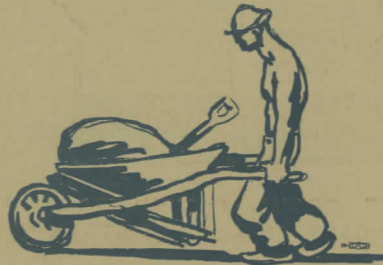


# ONE YEAR OLD



**B**ORN on January 13, 1924, the Daily Worker today can justly claim to be "The National Labor Daily."

**O**NE year's accomplishments for American Labor is the record it can boast of. Every fight for the working class on the political and industrial fields in the past year has had the Daily Worker behind it; every progressive measure advocated by the Left Wing Movement in this country has been advocated thru the pages of the Daily Worker—the only daily Communist newspaper in the English language in the world.

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**T**HOUSANDS of American workers have found in the Daily Worker a newspaper fearlessly fighting their battles. They have found a newspaper that daily carries a picture of Labor the world over—with the addition of splendid articles no intelligent worker can be without—and great Labor cartoons no other newspaper can boast of.

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# THE DAILY WORKER

"The National Labor Daily"

1113 W. Washington Blvd.

Chicago, Ill.

# The WORKERS MONTHLY

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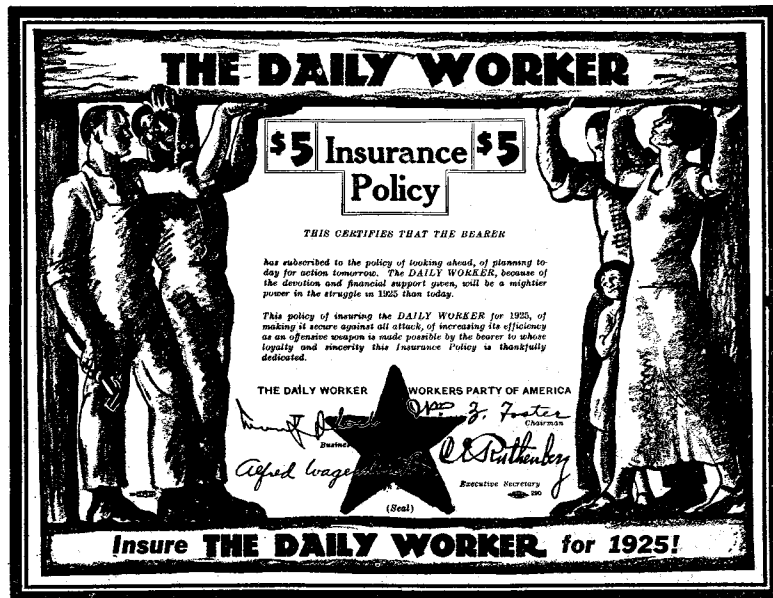


FEBRUARY, 1925

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# Unite to Fight Wage Cuts!

Manifesto of the Trade Union Educational League

**T**HE standard of living of the workers is threatened! Since the re-election of Coolidge and his Big Business administration, an anti-labor offensive by the employing class has been gradually developing. The fight is now on! Wage-slashing and increases in the workday are points of attack.

**THE WORKERS MUST DEFEND THEMSELVES!**

One of the first important moves in the capitalist offensive took place at the Amoskeag mills, New Hampshire, the largest textile establishment in the country, where the workers' organizations were unable to resist the arbitrary imposition of drastic wage cuts. Successful in New Hampshire, the offensive has proceeded from one mill town to another—leaving an aftermath of reduced wages and longer hours in Fall River, New Bedford, Lawrence, Lowell and the Rhode Island mills.

William M. Butler, textile magnate and political patron of Coolidge, has been leading the assault upon the weak and disorganized textile unions. The cotton-woolen Textile Trust is the real power behind it. And with the Textile Trust stand the Wall Street-owned manufacturers and industrialists of all branches of industry.

Then the wage-cutting offensive developed in the garment trade. Today the garment workers of Cleveland are faced with a concerted move to force down wages; the demands of the Cleveland manufacturers are disguised in the form of a demand for "increasing production," which is a method of lowering wages without saying so.

As always, the demand for wage cuts carries with it a demand for greater output. After the workers in the Amoskeag mills had accepted the wage cut, their hours were suddenly lengthened from 50 to 54 a week. Longer hours follow close upon the heels of lowered wages. The whole standard of living of the workers is forced down.

The attack on these branches of industry is only the beginning. The Waltham Watch Co. recently made demands on their workers, which however were met by a strike. Other industries are following. The attack will continue to take in one group of workers after another. It is a united offensive of the capitalist class!

Labor must respond with a United Front of its own!

There is only one way to resist wage cuts and lengthening of hours—and that is to **RESIST**. Every attempt to cut wages must be met by a strike.

Strengthening and unifying the trade unions is the first step of preparation. The attack on the textile workers was successful because the workers are poorly organized, are divided into many unions, each of them weak without the support of the others. Let the workers in other industries profit by this lesson!

Let us unite for the struggle! A United Front of Labor against the United Front of Capital!

No cuts in wages! No lengthening of the workday!

Meet every wage cut with a strike!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE.

# THE WORKERS MONTHLY

A Combination of the Labor Herald, Liberator, and Soviet Russia Pictorial

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FEBRUARY, 1925

No. 4.

## The Left Wing in Trade Union Elections

By Wm. Z. Foster

A VERY important phase of Communist tactics in the trade union movement is to actively contest the control of the reactionary bureaucrats. It is not enough to carry on a militant campaign of exposure of these agents of the employers. This must also be followed by an organized fight against them when the time comes for the unions to pick out new sets of officials, whether in conventions or by referendum vote. Passing radical resolutions at conventions and the adoption of advanced policies, while important in itself, is not enough. There must be brought about a complete change in the type of officialdom, else these advanced policies are allowed to remain a dead letter.

Within the past year or so the left wing has been coming to a better realization of the necessity to wage a militant fight against the reactionaries in the union elections. Consequently tickets have been put up in a whole row of organizations. In every case such action has provided a splendid opportunity for revolutionary propaganda and organization, and it has developed surprising left wing strength. This tendency is a very future, until eventually there will not be an election in any section of the labor movement without there being in the field a left wing ticket, and without an organized fight being made against the reactionaries. The Trade Union Educational League is now and will continue to be the moving, organizing force in this important struggle.

### The Miners' Election.

When on February 10th, 1923, left wing miners from all over the country gathered together in Pittsburgh, Pa., to map out a program and to establish an organization, a war to the finish was begun upon the Lewis machine and all that it represents. Since then this war has gone through many phases, including the battle to win the great 1922 strike and to prevent its betrayal by Lewis, the struggle for the reinstatement of Alex. Howat, the campaign in support of the fighting miners in Nova Scotia, etc. Its latest phase is the fight against Lewis in the union elections.

Despite Lewis' violent attempts to outlaw them

as a dual union and to expel them not only from the union but also from the industry itself, the revolutionary miners have been able to maintain the Progressive Miners' International Committee, formed at the now famous Pittsburgh conference. The left wing, at the approach of the union elections, immediately challenged Lewis and his corrupt cronies by putting a ticket in the field against them. The leaders of the ticket were George Voyzey, of Verona, Ill., Arley Staples of Christopher, Ill., and Joseph Nearing of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, candidates for the office of President, Vice-President, and Secretary-Treasurer respectively. In addition, candidates were placed in several districts.

The Progressive Miners program covers the points necessary to make the United Mine Workers organization into a revolutionary body. It criticizes Lewis for expelling Tom Myerscough, for betraying the Nova Scotia miners, for destroying all semblance of democracy in the union, and for degrading the U. M. W. A. into a helpless victim of the rapacious mine operator. The program declares for nationalization of the coal mines, the six-hour day and five-day week, protection of the unemployed by the payment of full-time wages by the industry, for an alliance between the miners and railroad workers, against the Dawes international "open shop" plan, for affiliation with the miners of all countries and for unity of the world trade union movement, for amalgamation of the helpless craft unions into modernized industrial organization, for revolutionary political action, for a policy of class struggle as against the present one of class collaboration, for a special convention to give Howat and other expelled militants a fair trial, for organization of the unorganized, for national agreements only, for direct election of all organizers, against dual unionism and secessionism, for recognition of Soviet Russia.

Naturally the Lewis machine has met this attack by the left wing with the customary campaign of violence. In Illinois, Frank Farrington, formerly a bitter enemy of Lewis but now his faithful henchman,



Maurice Becker

Symposium In a Cell--Leavenworth

realizing that he could not beat the left wing candidate for District President, Hindmarsh, in a fair fight, resorted to the most flagrant corruption. Many thousands of fake ballots were poured into the Illinois district. Farrington openly boasted that he would be the next president, regardless of how many voted against him. The district is in an uproar over his Tammany Hall methods. In District 5, Pittsburg, similar methods are being used. In order to get rid of the left wing organization, charges have been placed against Pat Toohey and other local militants. But the corruption of the Lewis machine reached its greatest heights in Kansas, in District 14. Having defeated Lewis signally by forcing his way back in the union in spite of the former's desperate efforts to keep him out, Howat allowed himself to be nominated for District President. Practically the entire District was behind him. But without the slightest pretext of legality, Lewis arbitrarily ruled him and his colleagues off the ballot. Result more hell in Kansas, and the wholesale writing in of Howat's name. Howat undoubtedly carried the District by a 90% vote, not all of which was counted. Lewis' tactics were designed to force Howat into a dual union movement, but Howat was too clever to be caught. He will fight this new case up to the convention. Anyone who knows Howat's indomitable spirit knows that Lewis has a bitter struggle ahead of him.

The miners' election took place on December 9th. As yet official reports of the outcome have not been published. But anyone at all familiar with past performances of such fakers as Lewis can have no doubt but that these reports will be padded to show an overwhelming victory for Lewis. All the votes necessary for this purpose will be stolen. The left wing in the Miners Federation of Great Britain succeeded in electing their man Cook secretary of that big organization. But such a thing is unthinkable at this time in the Miners Union of this country. The fakers would steal 100,000 votes if necessary to keep themselves in power.

Although Voyzey and most of the other candidates of the left wing are working miners and comparatively unknown to the union at large, they have polled a very heavy vote, if they have not actually defeated the Lewis candidates. This response from the rank and file is due to the flaming discontent of the membership at the policy of betrayal by their officials, one illustration of this discontent being the present outlaw strike in the anthracite coal regions. The fragmentary returns printed below will give an idea of the left wing strength in the election.

To the figures here given should be added about 5,000 Howat votes, all of which also went for the full left wing slate and none of which were counted by Lewis' tellers. District 26, Nova Scotia, a rebel stronghold, has not yet been heard from.

**The Carpenters' Election.**

Of all the unions in the American Federation of Labor about the last one that might be picked as responsive to left wing propaganda is the Carpenters Union. It is "hard-boiled" and completely under the sway of the Hutcheson dictatorship. But the striking success of the left wing candidate for International President, Mike Rosen of New York, shows that the discontent of the rank and file is only seeking a favorable outlet. Like Voyzey of the Miners, Rosen was also but little known in the national affairs of the union until he braved the lion's den by announcing his candidacy against the arch-reactionary and dictator, Hutcheson.

The program of the revolutionary carpenters covers a wide range, including affiliation to the Building Trades Department, abolition of the National Board of Jurisdictional Awards, abolition of speed-up system, for a five-day, forty-hour week to reduce unemployment, uniform agreements for all building trades workers, rank and file endorsements of all agreements, organization of the unorganized, old-age and unemployment benefits to be paid by employers, reinstatement of expelled Communists and right of

### The Miners Big Vote Against John L. Lewis

District	Locals	President		Vice-President		Sec'y-Treas.	
		Lewis	Voyzey	Murray	Staples	Green	Nearing
No. 5	37	842	2,935	983	2,831	1,053	2,685
No. 6	3	63	537	89	524	116	475
No. 12	16	2,489	5,095	2,346	4,927	2,677	3,866
No. 14	9	103	942	95	999	114	918
No. 18	2	27	642	85	568	53	606
No. 17	4	118	294	126	283	137	252
No. 22	2	149	424	184	383	195	372
<b>Totals</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>3,802</b>	<b>10,869</b>	<b>3,908</b>	<b>10,455</b>	<b>4,345</b>	<b>9,174</b>

**Metal Trades Elections.**

A recent trade union election of importance was that in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. The left wing played a prominent part. The slate was of a joint character, being made up of Communists and progressives. The Amalgamated Association is one of the most strategically situated unions in the whole labor movement, having jurisdiction as it does over the basic industry. But it is pitifully weak, having a membership of only 11,000 out of a total of 500,000 workers in the steel industry. Its officers are ignorant, cowardly, and corrupt. They betrayed the great steel strike of 1919, and they have worked before and since that historic struggle to prevent the organization of the steel workers. They are loyal aids of the United States Steel Corporation. The first real resistance to these reactionaries developed at the convention about a year ago, when the left wing elements, under the leadership of the T. U. E. L., defeated the Tighe machine on many points.

In the recent election the left wing put up a complete ticket against Tighe's candidates. Early returns, coming from 14 large locals in principal steel centers, showed a big sweep for the left wing. The vote was, for President, Tighe 728 and Weddell 1,456, and for Secretary Treasurer, Davis 561 and Jennings 1,621. The Tighe machine controlled the election board, however, and by manipulating and padding the vote of the outlying locals, most of which exist only on paper, succeeded in overcoming the lead of the left wing in the big centers. The final results showed that in a vote of 5,000, Tighe defeated Weddell by 1,000, and Davis defeated Jennings by 700. The left wing are challenging this fraud, however, and will make it one of the big issues at the coming convention.

Another metal trades election of importance is that in the International Association of Machinists. The Johnston administration, by its long record of weakness, incompetency, and corruption, has deeply discredited itself among the membership. Even the official family split, with the result that a wing led by Jack Anderson and William Hannon set out to contest the seats of the Johnston group. The Anderson-Hannon faction make a pretense of progressivism, but it is only on the surface. They are merely a group of "outs" seeking office. Under their guidance the policy of the I. A. of M. would be practically the same as under that of Johnston.

This was conclusively proven when the left wing group proposed to them to make a fight on principle. The left wing offered to join in a united front against the Johnston machine upon the basis of the following propositions, 1), a militant fight against the so-called B. & O. plan, 2) the reinstatement of all expelled left-wingers, 3), an active campaign for amalgamation of the metal trades unions. But the so-called progressives would have none of these propositions, nor

minorities to express opinions, abolition of autocratic powers of the President, biennial national conventions, election of organizers by rank and file, amalgamation of building trade unions, affiliation with international of building trades workers, independent working class political action, and recognition of Soviet Russia.

In the Carpenters' election the left wing militants were confronted with a problem which is becoming more and more frequent, the presence of a so-called "progressive" candidate also running in opposition to the administration. In this case it was one Willis Brown. He was merely a stalking horse. He had no program, he offered no improvement over the present corrupt regime. He and his crowd were simply a lot of "outs" trying to become "ins". The left wing carpenters rightly ignored these budding fakers and went ahead with their own candidate and program. They did not make the same mistake that some of the printing trades militants did who, when they were confronted with a similar situation, made no policy of their own but supported willy nilly reactionary anti-administration candidate, Lynch, in the innocent belief that by so doing they were weakening the forces of reaction in the union.

As in the case of the miners, the official returns from the Carpenters' election are not in. And it is doubtful if anyone is so guileless as to await their appearance in the hope that they will give a true indication of the way the vote went in the union. Hutcheson, like all the other faker-autocrats in the A. F. of L., will fix up the vote to his own liking and he will defy all criticism. But from returns that have come to hand from unofficial sources it is evident that Rosen has made a good showing. He carried all the Carpenters' locals in Detroit by a plurality of 40 votes, a fact which caused Hutcheson to fire all the local organizers in that city. In many Chicago locals Rosen also made a showing—in one, in Maywood, he carried the local by a unanimous vote right after a speech by Jensen, the secretary of the Chicago District Council of Carpenters.

The following fragmentary returns show the left wing strength:

Place	Local	Hutcheson	Brown	Rosen
Mansfield, Ohio....	735	0	1	67
Philadelphia, Pa.	1050	2	4	190
Philadelphia, Pa.	1073	57	4	283
Philadelphia, Pa.	1051	0	0	77
Newark, N. J. ....	1782	30	0	420
Yonkers, N. Y. ....	493	76	76	98
Erie, Pa.....	—	21	27	23
Pocatello, Id.....	—	9	9	17
Martin's Ferry, W.Va.	—	0	3	14
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>1,209</b>

would they add any left wingers to their slate. Their plan is to get elected without any pledges to the membership and without proposing any changes in the union's policy. They are cut from the same cloth as Johnston.

In this situation the left wing placed its own ticket in the field. This is made up of well-known revolutionary machinists of the United States and Canada, including Julius Emme, Tim Buck, A Overgaard, H. S. McIlvaigh, Peter Jensen, John Otis, and others. The platform demands the development of the shop committee system, organization of the unorganized, a policy of class struggle on the economic and political fields, abolition of social discrimination in the union, freedom of expression for minorities, abolition of the B. & O. plan and all other forms of class collaboration, biennial conventions, amalgamation, recognition of Soviet Russia, protection of working youths, and endorsement of the R. I. L. U. movement for world unity of the trade unions.

The machinists' constitutions provides for primary elections, which are now going on. The two candidates for each office receiving the highest number of endorsements in the present primaries will go on the ballot for the final election. Although the waters are muddied by the presence in the field of the fake Anderson-Hannon progressive ticket, nevertheless the left wing slate will make a good showing. It is quite possible that several of its candidates will beat one or the other of the conservative candidates and thus get on the ballot for the final election. The big task now confronting militant machinists all over the country is to make this happen by giving the left wing slate their heartiest support.

#### In the Needle Trades.

For a long time the left wing in the needle trades has taken an active part in union elections. But now more than ever. An important movement of this kind is pending in the approaching election to the New York Joint Board of the Fur Workers. In this union, as in so many others, there is a widespread revolt against the rotten administration, the yellow socialist Kaufmann machine. In the past two years this machine has bitterly harassed the left wing, slugging, expelling, and otherwise victimizing many of them. But now apparently its doom is sealed. It will in all likelihood lose control of the New York Joint Board, which is the heart of the International.

In this election the left wing has set up a united front with the so-called progressives. This is definitely upon the basis of adequate left wing representation on the slate, a fight against the Kaufmann machine, against graft in the union, against gangsterism, for reinstatement of all expelled T. U. E. L. members, etc. The left wing issued a statement clearly stating its position and differentiating it from its progressive allies in the election united front. This combination of the left and

center will almost certainly defeat the right wing machine and will have far-reaching effects in the New York needle trades.

Significant and promising development are also taking place in the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. This organization, first under the Presidency of Schlessinger and now under that of Sigman, both tools of the yellow socialist *Vorwaerts*, has besmirched its record by a wild and desperate persecution of T. U. E. L. members, expelling large numbers of them. But now a big break has occurred in the controlling machine. The Sigman group are fighting viciously to oust the Heller machine from the New York Joint Board. It is a sharp struggle. The left wing is taking advantage of it to reestablish itself, and with success. It is another case of "When thieves fall out honest men get their due."

Every issue of the left wing is being pushed, including the big fight against the increase of dues, the reinstatement of expelled and disfranchised members, the right of left wingers to run for union office. Several local elections have taken place in New York. All of these have turned out favorably for the left wing. In locals 38 and 10 the League militants polled about one-third of the total vote. In the strategic local 22, the whole left wing slate for the executive board was elected by a vote of 1,300 against 350 for the Sigman candidates. In the near future an election will be held in the important local 2, which the left wing will probably carry. Sigman's vicious fight against the left wing has failed; his expulsion policy, the hope of every reactionary in the labor movement, has been wrecked upon the rocks of growing rank and file discontent and demand for revolutionary leadership.

In the Amalgamated Clothing Workers important events are also brewing. A couple of years ago this organization showed considerable of a left orientation. But recently the administration has turned sharply to the right and is adopting more than ever a policy of class collaboration. This has naturally thrown it into collision with the left wing, which demands a policy of class struggle. Hillman, President of the A. C. W. of A., has been indulging himself in all sorts of threats against the left wing. Some of these were recently made good in part in Chicago, during the local elections.

Last year in the elections the left wing supported the administration. But the policy of the latter was so conservative that the left wing had to make a campaign of its own. The left advocated a more militant policy in every direction. They criticised the present unemployment benefit scheme as altogether inadequate to meet the growing unemployment. They demanded a reduction of hours and issued the slogan of a forty-hour week. They proposed to reduce the speeding up system by proposing week work against piece-work,

(Continued on Page 188)

# The Sixth Trade Union Congress of the U.S.S.R.

By Charles E. Johnson

THE Sixth Trade Union Congress of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics assembled at the time when the economic conditions of the proletariat of the Soviet Republics had been thoroughly improved; when the international position of the U. S. S. R. had been greatly strengthened and when on the other hand, a new wave of reactionary forces was rising and sweeping against the working class of the world.

The desire of the Russian workers to create the United Front with the workers of all other countries in the struggle against the capitalist offensive stands out prominently in all the decisions of the trade union congresses. Unfortunately, however, thus far all the attempts towards bringing together and uniting the trade union movement have ended in failure, of course, owing to the treacherous disruptive policy of the yellow bureaucrats, especially those of Germany.

Nevertheless, Comrade Zinoviev, addressing the Sixth Congress in the name of the Russian Communist Party, and analyzing the world situation in his usual masterly manner, again emphasized the necessity of the united trade union movement, saying in part as follows:

"We have been and are today true pupils of Lenin,

members of the Communist International, and we firmly adhere to our positions. And remaining at our fighting posts, without any diplomacy we extend a helping hand to the organized trade union movement of the world and say: 'Let us unite on elementary principles, on the A. B. C. of the struggle against the bourgeoisie that is advancing with such unheard of insolence and unanimity.' Yes, without fear of being mistaken we say: 'The time will come when in spite of everything we shall form a United International of Trade Unions, and the British workers will not be among the last of those who together with us will map out the course of final emancipation and freedom for the workers of the world.'"

That this statement and appeal is not an empty phrase but rather based upon reality can be substantiated by the very fact that lately a leftward tendency has been developing among the British Trade Union Movement and, despite the Ramsay MacDonalds, Clynes, etc. the British and Russian trade unions have established connections and friendly contact. Further, the cordial reception given to the Russian trade union delegation at the recent British Trade Union Congress and the tremendous ovation received by the British Trade Union Delegation at the Sixth Russian



SIXTH ALL-RUSSIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS IN SESSION

Congress serve as striking illustrations of friendship.

Above all did the speeches of the British delegates make it certain that this new friendship will bear fruit, especially those of Ben Tillet and A. A. Purcell. Paying tribute to Lenin, Tillet said:

"Passing the mausoleum today, I thought there was great significance in that structure where lies the relic of one of the greatest men we have ever known. I think Lenin was the greatest man in his attack upon the capitalist system, he was a still greater man in holding you together. It does not lie with Lenin now, but with the principles he taught, it lies in your soul, in your brain, to carry on that work, for the world looks to you. May your message be overpowering, and may your example bring the people of the world together in a mighty brotherhood of men."

Comrade Purcell asserted:

"I can say that our British working class has greater appreciation of international work, and knows more of Russia today as a result of our agitation, and can appreciate the work of the Russian workmen far, far better today than they did in the days previous to the General Election. Our adherents have been growing numerically until now we can count 5,500,000 voting solidly for the candidates of the working class despite all lies and calumnies. Again, be that as it may, the time has come when there must be international unity, and when I say that, I believe that the real basis of international unity must be a definite ANTI-Capitalist class organization and not any general form of unity."

"More and more, I repeat, our working class in Britain, is beginning to recognize the importance of international solidarity and, I think, I am uttering their view when I say that our own General Council of the British Trade Union Congress will do its utmost to see that the Russian Trade Union movement is brought within the sphere of the international mosaic. Our first step is to get some agreement as to the basis, to get the parties together and to come to some form of common agreement. I say that we cannot leave them out of account, it would be absurd to attempt to leave Russia out of any type of international organization. It would be like having Hamlet played, without Hamlet acting in the play. Our task is that of the British Trade Union movement, and our mission is, that of mediators. You must try to meet as far as you can our desires to come together under the international flag. We, on our part, will do all we can in that direction. If Amsterdam cannot do it, then, we, of the British movement, are convinced that it will be our task to force on this unity ourselves." (Prolonged applause)

Thus the question of the international unity of the trade unions of the world became the central issue of the Sixth Congress of the Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. Of course, the question of the practical measures necessary to establish unity in the international trade union movement and to organize, in accordance with the decisions of the Comintern and of the R. I. L. U., a United International, arose in its full scope.

Comrade Losovsky, reporting on the unity of the international trade union movement, faced this question squarely when he stated that we are fully aware of the deep gulf dividing the Communists from the Amsterdamers, but that

we still urge the calling of an International Congress on the most democratic principles and we tell the Amsterdamers:

"Should you prove to be in the majority at the congress you will direct the affairs, and we—the minority—will fight for influence over the masses. Should the R. I. L. U. adherents come out victorious, however, the entire working class would be considered as a single army, and the Executive Bureau as the fighting proletarian staff directing this army." He also emphasized that unity, to be achieved, depends upon the carrying out of the following slogan: "Into the factories and shops, to the masses, and again to the masses. For the broken trade union movement of the world can be welded together only through the pressure of the entire labor movement. And one of the most effective methods of promoting unity is to establish agreements and joint committees between the trade unions of the various countries."



LEFT TO RIGHT: A. A. PURCELL, CHAIRMAN OF BRITISH TRADE UNION DELEGATION; ROTHSTEIN, TRANSLATOR; BEN TILLET; A. FINLEY; SEMINSKY, TRANSLATOR; JOHN TURNER

The approachment between the two most important sections of the world trade union movement—Russia and Britain—Losovsky reiterated, marks the beginning of a new era in the creation of organic unity of the world labor movement, especially since the projected international is to draw in the workers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

After brief discussion in which besides the Russians, also the members of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. and the representative of the French Unitary Confederation of Labor participated, Comrade Tomsky, in the name of the Presidium of the Congress, read the following resolution:

"In view of the fact that the speedy bringing about of unification in the international trade union movement possesses a historic significance for the whole world,—especially in view of the approaching period of fresh bourgeois imperialist reaction, in many of the most important countries—the Sixth Congress considers it is its duty, on its part, to do absolutely everything in its power to help in this matter.

"The Sixth Congress considers it is its duty to meet half-way the measures undertaken by the Hull Congress of the British trade unions and is glad to confirm that with its decision, according to the declaration of the Delegation of British trade unions at present in Moscow,

it will be satisfying the desires of the overwhelming majority of the British workers.

"In order to co-ordinate the activities of the British and Russian trade union movements, in the matter for fighting for unity, the Sixth Congress will give all powers to the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, after negotiations on this matter with the General Council of the British Trade Unions, jointly form an Anglo-Russian Commission, the task of which will be to co-ordinate the actions of the trade union movement in both countries in their struggle for the unity of the international trade union movement.

"The Congress proposes that the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions should immediately set to work to carry this into effect, while taking into consideration the Congress's earnest desire that said Commission should be formed not later than January of 1925.

"Likewise the Congress charges the All-Russian Central Council of the Trade Unions to take all steps which it will find necessary in the interests of the unity of the international trade union movement"

"The Sixth Congress notes with pleasure the declaration of the British Trade Union Delegation at present in Moscow, to the effect that it considers this step as very expedient and that it will defend and advocate it before the British Trade Unions and their General Council. In such a co-ordination of the activities of the British and Russian (U. S. S. R.) Trade Unions for the attainment of unity, the Sixth Congress sees a true guarantee for the success of the international unification of the trade unions and a strengthening of the fraternal relations between the workers of Great Britain and the workers of the U. S. S. R.

"The Congress holds that in following this example the trade union organizations of other countries will, on their part manifest the necessary activity for the realization of unity."

You see then, declared Tomsky, that so far we have made a very modest beginning in the matter of reaching the objective we have set ourselves. We are fully aware of the fact that unless the German, French, Italian, Czechoslovakian, Polish, Austrian and the trade unions of other European as well as non-European countries are made to take up the fight for the establishment of unity, there can be no talk of a genuine international unity of the trade union movement.

The problem of the unity of the international trade union movement can in no way be settled by the question of the mutual relationship as between the All-Russian Central Council of the Trade Unions and the Amsterdam International. The realization of unity will only be rendered possible provided all organizations embraced by the R. I. L. U. enter into the make-up of the future new united international of trade unions.

Comrade Tomsky further declared that the struggle for unity must be closely interwoven with the struggle against imperialist wars, intervention, Fascist reaction, the capitalist offensive, the Dawes plan, which aims at the enslaving the German workers to the Anglo-American capital.

In making this move the Russian unions point out that the R. I. L. U. had repeatedly declared its readiness to lead the trade union movement out of its state of isolation, for which purpose a world trade union congress should be convened on an equitable basis where the trade unions affiliated

to both the R. I. L. U. and Amsterdam should be represented.

The Sixth Congress of the Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. unanimously approved Comrade Tomsky's statement and adopted the resolution without a dissenting vote.

True, this agreement is still subject to ratification by the General Council of the British Trade Unions. There will, of course, be found plenty of opponents among the British trade union bureaucrats and it goes without saying that such arch-reactionaries as Wm. Green, Grassman, Jouhaux, etc., will apply themselves to the utmost to prevent its going into effect. It is doubtful, however, whether they will be successful in disrupting and sabotaging the agreement, as the Left Wing lead by Purcell, Hicks, and others has the sympathies of the overwhelming majority of the British Trade Union members and, we are inclined to hope that Purcell will prove a man of action and will translate his words and promises into effective deeds.

It is clear, in any case, that an acute struggle between the Left Wing and the Right Wing of the Amsterdamers is inevitable. This struggle will bring ideological clarity and strengthen the organizational solidarity of the militant elements both in England and elsewhere, affecting even politically and organizationally backward America. On the whole, this is a serious event, which will undoubtedly give added impetus to the problem of world's labor unity.

The Left Wing of the British Trade Unions still has a quite confused ideology; it is a mixture consisting of stern class war fighters and pacifists. The latter tendency is on the decline, class-conscious tendency is growing numerically and gradually drifting towards the Communist position. Consequently, I believe, that the Left Wing and the National Minority movement of Britain, lead by Comrade Pollitt, will fight together, which of course, will accelerate the drift of the Purcell's Left Wing further to the left.



TOMSKY, HEAD OF THE RUSSIAN TRADE UNIONS, AND RYKOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE U. S. S. R.

The second most important and attractive issue at the congress was the state of the Soviet economy. In reporting on this question Comrade Rykov pointed out that the peasantry represents the basis of the entire Soviet economy and that the economic life of Soviet Russia can develop only through cooperation between the proletariat and the peasantry, which is of mutual benefit to both and that the prosperity of the proletariat depends upon the prosperity of the peasantry.

Citing much statistical data to illustrate the increase of cultivated area, horses and cattle among the farmers, Rykov showed that farming has moved far ahead during recent years and that this upward tendency continues unabated. This does not mean, of course, that there are no more poor in the villages or that the peasantry have their needs fully satisfied.

As regards industrial production, approximately 50 per cent of the pre-war level has been reached. Metal is still at the lowest point. In 1921-22, only ten million poods of pig iron was produced; in 1923-24, production rose to 40 million poods, while during 1924-25, the production program provides for 60 million poods. Compared with pre-war production, this amounts to only 20 per cent, however. The chief difficulty in rehabilitating the heavy industry lies in the fact that its regeneration cannot be brought about merely through the demand of the market, for it was fostered during the old regime by huge governmental orders for railways, bridges, etc. The present condition of the country does not make it possible, as yet, to embark upon such large scale construction work.

The most difficult problems with which Soviet government has had to grapple, Comrade Rykov stated, were first the price fixing policy, and second, the stabilization of the currency. The failure to solve these problems would lead to a political break between the peasantry and the working class. However, thanks to the lowering of prices, the industries are now unable to fully meet the demand of the peasantry, whereas last year, when the prices were very high, there was practically no demand and the industries found themselves in a blind alley.

However, this victory would not be certain had it not been backed by a stabilized currency. Since the introduction of stable money the city and the village have become firmly connected by the medium of exchange. Our balanced budget without any paper currency emission, represents both a good and bad factor. A good factor because in it lies the guarantee for the stabilization of the currency; it is bad because we are forced to hold in abeyance a number of absolutely undelayable needs.

However, all these tremendous achievements would have been impossible without the cooperation and support of the trade unions.

Comrade Tomsky, chairman of the All-Russian Trade Unions, reported that the unions have been frequently reproved for their wage policy, as their decision to support the policy of the stable currency adversely affected the material conditions of the workers; the unions, however, made this sacrifice quite consciously. Comrade Tomsky also touched upon the fact that some unions began to take too much interest in commercial activities, in the formation of business companies, in advertising, etc., but that these tendencies were nipped in the bud. The All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions also fought against any merely formal approach towards the new problems and against all bureau-

cratic tendencies. Though the trade unions know that they are a school of Communism, still not all of them have fully realized the essence of this idea. The unions sometimes forget that they are organizations of workers of various political views. It is still indisputable that the connections with the masses have been strengthened, as is shown by the existence of 35,000 shop committees with an active membership of 120,000 men.

At the time of the Fifth Congress—1922—the Russian unions had 4,547,000 members; on July 1, 1924, the membership stood at 6,036,000, which amounts to 92 per cent of all the workers. Practically 80 per cent of the organized union membership pay their dues individually.

For the two years since the Fifth Congress the wages have increased on an average of 63 per cent. The present general average wage level equals 75 per cent of the pre-war level. It should be pointed out that the wages have already overtaken the growth of productivity. Therefore, further raises of wages depend upon further productivity increases.

The congress unanimously noted the economic improvement in the conditions of the workers and endorsed the general policies of the A. R. C. C. T. U., as affecting the stabilization of currency, wages and productivity.

The congress also decided to strengthen the connections with the local unions; to give more attention to the cultural work; to strengthen the participation of the unions in the reconstruction work of the Soviet industry and to render all possible assistance in raising productivity. The congress called the attention of all the unions to the necessity of raising the activities of the workers organized in the villages, of creating strong union nuclei in the villages and strengthening the primary organs of the land and forest workers' union, which will be one of the best means of strengthening the union (smitchka) with the peasantry. The Congress also decided it necessary to strengthen to the utmost the work among women and the youth, and to proceed further with the organization and solidification of the working masses.

The report of the Credentials Committee showed that the Congress was attended by 1,045 delegates, 853 of them having decisive votes. The national composition of the delegates was as follows: Russian, 66.6 per cent; Jews, 14.4 per cent; Ukrainians, 7.3 per cent; White Russians, 3.5 per cent; Letts, 1.5 per cent; Georgians, 1.1 per cent; Esthonians, 0.5 per cent; Tartars, 0.5 per cent; Ossetins, 0.2 per cent, etc.

The Sixth Trade Union Congress received a report of the persecutions showered upon the labor militants in the capitalist countries, and sent them hearty greetings, expressing the conviction that nothing can save the capitalist system and that the hour of the proletarian victory throughout the world is drawing near.

The chairman of the Congress announced that Comrade Dudileaux was instructed by the French Unitary Confederation of Labor to invite a delegation of the Russian unions to the coming congress of the Confederation.

The Congress heartily thanked the Confederation for the invitation, and sent cordial greetings to the French proletariat; the A. R. C. C. T. U. was directed to appoint a delegation to France in order to strengthen the friendship and fraternal relations between the workers of the two countries.

The final act of the Sixth Trade Union Congress was to honor Comrade Tomsky in a very warm and friendly spirit on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of his revolutionary activities.

The chairman of the Congress announced its session

closed after a brief address urging fidelity towards the teachings of Lenin. The Congress closed to the singing of the "International."

With music and revolutionary songs the delegates left the richly and impressively decorated hall, merging with the tremendous throng which surrounded the building, listening in spite of the very late hour, to the speeches made audible with the aid of an amplifier.

All in all, the Sixth Congress of the Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. has been conducted in the most democratic and business-like fashion. There were no appointments, but elec-

tions right along the line. And whoever wanted the floor got it without difficulty, in marked contrast to the A. F. of L. gatherings. The overwhelming majority of the delegates came direct from the shops, mines, etc., and it was wonderful and pleasant to note their keen participation in the debates on all matters; their determination and clear-cut action on all problems confronted. Here the Trade Union Congress was busy finding ways and means to entrench and extend their Soviet state, their control and reconstruction of industry and to clip the wings of the remnants of the bourgeoisie and make it work.

## An Old Prison Speaks

By Robert Minor

INTO the doors of one of the worst prison hells of America—the state penitentiary at Jackson, Michigan,—on the seventh day of January, 1925, walked C. E. Ruthenberg, national executive secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

The new convict—or rather the old ex-convict turned convict again—is one of the founders of the Communist Party in this country. On August 22, 1922, he was arrested for "assembling" at one of the Party's annual conventions—**assembling, nothing more.**

"—and in the County and State aforesaid, C. E. Ruthenberg did voluntarily assemble with a certain society, group and assemblage to teach and advocate the doctrines of criminal syndicalism, contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the people of the State of Michigan."

As Ruthenberg enters the penitentiary under a savage sentence of three to ten years of penal servitude in addition to a \$5,000 fine, the famous wholesale political prosecutions at St. Joseph, Michigan, begin again. In addition to Ruthenberg, thirty-one others, including nearly all of the national leaders of the Workers (Communist) Party, are to be locked into the Jackson penitentiary if the prosecution succeeds.

It is attack upon a political party.

It is an attempt to establish for police practice the principle that a certain type of political party cannot exist in the United States. Working behind the screen of the state government of Michigan is the entire power of the old Harry Daugherty and William J. Burns machine (still unofficially in power!) of the federal government at Washington. The precedent established in a little rural community of Michigan at an enormous cost with large sums of money coming from a mysterious and unrevealed source is intended to be applied over the whole United States so that any organization of the

working class or the exploited class of farmers can at the will of any prosecutor be adjudged as criminal, destroyed, and its members thrown into prison under savage sentences. This will apply to labor unions equally with political organizations. The effort is to establish complete police control of the labor movement, with governmental, terroristic suppression of all labor programs not in accord with the interests of the capitalist class.

### Attack Upon Political Party

But especially is this an attempt to destroy the political party which is known to be the key to any successful resistance of the working class and exploited farmers to the ruthless power of capitalism.

The struggle is an incident in the birth, expansion and growth to mass leadership of a new political party, a party of most profound historical significance. The struggle to put forward and give mass character to the Communist party, is in reality the effort of the proletariat—the new, the future ruling class—to crystalize, to form, its class organ of leadership in the struggle for power.

Each class which rises to power must first form its political organ of leadership, its party—its class party, sharp and clear, freed in its composition and in its program from intermixtures of the classes which it must fight.

In the Communist Manifesto Marx wrote of the historical process by which occurs the "organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party . . ." The process of development of the proletarian political party (i. e. the party having the requisites for leading the proletariat through struggle to the position of ruling class), is the process which the capitalist state attempts to arrest through these prosecutions.

### A Political Program Under Prosecution

The center of the fire of the prosecution is the political program of the party. The basic point of the indictment is that the defendants assembled with a political party which

had such and such a program. The accusation is that the defendants as an organization BELIEVED IN certain things as embodied in a program. Technically the legal statute puts it as a question as to whether they as an organization "advocated" certain views or actions, but in practice the term "advocate" is interpreted by the court as meaning not a direct solicitation of some person to do a concrete thing at a concrete time and place, but as meaning to "advocate" in the colloquial sense of holding within one's mind the opinion that certain things in general should be done, and expressing such opinions as political beliefs. The defendants are not accused of any overt act, nor of soliciting any definite person to any definite act.

The Workers (Communist) Party of course will continue to exist regardless of any decision of any court or any other act of the government power; but it fights here in the clammy air of the legal pettifoggers for the legal acknowledgment of its right to exist. In fighting for this right, the Workers Party is fighting in behalf of the whole working class and for every working class organization, be it trade union or any other.

The trial of Ruthenberg, and before it the trial of William Z. Foster (which resulted in a hung jury), teemed with questions about "force and violence" and the "overthrow of the capitalist state," and civil war.

A political party is being prosecuted because its purpose is to substitute a new ruling class in the place of a present ruling class, and the legal basis of the prosecution in that this political party makes a historical analysis which shows that the revolutionary act of substituting one ruling class with another ruling class is invariably accompanied by violence and civil war.

The prosecution of these Communists in Michigan is characterized by the heaviest emphasis upon the fact that the political convention in which they assembled was a secret convention—an "underground" convention—and that the Communist Party maintained an "underground" organization. Heavily underscored was and is the question of the Communist Party having the purpose of confiscation of the property of the wealthy classes through the medium of a workers' and farmers' soviet government and without compensation.

Thus, if the state and the financial powers behind it have their way, practically the entire leadership of a young revolutionary class party will enter the ancient dungeon of Jackson, Michigan, in the effort to destroy, to head off and prevent the revolutionary movement of the present day.

son, Michigan, in the effort to destroy, to head off and prevent the revolutionary movement of the present day.

#### An Old Prison Speaks

An ancient prison, indeed, is the one at Jackson, Michigan! It was established in 1839! (Whether the present structure has been remodelled since 1839, this writer does not know, though he may soon be able to examine the ancient masonry from the inside.) The old stones are grey and splotted with green like the face of an aged man. Speak, old stones! Speak! You who have endured through eighty-six years—through some of the most stirring times of this country's history—have you ever before seen a struggle like this?

And it seems as though the old grey stones do speak!—speak like an old man muttering in his heart, groping slowly for memories that are dim.

Speak, old stones! Have you ever before been witness to a struggle of a new, up-coming, vital young class to form its own class party as leader of its fight to become the ruling class?

"Yes," says the old prison wall, "yes, I have seen such a struggle. Here in Jackson, Michigan,—here under the window of Ruthenberg's cell—here within sight of the thirty cells which you may occupy, you young revolutionists—I once looked out upon the founding of a new, young class party which had the purpose of making its class the ruling class of this country. . . . That was a long time ago. . . . It is the ruling class. . . . It has remained the ruling class for seventy years, undisputed until you came to dispute its rule. It was the capitalist class, and here in Jackson, Michigan, under my walls it founded its class party for the winning of its undivided rule. It held its first convention here in Jackson, Michigan, and here it gave its party its name: the Republican Party. . . . The class party of the capitalist class."

But tell us, old stone walls,—you speak of the Republican party—was it a revolutionary party?

"Yes, to a certain extent it was—in that day. That was a period of great class struggle, the struggle between the capitalist class of the North and the semi-feudal landlord class of the South. It was a struggle to complete the Revolution of 1776—to put the industrial capitalist class undisputedly and alone in the saddle."

But tell us, old stone walls, what was the method of the then new party, to put its class into power? The old stones reply:

"Civil war! The War of 1861."

But was there at that time any overt act of violence?

"Yes. The sympathizers and some men who later became organizers of that party were then engaged in armed combat in the state of Kansas—'bloody Kansas,' they called it then."

But in that convention of 1854 here in Jackson, were there any wilful and purposeful violators of the law? Was there any talk of law violation?

"Yes, there sat in the convention men who were openly committed to the violation of the Fugitive Slave law and who advocated its violation and solicited others to violate it."

And tell us, old stone walls, you didn't hear anything of an underground organization then, did you?

"Yes," says the old prison wall, "yes, the first and original 'underground' of this country's history—and prob-



GROUP OF MICHIGAN DEFENDANTS JUST AFTER THE BRIDGMAN RAID

Those in the picture are, left to right (top row): O'Flaherty, Erickson, Lambkin, Dunne, Mihelic, Bail, Reynolds, Ashworth; (bottom row): Talentire, Harrison, Bechtold, Nordling, Ruthenberg, Krumbain, Lerner, Sullivan, McMillan. "Ashworth" later turned out to be Francis Morrow, a stool pigeon who testified in the Foster and Ruthenberg trials.

ably the one from which all 'undergrounds' of the world obtained their name—the 'underground railroad.' Among the men who met here were some who were founders and organizers of that underground, secret organization having the direct and sole purpose of violating the laws of the United States by the forceful and illegal confiscation of property in the form of slaves."

But was not the Republican party a legal party? Did it not conduct itself as a lawful party participating in the elections to obtain its objects?

"Yes, it acted as a legal party while some of its members conducted an illegal underground association. It went into the elections lawfully, and being unable fully to obtain its object it went into civil war to obtain them."

But it fought in the lawful name of the United States government—

And I hear the old stone walls laugh. "It used whatever means were at hand, as will any class that is struggling for power. That it secured the formal name of the state power in the election of 1860 was but a fortunate incident. Among the men who in other states followed the lead of the Michigan convention in forming the Republican party were some who contributed money to John Brown who used it to purchase weapons for armed insurrection against the United States government. The soldiers who marched through Georgia singing 'John Brown's Body Lies Mould'ring in the Grave' were only validating the armed insurrection at Harper's Ferry." The old stones chuckled again, like an old man in his beard. "A class whose historical mission it is to ob-

tain state power and to inaugurate a new social order, uses all legal possibilities, but it obtains power!"

But would not the capitalist class have waited for legal—

"It did not in 1776!"

By what right—

"By the right of REVOLUTION! The right which is written into the Declaration of Independence—the first of all the fundamental laws of the American Union."

But we also are revolutionists—

"You are of a different class. We are the capitalist class; you are of the working class. We in turn imprison you for a revolutionary program."

But justice? Why do you open your prison gates for us?

"Class justice. You are getting it. Our class justice exists to keep us in power at any cost."

The law—

"The law must be interpreted in whatever way is necessary to keep us in power, or set aside entirely when necessary to crush you."

But the masses are exploited, robbed—

"Yes, by us. That is the purpose of the law."

That which we have imagined the old prison walls to say, is perfectly true.

Had the Republican party been a mere parliamentary party, and no more, the Southern states would have closed the issue by putting into practice their "constitutional right" to secede (which was then widely credited). That would have ended the matter, and the "foolish" republican experiment on this continent would have died. A great slave



ROBERT MINOR



empire, with its capital at Richmond and extending by conquest over Cuba, the West Indies and Mexico, and into South America, would have risen above its ruins. But the Republican party was more than a mere parliamentary party—it was a CLASS party in the true sense of the word, that is, in the sense that its function was TO PUT ITS CLASS INTO POWER BY WHAT MEANS MIGHT BE NECESSARY, and not merely to march to the borders of some legal quibble on the “constitutional right to secede,” and to stop there.

Being a class party in the true sense of the word, the Republican party marched ahead, through parliamentary action, through civil war, through an iron, military, class dictatorship over the whole South, through constitutional changes made possible only by military suppression, and attained for its class complete and undivided power.

The Republican party did what we all agree to call “right.” Its work of revolution was historically justified. When in all history has a revolution been “wrong”?

But the class which formed its first clear-cut and exclusive class party in Jackson, Michigan, in 1854 has outlived its once-revolutionary role. It has become the monster of reaction. The capitalist class the world over, and all of its parties, have long ago become deadlier enemies to the human race and heavier obstacles to historic progress than the old slave oligarchy was in 1860.

Through the state power in the form of the little rural court at St. Joseph, Michigan, the big capitalism of this country is fighting against the next phenomenon of the procession of revolutions—against the formation of (or the development to a mass scale) of the political party of the class which will overthrow the present capitalist ruling class and become itself the ruling class. The Workers (Communist) Party is small; it is not yet a mass party. But even as early as the summer of 1922, it became clear to even the most stupid that the Communist Party is already in its essence the class party of the working class.

The term “class party” refers to the major class composition of the its membership; and in the deepest sense the term “class party” also implies the political purpose, that is the program of action taking SUCH A COURSE AS WILL MAKE ITS CLASS THE RULING CLASS.

It is already clear to the most stupid stock-broker or wheat speculator, that the downfall of the parasite class will not come in this country until the Communist Party, as the class party of the working class, becomes the mass party to which the majority of the active elements of the working class look for leadership.

For that reason the effort to stifle the young Workers (Communist) Party is being made at St. Joseph.

It will be a political event of first importance to the working class and the exploited farming class of the United States when, at the beginning of February, the third of the Communist defendants takes his place in the prisoner's dock at St. Joseph, to be followed, one by one, by his comrades.

This trial comes at a time and place of great significance. The great revolution has begun. Across the water our flag of revolution flies victorious. The Soviet Republic, which is also our's and not merely Russia's, has for more than seven years withstood the onslaughts of our enemy, which is world capitalism. One sixth of the earth has been conquered by the heroic fighting of the working class and exploited

farmers. Our comrades have established there the only relative prosperity of the toiling masses which can be found in Europe. A large part of the rest of the world is crumbling into ruin under the rule of capitalism and under the effort of capitalism to make civilization continue to function under its exploitation. Before the next trial at St. Joseph ends we may quite possibly hear that our comrades in Italy or in Germany are again marching under the red banner of liberation. We, here in America, stand in the strongest remaining center of capitalist control. About us we see disintegration of capitalist economic processes, accompanied by the fast and feverish consolidation of a capitalist state machine of hitherto unequalled force and violence for civil war against the exploited masses of America, as well as for new foreign wars of conquest. In direct proportion as the capitalist economic processes disintegrate, the capitalist machine of destructive violence is increased in effectiveness and strength.

It is our honor to be able to fight upon the ground of the center of world reaction. We fight against superhuman (?) odds. The masses of the exploited are not yet conscious of the meaning of the fight. But the process of disintegration even in this country has already begun to reveal to them the first and crudest lessons. Millions of workers have begun to grasp the elementary fact—exposed sharply by the famous Daugherty injunction which was practically simultaneous with and intimately connected with the arrests in Michigan—that the boasted government at Washington is a class government of, for and by the capitalist class. Millions of working farmers have already learned that “Capitalism can no longer feed its slaves.” And rapidly in the sharpening class antagonisms of the immediate future, more and more millions of both exploited classes will learn the further lesson that only by consolidating their class party and struggling to replace the present dictatorship of the capitalist class with the dictatorship of the working class can they hope for a human existence.

That some of them may learn through the Michigan trials is our hope. There can be seen an important lesson—that constitutional and “legal” rights do not exist for the working class under capitalist class justice. There, in this unique case of prosecutions based solely upon the opinions of those prosecuted, is shown the outstanding fact of the present day: that capitalist rule is obliged at last to throw off its mask of “democracy” and to strike its class enemies with naked steel, with subversion of its own “democratic” laws and contempt for its own “constitutional guarantees.”

Every possible effort must be made to draw larger numbers of workers to understand that we are fighting their fight. It is not half so important to keep the Communists out of prison as it is to make the working class understand why the Communists are prosecuted. For this reason we will stand at St. Joseph, clearly, uncompromisingly, for the cause of the working class revolution.

To the accusation of crime, we will give the ringing answer, “Not Guilty!” To the charge that we represent the cause of Revolution, we will proudly say, “We do!” In entering the prisoner's dock, and if need be, in entering the old prison for years of penal servitude on behalf of our principles, we have the honor to represent all there is of hope for our class, for those who toil.

Workers of the world unite! You have still five-sixths of a world to gain.

# Teddy's Correspondence

Confidential Letters of An Earlier LaFollette

By Thurber Lewis

THE private correspondence of Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt, the result of forty years of personal friendship, has been given to the press as prepared by Lodge prior to the latter's death. It is hot stuff. The manner in which the letters were dressed up for publication indicates that the correspondence was very much “edited” by the late Senator from Massachusetts. But despite the pruning there are disclosures made that must come with surprise to those naive enough to think there is nothing wrong with American politics.

More than anything else the letters show the way in which the big political interests wean dynamic personalities like Roosevelt's from wilful political individuality to the point where they serve as tools for the political machine.

The first letters speak of the move to take Roosevelt out of the governorship of New York and boost him to the vice-presidency of the United States. The big insurance companies represented by Payn, the State Insurance Commissioner, and the large corporations affected by the franchise tax, represented by Senator Patt, wanted to be rid of Roosevelt because he hadn't learned to behave.

At a meeting of the New York delegation to the Cleveland Republican Convention in 1900, called to pick the vice-presidential candidate, Roosevelt refused the nomination three times. Chauncey Depew, who was the chairman, adjourned the meeting. Roosevelt was taken aside and given a talking-to. When the session was reopened Roosevelt accepted the nomination.

On June 2nd, 1903, Lodge wrote to Roosevelt: “The opposition to you among the capitalists is confined to a group of Wall Street and Chicago people, but even in Wall Street there is a large body of men who are with you, and I do not find here on State Street any manifest hostility on account of your merger case, rather the contrary.”

Roosevelt's attitude toward labor is shown in the same letter from Lodge to Roosevelt—“I was talking to Gardner Lane of Lee, Higginson & Co., where they are all for you, and he is strongly for you. He talked with me most earnestly about the importance of our carrying the country next time.”

“But he said one thing which seemed to me not without importance. He told me that when he was in Chicago some of the railroad men there were afraid of a general strike and asked him with great anxiety if he thought you would enforce the law as Cleveland did if there was any interference with the carrying of the mails. He said he told them that he had no doubt as to what you would do, but that, of course, he could not speak with authority and he wanted to know what I thought. I told him there was no earthly doubt that if there should be a strike and an attempt to interfere with the running of mail trains, you would enforce the law as rigidly as Mr. Cleveland and a good deal more quickly.” (Cleveland, it will be remembered, was the first American President to use troops to break strikes.)

That Roosevelt's anti-trust campaign was sheer bluff is made clear by the following extract from a letter by Lodge: “The country will certainly not forget your attitude toward the big corporations. That is impressed on the public mind and will give us great strength at this polls.”

The comment of Chauncey Depew, in an interview yesterday concerning the Lodge-Roosevelt correspondence, throws a bright light on Roosevelt's real attitude toward corporations: “As for Roosevelt's war on corporations, that was more fiction than fact. Roosevelt, while apparently the most aggressive, audacious and radical of statesmen and politicians was at heart a conservative.”

The letters show that Lodge, for years the leader of the big business interests in the Senate, kept a watchful eye on Roosevelt through his career. Lodge's influence contributed not a little to the training of Roosevelt as a champion of American Imperialism abroad and a protector of the interests of capital at home.



“NO MONKEY BUSINESS ROSIE. I WILL NOT HAVE VAMPIRES IN MY SHOP.”

# Latin-American Peasants Turn to Communism

By Bertram D. Wolfe

The peasants of Latin-America, in their greater part Indians, are turning more and more to Communism as their only way to emancipation from the landowner and from peonage.

In Peru, the Indigenous Federation of Labor, representing two million Indians, has just issued a public statement declaring that the Peruvian Indian has never given up his primitive agrarian Communism and will not, and that the Indian is Communist by instinct and by necessity. This same federation has repeatedly risen against the tyrannical government of Peru which represents American capital and at present is beginning a new revolt in union with the workers of the cities.

Even more important because much less vague and platonic is the adhesion just voted by the League of Agrarian Communities of Vera Cruz to the Peasant International of Moscow.

The League of Agrarian Communities of Vera Cruz represents the most advanced and best organized peasant elements in the republic. There are about 1,000 such communes in the state of Vera Cruz and a similar number in each of the other states of Mexico. The League has from the beginning elected Communist officials and adopted a Communist program. When the Peasant International was formed and sent out call for the first congress, the league responded by sending its leader and president, a member of the Communist Party of Mexico, Ursulo Galvan, to Moscow.

He returned to find the country in the throes of a fascist rebellion, and entering the port of Vera Cruz secretly, for it

was in the hands of a fascist army (last December, 1923), he took to the hills, raised an irregular peasant troop, which armed itself by attacking the fascist military garrisons and attacked the rebel troops of the reaction from the rear at the same time as the federal troops attacked them from the front. Since then the government has not been able to disarm these peasant forces and they remain armed.

Galvan's activities in this revolt behind the fascist lines made him more popular than ever, and when at the congress celebrated in December, 1924, by the league, he reported on his trip to Russia and what he saw and what the Peasant International meant, the adhesion was voted unanimously amid scenes of the wildest enthusiasm.

What is perhaps even more important is the decision to send him to all parts of the country to organize the rest of the peasants with a Communist program, to unify them in a single national organization and to unite them to the Peasant International. He has already begun this propaganda trip and is being enthusiastically received everywhere. As Mexico is predominantly an agrarian country, the significance of this Communist tendency among the peasants cannot be overemphasized.

Another significant fact is that the serious issue in the congress of the yellow Mexican Federation of Labor, (December, 1924), came over the agrarian question, the peasant elements in the federation desiring to adopt a Communist program and to take the land by force, and the leaders, being government agents in the employ of the government of Mexico, opposing this with all their force and proposing that the land be taken only by "constitutional means."



URSULO GALVAN  
LEADER OF THE MEXICAN PEONS

## The Five Point Star

Dank is the fog that dogs our steps,  
The mist that twists in siren shapes,  
Edging us on to ledges him  
Where Death, expectant, grimly gapes.

Baleful the light, though beautiful,  
That leads to those seductive arms  
Whose clasp is death and burial  
Beneath the bullfrog's late alarms.

Weary of too much travelling,  
Wary of leaders who mislead,  
We know not how to stay nor start,  
Nor to go back, nor to proceed.

Sudden upon the blood stained sky,  
Bright like a bayonet afar,  
Cleaving the dark, the doubt, the death,  
Rises the pilot Five Point Star.

Russia, salute! Not to your lands,  
But to your toiling working class  
Who broke the spears of all the Czars  
Upon their breasts, that we might pass

From haunted days, and hunted ways,  
(Poor harried slaves, who breathe by stealth!)  
Through Revolution's iron gates  
To the Industrial Commonwealth!

—J. S. Wallace.

# History of the Russian Communist Party

*The Struggle Between Populism and Marxism*

By Gregory Zinoviev

I HAVE already said that the entire struggle between populism and Marxism could be expressed in the formula: People versus Class. However, the historical nature of this struggle is not so simple. In order to understand the nature of the struggle we shall have to go into it deeper and in a more serious fashion.

Populism took issue with Marxism upon the question of the future of Russia and particularly on the role of capitalism in our country. In the seventies, and even in the eighties, it was still possible to attempt to prove (as the populists did) that Russia, in distinction to other countries, would not have to pass through the stage of capitalism. Basing itself on the fact that at that time capitalism in our country was still very weak, and that large-scale industry was only at its beginning there appeared a whole school, calling itself socialist, and populist, and which attempted to prove that the development of Russia would proceed along different lines from the development of other countries, that we should succeed in jumping over from the then primitive relations of small industry, directly to socialism.

In connection with this there arose a discussion of great importance, about the relations to the peasant commune. A number of populists attempted to prove that our peasant commune is nothing else but the nucleus of communism, that Russia would escape the road of industry on a large factory scale, the road of large-scale concentrated industry with its accumulation of great wealth, with the creation of a proletariat as a distinct class. In short, that Russia could pass over directly to the new socialist order of society based upon the small communist nuclei, without first passing through a period of large-scale capitalist development.

Regarding the workers, the revolutionary populists held the opinion that for a struggle against capitalism the workers might prove very useful. True, as time went along the populists arrived at the conviction that the workers are more susceptible to revolutionary pro-



G. W. PLEKHANOV

paganda than the other social groups. Thereupon, the populists began an energetic campaign to bring the workers into the populist circles. However, the fundamental social force upon which the populists based their tactics was not the workers, but the so-called "people," or speaking more concretely, the peasantry.

### The Mistakes of the Populists

The mistakes of the populists became more apparent as the development of social relations in Russia proceeded further. The number of factories and shops was continually increasing, the working class in the cities was also growing in number, while the role of the peasant commune, which was also becoming clearer, proved that this commune had nothing in common with socialism or communism. In other words, the development of our country was running against the contentions of the populists and it was for this reason that the Marxists who were basing their theories on the realities of our life, succeeded very soon in completely defeating their opponents, the populists.

I shall not go here into the details of this struggle. It would take us too far away from our main subject. We must, however, keep in mind that this struggle about the role of the peasant commune, on whether or not capitalism will establish itself in Russia, and whether our country will develop along some peculiar, specific, unknown lines, that all this struggle was in reality a struggle around the following question: What is the social role of the proletariat? Which is the basic and fundamental power in the coming revolution? The unexpressed objective in all these discussions was whether there would develop in Russia a distinct working class, and what role this class would play in the development of Russia. It is for this reason that I believe that the conflicts between Marxism and populism were based primarily upon difference of opinion on whether the development in Russia would produce a distinct class of industrial workers and upon the role of this class in the coming revolution.

## Various Tendencies of Populism.

Populism was by no means homogeneous. On the contrary, it was characterized by its large variety of tendencies, beginning with a very distinct wing of anarchism on the one hand and bordering on bourgeois liberalism on the other hand. It was no accident that many of the prominent leaders who emerged from the populist movement later developed into leaders of distinct and separate political groups. In spite of this variety of the tendencies in populism we can distinguish within it two fundamental groupings. One is revolutionary-democratic, the other one is bourgeois-liberal. Speaking chronologically, we must distinguish between the populists of the seventies and the populists of the eighties. Those of the seventies belong to the first grouping, which I designate as the revolutionary-democratic, a grouping which manifested a distinct shading of anarchism, while the populists of the eighties were composed mainly of followers of the second grouping, which we can justly designate as bourgeois-liberal. This grouping later on merged with Russian liberalism and with the party of the Cadets. (Cadet is the abbreviated name of the Constitutional-Democratic Party of Russia, whose leader was Paul Miliukov.)

## The Populists of the Seventies and Eighties.

The revolutionary populists of the seventies created a number of organizations which will remain in the history of the revolutionary movement of Russia as acquisitions of great importance. Of these organizations, we shall mention first of all the "Zemlia i Volia" (Land and Freedom) and "Narodnaia Volia" (People's Freedom.)

The populists of these organizations have given us a number of workers of great heroism and bravery, and although they did not belong to the type of proletarian revolutionaries, they were nevertheless, real revolutionaries. The same cannot be said of the second generation of populists, those of the eighties, who very often played a reactionary role. On this question one can find very interesting details in the excellent writings of Plekhanov, as for instance, in his book "The Foundations of Populism" published under his pen name, Volgin, and in a number of other writings of Plekhanov, of which I shall speak later.

## Krivenko

To illustrate what I have in mind, I shall cite a few examples. One of the most important populist writers, Kablitz-Yuzov, quite seriously developed the idea that the possessor of small property and first of all the peasant, represents a higher type of citizenship because of his economic independence. Our worthy populist considers it possible to designate as "economic independence" the state of the small peasant which was nothing else but a state of extreme oppression and

slavery. Krivenko, for instance, went so far as to say that the peasant has no right to sacrifice this "economic independence" even for the sake of political freedom. It is clear that such an ideology is nothing else but reactionary. We know very well that nowhere in the world is the petty bourgeois economically independent, but on the contrary the petty bourgeois finds himself in complete dependence on the big bourgeoisie and the state power. Krivenko and his associates were therefore doing nothing else but pulling the revolutionary ideas of Russia backward, in opposition to those revolutionaries who could see the development of a new class, the working class. These revolutionaries propagated the idea of going to the workers and of agitating among them. These revolutionaries understood that it was a matter of assisting the crystallization of a new revolutionary class, having no property and therefore bound with no ties to the existing order of society.

## Michalovsky

It might be well to remark in passing that not only the writers standing on the right wing of populism, but even such a powerful intellectual leader as Michalovsky had used the argument against the Marxists that in Russia there could be no labor movement in the sense in which it is spoken of in Western Europe. The reason, according to Michalovsky, was that there is no working class in Russia, that the workers in Russia are intimately connected with the villages, that the Russian worker is in fact, a peasant who can always come back home to his village.

## Korolenko

As is well known, Michalovsky was the leader of the group "Russkoye Bogatstvo" (Russian Wealth). Korolenko belonged to this group. Following the development of Korolenko's activities, it can easily be seen how a certain group of the populists, beginning with the eighties and later, openly though gradually, merged into the bourgeois liberal camp. I am referring purposely to Korolenko because he, as an individual, enjoyed, and is still enjoying, the deserved sympathy of all those who are familiar with his artistic writings. It will therefore be difficult for many to accept the idea that Korolenko was not a revolutionist, but a populist of the bourgeois liberal tendency. But this is a fact just the same. As an artistic writer Korolenko is undoubtedly one of the greatest individuals of our time. We will continue for many decades yet to enjoy his excellent books. But as a statesman and political leader Korolenko was nothing else but a liberal. At the beginning of the late imperialist war, he published a pamphlet defending the war. Moreover at present, after his death, we find from his correspondence, which was recently made public, that in his group "Russkoye Bogatstvo," which was a right-wing group, Korolenko occupied the right wing. In this group as is now known from Korolenko's letters, there developed

a passionate conflict over the question whether it was permissible to participate in the official organ of the Cadet party, "Retch", the organ edited by Miliukov. Korolenko argued that it is permissible to write in this organ. He refused to abide by the decision of his group. He participated in the "Retch" because he felt his solidarity with that liberal group.

## Two Wings of Populism.

Thus we must always keep in mind that in populism, a movement of various groupings and tendencies, running from anarchism to liberalism, there were two definite wings. One was revolutionary and the other was non-revolutionary, opportunistic, and liberal. But even the revolutionary wing of populism was not proletarian, it was non-communist, and was not concerned with the proletarian revolution. This wing was revolutionary only in the sense that it desired the revolutionary destruction of the Czarist autocracy.

The question of the use of terroristic methods in the struggle against Czarism played a very important role in the struggle between the Marxists and populists. Beginning with the second half of the seventies, the revolutionary wing of populism adopted the position that it is necessary to apply the methods of individual terror against the representatives of the czarist regime, thus accelerating the revolutionary development and bringing the struggle to a head. At first the Marxists were very hesitant in drawing the line between themselves and the terroristic methods of the populists, as can be seen from the first program written by Plekhanov, in 1885. But as soon as the basis was laid for the formation of a working class party, the Marxists adopted a very determined attitude against the method of individual terror.

The populists, and later on the socialist revolutionaries, attempted to describe the situation in such a way that the Marxists are opposed to terror because they are not revolutionaries, because they lack the necessary revolutionary temperament, because they are afraid of blood and so forth. Now, however, after our great revolution, such accusations will hardly be possible, but in those years the above argument proved very effective in winning sympathy for the populists among the better part of the revolutionary youth, the student youth, and many hot-headed workers.

## The Attitude of the Marxists to Individual Terror.

In reality, the Marxists were never against terror in principle. The Marxists never adopted the Christian maxim of "Don't Kill." On the contrary, it was none other than Plekhanov who repeatedly explained that not every killing is a murder, that it is no crime to kill a reptile.

The Marxists repeatedly emphasized that they believe in methods of violent struggle and that they consider violence a revolutionary factor. There are many

things in this world that can be destroyed only by the force of arms, by means of fire and sword. The Marxists favored terror on a mass scale, that is, participated in by the working masses. The Marxists argued: To kill one or the other of the Czarist ministers will not change the situation. It is necessary to arouse the masses, to organize the millions and to educate the working class... Only when the workers are organized will come the hour of final struggle. Then we shall employ terror, not in retail, but wholesale. That is, we shall resort to armed insurrection. This armed insurrection became a fact in the life of Russia in 1905 and in 1917 it resulted in our victory.

In those years this question of individual terror was quite confusing to many. It made the populists appear more revolutionary than were the Marxists. The populists used to argue that while they are engaged in killing ministers of the Czar, the Marxists are only organizing little circles to educate the workers. Is it not clear, the populists used to ask, that the one who succeeds in killing a minister of the Czar is more revolutionary than the one who only carries on cultural work among the workers? For a while such arguments proved quite effective, thereby complicating the struggle of the Marxists against the populists. At present however, when we review this struggle historically, we must remove from the discussion all that was trivial and episodic and get down to the fundamental differences between the Marxists and populists. This fundamental difference reduces itself to the main question of the social and political role of the working class.

Here we must first of all take up the problem of the hegemony of the proletariat, because this is the fundamental and basic problem which has determined the development of our party, the struggle between bolshevism, the struggle between the "Mountaineers" and the "Girondists."

## The Problem of the Hegemony of the Proletariat.

The word hegemony signified ruling power, leading role, the first place in struggle, consequently the hegemony of the proletariat signifies its leading role, its determining role in the revolutionary struggle. It is self-understood that as long as there was no proletariat as a class there could be no talk of the hegemony of the proletariat. It would have been useless to quibble over the leading role of a non-existing class, but the far-sightedness of the Marxists consisted precisely in this, that at the moment when the proletariat was only beginning to develop, when it did not represent yet any considerable power, the Marxists could see and understand that this new class would play in the coming revolution the leading and dominating role. The Marxists could see that the proletariat would be the basic force of the revolution, that it would assume the leadership over the peasantry in

all its struggles. Thus we can see that the substance of the struggle between the Marxists and populists, particularly between the eighties and nineties, was a struggle over the question of the hegemony of the proletariat.

The fathers of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat were Plekhanov and Lenin. At the first congress of the Second International, the Congress held in Paris, in 1899, Plekhanov said, literally, the following: "The Russian Revolution will triumph only as a revolution of the working class, or else it will not triumph at all." At present this seems to be a common and popular truth. It is now clear to everyone that the working class is the basic force of our revolution which finally succeeded only because of the fact that it was a workers' revolution, or it wouldn't have succeeded at all.

Try to imagine the situation that prevailed in Russia at the end of the eighties when there was no working class party, as such, when the working class was just beginning to crystallize, when the foremost positions of the revolutionary movement in Russia were occupied by the populists, when even such far-seeing people as Michalovsky, could derive comfort from the fact that there was no labor movement in Russia, when the contention was seriously made that Russia will never have a labor movement in the western European sense of the word. Imagine this situation and you will understand that the above quoted words of Plekhanov were in a certain sense a real revelation. If it is permissible to say that Marx discovered the working class on a world scale, so it is also permissible to say, in a more qualified sense, of course, that Plekhanov discovered the working class of Russia. I repeat: I say this in a qualified sense. It was not Marx, of course, who discovered the working class. The working class was born in Europe in the process of disappearance of feudalism and the establishment of capitalism. But Marx explained the great historic role to be played by the working class. As far back as 1847 when the working class of Europe was only beginning to crystallize, Marx could already see and outline the great role to be played by the working class in the liberation movement of all oppressed nations and classes, in the social world revolution.

What Marx did for Europe, Plekhanov did for Russia. In 1889 and even earlier, Plekhanov kept on proving and explaining that we were witnessing in Russia the birth of a working class, that this class would be not only one of many classes, but the basic leading and dominating class, the one which holds in its hands the fate of the coming revolution. In all future struggles in our movement, the question of the hegemony of the proletariat proved the dividing line. We shall refer to this struggle more than once when

we come to the division between bolshevism and menshevism.

#### The Struggle Between Plekhanov and Tichomirov on the Hegemony of the Proletariat.

On another occasion Plekhanov formulated very forcefully his views on the hegemony of the proletariat. It was on the occasion of the struggle with Leo Tichomirov, who at one time was one of the most brilliant workers of the group "Narodnaia Volia," one of the most prominent members of the executive committee of that organization, and one of its best writers. Later on, Leo Tichomirov turned renegade and became a servant of the Czar and a close collaborator of Menshikov, one of the most violent reactionaries. But I must repeat, at the height of his activities Tichomirov was the foremost representative of the "Narodnaia Volia" and Plekhanov had the occasion of coming to blows with Tichomirov several times.

Here is how the struggle developed. When in spite of all the prognostications of the populists there began to appear large groups of workers in the cities of Russia, and particularly in Petrograd, and when the populists came to the conclusion that the workers proved very susceptible to revolutionary propaganda, thus becoming a factor in the struggle, it was then that Tichomirov presented the following formula which was to serve as a sort of a compromise. The formula read: "We, the Narodnaia Volia, are willing to carry on propaganda also among the workers, and we do not deny that the workers are very important to the revolution." Plekhanov seized upon these words and with the help of his brilliant gifts turned them against the populists. Plekhanov thereupon wrote a brilliant article against the populists which was very effective. Plekhanov wrote that the very formulation of the question which speaks of the workers as being important to the revolution proves that the populists do not understand the historic role of the working class. Plekhanov argued that this formula must be put upside down in order to express the situation correctly. Plekhanov took the position that instead of saying, as the populists did, that the workers are important to the revolution, one must say that *the revolution is important to the workers*.

Arguing against the populists, Plekhanov said: "You take the position that man was created for the Sabbath, instead of saying that Sabbath was created for man. We the Marxists, maintain that the working class is the basic class, the dominating class, that it is this class and this class alone that can overthrow capitalism, unifying around itself the peasants and all other opposition elements. Inasmuch as you, the populists, look upon the working class as upon something subsidiary you thereby prove that you cannot grasp the leading role of the working class in the revolution." Thus it can be seen that Plekhanov was

one of the first in Russia to formulate the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat. In the measure, in which Plekhanov later on supported the Mensheviks, he was himself destroying his brilliant past which, however, will remain one of the important chapters in the history of the revolutionary movement of Russia.

#### Lenin—One of the Fathers of the Idea of the Hegemony of the Proletariat.

The second father of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat was Lenin. Lenin succeeded in carrying through this idea during a period of three decades, until this day, in spite of the most difficult and complicated situations through which our movement had to pass. The first formulation of this idea given by Lenin we find in one of his very interesting books, which is just now being prepared for the press. In 1894 he wrote his first large revolutionary work entitled "Who are the Friends of the People, and How They Are Fighting the Social Democrats" (Don't forget that at that time we all called ourselves Social Democrats). This work of Lenin, as I said, couldn't be published at that time. It is only recently that we succeeded in unearthing part of the manuscript in the archives of the Czarist police department, and part of it was found abroad. This book analyzes in great detail the errors and fallacies of the populists. After he proves that there is a new star appearing on the social horizon, the working class, and that this class will be the liberator of Russia, the dominating force and prime mover of the revolution, Lenin concludes by saying, in substance, the following: "At present, the Russian workers do not understand yet that the role of the working class is the role of a leader in the revolution. This truth is now understood by single individuals. But there comes a time when this will be understood by the entire vanguard of the Russian workers and when this will happen the Russian working class, leading the peasantry, will bring Russia to the Communist revolution." This was said in 1894. You will agree that these were remarkable words indeed to have been able to say thirty years ago. Even the wording which contains such phrases as the proletariat leading the peasantry, and such characterization of our revolution as the term Communist,—all this we find in the concluding lines of Lenin's historic work. We shall see later how Lenin defended these ideas throughout the period of thirty years. Situations have changed, but the fundamental analysis of the role of the proletariat as the dominating and leading force of the revolution, this idea never changed, neither with Lenin nor with the bolsheviks.

#### Legal Marxism.

It must be said, however, that just as there were two tendencies in populism, there were also two tendencies in Marxism of that time. We must devote our attention now to the legal Marxism.

In the middle of the nineties, there appeared in our country, on the background of the revival of the labor movement and the political struggle generally, a tendency which is known as legal Marxism. If we assume that the underground Marxism was born in Russia in 1883 with the formation of the "Group for the Liberation of Labor," then the birth of legal Marxism occurred about twelve years later. It was only ten years after Plekhanov formed the "Group for the Liberation of Labor" that it became possible, in Russia, for the appearance of legal Marxism. In this legal Marxism there could be found at least two basic wings.

One of them was led by Plekhanov and Lenin, the other was led by Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky, and a few others. In considering this we must deal with two literary productions. One is the famous book by Struve, "Critical Notes" published in 1894, the other the book written by Lenin, entitled "Who are the Friends of the People." This latter book, although it was never published, yet found access to large circles of Marxists and to the first revolutionists of the working class.

#### Struve—Then and Now.

Who was Struve? At that time he was a young but promising writer, calling himself a Marxist, and carrying on a struggle against Michalovsky. Struve considered himself a member of our party and was later the author of the manifesto adopted by the First Congress of our party in 1898. In short, Struve was at that time a Marxian star of the first magnitude.

Who is Struve now? You all know it. On the eve of 1905 he became the editor of the underground bourgeois-liberal journal "Osvobozhdenie" (Liberation), which was published in Stuttgart. Later he became one of the leaders of the Cadets alongside with Miliukov, occupying the right wing of that party. Still later he became a convinced monarchist and counter-revolutionary, and in the years of Stolipin's triumph, Struve was celebrating the victorious reaction. After the March revolution of 1917, Struve finds himself on the extreme right of the Cadet party. He played a very great part in the activities of the White Guard emigres in the government of Denikin, Wrangel, and the others. Now Struve finds himself abroad, one of the most prominent ideologists of the counter-revolution. A grand transformation indeed.

I will say in passing that as we go along we will find several very important individuals that have passed over from the left wing of the revolutionary movement to the right wing of the counter-revolutionary camp. Suffice it to mention in addition to Struve, Tchaikovsky, of whom I spoke in my first lecture, Tichomirov, who succeeded in winning over from the "Narodnaia Volia" to the foot of the Czar's throne, Plekhanov, who finished his sorry day in the position of a right-wing Menshevik, and finally Breshkovskaia,

(Continued on page 186)

# A Conference of Progressive Reactionaries

By Alexander Bittelman

ON February 25, there will be held in Chicago another gathering of the "Conference for Progressive Political Action," otherwise known as the C. P. P. A. What will this conference do? What will be the effect of its deliberations and decisions upon the working masses of America and upon their struggles against the capitalists? The answer to these questions should determine the attitude of organized labor to the C. P. P. A. and to its February meeting.

## The C. P. P. A. is Not a Labor Organization.

What is the C. P. P. A.? It is the tail-end of the LaFollette movement. It is a servile tool in the hands of petty-bourgeois politicians. It is a conglomeration of a certain brand of trade union bureaucrats, bankrupt socialists, active petty-bourgeois politicians of the LaFollette type with an admixture of liberal busybodies of every kind and sort.

The C. P. P. A. is not a labor organization despite the fact that the bulk of it is composed of gentlemen speaking in the name of labor. These so-called progressive labor leaders are progressive only in the sense that they are continually moving away from the class-struggle, sinking ever deeper into the mire of class-collaboration and subjection to the petty-bourgeoisie. This conglomeration of progressive labor fakers has found out in recent years that by participating in a certain kind of political action they can fool the workers more efficiently than old Gompers ever did with his tactics of no politics at all. As far as these labor fakers are concerned, the C. P. P. A. has merely become another means of breeding illusions among the working masses and of preventing their organization for actual and immediate struggles against the capitalist exploiters.

What has the C. P. P. A. actually contributed toward strengthening organized labor in its struggles against the bosses? In what way did the "progressive politics" of Wm. H. Johnston, Sydney Hillman and Morris Hillquit make the American working class stronger and better equipped to resist the encroachments of American capital upon the rights and conditions of labor?

The C. P. P. A. has done nothing to strengthen labor and everything to weaken it. The C. P. P. A. has chained a large section of organized labor to the political chariot of LaFollette, thus enabling the small capitalists and rich farmers to build for themselves political power at the expense of the life-interests of the workers and poor farmers. Thus far the working masses have gained absolutely nothing from the political maneuvers of the C. P. P. A. The net result of the LaFollette movement and the activities of the C. P. P. A. as far as the working masses are concerned is a triumphant capitalist reaction and a weakened working class. The new capitalist campaign of wage-cuts (textile mills in New England) and persecution of working class militants (conviction of Ruthenberg and the reopening of the other Communist cases in Michigan) is the best proof of the above contention.

## What Will They do at the February Meeting?

They will again discuss "progressive" political action. They will talk about forming a Third Party. Some of them

may even speak of labor parties and of the formation of a Labor Party or Farmer-Labor party. But how will that avail the real interests of labor? How will this talk of new parties help the textile operatives of New England to resist wage cuts? How will this February meeting of the C. P. P. A. assist the miners in the Anthracite region to defend themselves against the bloody oppression of their bosses and betrayal of the union officials? How will this mushy, cowardly, compromising, petty-bourgeois conglomeration in any way help us stop the new capitalist outburst of jailing and persecuting militant fighters in cause of labor?

It is sufficient to examine the probable make-up of the February meeting of the C. P. P. A. to get an idea as to what may be expected from it. The labor section of the conference will consist of officials of several international unions and of representatives of a number of state and city labor bodies. The rulings of the C. P. P. A. exclude from participation in national conferences representatives of local unions... What does this mean? It means that the rank and file of organized labor, the element that might give the conference at least a semblance of class-instinct and class-struggle, will find no voice and no expression in the February meeting of the C. P. P. A. in Chicago. The so-called labor section of that meeting will be completely dominated by such "progressive" fakers as William H. Johnston, Sydney Hillman, and such like.

Then there may be present at the conference delegates from the Farmer-Labor parties of the northwest. These parties are substantially organizations of farmers, of the city petty-bourgeoisie and well-to-do professionals which are led and dominated by politicians of the LaFollette type. Nobody can expect these elements to stand by the interests of the workers and poor farmers in a real, effective way. The main concern of these farmer-laborites at the meeting of the C. P. P. A. will be the maintenance and further consolidation of the LaFollette movement, if possible into a Third Party, to fight for the interests of the well-to-do middle classes.

In addition to the above the conference will have a good sprinkling of delegates from the Socialist Party, the Committee of 48, various combinations of professionals and other bourgeois-liberal groups. All these elements are no doubt interested in the presentation and further development of what is known as the LaFollette movement for the purpose of securing a message of political influence for their respective group interests. But what has that got to do with the interests of the workers and poor farmers?

## A Third Bourgeois Party—Now or Later?

The February meeting of the C. P. P. A. to be held in Chicago will most probably agree unanimously that what they need is a Third Party, a new bourgeois party of the well-to-do middle class (including the high-salaried labor bureaucrats) to fight for their interests on the political field. They wouldn't say that in so many words, but will rather camouflage their intentions with a lot of verbiage about the interests of labor and the common people generally. However,

this ought not deceive any one as to the real nature of the C. P. P. A. which should be determined not by the words they utter but by the real group and class interests that represent. And what the C. P. P. A. and the LaFollette movement really represent are the class and group interests of the rich farmer, small and medium capitalist and the reactionary, high-salaried labor bureaucrats. These have nothing in common with and everything against the real interests of the industrial workers and poor farmers.

At this meeting in February, there may develop differences of opinion, mainly on the point: Shall the new bourgeois party be organized now or later? The Socialists (who have lost their own party and are now looking for a new one) and some of the farmer-laborites will probably press for the formation of the new party now. Both these groups need badly a new national organization in order to save the remnants of their political standing. On the other hand the progressive labor fakers of the Johnston type are not so anxious for the immediate formation of a new party provided they can maintain their political alliance with LaFollette for joint action. The fact that the chiefs of the railroad brotherhoods and the Gompers crowd, too, are rather cool towards the idea of forming a party immediately will no doubt exert a restraining influence upon the decisions of the February meeting of the C. P. P. A.

LaFollette himself and his little group in Congress are, as usual, hesitant to the point of cowardice, halfhearted and diplomatically wise. It is still problematical whether or not LaFollette will urge the immediate formation of a Third Party. The probabilities are in favor of the following course of action or, rather, inaction. The February meeting will pass a resolution declaring in principle for a Third Party, but will postpone the formation of such a party at least until after the next congressional election. Meanwhile the C. P. P. A. will continue its so-called non-partisan tactics of participating in the primaries of the old parties to secure the nomination to Congress for "progressive" politicians of the LaFollette type. But irrespective of the outcome of the February meeting, whether they form a party now or later, the C. P. P. A. will remain substantially what it was, an alliance between progressive labor fakers and LaFollette politicians to exploit the power of the workers and poor farmers in the interests of hostile classes and groups.

## Break With and Fight Against the C. P. P. A.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America has already made known its attitude toward the C. P. P. A. and its February meeting. It is an attitude of merciless struggle against the petty-bourgeois domination in the labor movement of the C. P. P. A. and the LaFollette movement. The Communists of America organized in the Workers Party view this C. P. P. A. combination as another attempt to fool the masses and to prevent them from actual struggle against their enemies the capitalists. The Workers Party calls upon the American workers and poor farmers to break with the C. P. P. A. and the LaFollette movement and to join with the Communists in a real struggle for real demands.

Just now the most burning issues in the life of the labor movement are: to resist wage cuts by strikes, to fight against child-labor exploitation, to secure relief for the unemployed, to rally to the defense of the militants in the

Michigan case and all other prisoners of the class war and generally to unite the workers and poor farmers around the banner of class-struggle, under the leadership of a revolutionary political party of the working class. The Workers (Communist) Party of America is the class party of the American workers and poor farmers. It is the only party in the United States willing and able to rally the workers, to join with them in actual struggle against capitalist exploitation.

**Don't go to the February meeting of the C. P. P. A.—** This must become the slogan of every class-conscious labor organization, because to participate in the C. P. P. A. is the same as rendering aid and comfort to the enemies of the working class.

**Propagate the United Front of workers and poor farmers**—is another practical and effective slogan for every militant fighter in the cause of labor, because only through such a United Front with the Workers (Communist) Party will the masses be able to resist effectively the new attacks of the capitalists upon the labor movement.

Instead of talking Third Parties, call upon the masses to rally immediately around the already existing working-class party, the Workers Party. Instead of following LaFollette, Johnston and Hillquit into subjection to your capitalist masters, follow the lead of the working-class militants, the Communists, and fight against your masters. Because the road to working-class victory is the road of struggle, and this is the road proposed by the Workers (Communist) Party.



"SILENT CAL," WORRYING ABOUT ANYTHING ELSE BUT THE C. P. P. A.



VIRTUE

J. de Miskey

# A Pan-American Fig Leaf

By J. W. Johnstone

"THE world ought to belong to us—workers of hand and brain.

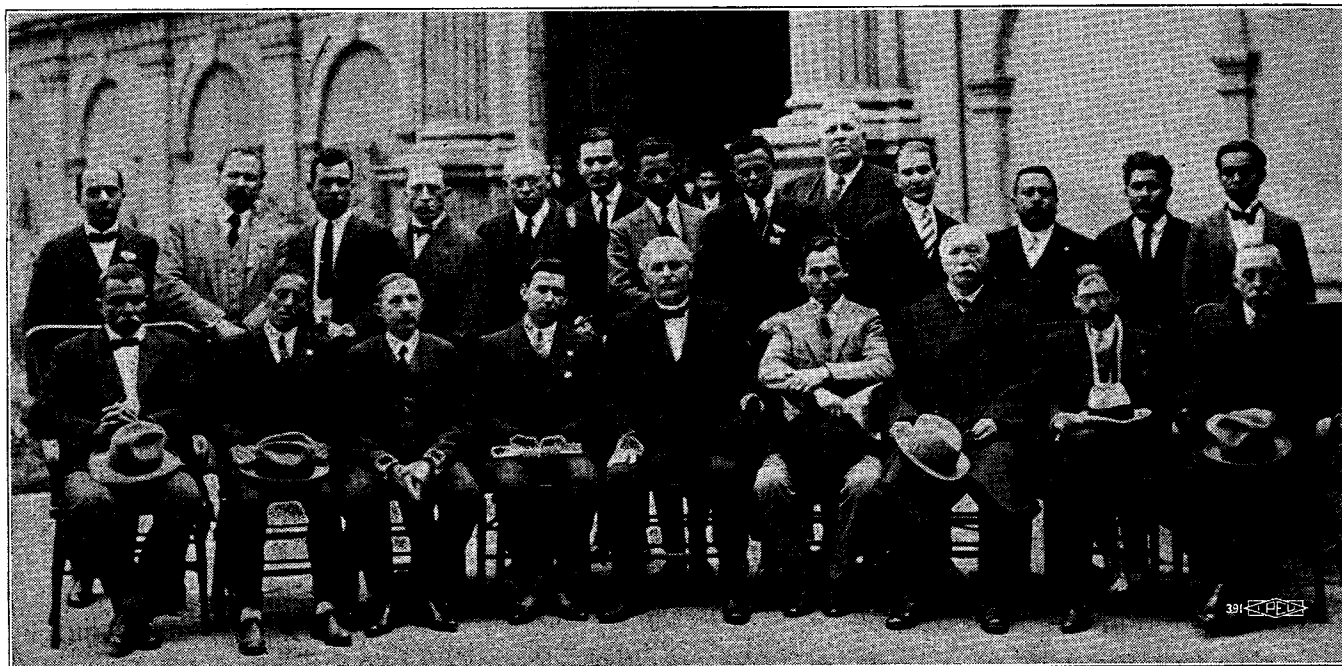
"We aren't so revolutionary. All we want is to change an adjective, just one adjective. We want the Bourgeois order to give place to the Proletarian order. If this should be brought about, it would mean that those who toil would displace in authority the idlers who do nothing but own—that everywhere, in all factories, mines, offices and fields, the workers would rule. Workers would regulate the workshops and workers would make the laws of nations."

One can imagine Gompers' cynical smile as he read the above lines. They were sent to him by Enoch Adames V, of the Federation of Labor of Panama, as part of a letter of protest against the policy of the A. F. of L. in the Canal Zone, which is a policy of dividing the workers, of playing upon racial prejudices, of relegating the native Panamanian workers to the permanent status of common-grade labor, with wages 25 to 30 per cent lower than those paid to Americans.

The author of the letter was one of five Panamanian delegates to the recent convention of the so-called "Pan-American Federation of Labor," held in Mexico City. Yet, in the midst of the labored apologetics on behalf of imperialism, in the midst of the long speeches in defense of the bourgeoisie and calling for class collaboration, the ardent apostle of change did not indicate that he wanted to change even a syllable. Not a word of protest did he utter. The Panamanian's self-obliteration is easy to understand. He could not withstand close association with Gompers, Woll & Co. when

they came face to face in Mexico City. In his afore-mentioned letter of protest, Senor Adames expresses what is, after all, only a vague revolutionary tendency; he and his colleagues lack real class consciousness. They are without experience. Their movement is half-formed. Gompers had only to whisper a few empty phrases in their ears and they were satisfied—or overwhelmed. Promises were gratefully accepted in lieu of deeds. Time and experience will line up at least some of these delegates in the fight against the imperialists.

The case of the delegates from Panama is typical. It might be duplicated in the instance of the delegates from Nicaragua, or Costa Rica. None of them represents an actual labor organization. There are only two regularly-constituted trade union bodies in the "Pan-American": the A. F. of L. and the C. R. O. M. (Mexican Federation of Labor). Otherwise, the "Pan-American Federation of Labor" is a grandiose fake, its affiliated membership existing almost entirely on paper. The delegates to Pan-American Federation of Labor conventions are handpicked by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, who control the purse-strings. If they have a spark of revolutionary feeling, it is soon dimmed; they find themselves helpless before the smooth working of the administration machine, operated by the A. F. of L. aces with the faithful support of Luis N. Morones and his fellow-fakers at the helm of the C. R. O. M. Thus we have the absurd spectacle of decidedly nationalistic Latin Americans passing resolutions in favor of the Monroe Doctrine, the Wall Street-owned "Pan-



AT THE CONVENTION OF THE PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

In the front row, seated, are: three of the Panama delegates, Trevino (Mexico), Morrison, Vargas, Duncan, Moneda (Mexico) and Iglesias. Gompers and Morones were off somewhere having a little "tete a tete" when the picture was taken.

American Union," etc. The "Pan-American Federation of Labor" serves as an instrument of American imperialism.

The C. R. O. M. is the "Latin" side of the "Pan-American Federation of Labor machine—its only tangible claim to the name of Pan-American. Luis N. Morones is head and boss of the C. R. O. M., to an even greater degree than Gompers was boss of the A. F. of L. He is also secretary of commerce and labor in the Mexican government. It is Morones who, with the death of Gompers, becomes president of the "Pan-American Federation of Labor," at least temporarily. Under his administration a continuance of the Gompers policy of class collaboration is assured.

In the light of this situation, it is worth our while to examine into the career of Morones, and the work of him and his associates in the C. R. O. M.

The C. R. O. M. was born of the Carranza revolution. It was organized by Morones, with government money, and Morones was its first general secretary. At the opportune moment, Morones deserted poor old Carranza and when General Obregon became president of Mexico, the ever-fortunate labor leader was placed in charge of the federal munitions works. As a side line, he organized the "Partido Laborista Mexicano" (Mexican Labor Party), again with government funds. The "Partido Laborista" has become the dominant political party in Mexico and recently succeeded in electing General Plutarco Elias Calles to the presidency.

Hailed by Gompers as a "labor government" and by Morones as a "socialist government" (?), the Calles regime is in reality a political sub-committee of Wall Street, dressed up in the outer garments of democracy. This political sub-committee of Wall Street also dominates and directs the "Partido Laborista" and the C. R. O. M. Both of the latter organizations are financed through government subsidies. They have the free use of government buildings and their leaders occupy positions in the government.

The C. R. O. M. is a political football of the "Partido Laborista." However, the reader should not jump to the conclusion that the C. R. O. M. is not a bonafide union. It is. It has a dues paying membership of a little over 100,000—but Mexican trade unionists do not pay their dues with extreme regularity. Gompers used to say that the organization had over 1,000,000 members. Morones claims 500,000. The actual membership is probably somewhere around 350,000.

That Morones and his partners at the head of the C. R. O. M. have to wear a socialist cloak and make use of a revolutionary phraseology, may be taken as indicative of a strong, but very vague revolutionary tendency running throughout the membership. Even Sam Gompers, who hated the mention of all things radical, had to fall in with the socialistic pretense while in Mexico, and he, himself, was paraded to the Mexican workers as a socialist. Some sections of the C. R. O. M. lean very strongly to the left indeed.

Of late years Morones has accumulated fat and diamonds. He is rated as a millionaire. While head of the munitions works under Obregon, he had \$15,000,000 a year at his disposal, ostensibly for armament and munitions. A goodly portion of this money went to increase Morones' private fortune, or to create political jobs for officials of the C. R. O. M. When the De La Huerta uprising broke out, the army was insufficiently equipped to take the field and hurried orders had to be placed with munitions firms in the United States.

Now that Morones has been made secretary of commerce

and labor, Celestino Gasca, another prominent leader of the C. R. O. M., has succeeded him as head of the munitions works. Ricardo Trevino, another leader, has taken Morones' place in the Mexican Chamber of Deputies. The present general secretary of the C. R. O. M., Eduardo Moneda, was formerly head of the government printing establishment, a political job which has been held by various other labor officials, including Juan Rico and Ezequiel Salcedo. Lesser lights of the C. R. O. M. are taken care of through the medium of subordinate jobs in the munitions works, or in state or local governments. All these jobs are shifted around. Some of the "labor leaders" are on two or three government pay-rolls at the same time.

I give this brief, and wholly inadequate, survey of governmental financial and political ties with the leaders of the C. R. O. M., so that the reader will better understand the stories of treachery which are to follow.

If any proof were needed that Morones had not gone into "the trade union business" because of a desire to improve the conditions of the Mexican workers, it was furnished in the Tampico oil strike of 1920. This strike was led by Ricardo Trevino, at that time an anarchist and exceedingly popular among the strikers. Troops were sent into the strike zone, numerous arrests were made, and many of the strikers killed. Through the instrumentality of Morones, Trevino was arrested. Then Morones arranged for a conference with him. The upshot of it was that Trevino gave up all activity in connection with the strike and brought his influence to bear against his former followers, who immediately expelled him from the union. The strike was crushed. Trevino soon began to blossom forth as a full-fledged lieutenant of Morones, and in due course, was made general secretary of the C. R. O. M.

In the famous tenants' strike of 1922, we see this whole band of "socialist" labor leaders in their governmental capacity, using armed force against a great popular movement. The tenants' strike was unique. It started in Vera Cruz, but soon spread throughout the country, workers everywhere answering the exorbitant demands of the landlords by refusing to pay rent. The murdering of six strikers and the severe wounding of forty more was not sufficient to break the backbone of the movement in Mexico City; whereupon, the C. R. O. M. officials, acting in their accustomed role of disrupters, organized a dual union. When the tenants refused to join, they ordered all members of the C. R. O. M. to withdraw from the tenants' league, under pain of expulsion and the loss of their jobs. In the end the strike was crushed, not only in Mexico City, but all over the country—with the exception of Vera Cruz. In Vera Cruz, despite an unparalleled reign of terror, during which 90 strikers were killed in cold blood and hundreds wounded, the tenants won a complete victory. A large proportion of the tenants paid no rent for two years; a settlement has lately been reached on the basis of nominal rentals.

Another act of treachery committed by the Morones gang was in connection with the strike against the British Light & Traction Co., which holds the street car franchise in Mexico City. The Red Trolleyman's Union succeeded in completely tying up traffic. Victory seemed certain, until the C. R. O. M. officials resorted once more to their dual union tactics. Guate Rojo, then a leader of the Newspapermen's Union, was picked to break the strike and he did a good job. Bringing together a handful of stool pigeons, he

organized them into a dual union, accepted the company's demands and ordered all men back to work. The strikers paid no attention to this order. Troops were called out, however, and the strike was broken at the point of the bayonet. It was later conclusively proved that Guate Rojo received \$2,500 for his piece of treachery. After his exposure, Mexico became too hot for Rojo and he fled to the United States. The cancelled check is now in the hands of the Communist Party of Mexico.

Probably the most brazen attempt to defeat a strike by means of bribery, was that which came to light in the strike of the oil workers employed by the Mexican Eagle Company, owned by the powerful Royal Dutch Shell interests. The strike broke out in the Tampico district early last year, primarily as a move to bring about enforcement of the constitutional provision calling for an eight-hour day, minimum wage, etc. Other demands of the strikers were for wage increases, free medical attention, three months' pay if discharged, accident compensation (including full wages for life in the case of workers totally disabled), full pay to widow or family during a period of four years in the case of workers killed on the job.

Morones, the great man of the C. R. O. M., head of the government munitions works and national deputy, rushed to Tampico to settle the strike. Meantime, the Communists had succeeded in bringing about a united front between the strikers, the local C. R. O. M. union, the C. G. T. (General Confederation of Workers) and some independent unions, the strikers themselves having been organized in the course of the conflict, under the leadership of Turrubiates, a striker belonging to the Communist Party of Mexico. Morones held conferences with the company, and finally offered the men \$40,000 to be used in starting a workers' co-operative, on condition that they would accept whatever settlement he could make with the company.

The strikers refused to consider the proposition without first hearing the proposed terms of settlement, which of course, turned out to be unconditional surrender. The strike committee, with Turrubiates as chairman, was instructed to assume entire charge of the negotiations. Morones flew into a rage and threatened to flood the oil fields with troops unless the workers accepted his proposal; three days later, federal soldiers were brought in. As a protest against this act of treachery, the strikers broke their alliance with the leaders of the C. R. O. M.

Through the able leadership of Turrubiates, the support given the strikers by the Communist Party, and the united front tactics pursued, the strikers won practically all their demands. Other workers in the Tampico district, encouraged by the victory, made similar demands upon their employers. A number of strikes have broken out since then, with the Communists playing a leading role, and a number of agreements favorable to the workers have been entered into. Turrubiates, who was blacklisted, functioned actively in all these struggles. He is now leading the strike of the workers employed by the Mexican Oil Company, an American concern owned by "Ed" Doheny, of "Teapot Dome" fame.

The Doheny strike began under the leadership of the anarchists of the C. G. T. Once again Obregon and Morones called out the troops. Two strikers were killed and eleven wounded. In the face of this government offensive the anarchist leaders gave way, abandoning the strikers precisely

at the time when firm leadership was most needed. The Communists took charge. Instead of breaking the strike, the terroristic methods of employers and government only strengthened it. Notwithstanding the active opposition of the leaders of the C. R. O. M. and C. G. T., the united front still remains solid, the men are paying their 5-cent strike assessment, and victory appears certain.

These few examples serve to indicate the type of leadership which controls the policy of the C. R. O. M., the "Latin American fig-leaf" of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Is it any wonder then, that the C. R. O. M. leaders have been able to work in such close harmony with the bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. and that the so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor does not represent the attitude of the workers of Latin America any more than its list of affiliations represent any real affiliated organizations outside of Mexico and the United States? Is it at all surprising that at the last convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, December, 1924, a resolution was adopted urging the trade union movements of Latin America to demand representation for "their countries" in Mr. J. P. Morgan's "Pan-American Union," so that the interests of the workers and capitalists of the Western Hemisphere may be "consolidated?"

The aim of the "Pan-American Federation of Labor" is to enforce the Monroe Doctrine and to train the workers of the western world for their status as cannon fodder in the next world war, in the interests of American imperialism.

The only working class organizations which understand the forces working in this direction, and which are carrying on a determined fight against imperialism, are the Communist Parties and Young Communist leagues of both continents, the T. U. E. L. and the newly-formed Pan-American Anti-Imperialist League. The Workers (Communist) Party and the T. U. E. L. have launched a campaign to unite the revolutionary elements of America against Wall Street, and to fight against the domination of the A. F. of L. and C. R. O. M. bureaucrats over the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The needs of the workers demand that the class struggle be substituted for class collaboration as the policy to be pursued by the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and that the organization be made an instrument of effective struggle in the interests of the toilers of North, Central and South America, as expressed in the program of the Communist International and of the R. I. L. U.

### Roads

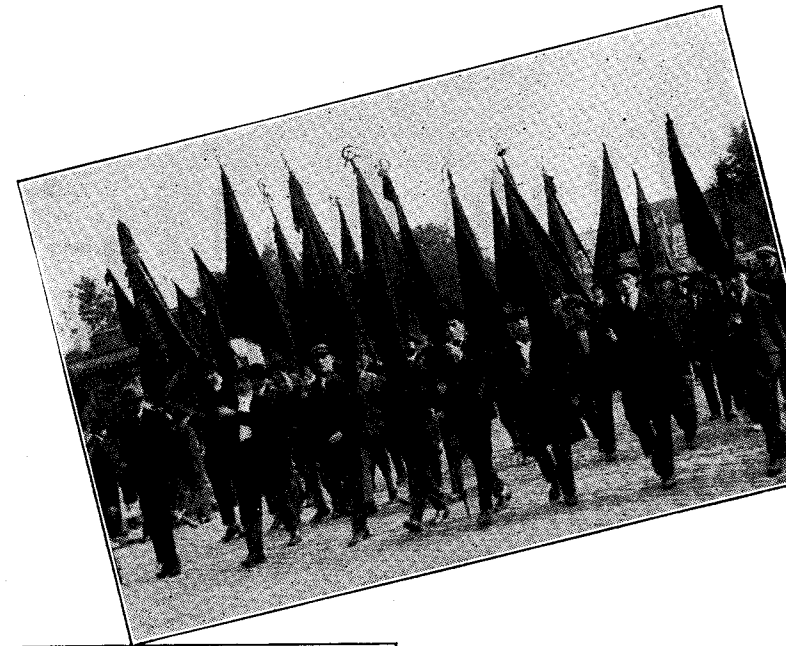
**T**HERE are proud roads of commerce and pleasure  
That travel from town to town,  
Straight and hard, and efficient.

But this little road is of no use at all.  
It wanders off in the sand,  
And wades a brook full of minnows.  
Lingering among the willows to pick violets;  
It keeps a choice assortment of ragweed and  
Sunflower stalks that the blackbirds may have the seeds,  
And finally it gets nowhere but stops in an old meadow.

See the jack-in-the-pulpits I found there!

Beulah May.

## The Class Struggle in France



ABOVE, AT LEFT: HOLIDAY MARCH OF PARISIAN COMMUNISTS; UPPER RIGHT-HAND, OVAL: MARCEL CACHIN, COMMUNIST MEMBER OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, ONE OF THE FOREMOST FIGURES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE; BELOW, AT LEFT: LEONID KRASSIN, SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE; LOWER RIGHT-HAND: MONSTER DEMONSTRATION IN PARIS AGAINST THE DAWES PLAN—THE CHINESE GROUP IN THE DEMONSTRATION.



# The Fine Art of Grafting

By T. J. O'Flaherty

"THE writer once had the opportunity of looking out through the bars of a very filthy cell in the Chicago detective bureau. Among the things besides cockroaches that came within the range of my vision, were two nattily dressed men who had just finished doing a stretch of eighteen months in the Bridewell.

The two took prison life as a matter of course, just as a carpenter would take hitting his thumb nail with a hammer. Good carpenters have a better hitting average on nails, than those less skillful. Clever criminals manage to get along better with the prison system than others.

The two gentlemen that I am referring to, were neither workers nor capitalists. They operated in that twilight zone that lies between. They were robbers, illegitimate robbers as distinguished from the legitimate grafters who rob the workers at the point of production.

What I saw through the bars of my filthy cage was this: The two gentlemen of elastic virtue had barely gotten out of the Bridewell, when they were arrested on another warrant. Bail was needed. Until that was forthcoming in "straw" or in more substantial form, the two illegal business men would be cooling their heels in the basement of the detective bureau. They were not placed in cells, however, like the unprofessional victims who were only suspected of being criminals.

The waiting guests sent messages to prospective bondsmen through a police official. But like the bird sent out by Noah from his ark, this officer returned several times with a sorry shake of the head. He seemed rather apologetic each time. He went away and promised to make another effort. Again he failed.

Then the two held a consultation. "We must grease the fool's palm," declared the younger and better dressed of the two. His pal nodded.

The next time the officer appeared, the prisoners did not wait to hear his story, but took him aside and did a little handshaking, right hand of burglar (or whatever his particular line was) and left hand of police officer, meeting in the vicinity of both gentlemen's hips. Within five minutes the doors of the detective bureau were closed behind the criminals—a bondsman appeared as if by magic after the little handshaking incident.

This is a scene from the depths. It bears the same relation to graft that a toy balloon, the kind sold to children by street fakers, bears to the gigantic Zeppelin, that carries scores of passengers. It serves as a model.

To be a grafter under capitalism is to be just like everybody else who has not yet got caught. Psychologists believe that one of the reasons why men consented so willingly to be inducted into the armies of the different countries in the late war is the thought that, while everybody else might get killed, the chance of this particular individual being called to the happy ground was slim. Under capitalism, grafting is a normal procedure. Everybody with a little courage does it. It is understood that everybody—this "everybody" must not be taken too literally, the writer and several others must

be excluded—is grafting, everybody will naturally feel it a case of bum luck, should he or she get caught. Just as the fellow who joined the army would, if he saw a shell with his name on it sailing along.

The fact is, a grafter—unless he makes a specialty of robbing widows, orphans and cripples—is by no means unpopular in the United States. Graft is such an accepted feature of capitalist society that people do not grow excited over it. Though the masses have not consciously reasoned their way to the conclusion that the capitalist system is based on robbery, it appears that they instinctively feel it. This explains their imperviousness to graft exposures. As a matter of fact, I can prove that all other things being equal, a grafting politician is much more popular than an "honest" one.

We have the "strange case of Mr. Small." Len Small is governor of the sovereign state of Illinois. While state treasurer, Small loaned several millions of dollars of the state funds to the Chicago packers at 8 per cent. These funds were deposited in banks which paid the state only two per cent. The balance, Small did with as he saw fit. He did not see fit to turn it over to the state.

Small's political enemies used this wizardry of his in order to dethrone him. But the masses have rallied to him and the more he is exposed as a grafter, the better he is liked, it seems. Nothing can now interfere with his continued progress in public esteem, except a sudden but unexpected lapse into honesty.

The capitalists do not like grafting politicians for the very good reason that the graft comes out of their pockets. Where else could it come from? Of course, all wealth, in its usable form is created by labor, but the trouble is that very little of its money equivalent gets into the jeans of those who produce it. So the graft of the politician as well as the salary of the general, comes out of the part of the product of labor which the capitalist steals. But he does not like to part with money, therefore he squeals when the politicians stick their grabbers into the public till. The masses simply say: "If he gets away with it, good luck to him."

Graft and corruption is inseparable from a society based on robbery, exploitation and class rule. This corruption has infected the people from the top to the bottom. The rulers at the top have a code of ethics to regulate their main form of robbery, the robbery of the workers. The big fellows can also rob each other under certain rules. They punish those who step outside of this circle.

The American workers are not disturbed by tales of corruption in government. The Teapot Dome scandal left them cold. It was not their funeral.

In Soviet Russia, corruption on the part of Soviet officials is looked upon in a different light by the masses. Defrauding the government is recognized by the workers and peasants as an attack on themselves. Hence the hatred felt for a grafter in Russia and the comparative popularity among the masses, enjoyed by those who rob the government in America.

Let us take the Teapot Dome and other scandals which for a time threatened to upset the republican administration. No more brazen orgy of grafting was ever unveiled in the United States. Officials of the government were caught red-handed accepting money in return for favors rendered at the expense of the government. Yet, in the recent elections the government responsible for this graft carnival was returned to office with one of the biggest pluralities in the history of this country and those who exposed the corruption buried underneath an avalanche of votes. It is true that the return to power of the republican party was due to other reasons than mass approval of its grafting propensities. The point is that the corruption with which it was associated was completely lost sight of in the more vital issues that were pushed to the front during the election campaign. The masses refused to be horrified over the graft exposures.

A few examples will prove what a rotten cesspool of corruption the capital of capitalist America is. We will begin with the Harding administration, though the previous regimes could put up as good or as bad a record.

Albert B. Fall was made secretary of the interior in the Harding administration. He had charge, among other things, of the naval oil reserves in California and Wyoming, the latter being known to fame as the famous Teapot Dome. These oil reserves were formerly under the control of the navy department, but Mr. Fall had better "connections," so they were turned over to him.

Shortly afterwards Fall leased the California reserve, number one, to Doheny and the Teapot Dome to Sinclair. Nothing very wrong about that. But it was divulged that Doheny sent one hundred thousand dollars in a satchel to his friend Fall and Doheny gave him \$25,000 and a large number of cattle. The moralists exploded on hearing this and the Democrats thought they saw a chance to get back into office. They were disappointed.

The Teapot Dome investigation followed and the public was treated to the juiciest feast of scandal it was ever its good fortune to see spread before it.

Before the deluge of oil was cleared away hundreds of reputations appeared to be ruined, but in reality nobody was seriously hurt, except those who bungled their roles. One of those was Archie Roosevelt who turned out to be a miserable weakling, who went back on his gang. He had a job as vice-president in one of the Sinclair oil companies, but his real duties were taking care of Mrs. Sinclair's poodle dog, accompanying her to the movies and purchasing traveling reservations for her husband. The big thieves, Fall, Doheny, Sinclair, Shaffer of the Denver Post and others got a lot of good publicity out of it and are still enjoying themselves in the wide-open spaces of "free" America.

William Gibbs McAdoo was discovered to be on the Doheny payroll and to have used his influence as Wilson's son-in-law in order to enable Doheny to rob Mexico. For this service he received large sums of money. He was honored by half the Democratic party with the nomination for the presidency. A religious row and not his connections with the Doheny money bags spoiled his chances of being in the White House today, by robbing him of the nomination.

When Denby, former secretary of the navy, and one of those responsible for putting so much oily temptation in the way of Albert B. Fall, arrived in Detroit after being removed from office thousands met him at the railway station and gave him a reception such as is given only to conquerors. The crowd thought he was kicked out for doing just what they would have done if they had the chance.

The financial dealings of Jess Smith read like the work of a highly imaginative fiction writer. He dealt in millions, had a desk at the department of justice from which he directed his grafting operations. This graft he shared with Harry M. Daugherty, head of the department of justice—when Jess was not around. Jess was not a member of the cabinet, but he peddled a good line of graft and was master of his trade. As such he enjoyed the distinction that all professional men fall heir to.

Jess Smith dealt in liquor permits, prison pardons and other commodities. His woman was not treated pro-

perly by other members of the gang, to wit, the Daugherty boys, after Jess died, so the story of the Smith-Daugherty operations came to light.

It is true Daugherty got kicked out of the cabinet as a result of the investigation. It is equally true that he was unpopular, but not because he was a grafter. His hostility to labor, particularly his action in securing an injunction against the striking shopmen at the behest of the railroad barons, put him on the verboten list of the organized workers throughout the country.

The capitalists, of course, did not like the way he allowed himself to be exposed as a member of the Smith grafting circle and they would punish an ordinary politician for such deviations, but Daugherty was a valuable tool of theirs and they could not forget his services to them during the railway strike.

Daugherty was kicked out of the cabinet, but he is back in Washington again, and on the calling list of President Coolidge, the same man who dismissed him from office.

We also have Forbes, who is now on trial in Chicago for having performed the disappearing trick on millions of dollars appropriated by congress to take care of the wounded war veterans. Forbes entered into deals with contractors to divvy up on contracts for the building of hospital. In his spare time he shot craps with the wife of another grafter, while



TWO DRY CONGRESSMEN DISCUSSING THE HIGH COST OF GRAFT

bottles of Haig and Haig looked down from a bureau on their innocent pleasures. The other fellow, the lady's husband, got jealous and squealed on Forbes. Judging by the number of bankers who have taken the stand as character witnesses for Forbes, shooting craps with other men's wives may become a popular form of indoor sport in capitalist social circles from now on. Forbes, boon companion of the late President Harding, is setting the fashion. Nobody, outside of the wounded veterans and those who might have been let in on Forbes' graft, seems to be excited.

Then we have another tale of graft, with a Boccacian touch, in the revelations of the fascinating Mrs. Scott, wife of a Michigan congressman. Army officers and gambling figured in her testimony. A burned hole in her kimono was what caused her husband to let the public in on a little diversion. The burnt hole was caused by the lighted end of a cigarette. An army officer was at the other end of it. Graft, illegal transportation of liquor, drunken prohibition officers—this is the tale unfolded by witnesses to life in Washington. Graft is the order of the day. It is getting monotonous.

So much so indeed that we can barely sum up sufficient energy to read the latest graft scandal from Kansas, where the governor was caught selling pardons. His son accepted a check for over one thousand dollars for delivering the governor's pardon for Fred W. Pollman, paroled forger, and former bank president. The governor said his son was "in-discreet." He was.

This article started with two low criminals in a detective bureau. They were pikers. It is possible the police officer who finally called up their bondsmen only got a ten dollar bill for his pains. The policeman who steps on the running board of your flivver and threatens to arrest you for violating some city ordinance may change his mind on receipt of a five spot. But it takes more and more as you go up until the cost of getting a big gun like Fall do something for you knocks you cuckoo. Modern grafting like modern industry is done on a large scale. Only the cockroach grafters deal in fives and tens.

Communists know that under a system based on robbery, "clean" government is neither possible nor should the workers be interested in it. The more corrupt and rotten the capitalist government, the easier it will fall. Capitalism is interested in clean government, because that means efficient government. But nevertheless, capitalism, having the curse of Cain on its brow finds its own government corrupted and seduced by members of its own class. The Dohenys and Sinclairs corrupt the Falls, who are charged with the duty of conserving the resources of all the capitalists.

Let them rob and steal from each other! We will not call a halt. Our duty ends with making whatever propaganda we can out of the corruption that is exposed daily in capitalist governments. We are interested in showing the workers how thin is the veil of virtue with which capitalism seeks to hide its foul face.

The robbery that we are interested in putting an end to is the robbery of the workers by the capitalists. When that aim is achieved and the workers have accomplished their historical mission of overthrowing the capitalist system and establishing their own rule on its ruins, then we will be interested in "clean and honest" government.



A WORKER VISITS WASHINGTON

## NEXT MONTH

The March issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY will be something to prize and keep. It will tell

### The Prison Story of the Wobblies

Written by an ex-convict  
Illustrated by an ex-convict—

some of the finest drawings that have appeared in any American magazine.

### Negroes in American Industry

By William F. Dunne

In this article, "Bill" Dunne deals with the growing importance of negro labor in America industry, and voices the common interests of all workers, whites as well as blacks, in a strong, militant and all-inclusive labor movement to fight against capitalism.

Other features will be:

### What Kind of Education is Workers' Education?

By Max Bedacht

### The Background of Leninism

By Manuel Gomez

### Ten Years of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers

By Rose Wortis

### History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

Alexander Bittelman's translation of this remarkable work by president of the Communist International is in itself sufficient reason for the reader to resolve not to miss a single issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY. Another large installment will be printed in the WORKERS MONTHLY for March.

# Anthracite

By Joseph Manley

JUST a short five hour ride from New York City lies the greatest hard coal deposit in the world—the Anthracite region of America. In this region, in dark caverns many hundreds of feet underground, is dug the hard coal that makes the bright lights of old Broadway twinkle. Here in the northeastern corner of Pennsylvania 165,000 miners members of the United Mine Workers of America, are battling for their lives against the iron heel of American capitalism—the iron heel that in Pennsylvania has more steel in it than any other state in the Union.

Two more lives, those of Samuel Pace and Steve Frely, have been added to the long list of those sacrificed in this battle of the workers against all the agents of Morgan and Rockefeller, the real owners of this vast domain.

The 480 square miles of the anthracite region is divided into three districts of the Miners Union, namely Districts 1, 7 and 9. The seat of the present trouble is in District No. 1, of which Rinaldo Capellini is the District President. Here the 80,000 miners are seething with revolt. More than half of them are Italians. It is their fiery Latin temperament which refuses any longer to rest content under the lash of "the companies." Next in numerical importance to the Italians, are the Poles, Lithuanians, Slovaks and Russians. Theirs is the blood and bone and sinew that digs the 70,000,000 gross tons that constitutes the annual output of anthracite from this great region.

### Fighting Against Boss and Bureaucrat

The "outlaw" strike of the Pennsylvania collieries is but an indication of others that will come in the future. The present strike is caused on the one hand by the back-breaking and soul-destroying conditions under which the men are forced to toil and on the other hand by the iron suppression by "the companies" (aided and abetted as they are by the union officialdom) of the miners, long-standing grievances growing out of their miserable working conditions. This strike at the Pennsylvania collieries occurred on November 24th, almost 12,000 men from ten local unions are involved. The strike was called and is led by the Pennsylvania General Grievance Committee. The local unions involved were expelled by Lewis and the District: "because they did not keep their non-strike agreement inviolate." The strike is in its second month. It is bigger and displays more militancy and endurance than most past strikes of like character occurring in the region. If it does not spread to the men of the six other big companies, who also have identical grievances, and if it succumbs to the combined ruthless force of the companies, the union officialdom and the state power, it will be because the present leadership of the strike has not grasped the fundamental basis of the conflict and is not willing to face the consequences of a militant struggle for the redress of the men's grievances against "the companies." In such

an event similar strikes will again take place. No combination of force can destroy their basis. "The companies" and the District union officials cannot for any length of time successfully suppress and destroy the lives of hundreds of thousands of miners and their families. The entire Anthracite region is quivering with the class struggle—at present in suppression but ready to break forth at the first favorable opportunity.

### Capellini

The Pennsylvania collieries strikers are composed mostly of Italians. It is their militant temperament and sprinkling of revolutionary ideas that gives the strike more than ordinary significance to Communists. They but a short time ago elected Rinaldo Capellini, on a progressive and near-revolutionary program of reform. Capellini's picturesque appearance; one arm missing; with his deep voice, his glib mounthing of progressive and revolutionary phraseology, won for him a place in the hearts of not alone the Italian miners but many of the other nationalities as well. Capellini showed skill not alone as a speaker but also as a union politician. To more effectively fight the then District organization with Brennan at its head, he helped organize the present system (which does not exist in any other District of the Miners Union) of general grievance committees. They are not authorized by the constitution and are made up of the regular mine grievance committees and the officers of the local unions of each company. For instance, the Pennsylvania General Grievance Committee is made up of the three members of the 10 "Pennsylvania" local unions and their officers. The entire committee therefore numbers about 100 members. Other general grievance committees exist for the other companies and are made up in the same manner. Both the companies and Lewis refuse to recognize these committees. In the opinion of the writer they are embryonic "shop committees." They are very responsive to the rank and file and should by all means be retained, given additional powers and consolidated.

Capellini with the aid of this machinery of the general grievance committees and his pseudo-progressive program won the support of the miners of District No. 1; the combination enabled him to beat Brennan and have himself elected in his place. No sooner had he succeeded in licking Brennan than he fell for the scheme of the wily Lewis, who "approved" the election of Capellini and reduced him to the status of the defeated Brennan. Following which Lewis appointed his faithful henchman Brennan as International Organizer right under Capellini's nose. Brennan serves as a watch-dog for Lewis and as a salutary warning against Cappellini's flirting with any more progressives and Communists. Now Capellini faces a new election in a few short months. On the one side he is faced with the rival candidacy of Brennan, whom Lewis will unquestionably support and on the other side the bitter hostility of the men who once hailed him as the champion of their grievances. We predict that he and Brennan will have to face the candidacy of a real progressive who will win on a practical militant program. It is the old

story of pseudo progressives having their milk teeth pulled by the old fox bureaucrats of the International Union. It is a living proof that nothing can successfully combat the union bureaucrats and "the companies" but the Communists and their supporters.

#### A Fundamental Struggle

The battle of the men against "the companies" in the anthracite is a fundamental struggle. It is fraught with all the dangers of the class struggle itself. "The companies" are conscious of this. In the anthracite there is great repression of civil and other liberties. In contradistinction to the soft coal regions, general militancy amongst the rank and file of the anthracite miners is not a tradition. Working conditions are worse and wages lower than amongst the bituminous miners. Under capitalism the difficulties of mining anthracite, are greater than of mining bituminous. Consequently practically no uniformity of working conditions exist. Grievances are continually developing out of the nature of the industry, its frightful hazard, its difficulties and the lack of uniformity.

The grievances of the men should be daily readjusted through the regular adjustment machinery, the Mine Grievance Committee, the Local Union or the District Officials. In fact however, no adjustment for the many grievances takes place. The Miners Union in the anthracite is so poisoned with the policy of class collaboration amongst its higher officialdom that even its lower units cannot function. "The companies" will not give them redress because they know the higher officials will not back them up in a militant struggle. The Conciliation Board, composed of 50 per cent operators, 50 per cent Union Officials, and an Umpire, is one of the worst forms of this class collaboration system of repression. The maze of repressive machinery is so intricate, and the many grievances get lost so easily in it, that the men do not always see through the whole colossal scheme. They are however, developing more or less unconsciously the knowledge and feeling that the struggle against "the companies" for the redress of their grievances is part of the struggle against capitalism itself. The 22,000 miners of the Glen Alden; the 18,000 of the Hudson; the 14,000 of the Lehigh Valley coal companies all have the same grievances as the 12,000 striking against the Pennsylvania. A general strike of all the men of these companies has not taken place so far, simply because the so-called progressives who lead the Pennsylvania General Grievance Committee have neither the militancy nor the organizational ability to weld together the various general grievance committees and lead the men in a successful struggle. "The companies" and the District Officials have worked to scare the miners with threats of "Communism" and "Communists." but they will not succeed. It will be shown in the anthracite that the Communists, the Workers Party, the Trade Union Educational League and the Progressive Miners Committee are the only ones who advocate a program which will help save the Miners Union and tend to solve the situation.

#### Morgan-Rockefeller Domination

The anthracite monopoly is one of the greatest under American capitalism. Seven large coal companies own and control between 75 and 80 per cent of all the anthracite coal

mined. They also own and control 90 per cent of the future supply of anthracite. These are "the companies" referred to by the men. They are owned and controlled by the anthracite railroads. For instance the Erie railroad owns or controls the Pennsylvania Coal Company where the present strike exists, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, the Glen Alden, etc. etc. The anthracite railroads are owned by or controlled through the Morgan and Rockefeller groups of banks. The Morgan group in 1922 had directors on the boards of practically all the large anthracite coal companies and the anthracite railroads. The National City Bank (a Rockefeller institution) in 1922 had connection with seven large producing, transporting or distributing companies.

The profits of this anthracite trust have grown to staggering proportions on the basis of figures compiled by the miners union. These profits according to the coal companies, the anthracite railroad and the distributing companies can be estimated at the huge sum total of two hundred and sixty million dollars annually.

This is the monopoly, the combination of American finance and industrial capital which has the hundreds of thousands of anthracite miners and their families in its ruthless grasp. It has its agents in their organization. Through its policy of class collaboration it is seeking to reduce a militant fighting labor organization to the status of a company union—doing the bidding of "the companies" henchmen inside and outside of the organization.

Against this mighty capitalist combination no lukewarm program or set of demands will avail. The present demands for the holding of a District convention and for the collaboration of the three District presidents are not enough. Fighting militant demands expressive of the real conditions of the miners lives and the forces with which they have to contend, must be made. All the general grievance committees should meet jointly and constantly. They should be welded together into a consolidated organization expressive of the rank and file. Under their auspices mass meetings of the strikers should be held, where the facts of the situation are explained. The grievances of the men should receive first consideration at these meetings and all other gatherings. The class collaboration policy of the District and International officials must be abolished. The Conciliation Board must be abolished. Complete freedom to meet and assemble at will must be established. The local unions must be reinstated by the International union with full rights.

#### Nationalize the Mines

These are but a few of the immediate demands that must be made if the miners organization in the anthracite is to be saved. Nothing short of a complete program to be followed by the militants of the region will put a firm ideological foundation under this at present unconscious struggle. Nothing short of the nationalization of the industry (the demand being made by the Progressive Miners Committee, the Trade Union Educational League and the Workers Party) can help solve the grievances from which the anthracite miners have now suffered for many years.

Anthracite miners do not become discouraged. Straighten your backs! Struggle against Morgan, Rockefeller and their agents in and out of your organization! Away with class collaboration and on with the class struggle! Solidarity will win.

# From Anarchism to Communism

By Jay Fox

(Editor's Note.—Jay Fox was the principal proletarian leader of the anarchist movement in America for the past 30 years. Emma Goldman represented the petty bourgeois wing, and in recent years devoted herself merely to lecturing upon sex, the drama and such subjects. Jay Fox joined the Knights of Labor in 1886 and went through the big stock yards strike of that year in Chicago. The Haymarket "riot" of 1886 made him a revolutionist. He was a militant worker in the Blacksmiths and the American Railway Union. He edited numerous anarchist publications and was arrested in 1901 in connection with the assassination of McKinley. In recent years he took an active part in the I. W. W., the Syndicalist League of North America, the T. U. E. L., and the Farmer-Labor Party. He joined the Workers Party in 1924.)

THE continued attacks by Emma Goldman upon the Russian Revolution impel me to review my own evolution prior to and since that eventful day in 1917 when the workers and peasants of Russia made the first serious rend in the armor of capitalism. At the age of sixteen I became a student of the militant revolutionists that gave up their lives for the cause at Chicago in 1887, Parsons, Spies, Fisher, Engel and Lingg. From these courageous comrades I imbibed the teachings of Anarchist Communism and since their crucifixion on the cross of gold have been a follower of that social philosophy.

The Chicago Anarchist Martyrs had split off from the Socialists, upon seeing the impossibility of the pacifist tactics of capturing the capitalist system with the capitalist ballot. They eschewed politics entirely, contending it was a waste of energy, and concentrated their whole attention on the economic field. They believed in revolutionizing the unions through which they hoped to destroy capitalism by revolutionary means.

#### Saw a Weakness in Anarchism.

As time went on and my practical experience broadened I began to see the weak points in the Anarchist propaganda. Spontaneous revolution arising out of some big strike would no doubt upturn the system; in fact, I saw no other feasible way to do it. But once the workers got control of industry, how was the revolution going to protect itself against the counter-revolution that from without and within would set upon it? Surely an army of defense would have to be organized. Without such a defense the workers would be slaughtered and the remnants driven back to slavery. I felt it would be harder to hold than to make the revolution. To make revolution is a matter of days; to hold it a question of months and perhaps years. In such a condition, to depend upon spontaneous defense would be foolish. My experience as a trade unionist had taught me that men must have organization and leadership or they rapidly fall back upon individual defense and are quickly routed by organized and disciplined opponents. Organized defense would constitute a revolutionary government and Anarchists were opposed to any kind of government. Really, I felt we would have to modify our principles in this regard, and I found that those comrades who had trade union experience were inclined to agree with me. I had studied the history of the Paris Commune and learned how it went down to defeat with the slaughter of 20,000 brave defenders through lack of proper organization. The Communards spent their time holding elections and parliamentary debates while the Versailles troops were marching on Paris.

#### Watched the Bolshevik Tactics.

For many years this flaw in my social philosophy tormented me. Thus, it may be easily conjectured with what intense interest I watched developments in Russia. I saw that the Bolsheviks immediately set up a revolutionary government and assumed leadership of the revolution. They knew what the revolution meant in order to be a workers' revolution. They left nothing to chance. They organized the Red Army and sent it forth to smash the hordes of the counter-revolution; and the Red Army must remain as a necessary defense of the revolution so long as white armies are camped across the border ready to destroy the Workers' Republic and hand the 160,000,000 of liberated workers back to the slavery and tyranny of capitalism.

For the first time in the history of the world a group of workers came into their own. They drove the parasites from



"BY CRACKKEY, I GUESS THEM ANARCHISTS AINT SO 'ONERY AFTER ALL!"

their palaces. They ejected the masters from the mills and factories and the landlords from the land. They cast the yoke of capitalism from their necks and the capitalists of the world, with true class instinct, clamored for the suppres-

sion of the "Red Russian madmen"; and the capitalist governments sprang to the assistance of the counter-revolution with men, money and munitions. But at every point of attack they were met and routed by the Red Army of the revolution.

#### Upheld Conduct of Revolution.

With the coming of this epoch-making revolution and its terrific struggle for existence, I learned that my early doubts were well-founded, that no revolution could live without a powerful organization of defense. A study of the Russian revolution has been of infinite value to me as a revolutionist, and far from joining the reactionaries in the counter-revolution, because some Anarchists were imprisoned, I raised my feeble voice in its behalf. I felt it would be a criminal betrayal of the revolution to attack the Bolsheviks because they were not conducting the revolution according to my pet theory. And then I did not know that if I and my comrades were at the helm we should not find our theories unworkable and be compelled to modify them in order to cope with the situations arising out of the conflict. I am sure we would not sacrifice the revolution on the altar of unworkable theory. That the Bolsheviks had put over the revolution and were



ISAAC GOLDSTEIN, DEALER IN SECOND HAND CLOTHING, MOVED TO TEARS BY EMMA GOLDMAN'S RECITALS OF BOLSHEVIK BARBARITIES

heroically defending it, I accounted sufficient to merit my applause—all I could contribute from this distance.

#### Saw Great Movement Coming.

I knew that the greatest event in history was taking place, that the age-long dream of the social revolution was in process of being realized, and whether or not the Bolsheviks would be able to put their full program of Communism into effect, the revolution would have a tremendous effect upon the world. Revolutionists everywhere would be enthused and heartened by this wonderful achievement out of which a great new movement must arise that will sweep over the

world like a prairie fire. With such a movement I would surely ally myself, for I knew it would be based upon the practical knowledge gained in the Russian struggle. Sentimentally I was drawn to the old movement, but as a practical revolutionist I knew my place was in the new one. I use the word "practical" advisedly. It is the duty of revolutionists to draw upon all the knowledge available in the preparation of their plans for propaganda and for the final struggle. Old movements crystallize around time-honored dogma and refuse to modify their tactics in the face of new experience.

#### The Communist International.

The new movement came fresh from the blood-soaked soil of new Russia, a vigorous young giant destined to convert the world to the ideal of Communism. The Communist International is the ripe fruit of the revolution, having all the experience and prestige of that great accomplishment behind it. Thus it is the most practical of all movements for the emancipation of labor. It is rallying the workers of all nations to its folds. It raises the cry: "All Power to the Workers," and it has a most efficient program for the fulfillment of that aim. It emphasizes the fact that the source of all power is economic and roots itself in the workers' and farmers' unions. But is not a one-way organization. It insists that since political power is reflected economic power, it cannot be isolated and ignored.

Under capitalism, political power is the watchdog of the exploiters. It keeps the despoiled workers from consuming the wealth they create; it entangles the toilers in a network of law and kills those who rebel; it suppresses strikes and all forms of discontent; without it capitalism could not exist; it is part and parcel of imperial industrial capitalism, and as such cannot be ignored by the workers seeking to overthrow the system. The Communist Party, however, is not deluded with the social-democratic idea that this power can be captured at the ballot box. On the contrary, they keep constantly before the workers the fact that the final overthrow of capitalism must take the form of a revolution. Communist action on the parliamentary field is a tactic to weaken the enemy; a means of propaganda; a method for counteracting the capitalist propaganda so widely distributed at election time.

#### United Front and Union Tactics.

Finding the workers' organizations divided while the master class is an international unit, the Communists propose the very practical and sensible idea of a united front. Why not all workers' organizations get together and agree upon a line of action wherein they can go forward in one solid phalanx to meet the united front of imperial capitalism? The Communists are ready to jump in and take part in any line of attack that will lead towards the goal of a workers' world.

Workers are not always convinced by mere words. They have been lied to too often. They like the fellow worker who will reinforce his words with action, who will jump in and help in the daily struggle against the boss. To such a one they will be in a mood to listen when he suggests ways and means to abolish permanently the system of which the boss is a necessary part. Thus the Communists have adopted another very sensible tactic, that of joining and taking an active part in the trade unions with the view to imbue them with the revolutionary ideal. The trade unions are the most important of all existing economic organizations, in fact, the only ones that can carry over into the new industrial society.

Therefore, the necessity for the Communists to educate the membership and wrest the unions from the leadership of the capitalist henchmen who now largely control them.

#### Dictatorship a Necessary Protection.

The building of a workers' society is decidedly a workers' job. And having made the plans and cleared the ground, who should run the job? Instinctively the answer comes: "The workers." Here, then, we have the "terrible" Dictatorship of the Proletariat. During reconstruction the ex-capitalists and parasites should not be given a chance to sabotage the work. Let them help if they will, but this is our job. We have suffered for centuries to get to it and we are not taking any chances. The Dictatorship is right. No power to the parasites.

The Soviet System of representation is much more representative than bourgeois "democracy," now becoming so popular amongst the imperialists of the world. And of the Workers' State, so absolutely necessary during the period of transition from capitalism to Communism, I have no fear that it will imbed itself and become permanent. The State cannot permanently operate industry. It can only function as the tool of the masters of industry; and its duty is to defend the possessors of wealth from the dispossessed. When society will be readjusted on a Communist basis and all will be possessors, when there will be no economic classes in society, then the state will be discarded, its function will be gone. And if Anarchists and other radicals who echo the capitalist slogan: "Down with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," will but study the evolution of the Russian revolution, they must agree that the Dictatorship is a most essential tactic.

#### Emma Goldman: Traitor.

But, unfortunately, many prominent revolutionists are blinded by the prejudice of party. Their party is not conducting the revolution so they are against it. They seem to think more of their group and its theories than of the social revolution. They damn the Bolsheviks with more venom than do the bourgeoisie. And it grieves me to learn that Emma Goldman and other prominent Anarchists are among the worst enemies of the revolution. How they can reconcile this outrageous conduct with their revolutionary pretensions is beyond me. Up until the revolution their records as rebels were good. But as soon as the revolution got under way they went over to the Mensheviks and capitalists, outstripping them in counter-revolutionary ruthlessness. While claiming to be revolutionists they attack the revolution. Such inconsistency has no parallel in revolutionary history.

That they would not agree in detail with the conduct of the revolution is but natural. There was much that I wished might have been different. But how could I tell if it were possible to have things different than they were? Since the revolution was an entirely new experiment, at best I could only theorize about the methods for putting it over. And since I never took part in a social revolution and cannot know anything about the practical details for conducting one, to set myself up as a critic and assailant of the Russian revolution would be the act of a jackass, with apologies to the ass, who most likely would know better.

When in Russia, Emma Goldman was ignored by the Bolsheviks. That is something she can never forgive. We in America who know her have no misgivings as to that. As a writer has well said: "She found the Bolsheviks past masters

in the art of deflating exalted egos." She is reported to be anxious to return to America. She would not have been deported had she begun her attack on Russia while here. Morgan's government would gladly have kept her to propagate



HECTOR HAS HAD A SOFT SPOT IN HIS HEART FOR EMMA GOLDMAN EVER SINCE HE HEARD HER LECTURE ON THE DRAMA WAY BACK IN . . . OH WELL HE HAS REALLY FORGOTTEN WHEN

the Wall Street stuff. As it is, the capitalist press is giving its front pages to her drivel cabled from England, and the brass check editors are commending her highly. "For once in her life," they echo, "Emma Goldman is right."

#### A Revolutionary Scab.

In her youth Emma Goldman was an agitator for the revolution. As she grew older she toned down and shifted to a discussion of ethical subjects and literature. She knew nothing about economics and wisely never attempted to discuss the subject; and her vague abstractions about freedom which she called anarchy would never hurt anybody. She never took an active part in the workers' struggles and thus had no standing in the labor movement. And now she has lost what standing she may have had in the revolutionary movement by her traitorous attacks on the Soviet Republic. Emma Goldman will be written down in Labor history as a revolutionary scab.

However, the vaporings of a few renegades won't hurt the Russian revolution. The Soviets have faced the world united front of capitalism for seven years and have grown strong in the fight. The Russian revolution stands out as the greatest achievement in all history. Revolutions have occurred before. The overthrow of governments is a common event. But never before have the workers of any country taken complete possession of its institutions and settled down to the task of making them over according to their ideals and their needs. That is the supreme event.

Long live the Soviet Republics and the men and women who created them! They have blazed the way. They have shown us how.

Long live the Communist International, the hope of the world revolution! It leads us on to proletarian victory.

# Employers Association in the United States

By Louis Zoobock



LOUIS ZOOBOCK

THE social problem of unionism cannot be understood through a study of unionism alone. The tactics of our class war against capitalism cannot be clearly defined if we limit ourselves to a study of unions alone. It is also of great importance for us to study our enemy and its forces; it is of great importance to study the complex, extensive, and powerful organizations of employers. A thorough knowledge of the employers' organizations created for dealing with, and especially of the militant associations organized for combat-

ing our unions will enable us to plan correct tactics and proper methods of war with our enemy.

In this article an attempt will be made to describe the foundations of the employers' organizations in the United States.

## How the Employers Organize.

Employers are not organized in any one way or manner. In fact, the variety of associations is large. In number, the associations now in existence, or which have been organized in the United States total over 2,000, all of which have dealt with the labor problem in some phase or form. Of all this number, there is not an important association that is an exact duplicate of another. Manifestly any attempt to discuss each of these various associations in detail would necessarily require the writing of a book. Here, we can only resort to a general description of the employers' associations. This will give us some idea as to the workings of organized capital.

## Development of Associations.

Although the association movement can be traced back into the middle ages and beyond, the most important and powerful associations did not appear prior to the year 1885. Around that year many interesting developments occurred in the conflict between employers and workmen. The year 1886, was notably a year of strikes, and the preceding and following years were filled with labor troubles. This was the period when the Knights of Labor reached its height, and defeated by the associations generally, began its decline. At this time also the A. F. of L. had its origin, but was not yet regarded as of much significance. During this period, several noteworthy strikes occurred on a number of railroads, and in 1887 the General Managers' Association, composed of the 24 railroads centering or terminating in Chicago, was formed.

In the year 1886, the Defense Association evolved out of the National Association of Trade Manufacturers, in order better to fight the Iron Molders' Union. In 1887, the United Typothetae of America was organized to resist the demands of the International Typographical Union for the nine-hour day. Many local associations were active during this period as is shown by the fact that associations ordered in the years 1884-1886 over 75 per cent of all lockouts. Trade agreements were almost entirely a local matter in the eighties, the national associations were mainly organized to fight the unions.

After having practically crushed the Knights of Labor,

the national associations became relatively inactive until in the nineties. Then came strikes of noted magnitude in the mines and on the railroads. The year 1894 even surpassed the high record of 1886 in the number of employees involved in strikes. In that year the General Managers' Association defeated and broke up the American Railway Union. But no national association had yet become permanently and persistently belligerent towards the unions, although a number of local associations had become such.

## Negotiatory Associations.

The negotiation of a national trade agreement by the Stove Founders' National Defense Association and the International Molders' Union in 1891, marks the beginning of the period of development of national negotiatory associations.

The period of the highest development of negotiatory associations practically coincides with the greatest development of the formation of trusts and other similar business combinations to control prices. Business men utilized labor unions in forming such combinations. Negotiatory associations made trade agreements with certain unions, and by means of these generally forced the independents to come into the combination or to conform to the prices set by the combination if their business were not ruined. The history of the building trades of the period is replete with instances of such conspiracies. It was a situation that produced strikes, and in certain cases gave dishonest labor leaders an opportunity to graft off the combination, and thus force it to divide some of its great profits, or at every turn "to hold up" the independent. These conditions were not generally permanent, for if the combination monopolized the trade or industry, it could then turn on the union.

## Belligerent Associations.

Beginning about 1901, and extending to the present time there was a distinct evolution of belligerency among old associations and in numerous newly formed ones. The great anthracite coal strike of 1902 brought out the power of unionism. The employers awoke to the need of better defensive organization and a great growth began of radical or militant associations, that had tried the trade agreement and were breaking away from it and fighting the unions on many fields.

The National Metal Trade Association began its career as a negotiatory belligerent about this time. Citizens' alliances were growing up in many localities, and this movement was characteristically a belligerent one.

The National Association of Manufacturers had been formed in 1896, but became belligerent in 1902. The belligerent American Anti-Boycott Association, now the League of Industrial Rights, and the Citizens' Industrial Association of America were organized respectively in the years 1902 and 1903. The United Typothetae of America became prevalingly belligerent in 1903. The negotiatory National Founders' Association became belligerent in 1904, and the negotiatory National Erectors' Association began its belligerent activities in 1905 and attracted world-wide attention in 1911 as a result of its belligerency.

None of these associations now existing has in any way decreased its belligerency. On the contrary the associations

became more aggressive and militant. The leaders of these associations emphasize the fact that industry is war. Their slogan is: "Yes, we believe in unionism, but damn the unions." These organizations, while varying widely, generally announce the following principles: the "open shop," no sympathetic strikes, no violence to non-union men, no limitation of output or of apprentices, no boycott, and some go further and declare against arbitration, trade agreements, and picketing. Most of the organizations of this class are secret both as to their membership and as to their business methods. While active collectively themselves, they deny and do all in their power to prevent the organization of their workers. These associations are usually undemocratic in form, and are generally dominated by small cliques who use the organizations for their own purposes.

## Open-Shop Associations.

During the last five years many "open shop" associations have been formed in various localities. Employers in many industries are attempting to free themselves from union domination. One of the most discussed methods of fighting unionism is the "shop union"—that is a union of only employes in a shop. Such a union has no "entangling alliances" with any other unions. This scheme is known under various names, such as "shop representation plan," "work council," "shop committee system," etc. Elaborate methods of government for such unions have been worked out. Such a scheme is usually designed to displace the trade union of the A. F. of L. type and the A. F. of L. vigorously denounces such organizations as "fake unions," or as "employers' unions."

## Some Typical Associations.

Thus, we see, two types of employers' associations which flourish in the United States: the negotiatory, and the belligerent associations. The rest look upon the labor unions as an accomplished fact and, while strong enough to fight, and fight hard if necessary, their prime object is to deal with the unions on some "amicable basis." The latter, on the other hand, deny the workers the right to organized labor unions. To them as stated, industry is war. A typical association of the first class is the Stove Founders' National Defense Association. It is a centralized body and bargains with the International Molders' Union on a national scale, but deals with labor troubles and strikes through both district and national committees. The association consists of about 80 corporations, firms, and persons. Its members ordinarily employ approximately 10,000 workmen and produce 80 per cent of the products of this special industry.

Members are bound to the Association by both an obligation and a deposit in an emergency fund. Every member must sign an agreement binding himself to the following: "Any unjust demands made upon a member of said Association by his workmen, or others, shall be resisted by the united action of all members in protecting said member upon whom such unjust demand shall be made." And when we note that the emergency fund has totaled over \$200,000; that the average deposit of a member has been approximately \$2,700, and of the largest member nearly \$11,000, we can readily see that a member is closely bound to the Association.

The Building Trades Employers' Association of New York and the Building Construction Employers' Association of Chicago are two other examples of negotiatory organizations. The two bargain with the unions and fight occasionally in order to carry on negotiations without making too many concessions. The former is noted for its methods of handling

labor difficulties, part of the time with a general Arbitration Board. The latter Association is noted especially for its uniform form of agreement as a means designed to reduce sympathetic strikes and other troubles.

The American Newspaper Publishers' Association is another negotiatory organization. It has a membership of 551. Practically all the large newspapers published in the United States and Canada are members of the Association.

Closely related to the above-mentioned association is the United Typothetae of America, which has a membership of 5,000. The maximum annual dues for any member of the association does not exceed \$150, nor the minimum less than \$18. And it requires approximately \$40,000 a month to operate the Association.

Finally, the National Civic Federation, another "negotiatory" association has a membership of 5,000. These members belong to three general classes, namely, large employers, labor misleaders, and publicists. It is interesting here to note that this anti-labor organization has always defended the A. F. of L. and its president, Gompers; also the railway brotherhoods. The Federation has made a strong assault upon radicalism by sending out its lieutenants to address public meetings, by the publication of numerous booklets, and articles in its organ, the "National Civic Federation Review." The association strongly opposes any recognition by the U. S. government of Soviet Russia. It has held a conference on "revolutionary tactics," and as a result it created a Department of Study of Revolutionary Movements designed "to aid progress and combat revolutionism."

A typical organization of the militant type, is the National Association of Manufacturers. It is a centralized belligerent propaganda association, primarily engaged in opposing legislation sought by the A. F. of L. The association has a membership of 5,000; it claims that the stockholders of the member concerns number over a million; that it represents over 12 billion dollars of invested capital; and that it has a "membership" of 5,700 of the leading manufacturers of the country, employing more than 6,000,000 persons and producing 80 per cent of the total output of manufactured products in the country. The association resorts to all possible means, legal and illegal, in its war against organized labor.

The National Erectors' Association is an organization in both the iron and steel industry and the building industry. Its members fabricate and erect about 75 to 80 per cent of the structural steel and iron in the United States. The association is undoubtedly the most class-conscious and belligerent national association in America today. Its object is "the institution and maintenance of the 'open shop' principle in the employment of labor." It creates and puts into operation whatever machinery is necessary to meet adequately the demands of any situation and to protect its members in any complications that may arise on account of their observance of the policy of the association. Since the war, it has not relaxed its opposition to the "closed shop." It has attacked the closed shop clauses in labor contracts and has appealed to the architects not to make concessions and compromises with the closed shop unions.

The National Metal Trades Association is another fine example of a militant organization. In the eastern half of the United States and Canada, it has a membership of over 1,000 concerns, which employ more than 600,000 workers. The association has combatted a large number of strikes, and has been uniformly successful. In fact, the claim is made that "no strikes of any moment have been won by the Machinists"

Union since the organization of the National Metal Trades Association." In a few cases, it has had members who compromised with the union, but they were immediately expelled and sooner or later entirely eliminated from the industry. In general, the association has reduced the combatting of strikers to a science; it operates local employment bureaus in 23 different cities for the benefit of its members in keeping agitators out of the shops of its employers; it utilizes a secret service system, a reserve army of certificate men, guards, etc.; it is accumulating and maintaining a large fund; it co-operates with non-members in combatting strikes; it seeks the co-operation of the investor, the banker, and Wall Street in taking measures to prevent strikes, etc.

Two other belligerent associations which deserve to be mentioned are: the League for Industrial Rights and the National Industrial Conference Board. The former is a national organization that makes war upon unions "for their illegal practices." It aims to collect and disseminate information on the legal phases of the conflict and other developments in industrial relations.

The latter is a new type of employers' association. It is an informal federation of other associations, and functions mainly through extended investigations and reports on the most vital current industrial problems. The Conference Board is now composed of 26 national associations and four state associations. In the membership of these affiliated associations are found "over 50,000 representative concerns employing over seven million workers."

#### Summary of Activities.

In conclusion, let us sum up some of the most important activities and methods of the employers' associations. These may be summed up as follows:

1. Effective counter organization; employers parallel the union structure, trade against trade, city against city, state against state, national against national, and federation against federation.
2. Uncompromising war on the closed shop by asserting the right to hire and fire. In this war, the associations resort to the worst means; if necessary they fight the union in actual battles with machine guns.
3. The employers' associations which keep a record of individual employes use such records as a method of black-listing agitators and active union men.
4. The associations which oppose trade unions, boycott the employers of union labor and goods bearing the union label.
5. The associations, by the employment of armed guards and gunmen maintain a state of feudalism. Furthermore, these armed guards and gunmen provoke and create violence and disorder to put the strikers in a false position before the public, to harass the strikers by involving them in unwarranted arrests, or to create and maintain employment for themselves.
6. The associations maintain corps of detectives and spies to spy on the activities of the unions, to harass union members and officials, and to provoke strikes at such times as they are sure to be lost. Thus, at a recent conference of the metal workers, the officers of the union charged the employers' associations with spending 50 million dollars yearly for labor spies, alleging that 10,000 agencies, employing 135,000 operatives have been engaged to crush labor.
7. The employers' associations maintain or have access to bodies of strikebreakers who are not bona fide workmen,

but who are simply a reserve of mercenaries for use in industrial war.

8. They undertake the support and defense of its members in strikes, paying members out of reserve funds for holding out against unions.

9. They use their connections with banks, or other sources of credit, to hold members of the association in line during labor disputes, and to compel outsiders to join the association.

10. The members of employers' associations by manipulating their advertising patronage, exercise undue control over the press for both the suppression and distortion of facts regarding labor matters.

11. Through their social and business contact with judges and other public officials, the members of employers' associations are able to influence their attitudes and actions during industrial disputes.

12. The employers' associations and their members frequently attempt to influence the actions of union officials by bribes, honorary positions and social advancement.

13. Finally, the employers' associations maintain paid lobbyists to obstruct or influence legislation. They resort to systematic appeals to the courts, the use of the injunction, leagues, suits for damages in case of strikes, and systematic attacks on the constitutionality of labor laws, etc.

Thus we see that the employers are strongly organized. They work hand in hand with the financial interests of the of the country in their fight against labor.

Can the workers, as they are organized at present, withstand the united front of manufacturing and financial capital? Obviously not. Not until the workers reshape their present organizations, not until they organize themselves into powerful industrial unions working hand in hand with the Communist Party, will they be able to fight their enemy successfully.

## History of the Russian Communist Party

(Continued from Page 165)

who began her revolutionary activities in the left wing of the revolutionary populists, and is now finishing her days in the camp of the bourgeois counter revolution.

All these evolutions and transformations are not accidental. In the period of great stress and change which our country was passing through during the last twelve years, in which we had three great revolutions, it was perhaps unavoidable for certain individuals to suffer a collapse. Under the oppression of Czarism, under the deadening hands of Czarist rule, which was suffocating the entire country, it was perhaps inevitable that certain individuals should occupy places to which they really didn't belong, joining accidentally one or the other of the existing political parties. But when the decisive moment arrived, these individuals first discovered the camp they really belonged to. This was the case with legal Marxism. One of its wings found itself eventually in the position of leader of the bourgeois counter revolution in Russia.

(To be Continued)

## THE WORKERS MONTHLY

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#### In the Face of Wage Cuts

ON another page we print a manifesto of the Trade Union Educational League calling upon the workers to struggle against wage cuts. The manifesto draws attention to the drastic reductions of wages that have just been forced upon the textile workers of New England, the reductions which are being insisted upon by the garment manufacturers of Cleveland, etc. With the election of Coolidge, reaction is sitting confidently in the saddle. A sweeping offensive of wage-cutting is under way, which will spread to every industry where the workers do not resist it. The workers must have their strike-weapon ready for use, and they must use it. The Trade Union Educational League has pointed the way.

Bosses don't like strikes. They like quiet and docility and uninterrupted speed-up production. The more patient the workers are, the more eagerly do the bosses begin to wrack their brains to discover additional means of squeezing profits out of their labor. The workers of America have been quiet. That has encouraged the employers to launch an offensive to force down the standard of living of the workers; wages are lowered, hours of labor are increased. So long as the workers are unable to resist, the offensive goes on. But when they start to gather their scattered forces, when they show signs of meeting the power of capital with the organized power of labor,—when they begin to STRIKE; then there is instant confusion in the camp of the bosses. Consideration of profits, the very thing that caused the offensive in the first place, now demands that it be stopped. Once again the bosses think primarily of quiet, docility and uninterrupted production. It is then that the initiative passes to the workers, who have the opportunity, if they are militant enough, to turn the capitalist offensive into a counter-offensive for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions.

Some workers may imagine that there is no danger of wage cuts because of the temporary improvement in industry and the slight decrease in unemployment, in various sections of the country. This conception ignores the plain facts of wage cutting already begun. Furthermore there are still over 1,500,000 workers unemployed. The bosses have never failed to make use of this situation to bring about an increase in their margin of profit. They plan to reduce wages—and at the same time to take the heart out of working-class resistance for the future.

The workers must strengthen their unions. They must also unite their unions. The Workers (Communist) Party has raised the slogan of: "A United Front of Labor Against the United Front of Capital!" Amalgamation is a more burn-

ing issue than ever. The textile workers fell an easy prey to their powerful enemy because they were divided into more than 20 different unions.

There is another very important fact pointed out in the T. U. E. L. manifesto. No sooner did the textile workers in the Amoskeag mills accept a wage cut, than they received another blow in the shape of an increase in the working week. Every passive surrender to the bosses is followed by a fresh attack. Do not accept any defeat without resisting! Strike!

#### Attempting to Wipe Out a Party

WHEN capitalists attack they attack all along the line. But the blows fall heaviest upon the most militant and most class-conscious elements of the working class. Flushed with easy triumphs, contemptuous of opposition, American capitalism has set out to crush completely the Workers (Communist) Party, which is recognized as the actual leader of labor's left wing. That is the meaning of the mysterious reopening of the Michigan prosecutions after months of delay, during which it had been given out that the entire matter was to be dropped.

C. E. Ruthenberg, executive secretary of the Workers Party has already been sentenced to from three to ten years in jail, and appeal is now being taken to the U. S. Supreme Court. Robert Minor is about to face a jury. Moreover, the Michigan officials state openly that they will put William Z. Foster behind prison bars. They have already laid their plans for the trial of William F. Dune. Every one of the 32 Communists indicted in Michigan is in immediate danger.

The prosecutors are not interested in the Communists as Communists, as members of a particular organization. The test of a working class organization is its connection with the masses. It is because the Communists everywhere appear as leaders of the militant working class movement that they are being brought to trial in the capitalist courts.

It should not be forgotten that in 1922, at the time when the Burns-Daugherty gang raided the convention of the Communist Party, great railroad and coal strikes were under way. "Jake" Spolansky, one of the raiders, declared that the raid would never have taken place if it were not for the part the Communists were playing in the big industrial struggles then going on.

The offensive against the Communists is only part of the wider offensive against the whole working class. The defense of those indicted for "Criminal Syndicalism in Michigan is the defense of the very existence of the labor movement.

One thing is certain. The Workers Party will not let itself be wiped out, whatever may be the action of the courts. Capitalism will be wiped out first. Nevertheless, the situation is critical one. Communists and all who stand for free speech for Communists must get behind this defense as one of the most important political issues of the moment.

Funds are needed for the defense. Send all contributions to the Labor Defense Council, 166 W. Washington Street, Chicago.

#### William Green—Coshocton's Favorite Son

THE indicted working class leaders will certainly not receive any support from the officials of the A. F. of L. Least of all from the prosaic William Green, who recently awoke one morning to find himself heir to the throne vacated

by Sam Gompers. Green is a worthy successor to the departed. He has no sympathy with anything distasteful to the ruling class in America.

Gompers held office in the A. F. of L. and weathered all internal revolts, because of his ability to compromise, and compromise is William Green's long suit. His record in the United Mine Workers of America is one long story of compromises, in which he earned the title of "pinch hitter" for the administration. Presidents of the U. M. W. of A. came and went, but Green always stayed on as secretary; he found it possible to adjust himself to each administration and he defended each new boss with the same amount of enthusiasm.

The man selected by the Executive Council to be president of the A. F. of L. is an Elk and an Odd Fellow and a baptist. In the forgotten days of S. P. activity in the miners' union, he used to call himself a socialist—but that was long ago, before he got religion and began to interest himself in the Ku Klux Klan. Today he is what the capitalists call a "safe" man.

Green is the favorite son of Coshocton, Ohio, and the report of his welcome home, as chronicled in the town paper, is interesting. The committee which sat on the platform at his reception consisted of C. R. Frederickson, president of the National Manufacturers' Association; George M. Gray, president of the National Hardware Association; George Mitchell, president of the National Pottery Association, and T. L. Montgomery, bank president. An extract from one of the speeches of eulogy is sufficient:

"Green is a representative of all the people . . . He is not a radical. He is working for the good of all the people. We can all feel safe in his hands."

The home town sheet concludes its story of the welcome to its favorite son with this sentence:

"His salary in his new position will be \$12,000 per year."

#### Mr. Hughes Gets the Hook

THE baptist lilacs of Charles Evans Hughes will no longer adorn the State Department at Washington. His successor, Kellogg, a rock-ribbed Republican and former Senator from Minnesota, who was defeated by Shipstead with the support of LaFollette, represents the current outlook of American imperialism as typified in the Dawes plan, with its determination for the conquest of Europe. For that reason he will undoubtedly be the official expression of the growing sentiment in American business circles that recognition and trade with Soviet Russia is necessary.

"Beet-sugar Charlie" Warren is stepping into the shoes of Attorney General Stone. His lobbyist activities for the Sugar Trust represent his only outstanding achievement. He, too, is an ultra-conservative and a bitter foe of LaFollette.

The direct slap-in-the-face policy administered by the Coolidge machine to the LaFollette grouping seems to be for the purpose of forcing them to crystalize themselves and their followers into a definite organization outside of the Republican Party which the LaFollettites true to the form of petty-bourgeois vacillation and hesitancy, cannot quite make up their minds to do. But capital is determined to thoroughly chasten those who deserted its ranks. It feels its strength. By the recent Cabinet changes we can see another indication

of its determination to smash the LaFollette movement, but at the same time it prepares itself to fight the Soviet Government by means which include recognition in return for which it hopes to gain new markets and increased profits.

#### An Immigrant

RUSSIAN immigrants are still arriving at our shores. Only they are "selected" immigrants, and the selective process is carried on with great care. A recent arrival who had no trouble with the official inquirers at Ellis Island, was "his royal highness" the Grand Duke Boris. Now comes R. Abramovich, member of the Central Committee of the Menshevik Party—a party without members in Russia but with an extremely busy Central Committee abroad.

Time was when the United States was boasted of as an asylum of liberty. Now it is an asylum of reaction. The menshevik immigrant comes for the purpose of making propaganda against the workers' and peasants' government of Russia.

Abramovich is a "socialist" and a member of the Second International. He symbolizes the complete absorption of the Socialists into the forces of the bourgeois counter-revolution.

There are still many simple-minded workers who do not comprehend the full meaning and extent of the treachery of the Second International during and after the Imperialist War. Men like Abramovich will help to enlighten them.

When the Bolsheviki unceremoniously dispersed the Constituent Assembly in November, 1917, there were many who denounced the act, protesting that it would have been all right in the case of a bourgeois opposition but not when the opposition consisted of Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries—"socialists." Trotzky, at that time a foremost leader of the revolution, gave a clear answer to this. He pointed out that the real opposition was not the Mensheviks but the "Cadets," that is the party of the bourgeoisie. The Mensheviks did not stand on their own feet. They did not take a clear-cut independent position on behalf of the working class; they defended only the capitalists; they demanded power not for the working class, not even for themselves, but for a bourgeois coalition. They appeared as the last desperate hope of the Cadets, when the Cadets were already beaten and could no longer muster any support in their own name.

In Germany, where the Social Democrats were lifted to power by a proletarian revolt, they betrayed the workers in exactly the same way—with the result that Germany is now in the hands of the reactionaries and all the sacrifices have been in vain. But the workers of Germany have learned their lesson. They are rallying by the hundreds of thousands to the banner of the Communist Party, the only party of the revolution.

It is quite characteristic of the American Socialist Party that it extends the hand of welcome to the Menshevik Abramovich, that it invites him to speak from its platforms, that it helps him to collect funds for his counter-revolutionary work.

The line between Socialists and Communists is sharply drawn. The difference is one created by history. It is the difference between those who support the proletarian revolution and those who fight against it, side by side with the bourgeoisie.

# The International

GERMANY THROUGHOUT Europe the workers are organizing for resistance to the lay-offs, wage-cuts and general attack on living standards coming in the wake of the Dawes Plan that American capitalism has fastened upon Europe. Notice has been given the railroad workers of Cologne that 20 per cent of the personnel is to be laid off, 715 men have been dismissed from the railroad shops in Erfurt, Jena and Gotha, and hundreds from the shops in Buckau, Arnberg and other towns. The employers openly state their belief that these wholesale dismissals will render the workers more submissive to the increase in hours and decrease in wages that the Dawes Plan involves, but so far the result has been to give tremendous impetus to the movement for the formation of a united front of all railworkers.

At a meeting of railworkers held at Nippes, near Cologne, to protest against lay-offs, members of Christian and Social Democratic unions joined in violently denouncing as traitors to the working class the Social Democratic leaders who voted in favor of the Dawes Plan in the Reichstag.

GREAT BRITAIN THE sinister effects of the Dawes Plan are already being felt by the British miners. In South Wales, where 40,000 miners are unemployed and in Scotland, the mine owners have put a demand for an eight hour day before the Federation of Miners. In South Wales the owners are attempting to offer a concession in the form of a guarantee not to employ non-union labor, but since the miners are quite strong enough to enforce this point themselves this concession is meaningless. The capitalist press has begun its usual dirty job of preparing public opinion for the assault on hours and wages. In a recent issue of the Daily Express the following comment appears:

"In South Wales the restoration of the eight-hour day in the mines is being seriously discussed . . . competition with the United States has increased in bitterness, and the markets formerly dominated by South Wales have been lost, simply because South Wales can no longer produce coal at the price offered by the United States, France and Belgium."

Commenting on this statement the R. I. L. U. Bulletin says:

"Just so. The Dawes Plan, that infamous plan for the enslavement of the workers, has already borne disastrous consequences for the English miners. It is possible for France and England, who are receiving immense quantities of German coal without cost from Germany, to compete with English coal and to capture the foreign markets formerly dominated by Great Britain. Moreover the German miners, who in most cases work ten hours a day for starvation wages, are producing cheap coal. England cannot meet this competition except by forcing English miners to do more work for lower wages—for at all costs dividends must be saved."

Ninety-six representatives of British building trades unions and shop steward organizations recently met to form

a minority (Left Wing) organization for the building industry. The necessity for the union of all left elements in the industry into an active and effective force was the chief subject on the order of the day. The meeting adopted a program stating that the establishment of a single union for the whole building industry must be realized by the amalgamation of all existing unions, and by the creation of Shop Committees including workers of all categories.

IRELAND THE Irish workers are today faced by the dread combination of unemployment and famine. In the western part of the island, where there has been extensive crop failure, it is believed that the disaster will assume proportions comparable only to that of 1849. Already there is a serious bread shortage, and soup kitchens have had to be started in Dublin. Although the crisis has been aggravated by the insufficient harvest, its proportions are due to the prevailing economic depression. There are already 100,000 unemployed industrial workers, a tremendous number when one remembers that Ireland is an agricultural country, with 4,000,000 population, and that the number of organized workers has never passed 250,000. Although the approach of the crisis was announced several months ago, the Government has taken absolutely no measures to prevent disaster.

POLAND RECENT development in Poland revealed how completely the Government is acting as the lackey of the bourgeoisie. The minister Grabski has declared that the prolongation of the 10-hour workday for three additional months, was caused by pressure brought to bear by the industrialists, who threatened a general lock-out and stoppage of industry unless they were obeyed.

AUSTRIA IN Austria under the regime of the League of Nations "Sanitation Commission," which was heralded by Austrian Social Democrats with extravagant expressions of joy similar to those employed by their German brethren in greeting the Dawes Plan, there are now over 150,000 unemployed. These workers have been forced into the deepest misery and degradation, and of late they have held a number of demonstrations to protest against the conditions of life imposed upon them by the regime of "peace and plenty." A recent demonstration in Vienna sent a delegation to present a series of demands to the national government and to the Social Democratic mayor of the city. Both refused them a hearing. In addition to maintenance demands was one for immediate cessation of increased hours of work in municipal undertakings. On another occasion a large number of unemployed entered a parliamentary session, interrupting the proceedings with cries of "We are hungry!" "Answer the demands of the unemployed!" "Industry has been 'put in order'; the unemployed are starving." The parliamentary deputies were badly scared, and finally the President interrupted the session, and put the workers out by force.

# The Left Wing in Trade Union Elections

(Continued from Page 150)

with a maximum standard of production and a minimum scale of wages.

To give life to these demands the left wing put up a complete ticket of militants committed to these policies. It issued a leaflet sharply criticizing the policies of the administration. This immediately brought fire from the Levin machine. Several militants were brutally slugged for displaying activity in the elections. In the midst of this situation Levin managed to coax and intimidate 14 supposed left wingers to repudiate the leaflet. Those of them who were members of the Workers Party were suspended and are now under charges. Despite this situation, the left wing ticket polled a heavy vote. Aronberg, candidate for General Manager of the Joint Board, received 3,374 votes, or 26 per cent of the total ballots cast.

### Other Union Elections.

The left wing is constantly becoming more active in the election of officials of the various central labor councils. In Buffalo a full ticket has been put up, likewise in Minneapolis. The situation in Minneapolis is especially interesting and important. That town, long a radical stronghold, is now the scene of one of the bitterest attacks ever made upon the left wing in the American labor movement. It began over a year ago when Gompers forced the Trades and Labor Assembly to humiliate itself by signing an agreement providing for the tacit repudiation of revolutionary features of Gompersian trade unionism. Not satisfied with this, the A. F. of L. machine is now carrying on a vicious war to exterminate every vestige of Communism from the Trade and Labor Assembly. If the attempt is successful in Minneapolis, no doubt the same tactics will be followed elsewhere.

At a meeting on November 21st, Organizer Paul W. Smith, a typical A. F. of L. faker, opened the new attack of the left wing by demanding of the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly that it, upon pain of having its charter revoked, enter into an agreement with the American Federation of Labor not to seat as delegates any known members of the Workers Party. This scandalous demand, which not only violates the autonomy of the various international unions but also runs counter to 50 years of American trade union practice, was meekly accepted by the one-time militant Assembly. Cramer and other delegates, who parade themselves as progressives, made no fight against it. It was followed by the exclusion of C. A. Hathaway, Workers Party District Organizer and unanimously elected delegate from Machinists Lodge No. 91. Soon afterward charges, ridiculous in character, were preferred against O. R. Votaw and J. F. Emme, the latter being the left wing candidate for President of the International Association of Machinists, and they were unseated. Next went Dan W. Stevens and William Mauseth, militants of many years standing in the Minneapolis labor movement.

The left wing is mapping out a vigorous local and national fight against these outrageous proceedings. Part of this fight consists in the placing of a left wing ticket against the reactionaries in the approaching Assembly elec-

tions. The left wing election program demands the immediate launching of a widespread local campaign of organization of a council of the unemployed, a city-wide fight of all trades for increases in wages and against wage reductions and lengthening of the working day, active support of the pending child labor amendment, transformation of the local labor movement, no expulsion of delegates because of their political views, adoption of a policy of class struggle on the economic and political fields, fight against all criminal syndicalism laws, and the beginning of a policy of forming united fronts with all working class organizations willing to fight for this program.

The struggle in Minneapolis, in its election and all other phases, is of paramount interest to the labor movement at large and to the left wing in particular. It evidences the desperation of the reactionaries. Unable to stem the tide of revolutionary protest against their contemptible policies of class collaboration, they have to proceed to extremes of violence. But they will not succeed, provided the left wing is awake. It must make a national issue of this fight. The masses of the rank and file will revolt against such tyranny. The T. U. E. L. must inform them of what is going on and organize their discontent into effective protest.

A final election campaign that may be mentioned is that in the Industrial Workers of the World. Or more properly perhaps, this is a question of legislating by referendum. The I. W. W. is an organization that has gone almost mad over democracy, with the result that it has succeeded only in paralyzing itself. It multiplies foolish "rank and file" control measures until it is unable to move hand or foot. This is well illustrated in the present referendum that is being taken upon the proceedings of the recent special convention called to consider the serious split confronting the organization. Experience teaches that the best way for a labor union to do business is through a fairly large and representative rank and file convention with full power to act. But the I. W. W., ignoring this experience, goes to the absurd extreme of submitting even the most rival matters to the full convention, which lasts interminally, and then referring these to a general vote of the whole membership.

Regarding the bulky and unbelievably cumbersome referendum now before the rank and file, the Red International Affiliation Committee has taken a definite stand. It refuses to endorse either of the two candidates for General Secretary-Treasurer until they state what they stand for; it condemns the folly of submitting 78 questions to a referendum; it demands real rank and file conventions with power to act; it opposes the many measures which propose to still further decentralize the already too decentralized organization; it fights the nonsense of allowing officers to serve only one term; it opposes the amendments opening the door for expulsion of members for their political opinions; it demands the expulsion of the injunctionites; it demands the affiliation of the I. W. W. to the R. I. L. U., etc. etc. It calls upon all revolutionary elements in the I. W. W. to rally to the Communist conception of unionism and the class struggle.

During the past year the Trade Union Educational League has made substantial headway. More and more it wins the leadership over the discontented masses in the unions. More and more it brings home to the left wing the necessity of throughgoing organization and militant action in order to defeat the reactionary bureaucrats. The above mentioned elections in the Miners, Carpenters, Steel Work-

ers, Machinists, Fur Workers, Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, central labor councils, and I. W. W. are only a few indications of these truths. But much as has been done, still only a beginning has been made. We must more than ever take advantage of union elections

to bring our Communist message to the rank and file and to make breaches in the fortifications of the reactionaries. The time must and will approach when in every election, whether local or national, the organized trade union reactionaries will find themselves confronted by a disciplined, determined, and thoroughly united left wing.

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

CASH INCOME DECEMBER, 1924.			
29929	Paul Scodras, Youngston, Ohio.....	\$5.00	30012 Eusebilo Aloarez, Tempa, Fla.....
29930	S. Bogajin, New York, N. Y.....	6.00	30013 S. A. Deacon, San Francisco, Calif.....
29931	Louis Winocur, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	5.00	30014 Irene Carrick, Oakland, Calif.....
29932	Queens County Labor Lyceum Ass'n, Inc., Ridge-wood, N. Y.....	5.00	30015 R. M. Cerovich, Seattle, Wash.....
29933	Mary I. Shapovalor, Riverside, Calif.....	5.00	30016 Dr. A. M. Kan, Gary, Ind.....
29934	I. W. A., Alex Bail, Sec'y, Philadelphia, Pa.....	500.00	30017 Cancelled
29935	H. H. Hansen, Live Oak, Calif.....	2.50	30018 Arthur Latner, New York, N. Y.....
29936	N. K. Garhart, Boston, Mass.....	5.00	30019 W. S. & D. Bft Fund No. 106, Chicago, Ill.....
29937	L. Rosenfield, Cleveland, Ohio.....	2.50	30020 A. S. Kravitz, Bronx, N. Y.....
29938	Anonymous, Seabright, N. J.....	1.00	30021 Bella N. Zilberman, Brooklyn, N. Y.....
29939	Theo. Silverman, New Haven, Conn.....	3.00	30022 Estella Tarkaff, Boulder, Colo.....
29940	Mary C. Trask, New York, N. Y.....	5.00	30023 Lettish Federation, Chicago, Ill.....
29941	Mrs. J. Maki, Mass. Mich.....	16.00	30024 L. L. Dock, Fayetteville, Pa.....
29942	Beulah Chamberlain, Chicago, Ill.....	3.00	30025 Geo. Stewart, New York, N. Y.....
29943	Emil Toikka, New York, N. Y.....	3.00	30026 Bonaz Embroider's Union Loc. No. 66, New York
29944	Fred N. Britz, New York, N. Y.....	5.00	30027 Jewish Mothers League, Hartford, Conn.....
29945	Robert T. Kerlin, West Chester, Pa.....	5.00	30028 J. B. Lilla, Hartford, Conn.....
29946	Estelle Tarkoff, Boulder, Colo.....	2.35	30029 C. Petchke, Hartford, Conn.....
29947	H. J. Hilliard, South View, Conn.....	2.00	30030 Joseph Kemp, Hartford, Conn.....
29948	Anna Hammer, Roslindale, Mass.....	2.00	30031 Albert Christ, Hartford, Conn.....
29949	Anonymous, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1.00	30032 Harold Christ, Hartford, Conn.....
29950	Tom Swain, La Jolla, Calif.....	5.00	30033 S. Reiner, Hartford, Conn.....
29951	James J. Contessa, New York, N. Y.....	1.00	30034 Robt. H. Johnson, West Haven, Conn.....
29952	Anton Kratofil, Norwalk, Ohio.....	5.00	30035 R. Klausner, San Pedro, Calif.....
29953	F. Cassens, Yonkers, N. Y.....	1.00	30036 L. Platt, New York, N. Y.....
29954	Daniel Lehrer, Los Angeles, Calif.....	6.30	30037 Matta M. Soik, Milwaukee, Wis.....
29955	William Schmidt, Swanton, Ohio.....	2.00	30038 Chas. Derback, Chicago, Ill.....
29956	Bradford G. Williams, Lakeland, Fla.....	5.00	30039 D. Valentine, Bronx, N. Y.....
29957	Theodore Sauso, Astoria, Oregon.....	7.00	30040 John Erni, Portland, Oregon.....
29958	Dr. A. P. Schultz, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	5.00	30041 Anonymous, New York, N. Y.....
29959	O. Moldovan, Chicago, Ill.....	5.00	30042 E. M. T., Chicago, Ill.....
29960	Irene Pauley, Chicago, Ill.....	2.00	30043 Mr. A. Schultheis, Jamaica, N. Y.....
29961	Cleveland Relief Conference, Cleveland, Ohio.....	49.50	30044 E. Dodgorny, Haverhill, Mass.....
29962	Mrs. R. E. Stearns, Whittier, Calif.....	5.00	30045 Fanny S. H. Hall, Cleveland, Ohio.....
29963	So. Slavic Br. of W. P., New Brighton, Pa.....	5.00	30046 G. P. Manchester, Berkley, Calif.....
29964	E. W. Hoey, Minneapolis, Minn.....	1.00	30047 S. S. Osasta, Fitchburg, Mass.....
29965	Mrs. J. Stresow, New York, N. Y.....	5.00	30048 H. Sippel & Emma M. Bigg, New York, N. Y.....
29966	John Rush, Faribault, Minn.....	6.00	30049 W. F. Jackman, Indianapolis, Ind.....
29967	Jacob Pope, Los Angeles, Calif.....	7.50	30050 Asser & Reino Lehto, Rock Island, Ill.....
29968	B. J. Sweny, Wichita, Kans.....	20.00	30051 L. H. Hammond, Filmore, Calif.....
29969	A. Menke, Cleveland, Ohio.....	2.50	30052 N. Mader, Utica, N. Y.....
29970	J. M. Crawford, Casper, Calif.....	2.00	30053 Adolph Anderson, Chicago, Ill.....
29971	Gus. Daubeneck, Casper, Calif.....	4.00	30054 Mrs. A. M. Brooks, Rockford, Ill.....
29972	Mary E. Brighton, Philadelphia, Pa.....	2.00	30055 Ernst Abert, Revere, Mass.....
29973	Amos W. Loucks, St. Johnsville, N. Y.....	1.00	30056 A. Fergin, Detroit, Mich.....
29974	Vera Gretsch, New York, N. Y.....	5.00	30057 Workman's Circle Br. No. 655, Los Angeles, Calif.....
29975	Chas. Kisler, Findlay, Ohio.....	5.00	30058 M. Cleary, Brooklyn, N. Y.....
29976	Charles F. Cassens, Yonkers, N. Y.....	5.00	30059 Stephen Reishle, So. Bend, Wash.....
29977	Ellen A. Freeman, Troy, N. Y.....	2.00	30060 B. Francis, Portland, Oregon.....
29978	J. D. Adelson, Chicago, Ill.....	5.00	30061 O. F. Schwanke, Milwaukee, Wis.....
29979	Alex Garacsi, Chicago, Ill.....	20	30062 H. Peckerman, Chicago, Ill.....
29980	Axel Clemensen, Chicago, Ill.....	15.00	30063 Geo. Buczulak, San Francisco, Calif.....
29981	Standard Bank of So. Africa, New York, N. Y.....	10.00	30064 H. Slomberg, McKeesport, Pa.....
29982	Herman Hanschmann, Chicago, Ill.....	1.00	30065 J. Contesla, New York, N. Y.....
29983	Otto Bormann, Chicago, Ill.....	1.00	30066 H. J. Robbins, Cleveland, Ohio.....
29984	F. Waltrich, Chicago, Ill.....	1.00	30067 S. J. Downey, Butte, Mont.....
29985	Vitus Pilski, Chicago, Ill.....	.50	30068 Paul Lawin, Granite City, Ill.....
29986	Louis Haller, Chicago, Ill.....	2.00	30069 Paul Reiter, Pine Bluff, Ark.....
29987	Hans Winzenz, Chicago, Ill.....	2.00	30070 W. S. & D. Bft Br. No. 48, Woodcliff on Hudson, N.J.....
29988	Anton Sturn, Chicago, Ill.....	.50	30071 W. W. Whalen, Buffalo, N. Y.....
29989	W. S. & D. Bft. Br. 232, Lakeview, Chicago, Ill.....	10.00	30072 L. Dees, Roston, Okla.....
29990	Margaret Furness, Chicago, Ill.....	2.00	30073 M. A. Brouchoud, Buffalo, Okla.....
29991	Louis Basius, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	2.40	30074 B. C. Krouse, Buffalo, Okla.....
29992	Harry Weinstein, New York, N. Y.....	5.00	30075 Ray Mc Elheney, Antioch, Calif.....
29993	L. Platt, New York, N. Y.....	19.00	30076 Joseph Thomas, Aberdeen, Wash.....
29994	David Levinson, Philadelphia, Pa.....	3.00	30077 I. W. A. German Br., Chicago, Ill.....
29995	Fred Heckman, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	5.00	30078 W. T. R., Chicago, Ill.....
29996	Emil Geringswald, Fall River, Mass.....	1.00	30079 Ida Dales, Chicago, Ill.....
29997	P. W. Whiting, Orono, Maine.....	5.00	30080 Mollie Siegel, Chicago, Ill.....
29998	L. E. Luchan, Binger, Okla.....	5.00	30081 Ida Dales, Chicago, Ill.....
29999	A. Orden, Rochester, N. Y.....	1.00	30082 Mollie Siegel, Chicago, Ill.....
30000	Committee for F. S. R., Erie, P.....	49.85	30083 Lydia Abner, Chicago, Ill.....
30001	W. C. Br. 401, L. Harris, Paterson, N. J.....	5.00	30084 Louis G. Kojura, New York, N. Y.....
30002	Chas. Perko, New York, N. Y.....	2.25	30085 Mrs. T. M. Nagle, Wesleyville, Erie Co., Pa.....
30003	J. W. Wells, San Jose, Calif.....	2.00	30086 Brewery Workers Local 14, Roxbury, Mass.....
30004	Joseph Kober, Irvin, Pa.....	1.00	30087 Ida Scheinbaum, New York, N. Y.....
30005	I. W. A. Committee, West Frankfort, Ill.....	100.00	30088 A. Zarek, Scranton, Pa.....
30006	W. E. H. Parter, Hansboro, N. Dak.....	5.00	30089 R. L. & J. Hartford, San Francisco, Calif.....
30007	United Mine Workers, Loc. No. 2278, Bentleyville, Pa.....	16.61	30090 Helen Mack, New York, N. Y.....
30008	Jos. Heyna, Detroit, Mich.....	5.00	30091 A. Aronowitz, New York, N. Y.....
30009	Laura Gardel, East Rutherford, N. J.....	5.00	30092 J. Jensen, Bridgeport, Conn.....
30010	A. Knebl, Chicago, Ill.....	1.00	30093 Stevan Hornick, Neffs, Ohio.....
30011	W. Sternemann, Hilo, Hawaii.....	2.00	30094 Otto Friedrichs, Denver, Colo.....
			30095 S. E. Cobbe, Huntington, Ind.....
			30096 W. J. Conarthy, Calumet City, Ill.....
			30097 P. Kerans, Forks, N. Y.....



30098	M. Latterman, Brooklyn, N. Y.	3.00	30200	J. Listengarden, Boston, Mass.	2.25
30099	Salomi Jackson, Flourton, Pa.	2.00	30201	August Litkie, Dowell, N. J.	2.00
30100	A. Fleischer, Brooklyn, N.	3.00	30202	F. G. Vogel, Kansas City, Mo.	5.00
30101	George Vital, Gary, Ind.	3.00	30203	Carl Templin, New York, N. Y.	12.00
30102	C. Trumm, Racine, Wis.	.50	30204	John Papala, Providence, R. I.	12.15
30103	Gust Phillips, Beloit, Wis.	5.00	30205	G. Kessler, Eureka, Calif.	4.00
30104	J. Perlman, Chicago, Ill.	5.80	30206	R. Michalosky, Winsted, Conn.	3.00
30105	J. D. Reedy, Bickmore, W. Va.	1.00	30207	Rebecca Stolar, Chicago, Ill.	5.80
30106	J. F. Muron, Dillonvale, Ohio	2.00	30208	Fanny F. H. Hall, Cleveland, Ohio	2.00
30107	Edward Kallar, Dillonvale, Ohio	1.00	30209	W. P. Committee, J. G. Zittel, Saginaw, Mich.	15.16
30108	Jos. Kostalik, Dillonvale, Ohio	1.00	30210	Lettish Friends Club, Los Angeles, Calif.	25.00
30109	Joe Posproil, Dillonvale, Ohio	1.00	30211	Mrs. Laura P. Brown, Warren, Ohio	12.00
30110	Andy Landa, Dillonvale, Ohio	1.00	30212	A. McMncke, Cleveland, Ohio	2.50
30111	Joe Waltman, Bradley, Ohio	1.00	30213	J. Gutmann, New York, N. Y.	3.00
30112	Nosca Piney, Dillonvale, Ohio	1.00	30214	G. Menschke, Toledo, Ohio	5.00
30113	J. C. Kebile, Dillonvale, Ohio	1.00	30215	Anonymous, Chicago, Ill.	.50
30114	Z. Ruda, Dillonvale, Ohio	1.00	30216	D. C. Gitz, New York, N. Y.	1.00
30115	J. Pavlovic, Dillonvale, Ohio	1.00	30217	W. L. Anderson, Tucson, Ariz.	5.00
30116	Mary Krampiva, Bradley, Ohio	1.00	30218	Nellie Higman, Watsonville, Calif.	5.00
30117	F. Sempirek, Dillonvale, Ohio	1.00	30219	Ella Davis, Rochester, N. Y.	3.25
30118	G. Morris, Wheeling, W. Va.	1.00	30220	Slovak Workingman's Soc. Br. No. 3, New York, N. Y.	3.00
30119	J. Blann, Dillonvale, Ohio	1.00	30221	Mrs. Helen Judd, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
30120	G. A. Lindoner, Seattle, Wash.	2.00	30222	Mrs. A. C. Swanson, Oakland, Calif.	1.00
30121	M. Grgunovich, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30223	Cloak & Suit Tailors Union Loc. No. 9, New York, N. Y.	25.00
30122	S. Marovich, Tacoma, Wash.	.50	30224	Helen Shtrumfman, Andover, Mass.	2.00
30123	V. Kinzich, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30225	J. E. Perry, Erie, Pa.	5.00
30124	J. Evanich, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30226	W. S. & D. Bft. Fund, Br. No. 26, New Haven, Conn.	3.00
30125	M. Brotonia, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30227	James Tzvetcoff, Gary, Ind.	1.00
30126	T. Tadevich, Tacoma, Wash.	.50	30228	Theo. M. Evans, Aberdeen, Wash.	1.00
30127	L. Gangwall, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30229	Ladies Auxillary Br. No. 353, Duluth, Minn.	2.00
30128	J. Koren, Tacoma, Wash.	.50	30230	Ladies Auxillary Br. No. 353, Duluth, Minn.	3.00
30129	A. Juricick, Tacoma, Wash.	.35	30231	Mrs. K. Halpert, Albany, N. Y.	6.00
30130	C. Engwall, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30232	R. Rosenthal, New York, N. Y.	2.00
30131	F. R. Baron, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30233	E. L. Seidel, Providence, R. I.	5.00
30132	P. Vukovich, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30234	Alex Sologub, Brooklyn, N. Y.	6.00
30133	R. Meyer, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30235	Lucy Hall, Watertown, Wis.	30.00
30134	C. Beaker, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30236	W. A. Harju, Frederick, So. Dak.	33.59
30135	L. H. Hess, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30237	Isabella A. Van Cauteren, Los Angeles, Calif.	10.00
30136	G. Bustruk, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30238	A. T. Heeb, Los Angeles, Calif.	3.00
30137	J. Dodiz, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30239	J. P. Haven, Gasmalia, Calif.	5.00
30138	J. Uric, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30240	Sam Steinberg, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
30139	J. Marcinko, Tacoma, Wash.	1.00	30241	Yoma, San Francisco, Calif.	2.00
30140	M. Ozanich, Tacoma, Wash.	.25	30242	Fred Heiber, Brooklyn, N. Y.	9.20
30141	Anonymous, Chicago, Ill.	1.00	30243	Mrs. W. Sternemann, Hilo, Hawaii	5.00
30142	Samuel Pevsner, New York, N. Y.	1.00	30244	W. A. Luetteg, San Francisco, Calif.	1.00
30143	Mr. G. R. Alshausen, Berkeley, Calif.	2.00	30245	Gus Daubeneck, Casper, Calif.	11.00
30144	I. Baron, Minneapolis, Minn.	.50	30246	Nick Pappas, Pullman, Ill.	5.00
30145	A. Danksa, Grand Rapids, Mich.	9.50	30247	S. E. Cardozo, Richmond, Va.	10.00
30146	Edith B. King, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00	30248	Rafael Ganzales, W. Tampa, Fla.	3.50
30147	Daisy M. Barteau, Minneapolis, Minn.	10.00	30249	Frank Peterson, Stratford, Conn.	1.00
30148	V. Wendzinski, Cristobal, Canal Zone	5.00	30250	Louis Winocur, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
30149	Brewery Workers Union No. 114, Providence, R. I.	5.00	30251	Alphonse Stebber, Holyoke, Mass.	7.00
30150	German Dramatic Society, Providence, R. I.	5.00	30252	S. Hillkowitz, San Diego, Calif.	10.00
30151	W. S. & D. Bft Fund Br. 64, Providence, R. I.	5.50	30253	Mrs. B. Stasevich, Portland, Ore.	1.00
30152	Y. W. L., Frank Sempirek, Dillonvale, Ohio	25.00	30254	Michael W. Warenik, Portland, Ore.	1.00
30153	A. Kohlenberg, Crosby, Wyo.	2.00	30255	Mrs. V. W. Rewa, Portland, Ore.	.25
30154	Frank Brown, Crosby, Wyo.	1.00	30256	A. Ruskoff, Portland, Ore.	.50
30155	V. Swanson, Montclair, N. J.	5.50	30257	Z. Mararevich, Portland, Ore.	.50
30156	Mr. & Mrs. B. L. Coleman, Elmira, N. J.	5.00	30258	E. Malishka, Portland, Ore.	.50
30157	E. A. Mayer, Minneapolis, Minn.	2.00	30259	I. Valeshe, Portland, Ore.	1.00
30158	L. P. Edwards, Annandale, N. Y.	5.00	30260	O. Evankoff, Portland, Ore.	.50
30159	J. Haste, Detroit, Mich.	2.50	30261	K. Petroff, Portland, Ore.	.50
30160	Mrs. Kate Pollack, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00	30262	Ivanoff, Portland, Ore.	.50
30161	S. Kulman, New York, N. Y.	5.00	30263	S. Graff, Portland, Ore.	1.00
30162	B. Tallis, New York, N. Y.	5.00	30264	P. Magoff, Portland, Ore.	.25
30163	S. Goldman, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	30265	O. MIMchols, Portland, Ore.	.50
30164	S. Steinberg, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00	30266	T. A. Kupoff, Portland, Ore.	1.00
30165	W. P. Detroit, Wm. Mollenhauer, Detroit, Mich.	50.00	30267	Ganopoll, Portland, Ore.	1.00
30166	United Russian Conference, Detroit, Mich.	50.00	30268	C. Soneff, Portland, Ore.	.50
30167	Nick Loch, Los Angeles, Calif.	23.00	30269	E. Peneff, Portland, Ore.	.25
30168	C. A. Metz, San Mateo, Calif.	4.50	30270	R. J. Jackson, Portland, Ore.	1.00
30169	W. S. & D. Bft Fund, Br. No. 212, Bloomfield, N. J.	5.00	30271	V. Gasset, Portland, Ore.	.25
30170	F. Aganek, Endicott, N. Y.	6.00	30272	N. Ziebb, Portland, Ore.	.50
30171	W. S. & D. Bft Fund, Br. 290a, Royalton, Ill.	3.00	30273	Galelevich, Portland, Ore.	.50
30172	Karl Bierbaum, New York, N. Y.	5.00	30274	Anonymous, Portland, Ore.	.25
30173	Julius Goebel, Chicago, Ill.	6.00	30275	J. Senos, New York, N. Y.	1.00
30174	Simensky, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	30276	Anonymous, Chicago, Ill.	70.00
30175	M. Bohm, Detroit, Mich.	2.50	30277	Office Sale-Toys, Chicago, Ill.	90.05
30176	H. Kessler, Dally City, Calif.	5.00	30278	Karl Marx Lodge No. 1, O. D. H. S., Providence, R. I.	42.00
30177	Mrs. E. Nauyakas, Foley, Ala.	5.00	30279	A. M. Stritz, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
30178	A. Brandt, Frankfort, Wash.	1.00	30280	Water Proof Garmt. Workers Union Local No. 20, New York, N. Y.	5.00
30179	H. Andres, Eureka, Calif.	5.00	30281	Daisy M. Barteau, Minneapolis, Minn.	5.00
30180	Dr. A. R. Melnicoff, Philadelphia, Pa.	1.00	30282	V. Wendzinski, Cristobal, C. Z.	24.00
30181	K. Thompson, Minneapolis, Minn.	5.00	30283	W. P. Br anch of Stamford, Stampord, Conn.	9.00
30182	Chas. Litz, Sandusky, Ohio	1.00	30284	Office Sale Toys, Chicago, Ill.	1.05
30183	F. S. Lowe, Tucson, Ariz.	5.00			
30184	Moritz Kurth, Holyoke, Mass.	5.00			
30185	Sadie Morris, Bronx, N. Y.	5.00			
30186	W. S. & D. Bft Fund, Br. No. 33, Gloversville, N. Y.	2.00			
30187	Emma Daughs, Spokane, Wash.	12.10			
30188	Hugo Ernst, San Francisco, Calif.	4.25			
30189	Mrs. E. V. LaRue, Plymouth, Conn.	2.00			
30190	Mr. & Mrs. Ruppenthal, Meriden, Conn.	2.50			
30191	Lith. Women's Progressive Alliance, Montello, Mass.	5.00			
30192	Marianna, Gay, Peterham, Mass.	4.00			
30193	Jack Welch, Clarksburg, W. Va.	5.00			
30194	Dr. A. Malisoff, Woodridge, N. Y.	6.00			
30195	P. Obernesser, Roslindale, Mass.	2.00			
30196	R. J. Lefl, Ohiowa, Nebr.	5.00			
30197	L. E. Giller, San Francisco, Calif.	1.00			
30198	Toni Camerilo, Chickasaw, Pa.	9.75			
30199	Sarah B. Scherer, Brooklyn, N. Y.	10.00			

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comes  
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Dunne  
and 28  
others  
are in  
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