and the Gompers clique. The correspondent of the Daily Worker—the organ of the Workers Communist Party of America—is also in agreement that at these conferences arrangements were made to absorb the Amsterdam International but the capitalist press disguises this by labelling it "a new world trade union organization."

The outstanding fact is that Grassman and the other Amsterdam spokesmen agreed to meet the terms of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

An exception must be made in this case of Swales, fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. who defended the Russian unions and the Soviet government in public speeches. How far he will go in organizational resistance is problematical.

The Amsterdam representatives, in the words of the Daily Worker correspondent, "frankly admit willingness to drop objectionable features if Gompers will join the organization." The death of Gompers since the adjournment of the convention will not alter these conditions which are:

1. The prevention of trade union unity.
2. Full support of all phases of the Dawes Plan.



DELEGATES OF THE AGRARIAN LEAGUE OF COMMUNES OF THE STATE OF VERA CRUZ, MEXICO, AT THE SECOND CONGRESS NOVEMBER 28 TO DECEMBER 3, 1924, WHO VOTED FOR AFFILIATION TO RED PEASANTS INTERNATIONAL

3. A relentless drive against Communists in all labor organizations.

That the right wing of Amsterdam will agree to these conditions with the same enthusiasm that it has advocated submission to American capital as in Germany is obvious. It needs the financial support of the American Federation of Labor, a support that will be of a substantial nature in view of the subsidy that will be forthcoming to the American labor bureaucrats in the event of the successful consummation of the gigantic scheme of betrayal of the world's working class—a subsidy that the House of Morgan will charge to "operating expense."

This maneuver of the labor wing of American imperialism is the best proof that the Profintern drive for unity has shaken the trade union tools of reaction as nothing else has. They see that they cannot combat a unity slogan merely with propaganda so they become outright advocates of imperialism in all its blackest forms of suppression and in this they play directly into the hands of the Red Labor International and the Communist International.

When the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy makes the capture of the Amsterdam International the central point of its policy we can see that the unity program has made great inroads among the masses.

The unity of the imperialist powers against labor in spite of their endless rivalries in other fields, is becoming more apparent to the masses every day. So widespread is this offensive of imperialism, that even the capitalist press is forced to record its aggressions.

In Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Bulgaria, Finland, Estonia and England, wherever the House of Morgan and the Bank of England have investments the struggle of the workers becomes more and more a struggle against international capital. The mass murders of Communists and sympathizing workers by the capitalist governments are recorded gleefully by the capitalist press of all the world.

Germany and France in particular are investment areas of the House of Morgan and the fact that the German Social Democracy hails the recent elections as "a victory for the Dawes Plan" is not lost upon the masses of workers and poor farmers.

In a word, the pressure of world capitalism brings home to the workers as never before the necessity for world unity of the organs of struggle of the workers—the trade unions. There is no argument that can be raised against it and these lackeys of imperialism—the Amsterdam leaders and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats—will attempt to foist upon the workers who want unity, an imperialist substitute—the unity of the reactionary A. F. of L. and the imperialist lackeys of the Amsterdam right wing.

What effect will this unity of the Gompers clique with the Grassmans, Hendersons, Thomases, Dittmans and Jouhaux have on the Red Labor International drive for unity of the organized masses?

First of all, we believe that even this unity of enemies of unity will work to the advantages of the revolutionary elements. There is something about a slogan of unity of all workers against the bosses that captures the imagination of the masses and it is so apparent that the unity of the right wing is unity for the bosses that it will redound to the credit of the left wing and its slogan of struggle.

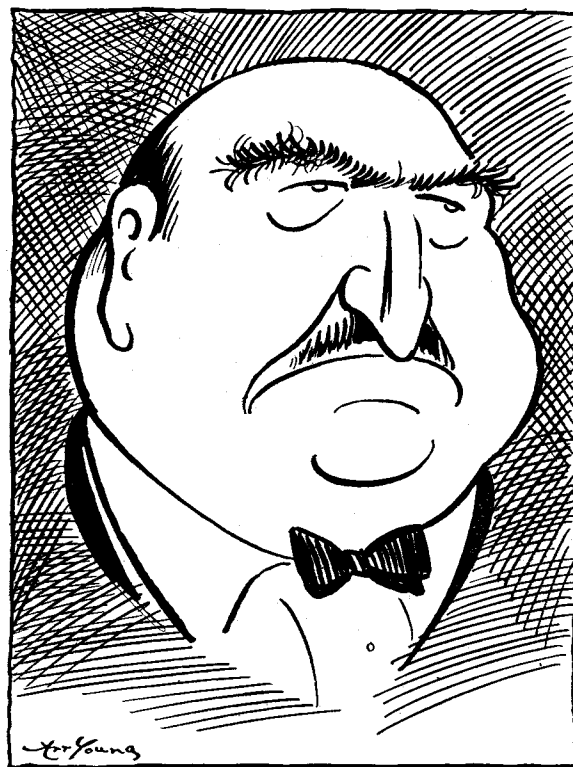
In America the exposure of the Gompers clique as the

labor instrument of American imperialism attracts ever wider masses to the Trade Union Educational League. Imperialism lives by violent suppression as well by propaganda and very soon the A. F. of L. bureaucrats must appear as the open advocates of military suppression of the masses they have already betrayed. In Europe, the support of the Dawes Plan by the right wing of Amsterdam furnishes the best ammunition against it.

The "unity" program of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the right wing of Amsterdam is really a spitting policy—a continuation of the policy of war on the left wing, the expulsions of its adherents from the trade unions and the consequent weakening of the labor movement. In the United States there is a united front of the yellow socialists, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the capitalists against the Communist-led—left wing.

This war on the left wing has weakened the American trade union movement to an extent that is little understood outside of America. At the El Paso convention, after a three year boom in industry, the Gompers clique had again to record, as it recorded in Portland, a decrease in membership. Class collaboration has disgusted hundreds of thousands of workers who, not very well informed as to the class nature of the struggle, are nevertheless in accord with a militant program and as a consequence of this there appears in industry a new group—workers who were once organized

ONE WHO MOURNS GOMPERS



It may be difficult to find some one as good and there is always the danger of getting some one more radical.—David R. Forgan, vice chairman National Bank of the Republic, Chicago, Dec. 13, 1924.

but who have left the unions—who refuse to pay dues to the bureaucrats.

The policy of class collaboration in industry has ended logically in the endorsement of the imperialist schemes of the House of Morgan and the United States government. Side by side with this betrayal and opposing it militantly is a new revival of fighting spirit in the unions.

In the machinists, the carpenters, the steel workers, the left wing slates and programs have received large votes, in some instances a majority altho the candidates were counted out by the machine. In the United Mine Workers of America, under Communist leadership, there is a nationwide revolt expressing itself in strikes of thousands of miners because of violations of agreements and constant treacheries of the bureaucrats.

At the convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor (a paper organization consisting of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, the traitorous officials of the Mexican labor movement, Guatemala and Santo Domingo—there was opposition from these two oppressed nations) the following manifesto was issued and consternation among the bureaucrats was paralleled by the enthusiasm of the masses of workers who are instinctively against American imperialism:

TO THE DELEGATES:

Gompers is the instrument of Yankee imperialism in the labor movement.

He sabotaged the protest of the Third Congress against the occupation of Santo Domingo.

He sanctioned the occupation of Haiti (See the American Federationist for March, 1924.)

He proposed to the United States government that it pay less wages by 25 or 35 per cent, to the Latin-Americans in the Panama Canal zone, than to the workers from the United States.

In spite of the repeated resolutions of the Pan-American Federation, Gompers has done nothing for the Mexican immigrants, inhumanly exploited in the United States.

He opposes any fight whatsoever against Yankee imperialism, a fight that must be the object of continental solidarity and of the Pan-American Federation.

He opposes socialism, and he says so frankly.

He opposes the yearly protest of the First of May, because it is "revolutionary."

He breaks strikes declared in solidarity, and in general he breaks them because they endanger capitalism.

He sabotages strikes in the great industries (steel, railroads, etc.) for the same reason.

He opposes the entrance of the workers of North America into politics as a class, not because he is an anarchist, but because he wants them to remain within the capitalist parties.

In the congress, the Mexican delegates, now under his control, as proved by the convention at the city of Juarez, say that Gompers is the friend of the working class of Mexico, by having "helped Calles and Obregon against De La Huerta." Do not be deceived. Always Gompers follows in Mexico the policy of the United States government. He did not help De La Huerta because the National City Bank, Morgan, Rockefeller and Hughes (his masters) helped Obregon.

Yankee imperialists helped Obregon because British capital helped De La Huerta; because Obregon had conceded the



THE MESSIAH

J. de Miskey

nullification of Article 27 of the constitution by "recognizing" that it was not retroactive, having signed the Lamont-De La Huerta treaty and made other concessions. In Mexico, as in all Latin-America, Gompers does as Morgan dictates.

Gompers must not be re-elected president of the Pan-American Federation.

The Pan-American Federation must convert itself into an instrument of struggle against Yankee imperialism.

The workers of Latin-America and those of the United States demand it.

The Mexican Committee of the Red International, The Trade Union Educational League of the U. S. A. The Pan-American Anti-Imperialist League.

The closest possible ties unite the revolutionary trade union movements of Mexico and the United States. The manifesto of the Communists and revolutionary unionists has had the widest circulation in the Latin-American countries. There is a real resistance to American imperialism in process of organization and the fact that the offensive against the Communists was the major activity of all three conventions is proof of the strength of the movement.

The program of the American section of the R. I. L. U. provides for war against reaction in every avenue of its activity. The bureaucrats have quit fighting for even the daily needs of the workers and their open espousal of the imperialist aims of the ruling class, coupled with the work of the revolutionists, divorces more and more of the masses

from them. The shop council program of the left wing is gaining supporters every day in the basic industries.

The El Paso convention was the last thing needed to complete the left-wing indictment of the Gompers clique and it will be utilized to the utmost. The betrayal of the Mexican labor movement, the preparation for the enforcement of the Dawes Plan, the endorsement of the domestic military policies of the American imperialism, the rejection of independent workingclass political action, coupled with the hostility to the Japanese workingclass in line with the rivalry of American and Japanese imperialism, shows the A. F. of L. bureaucracy as the foremost defender of world reaction.

To sum up:

The A. F. of L. will re-enter the international labor movement because American finance-capital has become the slave master of the European workingclass.

The A. F. of L. forces its counter-revolutionary policy upon the colonial labor movements whose governments and economies are in the field of American exploitation.

The American Federation of Labor will insist that every labor movement which it absorbs—including the Amsterdam International—shall wage war on the Communists and prevent the consummation of the unity of the world trade union

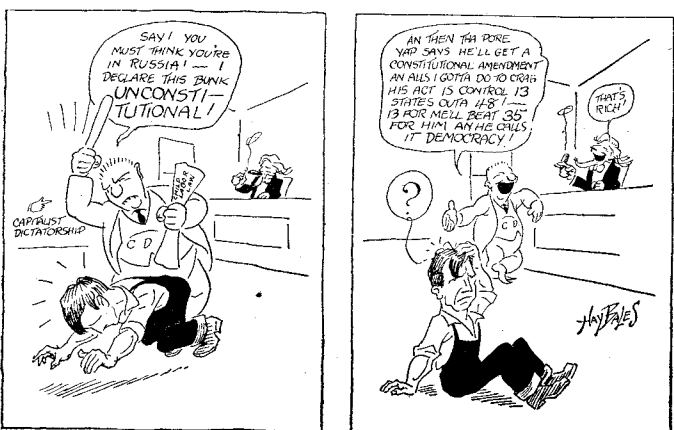
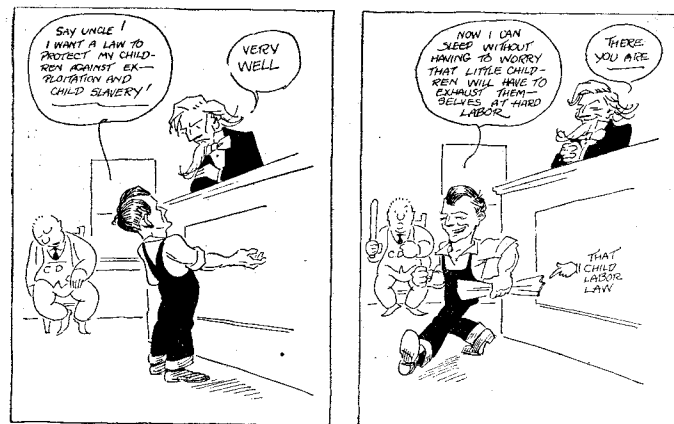
movement except under the black auspices of American imperialism. The American Federation of Labor will insist that every labor movement over which it establishes its hegemony as the labor outpost of American imperialism, shall wage war on Soviet Russia.

The death of Gompers will make the task of imperialistic domination of the colonial and European labor movements more difficult but his successors will attempt to carry out his policy.

Those skeptics who doubted the wisdom and practicality of the unity drive of the Red Labor International must now admit that it has brought a clear alignment of forces in the labor movement and that the reactionaries have, in their submission to the A. F. of L. and the Dawes Plan, furnished living proof of the charge preferred by the R. I. L. U.—the charge that Gompers, Grassman, Jouhau, Henderson and Thomas are cut from the same piece of cloth—the imperialist weave with which world capitalism tries to strangle the world revolution.

The A. F. of L. bureaucracy thus appears as the leader of a counter-revolutionary "unity" drive.

Against the unity from below of the organized masses with the left-wing—the program of the Red International of Labor Unions—the A. F. of L. raises the slogan of unity of the right wing—unity for and under the auspices of American imperialism.



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Imperialism and National Movement in China

By G. Voitinsky

THE events which developed in China up to the end of last August, mark the beginning of a general imperialist offensive, not only in China, but also in the other colonial and semi-colonial countries. In Persia, the offensive is being conducted somewhat differently from the way it is conducted in Afghanistan, and in Egypt it is not quite the same as in India or China; but in all these countries the imperialist offensive is being launched with the object of stemming the wave of national emancipation and of consolidating the position of the imperialists. In every country of the East where the Union of Soviet Republics is not only intellectually popular, but has also succeeded in establishing diplomatic and commercial relations, the imperialists are obstinately resisting the growing influence of the Soviets.

If we regard the events in China from this point of view alone, we shall begin to understand the true reasons for the action of the British imperialists against the South China Republic, at the head of which stands Sun Yat Sen, the leader of the National Revolutionary Party of China, and of the actions of British, American, French, and Japanese imperialists in Shanghai, Nanking, Tientsin, and the other towns of Central and Southern China. If the imperialists on this occasion do not go so far as to seize by force of arms the important trading and maritime centers of China, it will only be, first, because the conflicting interests of the various imperialist groups prevent them from coming to an agreement regarding the spheres of influence, and, second, because they do not believe it is possible at present to establish general economic and political control over China except by armed intervention thruout the whole extent of the country.

To achieve this aim the Anglo-American imperialists must take advantage of the internal war of the Chinese militarists in order to destroy the remnants of Japanese influence, and partly of French influence in China so as finally to consolidate and extend the influence of Anglo-American capitalism.

This explains the profound interest displayed by the British and the Americans in the struggle now going on between the Chinese generals of the provinces of Kiang Su and Che-Kiang for the possession of the important port of Shanghai. Two factors stand out clearly in the present events in China: the attack of the British imperialists upon Canton, the capital of the South China Republic, and the war of the Northern generals, instigated by the foreign imperialists.

In order to understand these events and their importance to the toiling masses of China, we must deal with each factor individually and then connect them with the general imperialist offensive in China.

The Dissolution of China.

During the revolution of 1911, when the foreign dynasty of the Manchus was overthrown by the revolutionary party of Kuo Min Tang, Southern China, and especially the Province of Kwantung, became the base of the movement for a republic and the democratization of China, as opposed to

the remnants of the monarchy and the reactionary generals who had become the tools of foreign capitalism.

The Chinese revolution of 1911, which matured during the Chinese-Japanese war of 1894, and after which the Chinese masses began to feel the full weight of foreign oppression, may be described as a war against the monarchist dynasty, with the help of which the imperialists enslaved China. The movement against foreign oppression was general among all sections of the Chinese population, but was headed by a handful of revolutionary intellectuals and intellectual militarists, supported by the merchant bourgeoisie who were suffering to no little degree from the despotic government.

At the time of the revolution of 1911, there were no clearly defined classes in China. The economically enslaved peasants and the poor workers of the towns, as well as the politically unenfranchised merchant bourgeoisie, all cherished a common hatred against the imperial government and against the foreigners. Kuo Min Tang was not a political party in our sense of the word. It had neither a program nor a real organization, neither had it a stable membership. Kuo Min Tang was a committee which was able to direct the elemental movement of the great masses of the Chinese people solely against the Manchu Dynasty which then ruled China. With the dethronement of the widowed empress, Kuo Min Tang considered the revolution at an end, and believed that now a republican form of government and a democratic constitution were established, all necessary social and economic reforms would follow.

The elemental movement of the Chinese masses against the imperial power and against foreign imperialism was so great that the monarchy was overthrown with comparative ease, and even the secret supporters of the monarchy and the feudal aristocracy (the Mandarins) associated themselves with the revolutionaries. In order to defend the revolution from certain generals and imperialists, the presidential authority was voluntarily surrendered by Sun Yat Sen, the leader of Kuo Min Tang, to Yuan-Shih-Kai, the organizer of the military party Hei-Yan, who very soon afterwards rallied the former feudal lords and attempted with the aid of the Japanese Mikado to restore the monarchy and to appoint himself emperor. Once more Kuo Min Tang succeeded in defeating the plans of the monarchists, but it was never able to extend its power and authority over the whole of China.

The imperialists, taking advantage of the civil war in China, or rather of the incomplete struggle of the Chinese masses against the monarchy and against foreign capitalism, artificially fanned the rivalry between the various feudal governors, bribing some, supplying arms to others and spurring them on against each other, thereby increasing the centrifugal forces, disrupting feudal China after the fall of the monarchy, which in its time served as the center of the political and administrative life of the country.

Therefore, after the revolution of 1911, China broke up into a number of provinces, each headed by a military governor, or Tuchun, who became an independent authority in

military and political questions. During the course of time, however, the strongest of the Tuchuns succeeded in subordinating to themselves certain of the weaker Tuchuns, and China thus became divided up not so much into separate provinces, as into groups of provinces, each headed by a super-Tuchun. For example, the three northern provinces (Manchuria) are controlled by Marshal Chang-Tso-Lin; at the head of the provinces of Central China—Chihli, Shan-si, Shen-si, Shan-tung, Honan Hu-pei—stands the war lord, Wu-Pei-Fu; at the head of the Southwestern provinces—Hunan, Kwei-Chow, Kiang-si—stands Tang-Shi-Yao. Moreover, each of the super-Tuchuns is always organizing movements for the extension of his influence. Behind each of the super-Tuchuns stands an imperialist power. The imperialists always support the wars between the Tuchuns with the hope of securing a firmer hold upon China, economically and politically.

The history of China since the world war is the history of the wars between the super-Tuchuns, which in their turn reflect the warring interests of the Anglo-American and Japanese influences in China.

Only the southernmost part of China, the province of Kwantung, which has a population of thirty millions and possesses several large ports on the Pacific, has not fallen under the control of a Tuchun. Authority there is exercised by the national revolutionary Party of Kuo Min Tang, led by Sun Yat Sen.

Around each of the super-Tuchuns there is a military clique which represents a sort of political center, decides the tactics of the Tuchun, and creates around him a corresponding political atmosphere. There are three political cliques, or parties, especially important in the life of contemporary China. The Chihli clique (named after the province of Chihli, the chief town of which is Peking), headed by the Chinese president, Tsao-Kun and by Wu-Pei-Fu; the Fintiang clique, headed by Chang-Tso-Lin; and the Anhu clique, headed by the important Chinese politician and reactionary, Tuan-Chi-ju. The first clique, which is at present the strongest, is supported by the Anglo-American imperialists, and the second clique by the Japanese. The Tuchun of the three Southwestern provinces, (Tan-Tsi-Yao) sympathizes with the An-hu clique, and is also well disposed towards Sun-Yat-Sen.

Such is the distribution of forces as regards the political and administrative power in China.

The Situation in Southern China.

From what has been said, it will be seen that the territory of the national revolutionary Party of Kuo Min Tang represents only a very small part of China. It is astonishing, therefore, how this party managed to win a province and not to submit to the so-called Central Government of China, or to any of the Tuchuns. The reason why the Chinese republicans foregathered in this province and managed to conquer it, lies, most probably, in the fact that Kwantung, especially Canton, was the place from which the Chinese emigres left for foreign ports such as Java, Singapore, Japan and America. As a matter of fact, the Kuo Min Tang Party assembled its revolutionary forces abroad. Shortly prior to the revolution and immediately afterwards, many emigrants returned to their home country, chiefly to the province of Kwantung. Here was the strongest center of the Kuo Min Tang and here were its strongest connections with the masses.



THE ARMY OF SUN YAT SEN IN CANTON

Moreover, both the South and the Southwest of China tended to separate themselves from the rest of the country and to remain independent, at least as long as Central and Northern China were ruled by imperialists.

This tendency is explained by the fact that the merchant capitalists of Southern China were interested, not so much in the home market, as in the islands of the Pacific, where they acted as middlemen in the British and American trade. The exclusive influence of British capitalism in this part of China undoubtedly helped to strengthen this tendency. Also an important factor, no doubt, was the fact that Southern China has a different language from the rest of China. But in any case, when the old constitutional parliament was dispersed in 1913 by the military dictator, Yuan-Shih-Kai, Southern China became the asylum of the revolutionary exiles from whence they directed their movement against the Northern militarists. Canton, the capital of the Province of Kwantung, one of the largest ports of China and situated within five hours from Hongkong, the British stronghold in the Pacific, which was seized from China by the British after the famous opium war, became the center of the revolutionary party of Kuo Min Tang, and is now the center of the nationalist government headed by Sun-Yat-Sen.

Kuo Min Tang and Sun-Yat-Sen did not succeed in establishing themselves at once in Kwantung. In 1918, and again at the beginning of 1922, Sun Yat Sen was obliged to flee from the town and once more became a political emigre. Only in February, 1923, did he finally return to Canton, and his party became the governing party of the Province of Kwantung.

Although the territory of Kuo Min Tang consists of a single province, its influence makes itself felt in a number of other provinces, and is regarded with sympathy practically thruout the whole of China. In certain provinces its supporters act legally, in others illegally, but its supporters are almost everywhere.

Up to January of the present year, however, Kuo Min Tang, as we have said, had neither a program nor a real organization. It occupied itself chiefly with the preparation of military movements against the Northern militarists and against the generals of South China, who, without possessing large armies, are always striving to seize some province

or other. It was only when the Chinese Communists in 1923 decided to enter Kuo Min Tang personally that it began to become a real party. In January last, the first All-China Congress of Kuo Min Tang was held in Canton, at which it drew up a program and statutes, and dealt with the question of political propaganda. This is how one of our Chinese comrades describes the Kuo Min Tang Party before its reorganization last January:

"In China, we hardly ever find the National Party participating in the national movement, even when national feeling finds some measure of expression. Many instances could be cited in support of this statement. What part did the National Party of Kuo Min Tang play in the extensive student movement of 1919? What did it do in the fight against the Twenty-one Demands—the treaty violently extorted by Japan in 1915? Many instances may be cited to prove that the National Party was not an impelling, organizing and controlling force, whereas the student organizations, the merchants' leagues, and the alliances of street traders and other middle class organizations, organized demonstrations protesting against the various humiliations imposed upon the country by the capitalist powers. As a matter of fact, the Kuo Min Tang Party cannot be regarded as a real political organization. I remember the epigram made by a well-known Northern militarist who said that there was no Kuo Min Tang in China, there was only a Sun Tang (a party of Sun-Yat-Sen)."

But since the reorganization of the party its character has undergone a real change. The program-manifesto of the Party after the Congress shows that it has undertaken wide political propaganda, the union of the masses and the leadership of their movements. The causes which led to the reorganization of Kuo Min Tang are the rather rapid industrialization of China and the differentiation of classes, which are reacting more and more upon the political life of the country. On the other hand, the growing strength of one group of the Northern militarists (the Chihli Group) at the expense of the others, also helped to strengthen the national movement in the North. Moreover, the growing strength of the Chihli clique, assisted by Anglo-American imperialism, impelled Sun Yat Sen and the Kuo Min Tang Party toward Soviet Russia. Finally, the wave of strikes which seized on the whole of China and assumed a very stormy character, led Sun and his party to adopt an active policy in defense of the toiling masses.

But when Kuo Min Tang began to define itself as a party of the national-revolutionary movement, a process of disintegration of the social basis of the party set in and a more active struggle was initiated against it by the imperialists and the Northern militarists.

The passage in the manifesto of Kuo Min Tang already mentioned, deals with the three principles of Kuo Min Tang—nationalism, democracy and State socialism—runs as follows:

"Kuo Min Tang cannot but devote its every effort to continuing the struggle for the emancipation of the Chinese people from the double yoke, while leaning for support on the wide masses of the peasantry, the workers, and intellectuals and the middle trading class. For each of these classes nationalism means the abolition of the yoke of foreign capitalism. While for the trading and industrial classes nationalism means escape from the foreign economic yoke, which is preventing the development of the economic forces of the country, for the toiling classes nationalism means escape from the agents of imperialism—the militarists and capitalists, both foreign and national, who are greedily exploiting their vital needs. For the masses of the population the whole duty in the fight for national emancipation lies in anti-militarism.

"The Party of Kuo Min Tang proves that where imperialism has been weakened as a result of the national struggle, the masses secure a better opportunity of developing and strengthening their organizations for the future struggle. Kuo Min Tang shows that its principle of nationalism implies a healthy anti-imperialist movement. For this purpose it must lend every effort to support the organizations of the masses of the population, thereby setting free the national energies. Only in the intimate contact between Kuo Min Tang and the masses of China lies the pledge of the future national independence of the country."

"Under the conditions of contemporary society, so-called democracy becomes transformed into a system and machine for the oppression of the population by the bourgeoisie. The democracy of Kuo Min Tang is the government of the people by the whole people, and not merely by a minority. The democracy of Kuo Min Tang is to be regarded not from the point of view of the national rights of men but as a principle corresponding with the revolutionary needs of China at the present moment. Power belongs only to the citizens of the Republic, and it is obvious that power must not be given to the enemies of the Revolution. In other words, while those members of the population and those organizations which support the real struggle against imperialism enjoy every right and freedom, such freedom is in no case given to elements and organizations in China which are assisting the foreign imperialists or their agents, the Chinese militarists."

"As regards the foreign loans concluded by China, such loans must be secured and redeemed in accordance with the capacity of the country to pay, without undermining at the same time its economic and political stability.

"Loans concluded by irresponsible governments, such as the one which has at present seized the national government in Peking, loans which serve not to improve the well-being of the country but to support and prolong militarist tyranny, or are used for bribery and private gain, will not be paid by the Chinese people.

"All powers and persons concerned who advance

such loans are hereby warned of the risk they are running."

It is obvious that by adopting such a program, the Kuo Min Tang Party accelerated the exodus of the large merchant bourgeoisie and rich peasants from the national movement. At the same time it burned behind it the bridges by which it was sometimes connected with certain imperialists in order to fight others. And although since its reorganization it has by no means acted in either internal or in foreign policy according to the manifesto, nevertheless the declaration was enough to alarm the merchant bourgeoisie in all the towns of China. The bourgeoisie of Canton began to prepare to oppose Sun. As to the imperialists, and especially the British, who were most interested in the South of China—after the reorganization of Kuo Min Tang, they surrounded Canton with an atmosphere of false information, calumnies, and conspiracies, and finally initiated an armed offensive within the capital of the Kuo Min Tang Party.

What we learned had taken place at the end of August and the beginning of September—namely, that an uprising had taken place in Canton, led by the large Chinese merchant Chen-Lin-Pak, the comprador of a British bank in Shanghai, and that the British were preventing the suppression of the uprising and were threatening to bombard the town from British cruisers in Chinese waters—was a logical conclusion to the policy of the imperialists towards the Southern Government during the last year. The imperialists apparently expected a more successful issue to their action. Contrary to their expectations, Sun Yat Sen, far from giving way to the rising of the counter-revolutionary merchants and rich peasants, took a turn to the left, began to arm the workers and poor peasants, and finally broke with the wavering and treacherous right wing of Kuo Min Tang which was socially and politically connected with the merchants. The imperialists did not expect that the masses of the artisan and poor population of Canton and the peasant leagues organized by Kuo Min Tang to fight banditry, would stand solidly on the side of the Kuo Min Tang Government. From a military and strategic point of view, the present situation of Kuo Min Tang is very difficult. But there cannot be the slightest doubt that as a result of this struggle its authority and influence will increase considerably, even though it may be unable to retain its position in Canton. The fact that in face of the overwhelming superiority of the military forces of the imperialists, Kuo Min Tang offered war to the reactionary merchants, will make the Party the real center of the emancipation movement in China.

And if the events simultaneously going on in Northern and Central China bring a regrouping of forces in China not favorable to Anglo-American imperialism, the fight of Sun Yat Sen against the insurgent merchants and imperialists will assume national importance. But this will be the case only if the Chinese Communists and working class organizations are able to exert sufficient influence upon Kuo Min Tang to induce it to fight without fearing to unloose the forces of the poor populations of the towns and of the poor peasants.

The Situation in Northern China.

We may describe the events now going on in Central and Northern China as an offensive of Anglo-American capi-

talism, unwillingly supported by the French and the Japanese, with the object of crushing the emancipation movement in China, checking the growing influence of Soviet Russia, and preparing the soil for a further invasion of China by American capital. The weapons used for the execution of these imperialist plans are the Chinese militarists belonging to the Chihli group, who attacked the military clique of the Fengtien Party and of the An-Hui group. This means war between the principal military forces in China. The fact that the immediate pretext for the struggle was the fight for the possession of Shanghai, points the paths which lead straight to imperialist interests. And in fact, the first demand made by the imperialists in the threatening notes addressed to the Chinese government, was a demand for the enlargement of the neutral zone around Shanghai to thirty miles, that is, an increase in the territory of the foreign concessionaires.

Owing to the war between the Chinese militarists, the question of increasing customs duties in favor of the Chinese government, as was promised at the Washington Conference, where America fought Japan under the pretext of defending China, has retired into the background. The war between the militarists instigated by the Anglo-American capitalists, is distracting the attention of the population from the anti-militarist struggle. The emancipation movement, which, since the recognition of Soviet Russia by the Central (Peking) government, had assumed tremendous proportions, is threatened with decline, since the war between Wu-Pei-Fu and Chang-Tso-Ling is occupying the center of attention of the masses. At the same time, the militarization of the regions where the civil war is taking place is tying the hands of the worker and the student organizations, which are the centers of the anti-militarist movement in Northern China. On the other hand, the direct interference by the Peking government, headed by Tsao-Kun, in the fight between the militarists, will undoubtedly intensify the opposition of the masses against that Government and will start a new wave of sympathy in favor of Sun Yat Sen, who has refused to submit to the imperialists and is fighting their agents in Southern China.

Such an attitude will be only a strategic maneuver with the object of destroying the present relations of forces of the militarist groups in China which is creating a situation favorable for Anglo-American imperialism. The regrouping of forces in Northern and Central China, which would result from a victory over the Chihli clique, would for a time create a situation in which the Kuo Min Tang Party could spread the national emancipation movement thruout the whole of China with unprecedented rapidity.

Of course in the event of the defeat of their agents, the Chihli Party, the imperialists would attempt, and no doubt successfully, to place their stakes on the victors, Chang-Tso-Ling and the others. Nevertheless, in reaction to the previous situation, a tremendous amount of nationalist energy would be released for the struggle against imperialism.

In this struggle the Communist Party of China, both in the North and the South, must make clear to the Chinese masses the part being played by the imperialists and their tools, the Chinese militarists; they must call upon the workers and peasants to organize under the banner of the Communist Party and upon the national-revolutionary party of the Kuo Min Tang to assist the toiling masses in the creation of their class and economic organization.

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War Is Coming

COOLIDGE has solemnly and publicly proclaimed that he is going to try to prevent war between the United States and Japan. If there was anyone who doubted that such a war is an immanent possibility this should convince them that they are wrong. Coolidge's statement is the most definite war-like move yet made—it is practically a warning to the world to prepare for the war. Soon the workers will be mobilized in millions to lay down their lives for the "destiny of white civilization in the Pacific" which means to secure the investment of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co.

The witches' cauldron of imperialism contains many more wars than this in prospect. Britain is growling at the United States, over the settlement of the debts with France, in tones that reveal antagonisms that go far deeper than the debt question. American imperialists retort by threats of how the U. S. can dismember the British Empire, taking Canada and Australia away from their "fatherland," if the Lion does not respond to Trainer Morgan's whip. Lord Curzon is also arousing the Islamic peoples as they have never been before with the aggressions in Egypt for which the assassination of Sir Lee Stack furnished a convenient pretext. In China the great imperialist powers have just tried out their strength with one another in the civil war between their various puppets—alho the net gains of the scrimmage were gathered in by the revolutionary nationalists headed by Sun Yat Sen and the Kuo Min Tang. France is not idle in the midst of this world-wide, free-for-all scramble for imperialist booty, and her bayonets yet remain the most potent immediate political weapon in Europe should hostilities break out. The Balkans and the Near East are seething with nationalist struggles and imperialist intrigue. And underneath it all the growing forces of proletarian revolution gather strength and prepare for the transformation of the inevitable imperialist war into civil war for the destruction of the capitalist system.

The working class of the United States occupies a key position in this world situation. It is of the highest importance that the workers of America shall understand this fact. With the officialdom of the labor movement unqualifiedly in the service of the imperialists, with the socialists tagging along behind them begging for the crumbs of "leadership," with the whole American working class politically unawakened and ignorant, the task of enlightenment, organization, and leadership of the class struggle that is thus thrust upon the small vanguard of Communists is, comparing the tasks to be accomplished to the forces at hand now to do the work, a tremendous one. All the more does this call

for unswerving purpose, tireless activity, and complete devotion to the task on the part of all revolutionary workers. Against the impending world war we must raise the slogan of the struggle against the capitalist dictatorship and for the dictatorship of the proletariat!

"Eyes Left" in the International Labor Movement

WHY are all eyes turned to the left in the international labor movement? Because there is a tremendous swing of masses of workers to the left, toward militant class struggle, which is forcing the leaders to respond, either to give way partly before it or openly to fight against it. In other pages are recorded the historic facts of the response of the Gompers bureaucracy, which is a manoeuver against trade union unity and to head off and strangle the left movement. Already the struggle is becoming acute. The testing time for the "left" leaders in the British labor movement is not far off.

The temper of the masses, their instinctive enthusiasm for every move towards a militant fighting policy against capitalism, is witnessed by a thousand facts. Two outstanding examples are, one, the greetings given by the British workers to the news that their fraternal delegates to the All-Russian Trade Union Congress, Tillett, Purcell, Bromley, Turner, etc., had formed an Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity committee, pledged to fight for the complete unification of the trade union movement of the world: two, the formation of the Anti-Imperialist League of America, the initiative in which was taken by the Workers Party of America, the Trade Union Educational League, the Communist Party of Mexico, and the Mexican Committee for the Red International. Already this new labor center for resistance for imperialist exploitation is rallying large masses in the colonies of Morgan.

Class Collaboration Rouses Resistance.

WITHIN the American trade union official circles reaction reigns supreme. Collaboration with the capitalist class, always a settled policy, although applied in the past in a haphazard manner, is now being systematized and organized. But at the same time resistance from the rank and file is being organized on a more fundamental basis than ever before. This is expressing itself in many unions and industries. Particularly is this true of the miners, the carpenters, the machinists, and the needle workers.

Within the United Mine Workers of America a national election has just been held. John L. Lewis has announced that he was re-elected. That is not surprising as he controls the counting of the votes as well as the casting of a vast number. But the vote for Voyzey, candidate of the left wing, although figures are not available on a large scale, was evidently so large that the bureaucrats are alarmed. Voyzey ran entirely on the basis of the progressive miners' program, a clear cut revolutionary document, and his strength is that of the conscious militants. That Lewis resorted to wholesale charter revocations a day or two before election is witness to his anxiety. The "outlaw" strike of 12,000 miners in the anthracite region against their own officials, who are co-operating in breaking down the protection of their own contract, is another sign of the bitter struggle waged by the workers against their betrayers.

In the carpenters' union, also, we have a widespread

election revolt against the bureaucrats, accompanied by local struggles of a mass nature. Morris Rosen, an unknown left-winger of New York, carried by a majority some cities, as in Detroit, and won heavy votes everywhere. Hutcheson, president of the union, followed the Lewis example, and began a campaign of expulsions. Overriding all the rules of procedure of the organization, seven militants were thrown out in Chicago, from Local 181. The membership is up in arms against the high-handed proceedings, and have refused to recognize the rulings of their officials. A real struggle is under way, with the membership almost unanimously supporting the left wing.

In the machinists' union an election is expected in January or February. The reactionaries are split into two camps, the ins and the outs, and the outs are trying to look "progressive" in order to persuade the left wing to support them instead of running their own candidates. But the left wing has had experience with these fake "progressives." The revolutionists are out to rally the membership to kill the infamous "B. & O. plan" of class collaboration, to reinstate all the expelled militants, and to put the union again on the path of class struggle. The fake "progressives" do not differ in principle from the Johnston administration, and no more deserve the support of any fighting union man. The left wing will have its own slate in the election.

In the needle trades, the revolutionary minority gathers new strength. Within the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the reactionaries, after their "victory" of last May over the revolutionists, have now fallen into a bitter quarrel among themselves over a division of the spoils. So bitter has their struggle become, that one set of reactionaries inspired an assault upon Mayer Perlstein, of infamous record in Chicago, who was "doing a job" for the other side, and put him in the hospital with a broken head. While the reactionaries quarrel and beat up one another, the rank and file movement for class struggle is gathering its forces, regaining lost positions upon a more solid basis than before, and preparing for a new forward movement. Meanwhile the workers in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union are witnessing a forced march of their own officers to a very reactionary position, approximating closely to that of the most backward groups in the labor movement. President Hillman, on the occasion of a visit to Chicago, told the Joint Board that the organization had entered a new era, in which there would be no conflicts with the employers unless such struggles were absolutely forced to protect the existence of the union; the policy he laid down was one of negotiations and conciliation with the employers, giving way to their insistence whenever failure to do so would threaten a strike. When the left wing made known its resentment of such an attitude, as well as of many other incidents pointing in the same direction, Hillman, speaking before the New York joint board declared that he was ready for war against the left wing in the A. C. W. A. Whenever the prosecution of the class struggle can only be carried on by struggle at the same time against union officials who stand as the protectors of the employing class—in such cases the revolutionary workers as well as all sincere progressives cannot hesitate to take up the double burden. That seems to be the situation in all unions in the needle trades.

Insuring the Daily Worker.

THAT the militant workers of America have realized the tremendous value of the *Daily Worker* in the class struggle is amply proved by the splendid response given the campaign to "Insure the *Daily Worker* for 1925."

It is now almost a year since the first English language Communist daily paper was launched. The initial fund, around \$75,000, upon which it was started, was raised almost entirely from the membership of the Workers (Communist) Party and the Trade Union Educational League. Since that time the paper has been operated with its regular income and no appeals have been made for support. But inevitably a deficit occurs in the operation of a new paper, and in order to insure the *Daily Worker* for the next year, it is necessary that a reserve fund be accumulated, that the paper have a certain amount of working capital for buying paper in large amounts, etc., without which it is continually at the mercy of its enemies.

Every worker in America who takes seriously the task of building up the instruments of struggle against capitalism will donate his bit to the insurance fund for the *Daily Worker*.

Fight Against Child Labor

EVERY militant and progressive unionist, and every revolutionary worker, will join in the demand for the ratification of the child-labor amendment to the constitution. But there should be no illusions about this amendment. It will not protect the children of the workers. In the first place, it only gives power to Congress to pass legislation; it remains for such legislation to be forced through the legislative bodies by the pressure of working-class demands. Secondly, the prohibition of child labor, unless it is accompanied by governmental maintenance of the children, is absolutely ineffective.

It is only when the working class has itself taken over the political power, when the capitalist dictatorship has been overthrown by the dictatorship of the working class, that child labor and other evils afflicting the toiling masses can be abolished. What will happen under a proletarian regime is strikingly illustrated by the story in this issue, by Anna Louise Strong, formerly of Seattle and now in Russia. Anna Louise Strong tells about the one spot on the globe where the life-problems of the working class are being solved in a comprehensive manner. It is only when the workers of the United States have similar power to control, through their own government of workers' councils, the social and economic life of the country that child labor will cease its destructive work.

While capitalism remains, legislation on the child labor question will only give such slight relief as the workers force through by their political and economic power, by demands and demonstrations. And such pressure upon the capitalist government, in order to have any effect whatever, must be given point and substance by demands for governmental maintenance of all children of school age, such maintenance to be paid for by special taxes upon large incomes. The rich, who appropriate the wealth produced by the working class must be made to disgorge a part of it for this purpose, as one of the first steps towards making them disgorge all their ill-gotten gains to make way for the new system of society, wherein the working class will rule.

The International

GREAT BRITAIN THE following telegram was received from the British Trade Union Congress delegation visiting Russia:

To the "Daily Herald" London:

The British delegation has had striking evidence of the bad impression produced by the arrogant tone of the British notes on official and public opinion in Russia.

It is looked on here as an attempt to prevent any further impartial inquiry into the evidence of the authority of the Zinoviev letter, such as is justifiably desired by Russia.

The delegation has gone into the matter with Zinoviev. He has maintained strongly that the letter was a forgery, and actually placed at its disposal the confidential records of the Communist International.

The delegation is bringing home the full results of its detailed investigations.

As a result, the delegation is absolutely satisfied that the document is a forgery, that no evidence of the contrary can be produced, and that the refusal of the Russian offer of arbitration can only be explained on that ground.

The delegation is convinced from conversations with prominent members of the Russian Government, that unless an impartial inquiry is accepted, the Conservative Government will stand condemned in the eyes of all Russia as having used a forged document for Party purposes.

(Signed).

John Bromley, Locomotive Engineers and Firemen; Allan Findlay, patternmakers; Ben Tillett, Transport and General Workers; John Turner, Shop Assistants; Herbert Smith, Miners' Federation of Great Britain; A. A. Purcell, chairman of the delegation, and ex-chairman of the T. U. C.; Fred Bramley, secretary to the General Council of the T. U. C.

BRAZIL FACTS about the recent armed struggles in Brazil, fomented by American financial intrigue, are now coming to light. A recent issue of *L'International*, organ of the Communist Party of Brazil, gives much valuable information.

The uprising was organized by a clique of army officers. After the rebels found that they had succeeded in winning but one out of ten of the soldiers, they conscripted the foreign-born workers at Sao Paulo, the scene of the uprising. In the course of the struggle with the government forces, 10,000 workers were killed in Sao Paulo alone, and after the fighting, 3,000 immigrants were assassinated by the troops of the government.

The rebels, who had no revolutionary purpose but who were merely attempting a coup d'etat on behalf of a military clique, took advantage of helpless condition of the immigrants, mostly German and Hungarian workers, who were unorganized and lacked knowledge of language, to force them into their

ranks. It was the immigrants who defended Sao Paulo against the regular soldiers.

When the military rebels found themselves in an untenable position and had to abandon the city in haste, they did not tell the immigrants. As a result the latter remained in the city, dressed in the uniform of the rebels. At the entry of the federal soldiers they still remained guarding the abandoned city without even knowing that the soldiers just arrived were enemies of the rebels.

The immigrants were arrested by thousands and transported into a concentration camp where all were assassinated with machine guns. The assassins, regular soldiers in the Brazilian army, were carried in triumph by the gentlemen and ladies of "high Brazilian society."

RUSSIA REPORTS of the Sixth All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions held in Moscow, from November 11 to 21, reached America just as this issue was going to press and too late for inclusion. A complete review of this great gathering, which will affect the course of the world's labor movement for years to come, written by Charles E. Johnson from Moscow, will be published in the February issue of the *Workers Monthly*.

There were 1,500 delegates in the Congress, of whom 853 were fully accredited of Russian unions with voice and vote, representing 6,400,000 members of the Russian unions.

Representatives of the Soviet Government made complete reports on all phases of governmental policy and administration. Comrades Zinoviev, Kamenev, Kalinin, Stalin, and Rykov, were elected honorary members of the presidium.

Representatives of the Red Army appeared before the Congress and pledged their determination and readiness to fight at all times for the workers' cause; the Red Army is the servant of the Russian working class.

Representatives of the British Trade Union Congress were present, and were greeted with thunderous applause when they appeared before the Congress. A. A. Purcell, chairman of the British Trade Union Congress, Fred Bramley, secretary, Ben Tillett, leader of the Dockers' union, Bromley, of the railroad workers, Smith of the miners, Findley of the Metal Workers, and Turner of the Clerks, made up the delegation. Their speeches were all on the same line—determination to join with the Russian workers to fight for world unity of the trade unions, and admiration and respect for the Russian labor movement.

When Ben Tillett spoke the Russian workers gave him an ovation. Tillett paid glowing tribute to the memory of Lenin, ranking him as the one of the greatest men the world had ever known. "British labor looks to you for encouragement and example," he said.

Purcell aroused great enthusiasm when, after remarking upon the tremendous advances made by the Russian workers and the Soviet government, he said: "Let us hope that we can find strength in ourselves to bring about similar changes in England."

An Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Unity Committee was formally organized to carry on the struggle for unity between Amsterdam and the R. I. L. U.

Committee for International Workers Aid, National Office, 19 S. Lincoln St., Chicago

CASH INCOME NOVEMBER, 1924

Table listing names and amounts for November 1924. Includes entries like A. Nadel, New York, N.Y. (\$1.50) and J. Bogdanoff, Seattle, Wash. (2.50). Total: \$2,610.61

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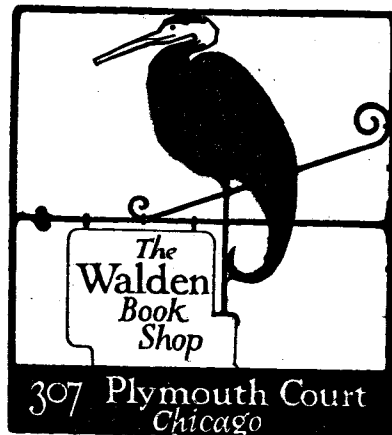
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