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JUNE, 1925

No. 8

## Bolshevism and the World Situation

By Gregory Zinoviev

From his Concluding Speech at the Meeting of the Enlarged  
Executive Committee of the Comintern

### Premature Rejoicing in the Camp of the Enemy.

COMRADES, in delivering the report of the Executive Committee, we spoke not only of the economic stabilization of the Soviet Union, but also of the partial stabilization of capitalism in certain countries of Europe. Apparently, the latter part of our statement has caused quite a sensation almost everywhere in Europe, and also among certain circles in Moscow. The phenomenon of a relative, partial stabilization of capitalism, as you see, is causing miracles to happen. In certain bourgeois circles, and I include here the German Social Democracy, the sensation has been particularly great. Voices of rejoicing are heard: thank god there will be no more revolutions. A leaflet issued by the Social Democrats during the recent presidential elections in Germany began with the words: "World Communist revolution is impossible. Zinoviev has admitted this."

The Communist International is confronted by new and difficult circumstances.

Certain of our comrades are already inclined to exaggerate and to draw false conclusions from these statements concerning the partial stabilization of capitalism in certain European countries.

In speaking of a partial revival of capitalism, we do not in the least abandon our general conception, which claims, that, beginning with 1917, we have entered into a period of world revolution. Apparently, some are beginning to forget this. Our starting point is the old one. Even now we consider that the present period is a period of proletarian revolution which achieved its first victory in 1917.

### The Class Struggle of Recent Years is Saturated with the Elements of Civil War.

Already attempts are being made to interpret our statement on the partial consolidation of capitalism in certain European countries as meaning, that revolution has been reduced to zero. Those people who love to exaggerate, would do well to take a cold douch. This will enable them to understand that Europe is not the whole world, and Germany is not the whole of Europe. It must not be forgotten, that in speaking of the absence of a direct revolutionary situation in Germany, we have in mind only the present moment.

Why do we assert the absence of a direct revolutionary situation in Germany? Because not more than eighteen months ago, a revolutionary situation did exist in Germany, but changes have taken place. They have to be calculated. But this does not mean that revolution in Germany has been liquidated.

Even the bourgeoisie would not assert that capitalism has returned to the "normal" pre-war position. But even if it were to admit such an exaggeration, the question would then arise, what was the situation before the war? There were preparations for war, there was a class war, gradually becoming acute to the degree of civil war. At the present moment there is no direct civil war in Europe, but there is unceasing class war; and class war in the post-war epoch is not less acute than in pre-war times. On the contrary, the class war in almost every European country after the war, has become saturated with the elements of civil war. In what is the class war of 1925 different from the class war of 1910, 1912, 1913. Is it that they were more peaceful in character? In my opinion quite the contrary is the case. The class war of the present day is more saturated with elements of civil war and bears a much more acute character than that of pre-war times.

### Imperialism Restrained by Fear of the Comintern.

We will admit, for the moment, that capitalism has become consolidated to the extent that it has returned to the "normal" pre-war position. Even if this were true, it is not a secret for a Marxist that the class struggle was extremely acute before the war, and that even then, in places, it assumed the character of civil war, echoes of which were long heard all over the world.

Comrades, it is already six years since Europe has ceased fighting. This implies something. We cannot foretell when fresh wars will break out, but the whole capitalist system, even with its temporary stabilization, is a guarantee that they will break out. The imperialists are slightly afraid of the Communist International, the vanguard of the world proletariat. This is seen from the manner in which they and their lackeys, the Social Democrats, reacted to our statement concerning the absence of a direct revolutionary situation in certain countries. Clearly, these gentlemen do not feel very firmly in the saddle. They fear to rouse the demons



Fred Ellis

A New "Open Shop" Drive

of war, for they have to ponder very, very deeply over what forces the Communist International can throw into the scale at the outbreak of war; they must think very deeply over the reply the vanguard of the world proletariat is likely to give to the declaration of war. They know that we have now not one Liebknecht, but thousands and thousands of Liebknechts.

Comrades, it may be said that imperialism, which now reigns over the world, is somewhat restrained by fear of the Communist International, of the vanguard of the world proletariat. We shall come across this fact, more than once in the process of the future development of events.

Hence comrades, in order to avoid misunderstanding, I must repeat what I said in my report. If we take not only Europe, not only one corner of it, say Germany—although this corner is extremely important—if, I say, we take the map of the world as a whole, we will have to regard the position as being objectively revolutionary. In certain parts of the world, the situation is becoming acute with considerable rapidity.

#### Lloyd George's Pessimism.

Comrades, while our debates were taking place here, an extremely interesting debate was taking place in the British House of Commons, in which Lloyd George the other day spoke about stabilization in Great Britain. What did Lloyd George say: The "Times" of the 27th of March, reports him as follows:

"He (Lloyd George) sees no symptoms of genuine economic restoration. If the honorable members read the economic supplements of the "Times," the "Manchester Guardian" and the "Daily News," three newspapers of radically different characters they will observe that all three regard the future with extreme pessimism. . . . If the situation does not alter in the future, he would not care to say what would happen. He did not think this state of affairs was the result of the capitalist system but unless a way out is found, the workers will come to the conclusion that it is the result of the capitalist system. He was not a pessimist, but unless a radical change comes about, disaster is inevitable."

This is what Lloyd George said in the debate in the House of Commons on March 26.

Great Britain is the bulwark of capitalism in Europe, and even there we hear statements like this.

#### The Situation in France, the Balkans and in Poland.

Now take a country like France. Has stabilization come about in France? Lloyd George has to confess that stabilization is coming about in England rather slowly, but for France even this cannot be said, either in the political or the economic sphere.

Has equilibrium been established in the Balkans? It does not seem like it, comrades. Of course, the fact that the situation in Central Europe has ceased, at the moment, to be directly revolutionary to a certain degree is reflected in the Balkans. But there is no stabilization in the Balkans. And the Balkans are of enormous significance for Europe. During the world war they played a very important role.

And Poland: has stabilization come about there? Certainly not. The whole picture of life in Poland is a howling denial of such an assertion.

#### The Dawes Plan and Temporary Stabilization in Germany.

As for Germany, I believe we all equally appreciate the significance of the Dawes Plan and the inevitable consequences of its application in Germany. We consider that the symptoms of stabilization now observed in Germany are passing symptoms, and that there also, a fresh acute situation will arise. To be precise, we should say: stabilization in Germany commenced in 1924, and now we observe certain results from this, but at the same time we observe a certain revival of and acuteness in the class struggle. Of course, I may be asked, why we did not say in 1924 that the situation in Germany has become stabilized. My reply will be, comrades, that it is impossible to determine dates with precision. It is not surprising that Lenin, right up to 1907 inclusively, insisted that the Second Russian revolution would come very quickly. Now after the event, it is clear that the first Russian revolution ended in December, 1905, and that the years 1908, 1909 and 1910 were marked by a certain "stabilization" of Russian czarism, monarchy and of the classes which served as its mainstays. But the only revolutionary party in Europe—the Bolsheviks—throughout the whole of 1905 and almost the whole of 1907 continued to insist that we were on the eve of a second revolution. The Bolsheviks knew and Lenin stressed this, that not only objective factors determined the situation, but that much depended upon the working class itself, on the working class parties, etc., i. e., on subjective factors. The duty of a revolutionary is to throw into the scale all forces, until it is proved that quantity has become converted into quality, that the enemy has become stabilized, and that other paths must be sought.

#### Acceleration of Revolutionary Development.

How long will the present stabilization last? What period of time will it embrace in Germany and in other countries? No one can say exactly. We can merely try to probe for an answer by comparing various phenomena. The acceleration of world revolutionary development is much more rapid nowadays than it has been before. This we all see. If we turn to historical revolutionary dates we will see that sixty years separate the great French Revolution of 1789 from the revolution of 1848. Progress was more rapid from that event to the Paris Commune of 1871. A little over 20 years separate the two. A little longer period separates the revolution of 1905 from 1871. The period between 1905 and 1917 is considerably less, and in recent years, 1917-1925, the last eight years' development is proceeding very rapidly although not as rapidly as we would desire. How long will this intra-revolutionary zone last? From 1917 to what year? No one can give an exact reply. But the general line of progress is clear. The flight of history is becoming more and more accelerated. The rate of historical development generally, the rate of revolutionary development in particular, is becoming more and more rapid.

What is the general political position of the working class today? I had occasion to hear dolorous stories regarding certain countries. On the grounds that a direct revolutionary situation does not exist in certain countries, some declare that the working class is beaten and broken up and that years will be required until it will again rally its forces.

#### The Working Class in Previous Revolutionary Epochs.

Compare the general position of the working class today with its position in previous revolutionary epochs. In

the struggle of 1848, the first outbursts of the proletarian movement were so completely drowned in the blood of the workers, that a whole generation was required before the revolutionary movement revived. Then came the Paris Commune. After the defeat of the Paris Commune, it was impossible to find a working-class family that was not bereaved. The extent of discouragement of the French proletariat was enormous. Nevertheless, hardly a decade passed before the French workers again rose to the struggle. Ten years after the Paris Commune, the French labor movement had recovered from the blows it had received. Recall the revolution in Russia of 1905. It too, was crushed and drowned in the blood of the workers. A serious crisis arose. The working class of Russia had to meet a stern enemy, but hardly a decade passed and the Russian proletariat was again on its feet and victoriously carrying on the fight.

#### The Working Class is not Defeated.

Turn now to Germany. Take the years 1918-1923. The German proletariat in that period fought for revolution. The fight went on not in a steady rising line, but with interruptions, severe losses and so on. Taking the European labor movement as a whole, the severest losses were suffered by the German proletariat during this time. But what do we observe today in Germany, a country passing through the zone of a certain stabilization of capitalism. Do we observe in the working class there anything similar to the state of complete discouragement and despair as we observed it in 1848 and 1871? Nothing of the kind. Considerable sections of the working class of Germany have retained their courage, have not lost stamina and under most difficult conditions unhesitatingly are following the Communist Party.

And what of the other countries—France, Czechoslovakia and Poland? Do we see there a defeated and crushed proletariat, which may arise for revolution only after many years? Nothing of the kind, the situation is quite different. The working class has only attempted to bring about revolution, but it has not yet fought the decisive battle. Not in a single country in Europe has the working class been so utterly defeated in battle that we shall have to wait for a new generation to grow up. We see merely that the forces of the working class have not yet matured sufficiently to win a victory over the bourgeoisie, but under no circumstance can it be said that the working class has lost its leaders, has been defeated, crushed and drowned in the wave of White Terror. The situation is altogether different in Hungary or Finland where White Terror reigned. But—and this is worth mentioning—even in countries like Hungary, Finland and Esthonia, in spite of the terror that has raged, only a few years are needed in order that the workers may rise to the battle again.

Comrades, I say all this in order to warn you against an incorrect estimation of the present political situation and the state of the international labor movement. We may admit that in a country where a year ago the revolutionary cauldron was seething, the situation today has ceased to be revolutionary. But this fact must not serve as an excuse for discouragement in our ranks. It should not lead us to believe that the whole of our question of the working class has been crushed as was the case in 1848 and in 1871.

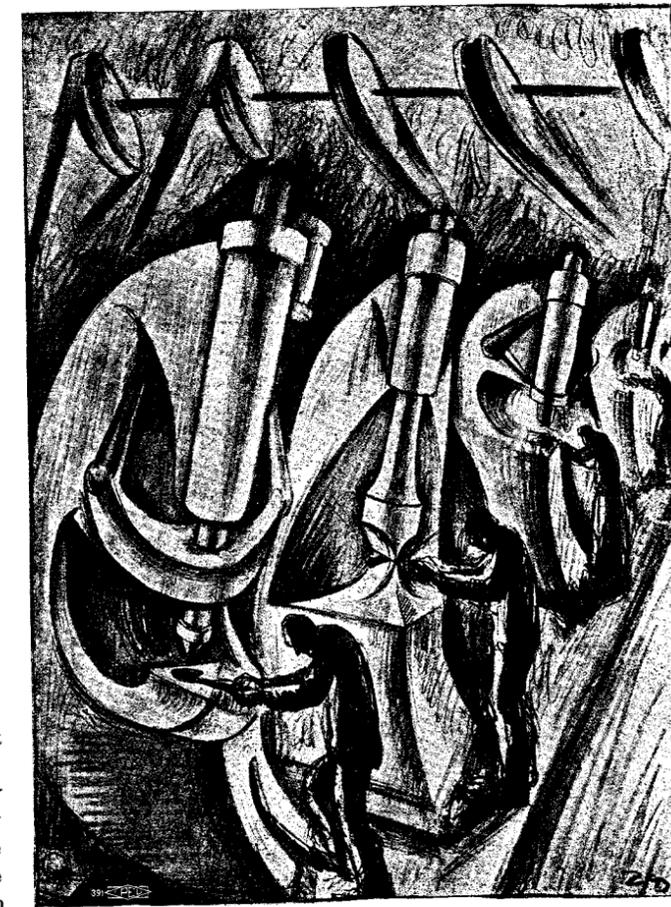
#### The Working Class has a Strong Revolutionary Base—the U. S. S. R.

I have written down seven points describing the peculiar features of the present moment in relation to the question that interests us.

In the period prior to 1917, the working class in each country fought isolately. Not in a single country during that period was a single more or less decisive victory of the proletariat recorded. What is the position today? Today, the international proletariat has achieved more or less conclusive victory in one country, I mean the U. S. S. R., representing a sixth part of the globe. It is of extreme importance that the international working class, that individual sections of the working class fighting against the world bourgeoisie, have a base, have a sort of revolutionary rear. This fact in itself is of world historical significance, and clearly shows that the present situation cannot be compared to the crises which occurred in 1848 and in 1871. Hence the first fact—victory, even if not final—of the working class in one country, is providing a revolutionary rear for the international proletariat.

#### The Orient Comes to the Aid of the World Proletariat.

The second factor is the Orient. The Social Democrats tried to be witty at the expense of the allegedly naive people who are now setting out to bring about revo-



G. Silzer.

lution in China . But the fact is that China has a population of 400,000,000 and this population can and is acquiring world historical importance. World capitalism can no longer hold up this tremendous element which is now setting into motion.

The advanced detachments of the European proletariat who were defeated by General Galifet in Paris and later by czarism in Russia in 1905 fought alone; they had no direct support from the rest of Europe and the colonies. The awakening of the Orient will put an end to the isolation of the working class. New forces are entering the arena of history and are acquiring enormous significance for the revolutionary movement.

**The War has Revolutionized Extremely Wide Sections of the Workers and Peasants.**

We have passed through a world war, and are living in a period of preparations for fresh wars. Everywhere in Europe the masses, including the peasantry, have been

roused. The masses after the war are not what they were before the war. The world war has served as a great "political university" for the international proletariat and peasantry. The political experience acquired by the working class in the furnace of suffering through which it passed in the period of the world war, must inevitably serve as an antidote against any ideological crisis that may break out among the proletariat. This striking feature also distinguishes our epoch from past epochs.

**The Proletariat is Living in an Atmosphere of Civil War.**

As I have already said, the class antagonisms of our epoch are saturated with the elements of civil war. Prior to 1907, the European proletariat only talked about civil war, and then not very frequently and not very clearly. Since 1917 to the present day, almost the whole of the our epoch are saturated with the elements of civil war.

*(Continued on page 380)*

# Germany's "Party of Order"

AND so the rule of the Social Democrats has culminated in . . . the election of Hindenburg!

Social Democratic treachery has cost the German workers dear. This point must be driven home again and again: Field Marshall and Reichspresident Paul von Hindenburg holds his position, in the prevailing situation in Germany, by



grace of the Social Democrats. Power was within the grasp of the German workers in 1918, when they brought about the bourgeois revolution for the overthrow of Kaiserism and pressed forward, raising the leaders of Social Democracy to the highest positions in the land. But instead of continuing the revolution, Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske and the rest turned themselves into a "Party of Order" against the revolution and against the Communists, who were referred to as the "Party of Anarchy." It was but one step from the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg to the final liquidation of the Soviets in Germany and only a step or two more to the Dawes' Plan.

One can quote word for word from Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," and show how the so-called Social Democrats "claimed to have 'saved' society against the 'enemies' of society"—how they "gave out the slogans of the old social order"—and how they "cried out to the counter-revolutionary crusaders: 'In this sign wilt thou conquer!'"

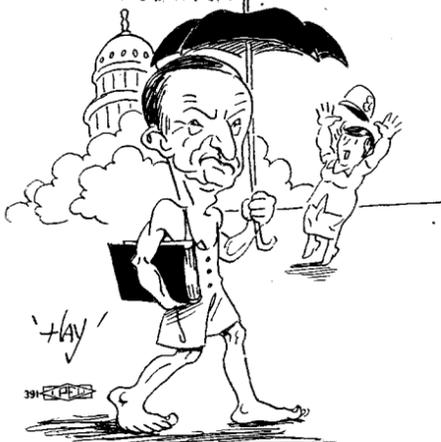
The "Party of Order" gradually undergoes changes. Soon the Socialists themselves begin to be looked at askance. First the period of the Social Democratic coalitions; then Wirth-Rathenau, then Cuno, Stressemann, Hindenburg. . .

"Thus it happens that 'society is saved' as often as the circle of its ruling class is narrowed, as often as a more exclusive interest asserts itself over the general. Every demand for the most simple bourgeois financial reform, for the most ordinary liberalism, for the most commonplace republicanism, for the flattest democracy, is forthwith punished as an 'assault upon society' and is branded as 'Socialism.'"

And will we come finally to the time when "the refuse of bourgeois society constitutes the 'holy phalanx of order,' and the hero Crapulinsky makes his entry into the Tuilleries as the 'Savior of Society?'"

We do not believe so. The German working class of 1925 is a far different proposition from the French working class of 1850. The domestic and world situations are far different. Capitalism is in its final stage. Not all the Parties of Order in Europe can keep the old order from falling to pieces.

SPRING & SUMMER ECONOMY STYLE DEMONSTRATED BY OUR WASHINGTON MANNIKIN!



# Cartoons of the Month

By "Hay" Bales



MILLIONAIRE BRYAN CRUCIFIED ON A "CROSS OF GOLD"



# The Awakening

I WAS sitting on the curb  
In front of an employment office,  
Down in the slave market,  
Thinking.

A fellow handed me a magazine,  
I looked at the pictures  
And handed it to my pal.

He called my attention  
To the picture of a fat capitalist  
Beating a worker,  
With a cat-o-nine-tails.

Bunk, he said;  
They couldn't get away

With that stuff any more!  
Of course not, said I.

Next day,  
We got pinched in the railroad yards,  
As we were trying to make a freight  
To go to a job.

Now we are making little rocks out of big ones,  
And a mean-looking guy is watching us;  
And he wears a club and a gun,  
And every once in a while he says:  
Snap into it, and fingers his club.  
I wish I could remember the name of that magazine.

—P. C. Sprague.

# The Martyrdom Of The Coal Miners

By J. W. Johnstone

SPIRITS were high among the progressive miners when the results of the last miners' national election were made known. John L. Lewis was swamped with 66,000 left wing votes, it was announced. Perhaps our candidates were elected—at least they received many thousands of votes not counted by the Lewis administration.

We are crowding the fakers! A little more energy, more education, intensified activities and organization, and the long battle against reaction will be won.

These were the thoughts expressed on all sides.

That George Voyzey defeated John L. Lewis cannot be proven, at least, not without access to the official records. But this thought, expressed first more or less as a wish, has more merit to it than that of merely propaganda. It finds confirmation in the present tactics of the Lewis-Farrington machine, notably in their refusal for the first time to tabulate the votes cast in the election in accordance with Article 9, Section 36, of the International Constitution, which reads as follows:

**Sec. 36.—The votes of each District shall be tabulated separately and consecutively, and the votes of each Local Union within each District shall be tabulated separately and consecutively, the entire total given and the complete report printed and sent out to the Local Unions by the International Teller not later than January 15th of each election year.**

It is also shown in the brutally frank manner in which they have now set out to destroy the most militant and progressive sections of the U. M. W. of A., such as Districts 12, 14, 18 and 26.



FREEMAN THOMPSON, ILLEGALLY EXPELLED FROM THE UNION, ADDRESSING A CROWD OF ILLINOIS MINERS

Lewis cannot tabulate the votes, he says, because the finances of the union are low. This work would cost at the utmost \$2,000. Lewis wants the miners to believe that he is altruistic and is worrying very much over the financial condition of the organization, forgetting for the purpose that there is over \$1,000,000 in the treasury. "If you insist on a report on the election returns we shall have to place an assessment on each miner," says Lewis, again forgetting for the occasion that an assessment of \$2 per member was collected during the months of January and February, 1925, yielding nearly \$1,000,000, and that an assessment of one cent per member would more than pay the cost of tabulating the election returns.

"The financial condition of the union is bad," declares Lewis. "The financial situation of the U. M. W. of A. is very satisfactory," said Wm. Green at the convention of District 12. There was no thought of economy when Phil Murray spent \$3,000 of the union's money on a pleasure trip to Europe, but the tabulation of the votes cast in the last election is something very different.

"You stole the election," affirm the progressive miners to Lewis.

The plain truth is that Lewis dare not publish the tabulated election returns. The avalanche of votes cast for the progressive miners' candidates was so great and Lewis' vote-stealing to retain his official position so brazen, that it would be impossible to hide it if the returns were sent to the locals. Impeachment proceedings would immediately be started against his administration.

So, Lewis, who has spent the union's money like a drunken fool in smashing district after district, because they did not bow to his autocratic rule, suddenly becomes economical.

"We have only a million dollars in the treasury, so we can't afford to tabulate the votes."

To say that the 66,000 votes admitted to have been cast for the progressive candidates have thrown the Lewis administration into a panic is wrong. To work from this conception would be ruinous. People who are panic-stricken are easily defeated. The Lewis-Farrington machine is not in that state of mind. That they realize their desperate position is self-evident in the utter abandonment of any pretense of "constitutionality" in their attack upon the progressive miners, and their complete disregard of the welfare of the miners and the union. They realize full well that the only way they can control the coming convention is to remove from office and expel from the union all remaining leading opposition forces and to destroy completely the mining centers that will not submit to their traitorous and terroristic tactics.

The miners in Districts 12, 14, 18 and 26 will not yield to Lewis' collaboration scheme, so they are slated for destruction. The pretense of assisting the Nova Scotia strikers and organizing the West Virginia miners, is merely shadow boxing and camouflage to take attention away from the real

job of destroying the mining centers that are determined to replace the Lewis machine with a militant progressive leadership.

## The Regime of John L. Lewis.

Under John L. Lewis' short but disastrous leadership, the miners have been led into one betrayal after another. Few men have been granted the opportunity of John L. Lewis. He was made president of the U. M. W. of A. at a time when objective conditions were ideal for organizing the industry 100 per cent for the enforcing of the 6-hour day, nationalization of the mines, the installation of safety appliances, advancement if not actual enforcement of many other political demands of the miners, and the raising of the political level of the entire working class. With a real militant group of nationally-known fighters—such as Alex Howat, Duncan McDonald, Jim McLachlan—and with district and local leaders of the type of Freeman Thompson, John Watt, Tom Myerscough and many others, the pendulum was swinging in favor of the miners, and a victorious struggle at this period would have strongly entrenched the miners and would have eliminated at least 40 per cent of the present unemployment.

But Lewis failed to produce anything but compromises, defeats, and downright betrayals, until today the miners' organization is in process of disintegration and is in very serious danger of being completely demolished.

In 1919 the situation was exceedingly favorable for the miners. The miners were keyed up to the highest point.

The six-hour day from bank to bank, which would have meant a five-hour workday at the face, with a national agreement covering the entire country—these demands, if not others, at least would have been won. But a word from the late President Wilson gave Lewis the excuse to betray the miners under the cowardly plea that "They could not fight the Government."

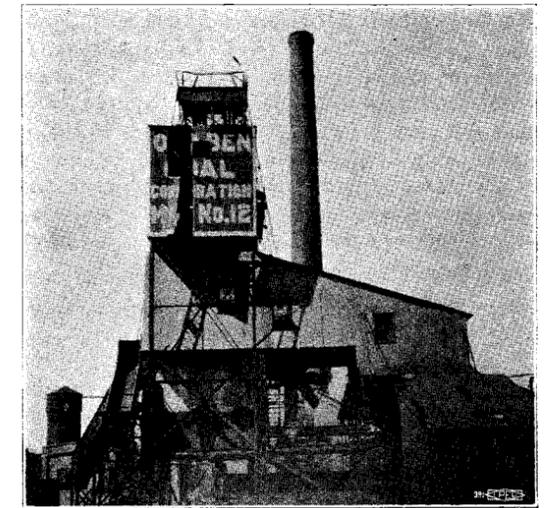
In 1922, although the objective conditions were not as favorable as in 1919, the morale of the miners was splendid. They were ready, yes, eagerly awaiting the strike call. And, much to the surprise of John L. Lewis and the coal operators, the non-union miners struck 100 per cent and stood solidly side by side with the organized miners for five months in the most complete general strike in the history of the American labor movement.

Victory was within the miners' grasp. Defeat seemed impossible. Yet, defeat and not victory was the dose handed out to them. The compromise settlement entered into by Lewis which left the miners stunned, the almost unbelievable betrayal of the Fayette County miners, following upon Lewis' cowardly attitude in failing to go through with the strike in 1919, will go down in American labor history as equalling in disastrous effect the British miners' "Black Friday."

## Two Fakers Expose Each Other.

The saying is that "when thieves fall out, honest men get their dues." At least we can say that when labor fakers fall out, the rank and file gets an earful. We will let Lewis and Farrington tell the WORKERS MONTHLY readers some of the things that were happening behind the scenes before and during this strike.

Lewis and Farrington were close friends and associates, but they fell out—over what, is no matter; it is what they



IN THE CENTRAL COMPETITIVE FIELD

This mine has been shut down continuously for the past six months.

said during this period of hostility that gives some idea of why the miners were betrayed and why the organization is in danger of destruction. Lewis and Farrington are now good friends. They have combined their forces in order to save each other from destruction. Their common enemy is not the coal operator, but the 66,000 miners and the militant leaders who challenge their despotic rule. But, let us see what they had to say about each other in 1922 and 1923.

At the meeting of the International Executive Board of the U. M. W. of A., held Oct. 9th to 20th, 1922, inclusive, Lewis accused President Farrington and Vice-President Fishwick, of the Illinois District, of having received money to allow the Lester Strip Mine (Herrin, Ill.), to run during the strike. Executive Board Member Dobbins reported the story to Farrington, who demanded a retraction. Lewis refused to retract.

In a letter to Lewis dated November 22, 1922, among other things, Farrington had this to say:

"An influential operator with whom I happen to know you had dinner during the month of December told me that you had told him during the month of December that you believed the mine workers of the country were going to be obliged to take a reduction of wages after the first of April, and that you implied that in order to enable you to escape responsibility for the reduction a strike was to be called on the first of April and was to continue until the government intervened and settled the strike, even on the basis of reduction of wages, and considering the fact that you were continuing parleying with government authorities during the strike, I have just as much right to believe his statement is true as you have to believe the story about me concerning the Lester mine.

"I heard that you and other officers of our union collected \$100,000 from the operators in Kentucky for allowing them to operate during the strike. . . .

"I heard that instead of borrowing \$100,000 from the Harriman Bank of New York, as publicly stated, that you received \$750,000 from this bank and three members of the directorate of the bank are operating NON-UNION MINES IN THE PENNSYLVANIA FIELD and that the extra \$650,000 which the public never heard anything about, was given to you and your associates with the understanding that the support of the International Union would be withdrawn from the striking mine workers in the non-union fields of Pennsylvania."

In the light of these accusations, one gets a clear understanding of why the miners were betrayed, why the membership has dwindled down to about half of its former strength, why over 50 per cent of bituminous coal is mined under non-union conditions, why 75 per cent of the union miners are unemployed or working only a few days a month, why a state of complete demoralization and chaos now exists in the U. M. W. of A.

This hostile relationship between Lewis and Farrington could not continue. It meant the exposing of one of the methods used by the corrupt labor bureaucrats in advancing their personal fortune, and showed the crude basis upon which class collaboration is built. It also meant suicide for both of these well-paid tools of the coal operators.

So, the hatchet was buried, but not before Lewis and Farrington had convicted themselves as traitors and grafters before the many thousands of members who read these incriminating letters. Undoubtedly the coal operators had a hand in forcing a reconciliation. To allow this exposure to continue meant the destruction of the Lewis and Farrington machines and the turning of the organization over to a more progressive if not a revolutionary leadership. This would not suit the coal operators at all.

In spite of the fact that Lewis and Farrington detest one another, their own personal safety compelled them to make peace.

The move was easier for Lewis to make than for Farrington. Farrington, in his desperate attempt to step into Lewis' shoes, had flirted with the progressive miners, and for a time even pretended to lead the fight for the reinstatement of Alex Howat. However, if any progressive miners were fooled by Farrington's pretensions, they were few and far between.

Farrington is not any more treacherous than Lewis, but he is a much cruder artist.

On May 5, 1923, in answer to an inquiry about the standing of the Progressive Miners' Committee, he had this to say. We quote two paragraphs from the letter:

"I am returning herewith the circular letter which accompanied your letter of May 3rd. I do not think THAT THE MEN WHO ARE BEHIND THE SO-CALLED PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT HAVE ANY INTENSIONS WHATSOEVER OF ESTABLISHING A DUAL ORGANIZATION OF MINE WORKERS, instead their activities, I think, are due entirely to their determination to clean up some of the corruption that is going on in our union . . .

"Alex Howat has repeatedly declared that he will have nothing to do with the establishing of a dual organization of mine workers and I am satisfied that he meant just what he said. I do think,

however, that Howat has much reason for complaint and will no doubt identify himself with this element in our union because he believes that is the only way he can secure justice for himself and the Kansas miners."

In the early part of June, 1923, the peace pact was completed and on June 29th, Farrington officially deserted Howat. We quote the following three paragraphs:

"In reply to your letter of recent date, I advise that I assume the recent case of Alexander Howat will be an issue in our next National Convention and that a decision will be rendered by that body. I have done everything in my power to get him reinstated to membership in our union, as a matter of fact, I led his fight from the very beginning and I not only gave him my moral support, but recommended that he be given the financial support of District 12 and financial support was given him and the Kansas miners without stint. . .

"It is a great disappointment to me to learn that Alex has lined up with the enemies of our union. (Progressive Miners.—Ed.). He surely could not do his own cause any good by following that course while on the other hand he has done himself irreparable harm.

"I shall continue to do everything I can for the Kansas miners, but now that Alex Howat has joined forces with the enemies of our union he will have to make his own fight in his own way."

#### Rule or Ruin Tactics.

Since the signing of the Jacksonville Agreement, Lewis and Farrington have been openly co-operating with the coal operators to crush the rebellious spirit of the miners, even to the destruction of districts and the throwing out of the industry of 200,000 "surplus" union miners.

District 18 (Alberta, Canada) is a classic example of how Lewis destroys a district that is opposed to his rule. The Alberta miners could not be won over to Lewis so their district had to be destroyed. In 1923, there were 11,000 organized miners there. Today it is doubtful if there are 3,000.

The strike of 1924, lasting nearly eight months, was deliberately sabotaged by Lewis and his lieutenant, District President Sherman. The miners were starved into submission. The militants were driven from the mining fields. In Crow's Nest Pass, always a center of progressive activities, the seven local unions have been completely demolished. In five mining fields, only company unions exist, and in the other two they have not even gone to the trouble to form that kind of company protection.

In the northern fields the situation is not much better. Demoralized, disorganized and deserted by Lewis and his gang, the miners were compelled to accept a 12½ per cent reduction in wages. Lewis breathes a little easier—an opposition force has been destroyed. What matter the sympathies of the miners and their wives and families?

For over two months the 12,000 Nova Scotia miners have been on strike against the British Empire Steel Corporation. This district, in spite of all attempts by Lewis to disrupt it, still remains 100 per cent organized. However, dissension is

rife among the miners; many having become disgusted with the ruinous tactics of Lewis and his lieutenants, have quit the organization and joined the O. B. U. This is a step in the direction of complete destruction, the thing that Lewis is consciously working for. District 26 is an irreconcilable enemy of the corrupt Lewis administration. Going to the O. B. U. suits Lewis—he does not care whether miners go over to the O. B. U. or form a company union, just as long as they are eliminated as a factor in his struggle to retain autocratic control of the U. M. W. of A.

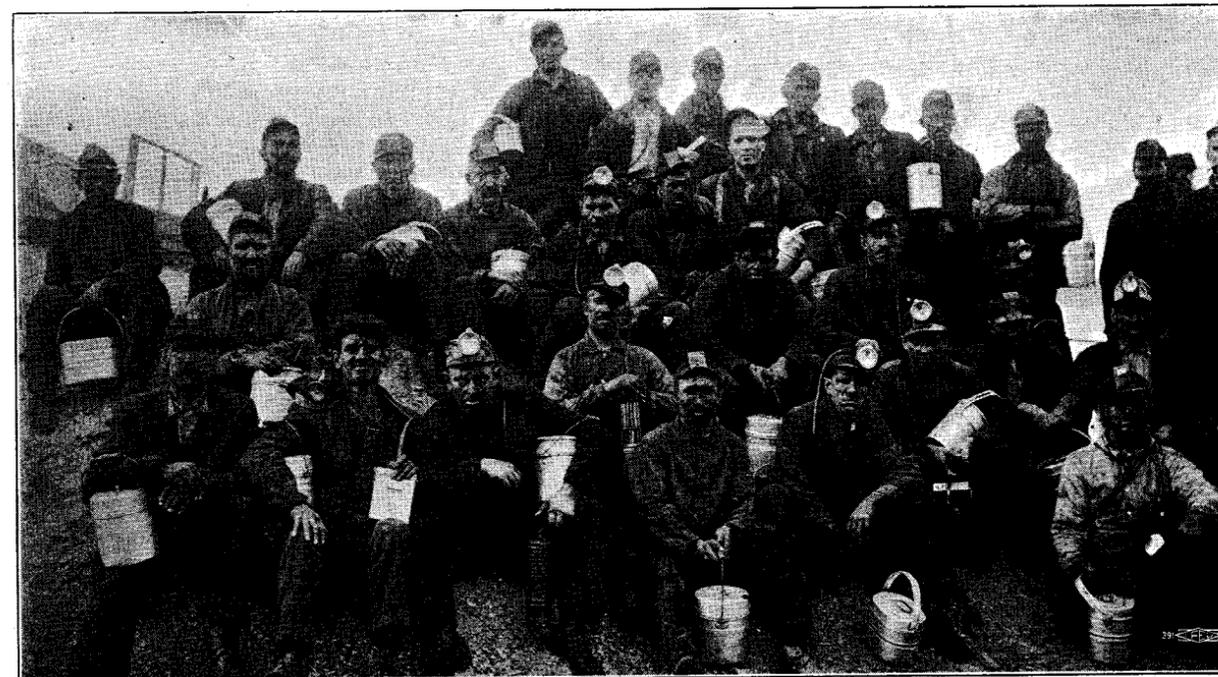
While other unions are contributing to the relief fund, the Mine Workers' Official Journal, up to the writing of this article, has not even published a single word about the strike in Nova Scotia. Lewis paid a visit to the strike zone but did not have the courage to address a single strike meeting. He felt much safer in the office and more comfortable in the company of the BESCO officials.

\$104,000. This debt Lewis repudiated in the hope that it would break up the district.

The miners, in spite of the fact that their average monthly earnings during the year 1924 averaged only \$37 a month, paid off this huge debt by monthly assessments. Twice, the official organ of the Nova Scotia miners, the Maritime Labor Herald, has been burned to the ground. The last time was just a few days ago, leaving the strikers without a strike organ.

The situation in Nova Scotia is indeed critical. While the R. I. L. U. shows its sympathy and common interest with the Nova Scotia miners by donating \$5,000 from its meager treasury, the Lewis administration which owes this district \$104,000 has just collected a million-dollar assessment, insults the strikers by giving them \$15,000.

Shall District 26 be numbered among Lewis' many victims? Up to date he has failed in this. Will he finally



GROUP OF MINERS IN THE COKE REGION OF PENNSYLVANIA

The financial assistance given the 12,000 strikers by the Lewis administration is \$15,000, in spite of the fact that approximately \$1,000,000 was collected during the month of January and February by a special \$2 assessment. A dollar and a quarter per family for two months, or less than three cents per day per family, is John L. Lewis' idea of strike benefits.

Following the deposal of Jim MacLachlan and the other district officials in District 26 because of their sympathetic strike with the steel workers in 1923, Lewis has paid special attention to the disruption of this fighting district. The commission set up by Lewis, with the approval of Lewis and with his promise of financial support, called a strike in January, 1924, running the district into debt to the tune of

succeed? That will depend upon the support given the strikers by the militants throughout the industry. They must force the Lewis administration to disgorge a goodly part of the million dollars collected for strike purposes.

The strike must be strengthened at all points. The district officials must stiffen up. They must not allow themselves to be influenced by the "liberal" bourgeois atmosphere that surrounds the Relief Committee, or by fake promises of aid by Lewis.

The miners and their families must get sufficient food to keep them on strike.

But this alone will not win the strike. A militant fighting picket-line is needed. Not one stroke of work must be allowed in the mines during the period of the strike.

### The Kansas District.

Kansas is another district that incurred the enmity of Lewis. Howat, the fighting president, could not be bought over by the coal operators nor by Lewis. The miners of Kansas supported their fighting leader. It was these miners, under the leadership of Howat, who defeated the Kansas Industrial Court Law. Their going to jail rather than knuckle down to this law was a major political victory, which resulted not only in defeating the industrial court in Kansas, but in preventing the establishment of similar courts throughout the country by federal law.

In 1921, prior to the removal of Howat, the district was 100 per cent organized. There were 10,000 organized miners in Kansas. Today there are not more than 6,000. At the last election Howat was endorsed by 90 per cent of the miners of the district, but was arbitrarily ruled off the ballot. Nevertheless the Lewis lickspittles were completely repudiated. Matt Walters, first president of the Knights of Labor in that district, was elected president by the support of Howat and his followers.

In the past few weeks a number of organizational drives have been conducted under the leadership of Howat and Walters. About six weeks ago, 3,000 men, led by Howat and Walters, marched from mine to mine and succeeded in pulling back into the union many of those who had quit the organization, disgusted by Lewis' disruptive tactics. And the next



MINER'S SON STEALING COAL

convention will see a fighting delegation from this district to help smash the corrupt Lewis administration.

### Farrington's Tactics in Illinois.

District 12, Illinois, is the largest district in the U. M. W. of A. It is 100 per cent organized, with approximately 100,000 members. Here we see the Lewis forces, under the leadership of Farrington, making a desperate effort to demoralize if not completely destroy the district. Farrington is now in office by virtue of stealing the election. It is a well-known fact that the miners of Illinois almost solidly supported Voyzey as against Lewis for International President. That is why Lewis dare not tabulate the votes and send them, as per the constitution, to the local unions. His fraud would immediately be discovered if this was done.

Statements such as this might seem extreme, but keep in mind the letters exchanged between Lewis and Farrington from November, 1922, to May, 1923, and you have some

idea of the unscrupulous character of these men who grow rich upon the sufferings of the miners and their families. In the Labor Herald of August, 1924, I showed how Lewis became International President by a circuitous route and by the aid of one Hamilton, a scab coal operator who openly boasted in 1916 that he would make Lewis the next miners' president. This was accomplished by the year 1919. Strange as it may seem, Lewis never was elected to any international official position in the miners' union, including his present position; but with the election machinery in his control he has been able to retain his control over the union.

In Illinois, Farrington is carrying on a reign of terror—expulsions and arbitrary removal from office, the outlawing of meetings held to discuss the unemployed situation and to assist the starving miners' families, mark his course. He has removed from office Freeman Thompson and John Watt, the fighting president and secretary of the Springfield sub-district, expelling Watt from the union as well as removing him from office. Duncan McDonald has been expelled from the union. All of these acts were carried out in violation of the constitution and for the express purpose of crushing the militant miners of Illinois.

The coal operators are attempting to introduce the yellow-dog contract. So far they have failed. Farrington is urging the miners to accept a cut in wages amounting to 12 cents a ton. Several weeks ago the Old Ben Coal Co., the largest coal company in southern Illinois, closed down and refused to open its mines unless the miners would accept a cut in wages and allow them to hire expert shot-firers. This would eventually mean the reducing of the miners to mere coal shovelers, and in time no state examination for miners would be necessary. With the shot-firers as company men, the crushing of any revolt would be that much easier.

Farrington, at a meeting held in Johnston City, Illinois, urged the miners to accept whatever arrangements he could make with the company for operating the Old Ben Coal Company mines. But the miners refused to give Farrington power to make any settlement.

These four districts have incurred the undying enmity of the Lewis-Farrington machine. They cannot be won over to the class collaboration policy, so their destruction is being systematically carried out. Unemployment, and its attendant starvation on the one hand, and sabotage and betrayal of the miners' interests by their officials on the other, is the method being used to accomplish this end.

Will the miners' union survive this double attack? Through bitter struggle the miners have learned how to fight the coal operators. But they cannot put up a successful battle when their leaders are the tools of the mine owners.

The miners' union will be saved by a mass revolt of the rank and file against their miserable conditions and against betrayal by their officials. In every mining town the progressives must organize mine committees to carry on the struggle.

They must prepare for the coming convention. Impeachment proceedings should be started against the Lewis-Farrington wrecking machine. The miners must take their union out of the control of the coal operators and place at its head officers who will lead the miners into struggle. With a real fighting leader in place of the present wet-rag, the miners can retrieve their lost position, build up and strengthen their union, and go on to new and greater victories.

# The Central Labor Union of Moscow

By Anise

### Workers' Club Rooms.

Upstairs on the second floor we turn into the club rooms. A charming little theater, with walls ornamented by great bronze plaques, showing figures of men at labor. These also are modern—ordered for this room. New chairs, new decorations—everything in exquisite taste.

"Imagine any labor temple in America looking so beautiful," says one of our party. . . "Well, if they took over the commercial and athletic clubs of the cities they might . . ." "But would they have such artistic taste and keep everything so beautiful?" the first rejoins. "Perhaps they would be inspired to, if they felt themselves the rulers of their country."

Next comes a great billiard room with six enormous new tables, made especially for the Central Labor Club. The vaulted ceiling of this room indicates that it was once the chapel of the old nobleman's club that occupied this building. Here they stopped to worship. And across the street was the hotel where they kept their mistresses. No wonder churches were held at a discount by the Russian revolution.

More club rooms. Fine paintings, many more. All recent and beautiful. Then we pass into a reading room and the Central Workers' Library.

What a tremendous jam of folks. Two or three hundred in the reading room, filling most of the chairs. Old men, young girls, various types, yet with a certain quality common to all, the same quality that can be seen again in the Central Executive Committee of the Republic. A quality of untiring earnestness and steady attention. Warm serviceable clothes, showing the signs of wear, but still durable. Nothing like the cheap, flashy styles on the streets of New York. But not at all shabby; just clothes to be put on for warmth and then be forgotten.

### Crowding the Library.

A crisp librarian in a blue dress points the way into the library room itself. A dozen or more librarians are trying to handle a jam of men and women who stand three deep around the long counters. "Is this the evening rush," I ask. "No," says the librarian. "It is always crowded like that."

In the stock room are 63,000 books, all new, brought from every country in the world. A dozen books from America are being catalogued. Cost Accounting, Efficiency Systems, Technique of the Forge, and similar subjects. This is the sort of thing that those hundreds in the reading rooms are studying.

### Ninety-four Per Cent Organized.

Back in the office of Melnichanski we start asking questions. Of the 900,000 Moscow trade unionists, he tells us, 60,000 are unemployed, and 40,000 are students sent by their unions to various higher schools. Of the 800,000 remaining, about 120,000 are government clerks and office workers. This leaves just under 700,000 industrial workers in the unions of the Moscow district. Ninety-four per cent of all workers are organized, he tells us.

THERE are 900,000 members in the trade unions of the Moscow district. Of these 40,000 or more are students in workers' colleges and universities, maintained on scholarships from the trade unions, but giving their full time to study. This gives a little picture of the size of the labor movement, in the province of Moscow alone.

The central building around which they function is the great hall of the unions, in the center of the city. I have often visited it for great assemblies, and seen its brilliant hall of marble and crystal glistening under hundreds of lights for some meeting of working women, or of young Communists or some central congress of trade unions. But I had never realized how many other rooms lay behind that single glittering hall until I made a visit through it the other day.

### "Enter Without Knocking."

We wound through office after office, in each of which were well-arranged desks with typists and secretaries working. In general, the trade union offices look more efficient than the average government office in Russia; there is less dead wood in the shape of old civil servants from pre-revolutionary days. At last we reach Melnichanski's office. "Enter without knocking" says a sign on the door. I think it is the only office door in Russia with such a sign.

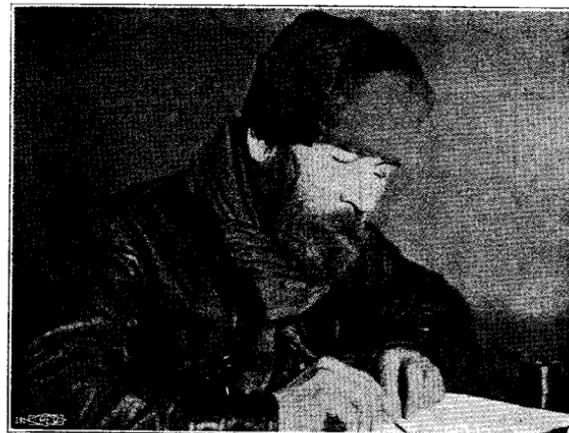
A representative of the metal workers is discussing some business with Melnichanski, who at the time of our visit was still president of the Moscow Central Labor Union, but who is now transferred to the presidium of the All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions. While waiting for our interview, we are turned over to a hospitable young worker in a blue blouse, who volunteers to take us around the building.

We stumble unexpectedly upon an exposition hall, cheerful with gaudy posters, cartoons and statistical models. Today the Congress of Transport Workers opened in the big hall, and this is their exposition. Information about wages, unemployment, workers' life—enough to take a week's study. Many workers are studying it; many officials from the workers' government are also here, getting the latest information about labor conditions in the country, compiled by the unions.

### The Hall of the Columns.

In the Hall of Columns they turn on the full electricity especially for us. How different it looks from the same hall three years ago, when I first heard Trotsky speak there during the days of the famine. Dingy then, with only a few electric lamps unbroken during the long war and blockade. Now the whole place is agleam with brilliance.

Through the great promenade halls are many paintings, showing various processes of labor. The red glow of molten iron appears in them again and again; what a subject it is for an artist with the dusty blue of overalled figures in straining shapes around it. Here also is portrayed the funeral of Lenin, a beautiful work of art, with the silver frost visibly crackling in the air. All of these have been ordered from modern painters by the Central Labor Union of Moscow which is perhaps the principal patron of the arts now in Russia with enough money to encourage artists.



### THE SCHOOLBOY'S FIRST LETTER

Factory worker writing in to "Pravda" about conditions in his shop. He learned to read and write in the union school.

"Does a worker have to join a union?" we ask. He smiles rather queerly. "Certainly not," he says, "but they always want to." Our chief trouble comes in keeping out of the unions the people who have no right there, sons of profiteers who want to be listed as workers because of the privileges this gives to their family."

"Do you mean," I asked, "that if I open a little store and hire clerks, I don't have to hire union men?" "You can hire anyone you please," laughs Melnichanski, "but as soon as you hire them, you will find them running to the union hall to join, if they are not already members. When you give them a job that makes them eligible to membership, and you may be sure they will take advantage of it."

### Advantages of Union Membership.

"You do not understand," he added, smiling, "the advantages of union membership. During the past seven years we have actually had two or three cleanings, throwing out people from the unions who tried to get in without being bonafide workers. In the early days of the revolution, we were doing some rather strenuous things. The workers were moving into the fine big houses of the bourgeois; we had a continuous propaganda for doing this. Houses were being searched and invaded."

"Now, a man with a union card was exempt from search or from being moved out of his house; for he was a worker. So naturally, all these bourgeois tried to join unions. They couldn't join the metal workers, for you could tell by their hands that they weren't metal workers. But the clerks' union grew tremendously. And the teachers' and artists' union also. It surprised us. But we also saw that the number of unemployed in these unions was very large; for the new members had no intention of working at the trade; they merely wanted a union card."

### No Union-Splitting Tactics.

"Those days are past, but there are still many privileges of union membership. Workers get lower rents and all kinds of rebates. So you see, we have to be careful about taking members into the unions. We only take men who are actually employed or who can prove by their past jobs that they are bona fide workers. Even so, we have to clean the unions out occasionally."

I asked if they threw out workers whose views they disapproved of. "Not at all, said Melnichanski. "We know, of course, that that is done in the capitalist countries. They are throwing Communists out of the American Federation of Labor. As if that whole great body had to be afraid of a handful of Communists. But with us, if a man is an actual worker, he has a right to be in the union, whatever his views."

We started another question. "They tell us that your union elections are bureaucratic and government-controlled," we said.

### Close to the Rank and File.

"Come round and see for yourself," said Melnichanski. "Edo Fimmen, secretary of the International Transport Workers, and formerly one of the secretaries of the Amsterdam International, has just been here, and he says that in no country are the trade union leaders so close to the rank and file . . . I am not denying that if some group wants to elect a menshevik, we maneuver all we can to prevent it. But if you know the temper of our Moscow workers, you know they are not boss-ridden."

"Why, our very existence depends on keeping close to the rank and file. Not only our existence as labor leaders, but our very lives. We know we would all be in jail or shot by white guards if we couldn't keep the confidence of the rank and file of Russia's workers. Of course, we have our disagreements and our occasional steam-rollers. But we couldn't get away with as much of it as the American Federation of Labor does. We simply wouldn't risk a course that would lead to secession of any group of workers."



IN A TRADE UNION CLUB

# Party Industrial Methods and Structure.

By William Z. Foster.

WHEN the Trade Union Educational League, which was founded in the Fall of 1920, got well under way in the Spring of 1922 by the launching of the Labor Herald, it was an instantaneous success and almost immediately it became a great power in the labor movement. The objective situation was most favorable. The workers were in a militant mood. The employers were trying to rob them of the standards of living and the organizations established by them during the war period, and they were resisting vigorously. A veritable epidemic of strikes took place in practically all the industries.

In the midst of such a situation the league was born and began to function. Its program of amalgamation and militant struggle generally against the employers, found a ready response. The discontented elements accepted the league's leadership in the unions, not only the rank and file, but also the minor officialdom which calls itself progressive. The league was the real leader of the whole left wing of the labor movement, using this term in the broadest sense. In the historic Decatur and Portland conventions of the Illinois Federation of Labor and American Federation of Labor, it made its program the main issue before the labor movement. The success of the league attracted the most favorable comment from the Profintern, which held the league up internationally as a model type of left wing organization and methods. By working aggressively through the league, our party largely freed itself from sectarianism and succeeded in establishing itself as a real factor in the labor movement.

Within the past two years the influence of the league has, in certain respects, sensibly diminished in the unions. It is true that during this period the league has won many substantial victories. Notable cases in point are the splendid showings made in the recent elections of the Miners and Carpenters. But the movement undoubtedly lacks the broad sweep that it once had. Especially has the league largely lost the leadership over the so-called progressive elements, which played such an important part in its early activities. The masses in the unions are not responding to its slogans as they once did. There is a strong tendency for the league in its organized manifestations—local groups, national conferences, etc.—to consist merely of Communists and their closest sympathizers. In other words, the league is experiencing a sharp period of isolation.

### Factors Making for Isolation.

Many factors have contributed towards making the masses in the unions less responsive to our slogans. For one thing they have, during the four years from 1919 to 1923, suffered big reverses in practically every industry, including steel, meat packing, clothing, textile, shoe, printing, railroads, building trades, etc. These defeats, taken together, constitute the biggest defeat in the history of the American labor movement. Besides wiping out whole sections of the best trade unions, they have also contributed enormously towards weakening the morale and fighting spirit of the rest of the organized masses for the time being,

and towards making them less responsive to the efforts of the revolutionary left wing.

Another detrimental factor is the growth of the class collaboration movement. This took on its greatest impetus naturally enough at the close of the period of the great defeat above mentioned. The reactionary bureaucracy, terrified at the power of the employers and unwilling and incapable of adopting a militant policy of class struggle to withstand them, abandoned every semblance of aggressiveness and turned to the class collaboration policy of surrender, which is embodied in the many schemes of labor banking, B. & O. plans, workers' insurance, co-operative housing schemes, etc. To put across these enervating and demoralizing projects they are now poisoning the trade unions more persistently and systematically than ever with the slave conception that a real struggle against capitalism is impossible. The whole labor movement is reeking with this propaganda, to the detriment of its militant spirit.

In order for the trade union bureaucracy to keep the unions enmeshed in the class collaboration program, it was necessary that they prevent the left wing, at all costs, from reaching the rank and file with its message of class struggle. Consequently they launched the militant warfare against the left wing which is now such a striking feature of the present situation. This ruthless campaign of expulsion and other forms of terrorism, which has reached its maximum in the wholesale and illegal unseating of delegates in such former radical strongholds as the Minneapolis and Seattle central labor bodies, has practically made the Trade Union Educational League an underground organization in nearly every trade union in the country. This has, of course, rendered its work more difficult.

The splits attendant upon the growth and development of the labor party and LaFollette movements also served, in their later stages, to break off many valuable connections of the left wing in the trade unions. The split at the Chicago, July 3rd, 1923, convention, when the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was formed, was especially disastrous. This split, caused primarily by the weakness of the Fitzpatrick group, detached from our following many valuable progressive elements in the rank and file and among the lesser officialdom of the unions. Other labor party splits had similar results. The fact that we had to make open warfare against the LaFollette candidacy, which was an historic necessity of the situation, also caused us to break with many valuable elements in the trade unions who, while willing to follow our lead on many issues, were not ideologically advanced enough to see through the sophistries of LaFolletism and when they broke with us over LaFollette, they broke with practically our whole program. The comparative defeat of the LaFollette movement, as measured by the extravagant hopes held out by its leaders also tended to create an air of defeatism among the masses and to make them less responsive to the left wing program.

### Shop Nuclei.

That objective conditions have become temporarily more unfavorable for our industrial work and that we are suffer-

ing from a considerable degree of isolation is incontestable. But what is far worse is the tendency of many comrades to accept this isolation as a matter of course, to rationalize it, and not to struggle against it. This is a fundamental mistake. We must break through our isolation at all costs. To re-establish our connections with and leadership over the masses, especially the progressive wing in the trade union movement, is one of the most urgent tasks now confronting our party. To this end the organizational measures outlined herein are indispensable.

A basic necessity for developing proper connections with the masses, both organized and unorganized, is the reorganization of the Workers Party upon the basis of shop nuclei. This fact has been pointed out so many times that to many it will seem superfluous to mention it again. But it must be iterated and reiterated until the shop nuclei system is a reality. At the recent sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern the outstanding feature was the militant campaign to Bolshevize all the parties in the Communist International. And a most important phase of this was the rapid reorganization of the parties on a shop nuclei basis. The French party is now based completely on shop nuclei, and the German, Czecho-Slovakian and other large parties are fast following suit. During the past year our party has taken its first steps in this direction. But the work will have to be pushed with still greater vigor and our whole party reorganized on the shop and street nuclei basis in the near future.

Shop nuclei will greatly unify our party and hook it up closely with the masses. They will serve as the means of carrying on our general political work among the vast armies of toilers in the industries. Among their most important functions will be taking the leadership and initiative in all sorts of strike movements. The extreme weakness of the trade unions and the presence of millions of totally unorganized workers puts this great task squarely up to our shop nuclei. Once we get our shop nuclei established in the big industries this stimulation and leadership of the unorganized masses in their struggles against the employers will be of tremendous consequence to our party.

Specifically, the shop nuclei will also play a big part in the organization of the unorganized millions into trade unions. In the last party convention I pointed out that the organization of the unorganized is one of the historic tasks of our shop nuclei. The reactionary trade union bureaucracy has proved completely incapable of organizing the masses. The much-touted steel campaign failed utterly, and the flamboyant scheme just announced by the A. F. of L. will hardly fare better. The masses will not be greatly organized until the left wing is in position to do the job. A close network of shop nuclei in the various industries will contribute enormously towards putting us in such a position. Our nuclei will be so many live points among the inert millions in the industries. With them as a basis, it will be possible for us, seizing upon the opportune time, to initiate great movements among the masses and to sweep them into trade unions. The shop nuclei will be powerful instruments in furthering amalgamation and the shop committee movement. They will be the great weapons wherewith we shall fight against the menacing growth of company unions—a subject which I shall touch upon more fully in a later article.

#### Party Trade Union Fractions.

Shop nuclei must be the foundation organizations for carrying out our industrial policies, and next in order come Communist trade union fractions. It is a fundamental of Communist organization that in all institutions and organizations in which the party is carrying on work the Communist members shall form themselves definitely into groups, or fractions. Only in this way can they unify themselves and utilize the full value of organization. Such fractions are organized in legislative bodies, labor parties, trade unions, fraternal societies, sport organizations, military bodies, etc. They stand directly under the control of the regular party organization, national and local. The maturity and effectiveness of a Communist Party can be measured pretty much by the extent and flexibility of its fractions in the various organizations in its sphere of activity. The matter of party fractions was also greatly emphasized at the meeting of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern.

It is a weakness of our industrial work that the party as a whole has too little understood the necessity for and functions of trade union fractions. It is true that in trade union conventions, in city central labor bodies, and in local unions our Communist members function to a considerable extent as party fractions. But the system is altogether too fragmentary and casual. This must be made good. We must develop a thoroughgoing system of trade union fractions, based upon a real understanding of their task in the general work of our party.

To this end a prime essential is that every working-class member of the party be required to join a trade union regardless of the obstacles in the way—once again the Comintern and Profintern are insisting upon this A-B-C proposition. All these trade union members shall be definitely organized into Communist fractions to correspond with their local unions, city central bodies, international unions, etc. In all branches, C. C. C.'s and D. E. C.'s there shall be organized industrial committees to stimulate and direct their corresponding fractions. The whole trade union fraction system, specifically the national trade union fractions, shall be under the direction of the industrial department of the party. The strengthening and developing of the trade union fractions is of real importance to the success of the party industrial work.

#### The Trade Union Educational League.

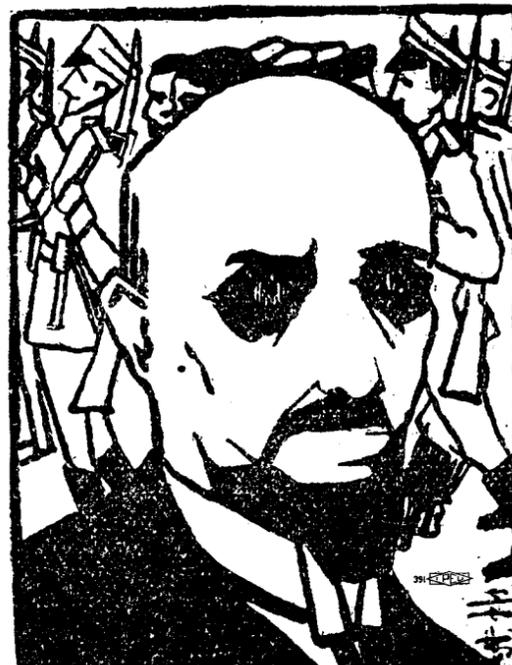
In our industrial work there has been a strong tendency to consider the Trade Union Educational League groups as Party fractions and hence to restrict them to Party members alone. This must be corrected. Party fractions and T. U. E. L. groups are distinct forms. The Party fractions are the crystallization of the purely Communist forces in the trade unions, while the T. U. E. L. is a general left wing organization. The one is a definite Party structure, the other is an organizationally autonomous movement. The Party fractions work within the T. U. E. L. to influence it in a Communist direction.

In the foregoing it has been pointed out that due to the extreme pressure of the reactionary bureaucracy and to various other forces the T. U. E. L. is now experiencing a certain degree of isolation. Under no circumstances shall we rest content in this condition. We must strive to overcome

(Continued on Page 379)

# The Bulgarian Conflagration

By Max Shachtman



ZANKOV, SUPREME BUTCHER OF BULGARIA

IN a unique fit of truth, a European correspondent of the Chicago Tribune cables on the recent Bulgarian occurrence that "in the outburst of fury that followed the bomb outrage an army of police, militia and reserve officers searched out the most notorious Communists in Sofia and probably killed some 100 in cold blood."

This sadism of black reaction in Bulgaria is a continuation of almost unparalleled terrorism that has characterized the Zankov government since its victorious coup d'etat in June, 1923, when it overthrew the rule of the peasants' party led by Stambuliski. The wild acts of persecution that followed, especially after the failure of the Communist Party to issue the call of action to the workers and peasants, are incredible. Emile Vandervelde, one of the leaders of the Second International, has stated that the Zankov government has murdered 16,000 opponents in the last eighteen months. Every leader of the Communist Party, of the Peasants' Party, of the Macedonian national revolutionary movement, stands in daily danger of his life. Not even the sanctity of parliament has prevented the brutal murder of revolutionary deputies; even liberals, such as the lawyer, Patev, who defended the Communist deputy Dr. Maximov in court, are subjected to the bombs of assassins.

#### Throne of Reaction Shaky.

And yet not all this desperate terrorism has removed the towering difficulties that confront Zankov. In a country whose population numbers four million, there are over 100,

000 unemployed. Forty thousand civil servants have been fired; the partial eight-hour day which was won by the workers in the first years after the war has now been practically abolished; the wage of the workers goes swiftly along the decline, having decreased forty per cent in two years; the peasants, a good majority of whom had remained indifferent at the time of the coup against Stambuliski, have experienced

И. К. К. И.



**Центральная Секция**  
ОТДЕЛА  
ВНЕШНИХ СНОШЕНИЙ

19

№

**МОСКВА.**

THIS letterhead was used by the international forgery gang in fabricating the letter which serves Zankov's fiendish government as an excuse for the systematic massacre which it is now carrying on throughout Bulgaria. Purporting to contain "secret instructions" from Moscow to the Bulgarian Communists, it has been exposed by the London Daily Herald as a crude forgery emanating from the same sources which produced the famous "Zinoviev letter" in England. It masquerades as a communication from the Communist International, marked "absolutely secret, destroy after execution," giving elaborate directions for an insurrection on April 15.

Proof that this precious document is a brazen fake is contained in the letterhead itself which, translated from the Russian of the original, reads:

E. C. C. I.  
**CENTRAL SECTION**  
Department for Foreign Relations.

"Now such a paper never came out of the Comintern," points out the Daily Herald. "For the Comintern has no 'Department for Foreign Relations,' for the simple reason that it is an international organization, to which no country is more 'foreign' than another."

The document was not drawn up in Moscow but in Berlin. Evidence indicates that it is the handiwork of a former Wrangel officer named Gutschinski, now working as a secret agent and living at 96 Ansbacherstrasse, Berlin.

On the strength of this preposterous forgery two political parties—the Communists and the Peasant Party—are being indicted for murder and their leaders are being hunted down and shot like wild beasts.

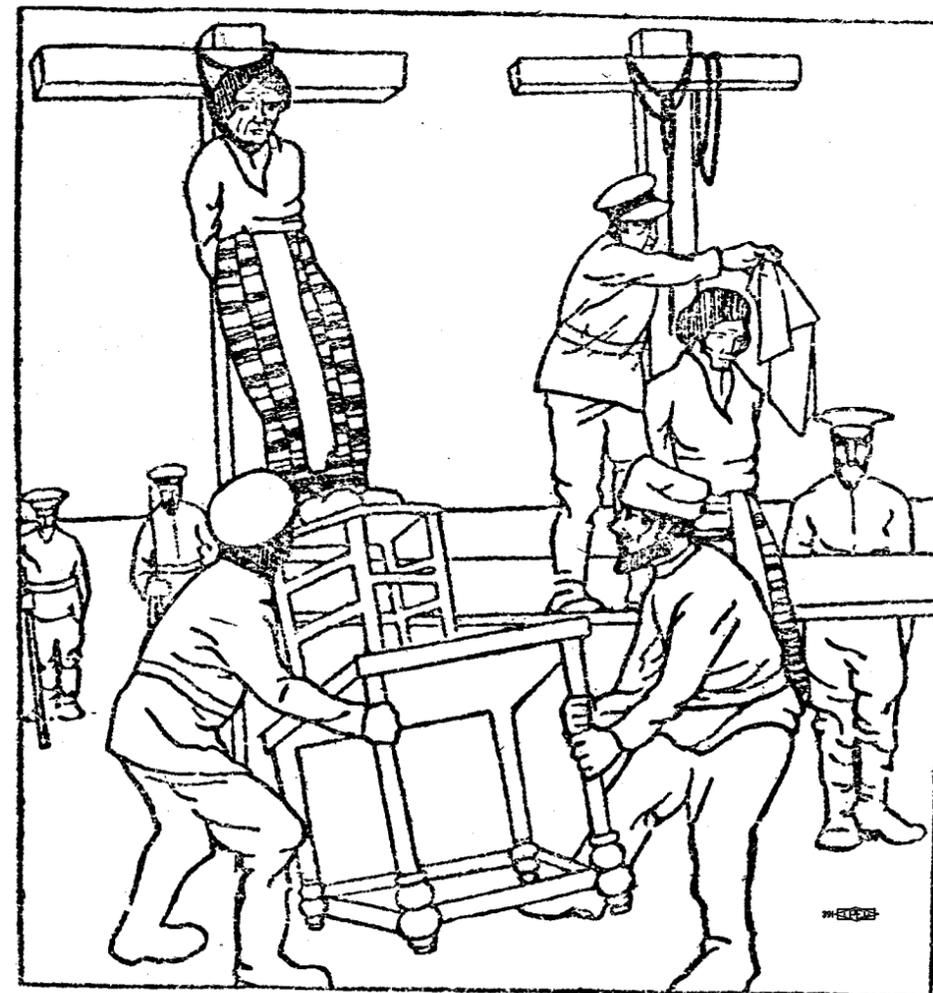
a severe decline in agriculture and have had added to their burdens land taxes amounting to 340 million leva as compared to an income of three million leva in taxes from limited liability companies. And fifty foreign corporations are now engaged in exploiting the wealth and labor of the country.

Popular feeling rises daily to overthrow the shaking throne of Zankov. His ambitions to march on Bucharest and Belgrade are constantly balked by the revolutionary situation in his own domain. And so, every opportunity that can be found to wreak mass revenge against the Communists or Macedonian rebels is eagerly seized.

The bomb thrown in the cathedral of Sofia was such an opportunity.

#### Bulgarian Cauldron Boiling Over.

We need waste no tears over the two hundred that were killed there. Rage and horror over the thousands of noblest proletarian fighters murdered by the fascist camorra, and the thousands of others who still fill the dungeons with cries of anguish at the diabolical tortures that they un-



PEASANT WOMEN HANGED BY ZANKOV'S SOLDIERS

This picture is drawn directly from photographs which have reached this country depicting the reign of terror. The pictures themselves cannot be reproduced for technical reasons.

dergo, are a sufficiently strong deterrent. Suffice it to point out that it is ridiculous to ascribe the bomb-throwing to the Communists, one of whose historic struggles against anarchists has been the fight against individual terror. The deed was probably done by a group of Macedonian nationalists. But it is convenient to blame the Communists: it gives a formal excuse for a fresh wave of terror against them; it gives the international black press the opportunity to spew its bile in its hopeless efforts to prejudice forever the minds of the workers against the party of the revolution. On a much smaller scale the same thing was done when Professor Mileff was killed a few weeks ago: Two Communist deputies were immediately assassinated "in revenge"; a short time later the real murderer, a Macedonian revolutionary, was discovered.

But Zankov is involved in too many contradictions and difficulties, to settle them in this draconic but ineffective manner. It can be said that the Balkans, today more than ever, compose one huge boiling cauldron. The temporary alliances between essentially irreconcilable foes like Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Greece, cemented from time to time by the frantic allies who go into a cold sweat every time they think of an outburst in the Balkans, are weakened by trembling links; the national revolutionary aspirations of the Macedonians, Croats, and the Bessarabians; the rising peasants' movements; and above all the Communist Parties.

#### Allies Aid Zankov Reaction.

The disintegration of the anti-Bolshevik united front in the Balkans is horror-inspiring to the allied imperialists. In almost every well-informed capitalist sheet it is admitted that a successful revolution in Bulgaria means the likelihood of the realization of the hopes of the Balkan Communist Federation for these many years; the union of Soviet Republics in the Balkans. Not only does this prospect terrify the entente, but it also cuts at the heart of its preparations for a new attack upon Soviet Russia. Not even the fear of playing into the hands of Zankov, whose ambition to overpower his lesser neighbors has been frustrated by lack of sufficient military force, has restrained the allies for a moment in their decision to prevent at all costs a Bolshevik revolt in Bulgaria. The request of Zankov to the Inter-Allied Military Commission that he be permitted to raise 10,000 "conscript volunteers" to suppress the Communist movement has already been granted. A

reign of terror, under the benevolent eyes of the entente, may be expected, the horrors of which may sicken even Europe.

#### The Social-Democratic Stink.

The scoundrelly role played by the Bulgarian social-democracy must be mentioned. When the Zankov regime rode into power it formed a coalition government with the so-called "broad" socialists, in which the latter remained for practically eight months, never uttering a single protest against the murderous acts of the government; in February, 1924, when they were no longer useful to Zankov, they were dismissed. Such a stink was raised by the putrid heart of the social-democracy that the Second International was obliged to try the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party in Bucharest.

## Big Joe's Birthday

By Michael Gold

OTHERS got tired, others lost hope and shut their mouths, or started little garages and grocery stores, found harbors of peace,

Others sold out, turned respectable labor leader, or politician or foreman,

But Big Joe never shut his mouth, or turned respectable.

He stuck; the enemy nailed him to a hundred crosses, they strangled him in a hundred prisons,

They spattered his body and soul with their machine-gun fire of lies, beatings and persecutions,

His quieter friends thought Joe was wasting his life, his wife grew discouraged, his children became Americanized and left him,

But Big Joe Connolly could never desert the labor movement, The cords of birth still held him to his mother.

They tried to make a foreman of him once, but he turned them down,

And once a silly District Attorney tried to buy Joe, but Joe laughed at him in the prison.

And once they tried to frame him up with a woman, but he laughed at the woman.

And once they tried to lynch him, they strung him up and let him down, but they never made him show the yellow, The cords of birth still bound him to his mother.

He never knew why he was loyal or why he would rather die than desert the labor movement.

And thinkers would argue with him, and try to understand his passion, but he could not explain it to them.

He could not explain that his mother had given him birth on the stormy sea of poverty,

Where strong men had wept, knowing the bitter fate before the child,

But his mother's faith shone like a light on a rock, And she bred him to manhood, despite the black midnights and steep waves of poverty,

And the cords of birth still bound him to his mother.

In the darkest city tenements she bred him.

The sun was quenched there, and failure lived in each room,

The Jugo-Slavian social-democrats demanded the expulsion of their Bulgarian comrades, but the upshot of the entire matter was a discreet silence.

Neither Zankov, nor the allies, and certainly not the despicable social-democrats, can prevent the persistent rise of the Bulgarian revolutionary movement, the incredible sacrifices and heroism of which will forever occupy one of the highest places in the monuments of working class struggle. The temporary stabilization of one or two countries of Central Europe has not cooled the volcanoes in other lands. The Bulgarian fire is burning fiercely now, and its color is red. Should the cauldron boil over the hot waters of revolution will spread swiftly and surely over Europe's historic section of turmoil, the Balkans.

And landlords and bosses guarded the prison; there was no escape.

But the gas-lit dungeons throbbed with his mother's fierce chant,

"The Poor must not die! The Poor must live and be brave!" So the cords of birth ever bound him to his mother.

Her back was twisted and bent with many loads, her hands scarred by a thousand labors.

She was small, weak, kind, but dark and terrible as a jaguar at times.

She sewed, swept, cooked, she never rested, She took in washing, she stole wood and coal from the railroad yards in winter,

When her man was killed, she did not despair, but went on fighting,

And Big Joe loved her, and never forgot her after she died, The years went by, jail-sentences, discords, strikes, defeats, spies, thirty-five years of tragedy and hope in the labor movement,

And the cords of birth still bound him to his mother.

Big Joe Connolly is fifty years old today.

And it is thirty-five years since he entered the labor movement.

And the workers have brought a horseshoe of blood-red roses to the union hall,

And they present it to Joe, who blushes behind his big gray mustache like a school-boy,

And they shake his hand, punching him and hugging him like huge brother-bears, showing him their rough love,

The pretty young girls kiss him, and the big, slow, kind mothers in shawls smile as they clasp his hand,

The children climb his knees and grab his arms for affection, And someone makes a rough speech, built of honest words like bricks,

And Joe answers in a torrent of words like logs pouring down a Maine river,

And the workers listen with tears in their eyes, glad that he will be loyal to the grave,

And glad that the cords of birth still bind him to his mother.

# Our Own Little League of Nations

By Manuel Gomez

WE have our own little League of Nations in the western world, with the Monroe Doctrine as its unratified but effective "protocol" and the U. S. government as supreme council, court of arbitration and police force rolled into one. Membership is obligatory for all Latin-American nations. The requirements are simple: unqualified submission to American imperialism.

It would be superfluous to dilate on the manifest advantages of this cozy little association. The beneficiaries are strictly limited but their gains are all the more abundant. Anybody in Wall Street can talk about them in glowing terms.

### Tacna and Arica.

Take the case of Tacna and Arica for instance. For 45 years Chile and Peru have been at loggerheads over these two provinces, which Chile seized from Peru following the war of the 80's. The treaty of 1883 provided for a plebiscite within ten years but the plebiscite was never held; instead, Chile simply moved in, bag and baggage, carrying out a systematic policy of deporting Peruvians and importing Chileans.

What has all this got to do with Wall Street? Very simple. The financiers who control our government followed their time-honored policy of playing one nation off against the other. War preparations were speeded up. Costly armaments were disposed of to both nations by our munitions manufacturers. Military and naval "advisers" were kindly lent by our government, which having dispatched a fulsome corps of officers to Peru could scarcely do less for Chile. Diplomatic "influence" was exerted by our state department, amiably but decisively, in the well-known spirit of the Monroe Doctrine. Finally it appeared that the United States had so successfully insinuated itself into things that the dominant factor in the Tacna-Arica situation was neither Chile nor Peru, but Wall Street.

### American Envoys Seized Advantage.

"The idea of arbitration," says Barron's Financial Weekly, "began to be harbored at both Santiago and Lima, where the American ambassadors quickly took advantage of the improved outlook. Secretary Hughes immediately dispatched notes to the two governments, offering to welcome their representatives in Washington to the end that such representatives might settle existing difficulties or arrange for their settlement by arbitration."

The invitation was not an invitation but a command. In due course the representatives arrived in Washington. But they were not prepared to abdicate their author-

ity entirely. The above-quoted financial weekly declares that "the disputants, having at their disposal the great prestige and efficiency of the United States department of state (!) chose to limit its co-operation to an interpretation of one article of the Ancon treaty, signed in 1883." Proving that while Latin-Americans may fail to appreciate the value of Yankee prestige and efficiency, they still have some sense left.

### No Appeal from Coolidge!

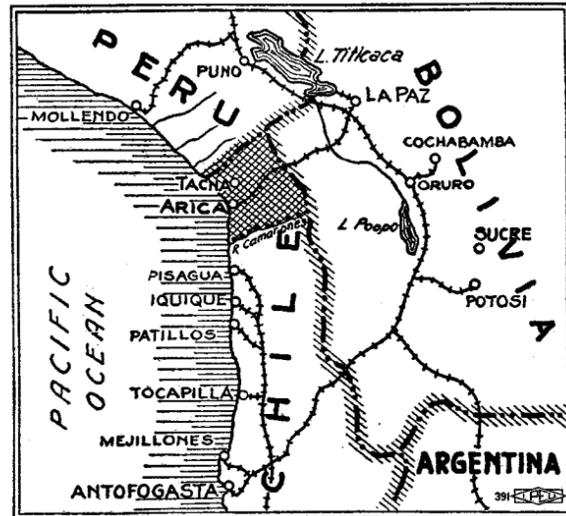
But what are such diplomatic reservations in Our Own Little League of Nations? President Coolidge decided that a plebiscite must be held in Tacna and Arica and forthwith appointed General Pershing to take charge of carrying it out. Peru's protests were overruled with the curt reply that there could be no appeal from the decision. The plebiscite committee will meet in Tacna on Sept. 4.

Of course the plebiscite will favor Chile, which has been in possession of the territory for 45 years, has had complete control of press and schools and has to a considerable extent displaced the original Peruvian population by Chileans. But, as usual, the real beneficiary is Wall Street. Just as American policy in relation to Mexico is dominated by the consideration of oil, so American policy in the

south Pacific Coast area is determined by copper and nitrates. Chile is enormously rich in nitrates, her territory yielding \$173,000,000 worth of nitrate of soda yearly, which is 95 per cent of the world's mined supply. And the nitrate properties are controlled by Americans. The existence of this profitable mineral and its control by Americans has been the source of all the trouble between Peru and Bolivia on the one hand, and Chile on the other. American interests actually precipitated the war of 1879-82 which gave the nitrate fields to Chile and which started the feud over Tacna-Arica. The nitrate fields are situated in the north of Chile, in territory which she took outright from Peru and Bolivia in the war. Tacna-Arica lies still further to the north. It contains no nitrate, but it does contain the port of Arica, connected with the nitrate fields by direct railroad line, and a natural shipping center for nitrates.

### How the War Started.

War broke out between Bolivia and Chile in 1878 following the refusal of the American-owned Chilean Nitrate Co. to pay the duty levied by the Bolivian government of 10 cents on each hundredweight of nitrate exported from Antofagasta. Peru was drawn in as an ally of Bolivia. In this



MAP SHOWING THE TACNA-ARICA DISTRICT

simple way did the American nitrate magnates solve their "taxation problems."

But American policy is many-sided. Peace has its victories no less than war. The United States now steps forward as the amiable pacifist, earnestly desirous of arbitrating between "the turbulent Latin-American nations." And all because Arica is a most important nitrate port, intimately linked up with the "Chilean" nitrate industry—so intimately that it would be a shame to have to pay an additional export tax, as would perhaps be the case if Arica should belong to Peru! Which explains President Coolidge's decision.

More serious than the decision itself is the implication that goes with it—the assumption of absolute authority over all the nations of the western hemisphere. The Monroe Doctrine licenses everything. Only the feeblest pretense is kept

up that this doctrine is now maintained to protect Latin-America against Europe. The Monroe Doctrine is the theoretical cornerstone of American imperialism, and all Latin-America knows it.

### United Front Against Wall Street.

In weakly accepting the interference of the United States government in their affairs, the governments of Chile and Peru committed treason to the peoples of their respective countries. What is needed is not the dictates of a supreme arbiter which sets one nation against the other with the ultimate purpose of enslaving them both in its own private little league of subject nations, but an appeal to the solidarity of the Chilean and Peruvian peoples to join hands against the common exploiter.

## At Last the Sphinx Speaks!



Lydia Gibson

## Nova Scotia Fights "Besco"

By Tom Bell

**T**HE strike of the Nova Scotia miners is in its ninth week. The course of the strike has shown the truth of the oft-repeated assertion of the Communists that only if the workers conduct their struggles against the capitalists on the basis of the class struggle is there any hope of resisting the encroachments of the capitalists.

For a time the miners were swept off their feet by the cunning policy pursued by the capitalists and their hangers-on, the middle class professional elements, of treating the desperate plight of the miners and their dependents as objects of charity. The capitalist press ran sob stories, affairs were organized to raise funds for the miners, the "public" was urged to donate in the name of "sweet charity" to relieve the distress—the entire atmosphere surrounding the strike was stage managed to create the impression that the starvation of the miners and their families was a natural catastrophe beyond the control of man and not caused by trustified capital in the shape of the British Empire Steel corporation ("Besco").

### Besco Agents Seize Relief Machinery.

The priests, parsons and doctors of Glace Bay set up a relief committee and promptly assumed the role of censors of all the actions of the miners. They dispensed relief as missionaries do in China—"in the name of humanity" in their attempt to blind the miners to the necessity of waging uncompromising struggle against Besco.

Shielded by this smug atmosphere of Christian charity Besco stood up boldly for a 10 per cent reduction in wages. The charity barrage against the miners enabled Besco to dodge the full responsibility for the fearful suffering of the miners and their families. Meanwhile the corporation utilized the passive attitude of the miners' officials to keep the fires and pumps going by importing scabs and using office workers as maintenance men. Thus the "one hundred per cent strike" ordered by the miners' convention meant nothing. No picketing was instituted, and the miners loitered around while the Besco property was as secure as if the strike had been as "safe and sane" as John L. Lewis could wish.

### "Public Opinion" and the Strike.

Only formally was the strike strategy being formulated by the miners' district committee. The actual planning was done by H. G. Harrington, a Tory lawyer of Sydney; a believer in "co-operation of capital and labor"; one who holds up Sydney Webb as the ideal leader of the workers.

Against this betrayal of the interests of the miners the Communist Party of Canada and the Trade Union Educational League took a firm stand. It was pointed out that only by militantly waging the struggle against Besco could the miners hope to win, and the miners were urged to trample down the lying, sickly sentimental charity cleak that the Besco agents had erected and expose Besco as the enemy to be fought.

The audacity of the middle class "relief" gang in Glace Bay in refusing to handle the \$5,000 gift of the Russian

miners showed the miners where they were drifting. One local union after another denounced these Besco agents for that action and declared for accepting the Russian miners' gift and the splendid spirit of international work-class solidarity that it stood for. Finally the district executive committee officially accepted the gift in the name of the union and thanked the Russian miners for it.

The Lewis bureaucracy of the U. M. W. has not aided the miners in their struggle. John L. Lewis visited the district and arranged a meeting with Besco officials, the president and secretary of the district, and Premier Armstrong at Halifax. The conferences came to nothing. Besco insisted on the wage cut; Armstrong, of course, supported the wage reduction; but not even Traitor Lewis could face the miners with such a proposition. So the deadlock still continues.

### Lewis Apologizes.

While at Halifax, Lewis made a speech before the local exploiters outlining his policy. He declared that the U. M. W. had no ulterior motive in coming to Nova Scotia; on the contrary, the U. M. W. had lost money by remaining in the district. This operators' tool of Jacksonville agreement ill-fame could not point to one thing he had done to aid the miners.

The labor fakers at the head of the Canadian Trades Congress have contented themselves with donating \$500 to the relief funds. Tom Moore, president of the Trades Congress, also visited the district, and did nothing. But the rank and file of the labor movement is rallying to the aid of the miners. In every town and village the Communists are taking the lead in collecting money for the strikers, and the workers in the shops and factories are responding.

### Militant Action Beginning.

On May Day the miners celebrated with demonstrations and mass meetings. Picketing of the mines has been started. The fog of class collaboration has been pierced and will soon be dispersed. The miners will overcome their mistake of abandoning militant struggle in return for the sour bread of charity dispensed by the Besco agents.

The Nova Scotia situation epitomizes the situation confronting the miners of the entire continent. The Jacksonville agreement is nothing but a conspiracy between Lewis and the operators. Lewis declared his policy when he stated that two hundred thousand miners had to be driven out of the industry, and the operators are applying it by shutting down. Lewis and the operators work hand and glove to cripple the miners' union and slash their living standards.

Nova Scotia is only one sector in the far-flung battle line between the miners and the operators. The Nova Scotia miners are again being taught that any policy based on class collaboration leads to defeat. So also will the rest of the miners of the United Mine Workers learn the same lesson. The first preparatory step in the struggle against the encroachments of the operators is the destruction of the Lewis bureaucracy which paralyzes the miners' union through the poison of class co-operation.

## A Series of War Lithographs

By Maurice Becker



FORT RILEY, AUGUST 25, 1918.

## Introduction to Becker's Lithographs

By Roger Baldwin

**M**AURICE BECKER has drawn on the wealth of his own experience as a prisoner at Leavenworth to picture the drama of the conflict between military authority and the conscientious objectors. That drama was buried under the avalanche of propaganda against slackers. Few know the quiet heroism of the men who withstood the enormous forces arrayed against them. Only the devout faith of the sectarian Christians opposed to war and the revolutionary passion of the "politicals" could sustain them against ridicule, blandishments, torture and the dreary monotony of drab prison days.

Six conscientious objectors died in military prisons as a direct result of the treatment they got there. At least one, Ernest Gellert, committed suicide in a military camp as a protest against inhuman treatment and the futility of his

resistance. Many others contracted prison diseases. Some four or five men whom I knew personally were wrecked in mind and nerves, two of them permanently. Many more suffered for months after their release from the inevitable effect upon brain and nerve of the racking persecution, the dreary isolation, the weeks spent in dungeons on bread and water shackled to the bars of their doors.

It is this dark side of the objector's life in military camp and prison on which Maurice Becker's drawings throw such sharp light. His lines block out the central drama. He caught the conflict at the points where it was hottest and most brutal.

There is of course, another side to the story. There is the dauntlessness of the human spirits which rose above this brutality; who went through it smiling and serene. There was grim and laughing humor everywhere in the tragedy even in the midst of those tense days at Leavenworth when the objectors led the strike of 3,000 prisoners against intolerable conditions.

The Christian pacifists accepted their lot in befitting meekness. Their suffering and heroism for an old faith with-

out relation to the modern class struggle was a marvel to the political objectors, who were rebellious and articulate. It was the political objectors who got their protests across the country, who led the hunger strikes in camp and the prisoners' strike at Leavenworth.

I came to know scores of these rebellious objectors during the two years we fought together for our rights against army tyranny. I visited camps and prisons. I saw the men and conditions first-hand. I had daily detailed reports of every event of importance. I wrestled with army men at Washington and in camps. I got well-rounded experience. My own brief imprisonment of a year as an objector was served in a comparatively comfortable civil prison in New Jersey about which I have no complaint. I speak, therefore, even more objectively of what my friends and comrades in the military prisons underwent.

Here as in other lands, so little seems to have come out of the valiant protest these men made. They testified dramatically to the inhumanity of the army, to the inevitable degradation of prison life, to the heartlessness of a system which will kill men to break their resistance to its authority. But the system goes on unchanged for their protest. Men are still shackled in the same dungeons; conscription is even more secure as a means for raising an army in time of war.

Yet two benefits have come out of the fire of this conflict. First, these few hundred men stood resolute either for



ORAL JAMES STATES THE CASE FOR 2,000 STRIKING PRISONERS—LEAVENWORTH, JAN. 1919.



FOUR HOURS IN THE SNOW—ERNEST GELLERT BEFORE HIS SUICIDE.



IMMERSED IN FILTH OF LATRINES

the faith of "non-resistance" or for revolutionary refusal to take part in capitalist wars. Testimony under war pressure to either of those faiths is a social force. Second, out of that testing some men came fired with deeper purpose to serve the cause of the masses. A handful of them are doing their creative work to that end in and out of revolutionary movements. They and others unknown not only carry on their work with higher determination for their experience, but have infected others with a purpose both to resist war and to serve their fellowmen in the workers' struggle for freedom.

Maurice Becker's drawings will help preserve not only the outer drama of that conflict, but they will testify to the inner faith that ever sustains pioneers.

## We Have a Work to Do

We shall not pause, we of the workers' van,  
Though dungeons be our chamber, stonies our bed.  
We shall not pause; we swear it; we shall plan  
To take the U. S. A. and paint it red.  
The naked shall be clothed, the hungry fed,  
The parasites be stript, the rich cast down;  
With us—you hear it now—it shall be said  
The men who do the work shall wear the crown.  
Ah gnash your teeth! It is in vain you frown,  
It is in vain your legions hunt us down,  
It is in vain you damn us with your laws;  
For we, the vanguard of the workers, see  
Your system crumble and your slaves go free;—  
To hell with all your might! we shall not pause.

We have a work to do that must be done;  
The toiling children call us to our task;  
The babies plead who never know the sun;  
We pledge to them the mercy that they ask.  
We have a work to do; to strip the mask  
From off your damnable democracy;  
To tear you from the ease wherein you bask  
Surfeited with your stolen luxury.  
And we shall do that work and set them free;  
By day and night we labor endlessly;—  
Laugh, scoff, you fools, and jeer at us in mirth!  
This is your day to rule us with the rod;  
Put on your purple and assume the god;  
Tomorrow we shall sweep you from the earth!

—HENRY GEORGE WEISS

## Epitaph for a White-Guard General

AVOID all days when workmen's sons  
Are hungry, think, or carry guns.

—ROBERT L. WOLF

## The Triumph of the Morons

INDIANA, "the hoosier state," seems to be acting like a real "hoosier," in the familiar Wobbly slang use of the term. Indiana has "gone Klan." In Indianapolis, Gary and a sprinkling of other cities and towns throughout the state K. K. K. candidates have won out in the primary elections for important public offices. The amazing import of this can only be appreciated when one realizes that it is precisely in Indiana that the corruption and political bankruptcy of the epileptic Ku Klux politicians have been most plainly demonstrated. Indiana is the "realm" of the unspeakable Stephenson, erstwhile Grand Dragon—or something or other. Stephenson is at this moment under heavy bond as an accused murderer, charged with having murdered a young girl whom he had tried to attack. And he himself has recently written article after article exposing the graft and systematic thievery of the whole gaudy "imperial empire."

As a political expression, the Ku Klux Klan represents all the narrow prejudices of the worsted American petty bourgeoisie striving blindly for some of its lost power, feeling itself crushed between the upper and nether millstones of the modern class struggle, and striking out with the only weapons consequent with its opportunities, abilities and aims. The membership of the Klan consists predominantly of petty bourgeois farmers, provincial business men, small town preachers, labor fakers, gunmen, reckless students and other young intellectuals in search of adventure, slum proletarians and "de-classed" elements in general.

Such a crew cannot hope to rule in the United States, where Big Business sits so securely in the saddle and the "legitimate" government is its adequate instrument. The Klan is already disintegrating despite its victory in Indiana. Signs of this are to be found in all parts of the country. The K. K. K. can only continue to exist on the sufferance of Big Business—as a sort of auxiliary guerrilla gang to be unloosed against the workers. The working class as a whole fully recognizes this. That is why many labor organizations, such as the United Mine Workers of America, prohibit any member from joining the Klan. Some of the union officials fought against this decision in the miners' convention—which is another proof that the labor fakers are agents of the bourgeoisie and are linked up with it materially and ideologically. The outstanding act of the K. K. K. in Indiana was the attempt, led by Stephenson, to form special committees inside the miners' organization to prevent strikes.

In accounting for the results of the primary elections in Indiana it must be borne in mind that great masses of the workers employed in the industries of that state—steel mills, coal mines, etc.—are disfranchised. The elections are a threat which the workers of Indiana will know how to meet.

## The Month's Prize News Story

THE HAGUE, May, 1925.—The Dutch clericals who voted against appropriations to support the 1928 Olympic games have now discovered a new menace to the world Rotary club movement. They say the Rotary organization is really Masonry in disguise. They ask how can the Rotary clubs achieve their ends without a religious program.



"THE SUPREME COURT HAS DONE ITS BEST FOR US IN THE MATTER OF CHILD LABOR"  
(From a circular sent out by Cotton Manufacturers' Association)

Juanita Preval

## A Dress Rehearsal For War

By T. J. O'Flaherty

CAPITALIST journalists grew lyrical as the steel armada of the United States steamed from its base to participate in the dress rehearsal for the coming war with Japan. A frenzy of jingoism swept through the capitalist editorial rooms of the nations as the floating bulldogs of Wall Street growled defiance at the foe on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. As the mighty monsters of steel churned the waters on their journey to the Hawaiian Islands, where the war games were to be held, American imperialism was serving notice that it was out to conquer the Pacific and would tolerate no rivals.

The Hawaiian Islands are situated in the middle of the Pacific. Though useful from a profit-making point of view,

it is because of their strategic value that the United States is so concerned about strengthening the islands' defense. They are distant 2,000 miles from San Francisco and 3,400 miles from Yokohama, Japan. Hawaii is 4,700 miles from Manila Bay and a little over 4,000 miles from Sydney, Australia. It is 3,850 miles from Auckland, New Zealand and 2,780 miles from the nearest point in Siberia. It is called the "Hub of the Pacific."

\* \* \* \*

The average American worker who takes the Constitution as seriously as he does the fiction that this is a free country for him, spurns the suggestion that the American government is the directing power of the lustiest and most powerful im-

perialism in the world today. He does not understand why the American fleet is playing war around Hawaii. He thinks that perhaps the admirals, officers and sailors must be exercised once in a while to keep them from getting stiff-jointed. Or perhaps he thinks that the Japanese are spending sleepless nights preparing to descend upon our coasts and snatch our liberties from us while we are napping. Poor simpleton!

\* \* \* \*

In the first place the United States forces have no particular right to be in the Hawaiian Islands. The Hawaiians look upon the United States army of occupation as invaders. That's just what they are. The government and its apologists tell us that the Hawaiians are not able to take care of themselves, that they shoot each other during election campaigns, that in fact their slogan is "bullets not ballots."

\* \* \* \*

But if Japan sent an expeditionary force into Cicero or Chicago to prevent the people from decimating the population in such an unseemly manner, it is more than likely that the Washington government would consider the move a decidedly unfriendly act. The truth is that modern capitalist nations do not send their armies and navies to tropical lands because the natives like to tickle their pistols or have an aversion to washing their faces. The United States army and navy forces are in Hawaii for the very good reasons that the islands are strategically indispensable to the capitalists of this country in fulfilling their "destiny" in the orient, and secondly, because sugar planters, can make nice, fat little fortunes exploiting the soil of Hawaii and the helpless working class population. Two very good reasons.

\* \* \* \*

One hundred and seventy battleships are concentrated around Hawaii. Following their little rehearsal, they will pay a "friendly" visit to Australia and New Zealand and return to their base at Cuba, another convenient strategic position won by our rulers after a war to "free" that country from the "tyrannical" Spaniards. Don't forget that the Anglo-Japanese alliance was smashed as a result of the pressure of the United States, aided by the efforts of New Zealand and Australia, as well as South Africa and Canada. So the "mother country" made the best of a bad situation and dropped the Japanese alliance for a position of lesser partner in the firm of Uncle Sam and J. Bull.

\* \* \* \*

Imperialism is the last stage of capitalism. When we talk of imperialism nowadays we do not mean something like the empires of Egypt, Greece and Rome or the campaigns of Kings Tut and Nebuchadnessar against their neighbors. Those ancient pirates usually returned from the fray with a cargo of virgins, double-humped camels, she-asses and male slaves. Somebody was usually left behind with an army strong enough to control all the inhabitants of the conquered provinces who were not killed. Sometimes another conqueror came along before the first conqueror had time to sober up after his victory debauch and pick up anything the first invader forgot to take along with him.

\* \* \* \*

This is not the place to trace the evolution of capitalism to the final stage of imperialism. But is necessary that we should know why the American fleet is cavorting around the islands of Hawaii. American capitalists no longer confine

their profit-making activities to selling goods in South America, in China or throughout the Orient. They also export capital. And wherever they export their capital, they must have some assurance that this capital is going to remain theirs. They plant their flag wherever possible, such as in Cuba, Hawaii or the Philippines.

\* \* \* \*

Wall Street does not confine its business activities in China to selling bibles, and oil cans. It has exported capital to that country and looks on Japan's competition for the investment market with a bleared and watery eye. The Philippines are nearer to Japan than to the United States and no matter how badly the Filipinos want freedom, Wall Street needs the Philippines more.

\* \* \* \*

The standard of American imperialism now waves from Alaska to Cape Horn. It has one foot inside the Chinese "open door." The Philippine Islands are its farthest outpost in the Orient. Wall Street's banks are bursting with money capital that must have an outlet. South America and Asia offer fertile breeding places for the American dollar. But the British pound and the Japanese yen are also good settlers and fast breeders. Therefore the American eagle must have sharp talons and many of them to protect his brood.

\* \* \* \*

Hawaii is an ideal place for a United States naval base in the Pacific. Our imperialists will tell you that the object of the war games is to demonstrate whether this country could defend Hawaii against any nation capable of putting a powerful fleet and air force in the Pacific. The nation hinted at is Japan. But when the inevitable clash between the United States and Japan comes, Japan will be fighting for her very life. The object of the naval maneuvers is not defensive, but offensive.

While the guns of the United States monsters rent the air around Hawaii and the airplane engines purred overhead, two victims of imperialism, Privates Crouch and Trumbull, sat in their prison cells in Honolulu, the capital of the Hawaiian Islands.

They are Communists and they propagated Communism in a dangerous spot.

As well play with firecrackers around an oil well as preach Communism in an outpost of imperialism, located among a hostile people. Imperialism made an example of Privates Crouch and Trumbull. Forty years imprisonment for one; twenty-six years for the other.\* Wall Street will not tolerate Communist propaganda in its army anywhere, but nowhere less than in its Hawaiian block houses. Communism means freedom for colonial peoples and colonies provide too good a soil for such propaganda.

\* \* \* \*

The war games around Hawaii proved that the islands could not be defended against a powerful enemy, say the capitalist press and the navy and war departments. This is as we expected. The army and navy want more and larger appropriations

\* \* \* \*

But the war games tell another story. Our rulers have cast off the mask of isolation. George Washington's fare-

\* As a result of overwhelming protest from all sides, the military authorities have been forced to reduce the sentences to 3 years and 1 year respectively. The fight for their unconditional release still goes on.

well address is now as defunct as the declaration of independence and the clause in the Constitution guaranteeing the right of free speech and free assemblage. Finance capitalism claims the world as its country and to make profits its religion. The battleships are following the dollar. The American eagle is indeed the king of all predatory birds. It is out

to conquer the world. But there is a power it cannot conquer and that is the power of the working class which is growing up side by side with imperialism. And the advance guard of this mighty power is Soviet Russia which is girding its loins for the coming struggle between the forces of capitalism and labor for the conquest of the earth.

## Herriot and the Heroic French Bourgeoisie

THE fall of the Herriot government in France writes a final chapter on the period of social pacifism symbolized by the Herriot-MacDonald combination in the forefront of European affairs. Herriot and his polite British colleague played the role of shock absorbers in the clash between the workers and their class enemies; they served capitalism well, by smoothing over the roughness of the class struggle and by helping to divert the aroused determination of the workers into illusory channels.

In connection with the switch from Herriot to the Painleve-Briand-Caillaux ministry, three things come uppermost to mind: (1) the economic and financial breakdown of France; (2) the refusal of the French capitalists to bear any considerable share of the brunt of economic and financial rehabilitation; (3) the refusal of the Socialists to unite with the Communist Party in this situation to create a workers' and peasants' bloc against the bourgeois bloc.

Despite the crooked bookkeeping of a whole series of ministers of finance the French budget cannot be made to balance; the simple fact remains that revenue falls far short of expenditure. Through repeated borrowings, the national debt has been increased to ten times that of 1913. In the face of unprecedented inflation, the French franc continues to decline. Heroic measures are necessary if it is to be saved.

Nevertheless the bourgeoisie refuses to make any sacrifices. The French workers and peasants have seen the cost of living going up steadily, they have seen the conditions of labor reduced to desperate extremes, but capital and the big capitalists have remained untouched. Herriot's proposal for a tax on capital as the only way out met the united opposition of the financial oligarchy in France. That was the rock on which the policy of social pacifism foundered. Francois Marsal, the principal representative of high finance and heavy industry, made the attack which culminated in Herriot's resignation.



ON THE BILLOW

The situation showed itself in, and was itself in many aspects a reflection of an intensification of the direct clash of class forces in France. With the composition of the French chamber of deputies as it is, a thoroughgoing revision to the extreme right was not possible. Another "left" cabinet was created, but in it was included no less prominent a figure of reaction than Aristide Briand. And of course Caillaux is included too. The French bourgeoisie saw in Caillaux the financial wizard in whom they were obliged to place their hopes; they were willing to forget all their wartime differences with this condemned "arch traitor" if only he would find some way to save the drowning franc, without interfering with their accumulated capital.

And what do the "Socialists" do when confronted with this new, fake grouping of the "left bloc?" They simply go along with it.

When the Communist Party proposes to make a united front with the Socialists and to create a workers' and peasants' bloc against the bourgeois bloc, the Socialist Party disdained to even send a reply.

—M. G.

# What is Collaboration of Classes?

By Earl R. Browder

It is a fact to be noted with pleasure, that Dr Scott Nearing has been writing and speaking publicly in opposition to the present well-defined movement for class collaboration of the official labor movement in America. Comrade Nearing has accepted the Communist criticism of the "B. & O. Plan," of labor banking (so-called), and of the collaborationist "workers' education" of the Workers' Education Bureau. He has given clear expression to this in recent articles in the labor press, in his speeches before the Workers' Education Bureau conference in Philadelphia, and in a recent debate with J. B. Hardman (Salutsky) in "Advance," organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Every new recruit to the struggle against the poisonous philosophy of class collaboration is welcome in the ranks of the left wing. Particularly is this true of such an influential figure as Comrade Nearing. Because there are large numbers of workers who listen with respect to what he says, Nearing's words will help in the gigantic task of mobilizing the workers for the class struggle, and against their misleaders.

It is necessary, however, in the interests of clarity, that note also be taken of the incompleteness of Nearing's thought on the subject, because he leaves a loophole for the reactionaries which they eagerly seize upon and of which they make much capital.

## Where Nearing is Correct.

To the degree that Nearing has followed the Communist criticism of the modern schemes of class collaboration his statements are correct. For example, the following paragraph from his article on "Labor Banking," is correct, and lays a foundation upon which could be built the complete indictment of collaboration:

During the years of the steel strike, of the injunction against the miners, and of the initial stages of the open shop drive (1919-1920) American labor faced a difficult crisis, and labor leaders had to make a definite decision. One road led toward industrial conflict and the other toward the entrance of labor into business. The "labor executives" decided that it was better to lead organizations into the banking business than to fight. "We cannot fight against the Government," said Lewis, and so he became the president of the Indianapolis Labor Bank.

This is sound criticism. It contains the elements of the Communist position. It examines a specific historical situation. It states the relation of the class forces. It shows the entrance of the "labor executives" into business as a flight away from class struggle, as an alternative to fighting the class enemy, as a shifting of the economic basis of the labor officialdom from the dues payments of the membership to the dividends and favors of business and business connections.

## Where Nearing Gets Off the Track.

Unfortunately Nearing does not remain upon this solid ground. He proceeds to generalize in a fashion that "gives

aid and comfort to the enemy," the class collaborationist. The concluding paragraph in his article on "Labor Banking," says:

Perhaps it is not the business of the A. F. of L. to fight—perhaps it is their business to go into labor banking. If that is the case, American workers must build a fighting organization on the economic field. There are two functions here. One is the function of the co-operative, to build around the present order, to get investments and keep them; the other is a definite struggle to take over the machinery of society in the interests of the working class, to destroy the system on which investment is based.

Here Comrade Nearing has gotten completely off the track of sound thought which he had laid in the paragraph quoted before.

Passing over the theoretical confusion, which identifies wealth possessed by working class organizations upon a co-operative basis with that wealth possessed by the capitalist class and used as means of exploitation, there are several wrong practical conclusions drawn in the last quotation, which surrender vital positions to the collaborationist.

What are these wrong conclusions of Nearing? Here are a few.

1. There is a fundamental conflict between satisfaction of the immediate needs of the workers, through co-operatives, and carrying on the class struggle for the ultimate interests of the working class.

2. "Perhaps" it is the function of the trade unions to enter the field of co-operative effort, but if so then the American workers must build themselves new "fighting" organizations on the economic field.

3. We must surrender the field of practical work to the advocates of class collaboration, for co-operatives of any sort are essentially committed to the established order.

## All of These Conclusions are Wrong.

Comrade Nearing is completely wrong on all these points. While he is combating class collaboration he has, in these conclusions, surrendered the field to our enemies. For these conclusions are essentially the arguments of the class collaborationists themselves, only re-stated from another angle. The exact opposite is true in each case.

Point 1. There is no fundamental conflict between the satisfaction of the immediate needs of the working class, and fighting for the revolutionary interests of the workers, for the overthrow of capitalism. In fact, the one is impossible without the other. Whether it be trade unions, co-operatives, political parties, or what-not, working class organizations cannot fulfill their functions (increase the power and well-being of their membership) unless their daily activities are carried out on the basis of the class struggle. If they are based upon class collaboration, they immediately and inevitably betray the immediate interests of the workers and become instruments of the capitalist class to demoralize and destroy the working class organizations.

Point 2. All talk about abandoning the trade unions, because of their class collaboration policies, in favor of "new fighting unions" to be created by the fiat of the class-conscious workers, is the kind of bunk that helps discourage the militant workers and gets nowhere. Without any "perhaps," it is an important task of the labor movement to build co-operatives (separate from the trade unions, but in close alliance) and to fight within the co-operatives, the trade unions, and every other working class organization equally against dualism and class collaboration.

Point 3. If there is one thing that we cannot do, it is to abandon the field of practical everyday needs of the workers to advocates of class collaboration. Class collaboration is wrong not only because it compromises the final aims of the working class, but also because it betrays the workers in their daily tasks.

## A Handservant of Hillman Speaks.

J. B. S. Hardman (Salutsky) takes advantage of the gap in the logic of Nearing to build up a case for his superior officers in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who are among the most enthusiastic advocates and practitioners of class collaboration. In the "Advance," official organ of the A. C. W., for May 8th, a discussion between the two is printed.

It would probably be no hazardous guess that Nearing's article would not have been printed but for the opportunity it gave Hardman to deliver a few blows for Hillman. Neither mentions the fact that Hillman, collaborating with the clothing manufacturers of Chicago, in 1924, put across a general reduction in earnings of Chicago clothing workers under a camouflage of "readjustments." The fact that the independent economic base given Hillman by his "labor bank" helps him get away with such stunts is a part of the discussion overlooked by them.

Nearing's article is a brief review of the last twelve months, which he calls "Another Lost Year." It is a concise statement of:

Another year of losses for the American workers—losses in numbers; losses in spirit; losses in economic power; losses in blind-alley politics; losses through the growing solidarity and concentrating economic power of the owning class; another lost year during which the American workers found out, in several directions, how not to do things.

Nearing ends his article, after showing how all these losses were due to the policy of class collaboration, with the plea:

There is but one way out for the American worker—economic and social organizations, based on the slogan: "All power to the producers." Short of such classconscious understanding, battles on both the economic and political fields will be lost by the workers before they are fought.

Hardman, in classical Hillman style, says he agrees with all this but . . .

## Hardman Wants Capitalism to be Tolerable.

In the course of the article last quoted, Nearing writes a sentence which may be interpreted as containing the errors dealt with at length a few paragraphs before this. He

speaks of "co-operative housing and other schemes that aimed at making the established order tolerable." Hardman pounces upon this sentence with great glee.

"See," is the meaning of his article answering Nearing, "all these people who talk against labor banks and class collaboration, they want to make conditions worse and worse for the working class in hopes of goading them to rebellion. They would sacrifice the interests of the workers to their doctrinaire ideas of revolution. We, on the other hand, with our labor banks, co-operative housing, etc., are making the world better for the workers, and let the revolution take care of itself."

If Nearing gives the impression of a very honest and sincere man doing his best to untangle the knotty problems of the labor movement, the same thing cannot be said of Hardman. Nothing that has been said here in criticism of Nearing's views can be used to justify the tricky arguments of Hardman, a man who used to call himself a Communist and, under the name Salutsky, was a member of the first C. E. C. of the Workers Party. Nearing's whole argument was that policies of class collaboration were responsible for the defeats of the past year. Hardman picks upon Nearing's error in divorcing the immediate from the revolutionary tasks of the workers in order to prove—that while class collaboration may be bad in the abstract, every concrete example of it is good.

## What is Class Collaboration?

In order the better to defend class collaboration in the concrete (that is, to defend the practices of the officialdom of which he is a part), Hardman is willing to admit that, in the abstract, class collaboration is a very bad thing. And then in order to be perfectly safe in condemning class collaboration he gives it a definition. He says: "If representatives of labor in their dealings with the representatives of the employing and owning class, do not stand up for what is of value to the class they represent, if they take a middle position, a wishy-wishy stand on matters of importance, instead of fighting for labor, these representatives of labor are guilty of class collaboration."

Splendid, is it not? There is only one trouble with it. It would be accepted by every advocate of class collaboration in the world as a catalog of things to be condemned, but not one would admit that it condemns his particular method of class collaboration.

Nearing hits upon the real key, when he points to the statement of Green, president of the A. F. of L., that the time for counsel and compromise had arrived in the relations of capital and labor, under the slogan of "a mutuality of interests in industry." All practice based upon this idea is class collaboration. It leads to these other things which Hardman enumerates, and many others also. Hillman, Hardman's boss, believes in that principle and expresses it publicly. It is the guiding principle behind every labor bank, the B. & O. Plan, co-operative housing, etc. It is the root of Hillman's "readjustment" scheme in Chicago last year. It is back of his arrangements with the New York clothing manufacturers. It is destroying the power of the needle trades workers and demoralizing their living standards. But Hardman, under cover of his definition, can say: "Yes, we are against class collaboration. But we must be practical. And

to be practical, we must have labor banks, Hillman policies, etc.

Collaboration of classes is the practice that arises from the theory that the working class and the capitalist class have some common interests that enable them to work peacefully together to the benefit of both. This practice turns out to be, in reality, the surrender of the working class to the capitalist class, and its deliverance to the tender mercies of its enemy. It finds its institutional expression in the B. & O. Plan, labor banks in the present form, the Civic Federation, etc.

Hardman is a former Communist who is turning his talents toward helping confuse the workers as to what is the theory and practice of class collaboration, one who has become the handservant of reaction.

Nearing is a former liberal who is painfully fighting his way toward the position of Communism, of the relentless struggle of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism, but who has not worked out as yet all the implications of his position.

Class-conscious workers will know how to refute the sophistries of Hardman, accept the co-operation of Nearing and help to correct his errors, and continue to rally ever larger masses of the American working class for revolutionary struggle and against the vicious practices of class collaboration in the trade unions of this country.

## Poems by Jim Waters

### "CANNED"

To hell with you!  
You ain't the whole earth,  
Not by a damn sight!

You sneak around shaking your fat paunch shouting:  
"I'm losing money . . . hurry-up . . . pull-out . . .  
"Step-on-it!" . . . and you "can" anybody that talks back.  
I've seen your kind before—always losing money—  
Riding in limousines, showing off on the golf links,  
And talking open shop at the Union Club.  
On Sunday you go to church and tell everybody  
What a nice employer you are . . .  
On Monday you go blue in the face cursing your men.  
You can't bull-doze me!

To hell with you!  
You ain't the whole earth,  
Not by a damn sight!

### SPRING POEM

SPRING is here  
And the first rays of the sun  
Slip fingers of warmth into the fetid slums;  
The miasmal ooze of streets and alleys  
Fills the nostrils with nauseous odors  
That are vibrant with the music  
Of thunderous church bells;  
The tenements spew forth a flood of humanity,  
Awkwardly dressed and solemn, that slips

Through the ducts of palatial churches;  
At Fifth and Canal street,  
The Rt., Reverend Percy Larder Livewell  
Moves his hungry worshippers to tears  
By pronouncing benedictions on the worthy,  
And distorting his fat face in a caricature  
Of the suffering and livid Christ.

O, spring is here,  
And the miasmal ooze of streets and alleys  
Fills the nostrils with nauseous odors.

### PUBLIC SQUARE (Cleveland, Ohio)

COME sit in my lap, and welcome,  
You ragged sons of toil, you vagrant,  
You prostitute, you drunk, you beggar;  
I see more in you than objects for scorn:  
You are red prayers, symbols of a new Dawn.

Come mount this rostrum, you radical;  
Hurl your biting words of castigation  
Into the sensitive flesh of smug plutocracy;  
Fill the souls of these despised shards  
With the rhythmic beat of revolt;  
Your protesting voice means more to me  
Than the labored rhetoric of politicians.

Come, gather here in welcome, my children,  
For I am the Mother-heart of this city  
Whose breast is aching with expectation.



Sylvester Jerreux

# Since Eastman Lied

By C. M. Roebuck

A Review of "Since Lenin Died"

MAX EASTMAN, lately a member of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, has just written a book nominally defending Trotsky, but actually attacking the majority of the Russian Communist Party and the leaders of the Communist International. He has chosen to publish it in the midst of a new wave of world reaction, which began several months ago, and just at the moment when the capitalist press in every country is doing its level best with slanders and forgeries, in order to shake the stubborn faith of the workers that the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia is their own government. Max Eastman does his little bit to assist in this press barrage which is intended to preface a military attack on the Soviets.

It is a little difficult to make out what Max Eastman thinks is the real trouble between Trotsky and the rest of the Russian Communists. Eastman does not make it easier for us by a very confused style, cross-references, repetitions, etc. But by dint of patience, we are able to find out, at any rate, what Max Eastman thinks (a) of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party, (b) of the most active members—officials, delegates, etc.—of that Party, (c) of the Party as a whole.

#### Max Eastman on the Communist Leaders.

On the national leaders—Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin, Rykov, Bukharin, etc. "The machine" (p. 33). "The heads of the bureaucracy" (p. 35). "Their speeches and articles . . . would be thrown out of a prize essay contest in a school for defective children" (p. 51). "The bureaucratic methods employed in the Party . . . presided over by Stalin, were the source of his power" (p. 59). "The performance at this convention (the XIIIth) was a continuation of the deliberately unscrupulous campaign carried on during the winter" (p. 98). "Nobody can tell how much Trotsky's sickness played into the hands of his enemies. It is certain that

COMRADE ROEBUCK, of the Communist Party of Great Britain, refers in this review to "Max Eastman, lately a member of the Workers (Communist) Party of America." This is a misunderstanding. For a brief space Eastman was a member of the Party but he never participated in Party work and he long since allowed even his platonic membership to lapse. Eastman belongs to Greenwich Village, not to the working-class movement.

During his travels through Europe Eastman contributed articles to "Asia," "The Nation" and other bourgeois publications, for which no doubt he was richly remunerated, but he did not feel called upon to write for the labor press. As for the WORKERS MONTHLY, we received a letter from him to the effect that we might reprint one of his articles from "The Nation." We did not avail ourselves of the opportunity.

A few days ago we heard from Eastman after a long silence. His letter, which was sent as an answer to Comrade Bittelman's article ("Max Eastman on Leninism"), is a scurrilous attack on the Russian Communist Party and a paen of praise for Trotsky—the kind of praise from which Trotsky is now trying so vigorously to disassociate himself. A day later came a cablegram signed by Eastman, reading: "Hold Story for Second Letter." So Eastman has written us again. No doubt. No doubt he has read Trotsky's statements repudiating him and is worried.

The book, "Since Lenin Died," was published by Eastman in England. A comprehensive article on Eastman and his writings will appear in the July issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY.

they consciously reckoned upon it in starting this unscrupulous campaign" (p. 96). "Abstract dogmatists" (p. 105). "The triumvirate are content to hold power in Russia—and that upon a fiscal foundation devised by the gars (sale of vodka)—while satisfying their revolutionary dispositions and professional habits with abstract-agitational gesticulations in the International" (pp. 112-113), "A group of abstract agitators" (p. 118). "The use of the secret police by the Party bureaucracy for spying on its own membership . . . because the daily and accepted method of destroying Trotsky" (p. 120).

This is how Max Eastman writes about the leaders of the Russian Communist Party and the Communist International—the men on whom the Russian workers and peasants rely for that leadership which has proved the despair of Poincare and Curzon, Ramsay MacDonald and Mussolini, J. H. Thomas and Hugo Stinnes.

What does he say about the Party officials? The 3,000 Party secretaries, com-

mitteemen, etc., of the Leningrad district are "manipulated like automatons," "obedient officials," "bound up to the perpetuation of the bureaucratic regime," "called together and whipped into an intellectual panic by Stalin and Zinoviev," "Zinoviev party workers" (pp. 62-71). On the Thirteenth Party Congress of 1924, the supreme authority of the Russian Party, Eastman writes: "It was undoubtedly one of the most perfectly 'packed' conventions ever held in the history of the world" (p. 85). "All day long, one obedient delegate after another . . . stepped up and made his little superficial contribution . . . to the business of confirming and perpetuating the false paper caricatures of Trotsky which they had learned by heart" (p. 87). "Their performance reminded me of nothing so much as the Armistice Day exercises in a patriotic American private school" (p. 90). Later on (p. 99) he describes the Party officials as "a bureaucratic aristocracy solidifying within the party," "a dictator-

ship of the officialdom within the Communist Party" (p. 129).

This is how Max Eastman writes about the officials of the Russian Communist Party—the men and women who daily have to interpret into practical work the general instructions issued from the Party center, and on whom, in particular, reposes the full burden of maintaining the closest possible contact between the Party of the workers, on the one hand, and the workers and peasants on the other.

#### Max Eastman on the Communist Party.

If they are such obedient automatons, blind bureaucrats, we naturally expect to find the Party itself in a still more degraded condition. And it is so. In 1917, we learn, it was Trotsky who "made all the immediate decisions which it was necessary for a general in the field to make" (p. 15), and Trotsky again who "marshalled the workers and soldiers of Russia for the Bolshevik insurrection" (p. 16). The 240,000 members of the Bolshevik Party are not in the picture at all. Again, the first protest of the Petrograd Party officials in December, 1923 (already referred to), was sufficient to "stampede the whole Russian Communist Party, and produced a condition of intellectual mob-hysteria that lasted all winter" (p. 60). The Party members are not only hysterics, but simple-minded Henry Dubbs, it appears, from Eastman's description of the "Lenin levy"—the 200,000 workers who entered the Party in the spring of 1924. He tells us that they only strengthened the bureaucracy, "not only because the workers are inherently more subject to organizational management than the intellectuals," but also because of "the intellectual complexity of the trick which had been played upon them." They are described as cherishing "confident love" for Trotsky, which was simply destroyed by a process of "slander and falsification" (pp. 83-84). But the best picture is on pp. 100-101, where Eastman writes: "When Lenin was gone, the party was left, not only with the wisdom he had taught them, but also the irresponsibility, the child-like dependence upon his will and judgment. A large family of orphans suddenly found a sixth part of the terrestrial globe in their hands, with all the rest of the globe against them, and no practice in the art of tackling big problems independently, and with a feeling of ultimate responsibility for their solution." After this, we do not mind reading a little later (p. 106) that it is "on the way to becoming a political church," and that it is being "discredited" with and "separated" from the masses (pp. 128-129).

This is the flock of sheep which Max Eastman would have us believe represents the Russian Communist Party, a body of 700,000 men and women without whom there would be no Soviets, no trade unions, no Red Army, no alliance between the workers and peasants, no constant day-to-day interpretation to the millions of workers and peasants of world events and of Party policy—in short—no revolution.

#### Eastman Today—Trotsky Yesterday.

It must now be pretty clear that, wherever Max Eastman draws his inspiration for his latest book, it is not from a worker's or a Communist outlook on the world. No Communist, and no worker, could write in this way about a Party which is the strongest and leading section of the Communist International, and which is the backbone of the first Workers' Republic. It also explains why it is that the whole anti-Communist press have recommended Eastman's book to their readers.

It is just as foreign to the revolution, to the Communist Party, to Lenin and Lenin's spirit, as Trotsky was in 1913 when he wrote to the (now notorious) Georgian Menshevik leader Chkheidze, in words which sum up the whole of Eastman's 158 pages: "What a senseless infliction seems this rotten discussion which is systematically being inflamed by Lenin, that past master in such arts, that professional exploiter of all that is backward in the Russian labor movement."

Trotsky then fought Lenin on the question of Party organization and Party discipline, and on the question of the attitude to the peasantry. If Trotsky had carried his point, there would be no Bolshevik Party today, no alliance of workers and peasants, and consequently no revolution. Max Eastman's "review" of the history of the Russian revolution up to 1917 is so sketchy and fantastic that it is not worth while dealing with it here—more particularly as all his points are answered convincingly in the new book, "Leninism or Trotskyism," which our Party is publishing in a few days. But one thing is clear: that Eastman today is doing what Trotsky did yesterday.

#### Eastman Tries Romance.

It is worth while noticing that, like all those who have defended Trotsky in Western Europe (including members of our own Party), Eastman has to have recourse to the wildest distortions and untruths to prove his point. Thus, he says (p. 10) that Trotsky could not and did not work with the Mensheviks before the revolution and that Lenin never identified him with the Mensheviks. In actual fact, Trotsky's whole history from 1903 up to 1917 was one of dancing between formal allegiance to the Mensheviks and endeavoring to "conciliate" the two groups, mainly attacking the Bolsheviks, and always in practice doing the Mensheviks' work, as Lenin again and again pointed out, describing him as absolutely "devoid of principles."

Eastman says that in 1917, after having been Commissary for Foreign Affairs, and when the situation passed out of that phase, Trotsky was appointed to reorganize the Army and "saved the life of the revolution" (p. 16). He omits to mention that Trotsky, as a preliminary, nearly did for the revolution by his romantic defiance of the Germans, and resigned his job, and very nearly his post on the Central Committee, at the Seventh Party Congress which reversed his policy.

He tells all kinds of stories about Lenin having offered Trotsky his post as premier—which Lenin never did; about a suggestion to dupe Lenin, when he was ill, by forging a special number of Pravda containing an article it was intended to keep from the general public (Eastman admits the story came out of the White Press); about there being a conspiracy of silence to hide the bad mistake made by Zinoviev and Kamenev in 1917, in trying to force a coalition with the Mensheviks—whereas Lenin had openly referred to it at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, in 1922, and Zinoviev also, in order to point the moral. But the worst, perhaps, is where he boldly asserts that the "triumvirate" (as he calls the Political Bureau of the Russian Party) deliberately suppressed a letter from Lenin giving a character sketch of members of the Central Committee—and then reveals in a footnote, in small print, that the letter was read to the hundreds of delegates at a Party Congress, the chief authority of the Party, and by them decided to remain unpublished for the time being!

Of course one forgives Eastman little things like asserting that the Party has revived the vodka monopoly, and is thus making its life dependent upon "the ancient industry of debauching the Russian people"—as if the sale of vodka under the czarism, when the workers and peasants were little better than slaves, and in the Soviet State, where even non-Communists Bramley, Herbert Smith, and John Turner admit that they have the privileges and are beginning to exercise the responsibilities of a ruling class, were one and the same thing! When one begins to fight the Communist Party, one is forced to use the same arguments as the Mensheviks and the Morning Post.

#### Where is Trotsky?

Where does Trotsky come in? What is his object? Here Eastman does not give as much enlightenment. Throughout the book there is plenty of lavish praise, but not much political explanation. "A proud man" (p. 12), "A selfless and fearless and saintly devotion to the revolution" (p. 13), "a picturesque and thrilling personality" (p. 14), "Head and shoulders above the other Bolsheviks" (p. 15), "A natural commander" (p. 18), "The most disciplined character I ever knew" (p. 37), "Just a great man" (p. 40), and so forth. The main criticism Eastman has of him is that he "does not know how to gather people around him" (p. 37) and "behaves at times with the blundering presumptuousness of a child" (p. 40).

But purely personal defects would not be sufficient to account for the fact that Trotsky fought the Bolshevik Party, Lenin, and Lenin's policy towards the peasantry and on the war, from 1903 to 1917, without ever gathering more than a tiny handful of supporters. Politics in the revolutionary movement are not settled by personal likes and dislikes. Nor is it possible to explain by his purely personal temperament the fact that in all the discussions since 1917 Trotsky has been in a small minority.

The full analysis of Trotsky's real political errors will be found in the collection of articles, already referred to, which our Party is publishing shortly under the title of Leninism or Trotskyism. Here it is worth quoting Eastman's opinion of the real meaning of Trotsky's attitude during the last two discussions (1923-1924 and 1924-1925)—and here it is probably a case of Comrade Trotsky going down on his knees and praying to be saved from his own supporters.

For Eastman says that the Party resolution on "Workers' Democracy," adopted on December 5, 1923, as the result of a special sub-committee's work (and not Trotsky's pressure), was a victory for Trotsky, which meant that "he had gained the right to agitate for a genuine stoppage of the system of bureaucratic appointments, and a genuine revival of party initiative, such as would break the stranglehold of the triumvirate, and give him and those whom he trusted an authority in the governing organ of the Party" (p. 39)! And Eastman goes on to say, in the next pages, that Trotsky did his best to mobilize support in this great and noble work by sending a letter to his party local (actually it was sent all over the Party) the very next day, which "did not, of course, add anything to the practical measures advocated in the resolution . . . but offered an additional reason for its sincere application, touching a theme which the others did not wish to touch" (actually making a series of thinly veiled insinuations against the Party leaders, which Eastman, as we have seen, is not at such great pains to conceal as his idol).

#### Not More Than a Blunder?

Eastman calls this action "most improper" and "forgetting all about the existence of the other man" (p. 43); he thinks it is only a tactical "blunder." The common man will call it a gross breach of discipline, and an inexcusable attempt to rush in, before the Central Committee resolution could be discussed by the Party at large, in order to stir up feeling against the Party leaders. And Eastman has the simplicity to add: "I am convinced that the decision to wage this personal war on Trotsky was made only after the publication of his letter" (p. 45).

Yes, quite so: the leaders of the Russian Party, the Old Bolshevik guard who had fought side by side with Lenin for twenty-five years against the czar, the Mensheviks and Trotsky, were only awakened to the fact that Trotsky had resumed his old anti-discipline, anti-Party attitude when he gave them convincing proof by a flagrant breach of his elementary duty as an executive member!

The other "brick" dropped by Eastman is in his comment on Trotsky's latest literary effort, "The Lessons of October," which provoked the recent discussion. "Besides being a demonstration of the strategy of the Russian revolution, it is also a treatise upon the theme propounded by Lenin in his suppressed letter to the Party, namely, that 'the retreat of Kamenev and Zinoviev in October was not accidental.' I cannot of course declare that Trotsky intended his introduction for a treatise upon this theme, but I can declare that that is what it is. And I consider it by no means a coincidence that he introduces into his text the very words employed by Lenin" (p. 121).

In other words, Eastman says that Trotsky is raking up errors which had been committed seven years before, and which had been freely admitted, corrected, and commented upon in the public hearing by all concerned—and he does so, not as a piece of historical research, but in order to show that Kamenev and Zinoviev, in Eastman's words, are "anti-Marxian and anti-Bolshevik!" (By the way, it is a lie to say that the book has been suppressed. Practically all the collections of replies to Trotsky, published in thousands of copies very cheaply, have included his Lessons of October as an appendix).

#### To Sum Up.

Trotsky fought the Bolsheviks for many years, and has lately been fighting them again. The difference is that previously he did it outside the Party, whereas lately he has been doing it inside the Party. The net effect has been to discredit Trotsky thoroughly within the Party, and to raise the hopes of the petty bourgeoisie in Russia, the great capitalists outside, for a split in the workers' ranks.

Still, Trotsky has rendered great services to the revolution since 1917, and there is ground for hope that he will give up this futile policy and buckle to again.

If there is one thing that should convince him that he was terribly mistaken, it is the spectacle of his work inspiring the production of books like Eastman's. Eastman is an American, but there are other intellectuals like Eastman in other countries. After wandering into the Communist Party by mistake, they suddenly discover its aim is to lead the workers in a political fight against capitalism, and not an opera stage where individual heroes hack at one another with paper swords to win the plaudits of the chorus at the back. Then they wander out, and vent their disillusionment in ven-

omous language. But the workers will not be driven away from the only Party which fights their battles by the abuse of renegades.

## A Novelist Views Russia

The Romance of New Russia, by Magdelaine Marx. Thomas Seltzer, New York, \$2.00.

COINCIDENTLY, the writer happened to read Berkman's book on Russia and Magdelaine Marx's "The Romance of New Russia." The difference in approach of the two authors is remarkably instructive.

The anarchist's conception of the social revolution and the society to be born after it, is much like that of the religious conception of the way to heaven. Capitalism will die, and society will wake up the next morning to find itself in a heaven on earth. There must be no growth of the social paradise, no ruins left from the old order; everything must be swept clean and life automatically become perfect. Because Berkman arrived in Russia in 1920, three years after the Bolshevik revolution, and found that heaven on earth was a comparatively long way off, he threw up his hands and returned to the capitalist world where he would feel more at home. His book is filled with petty complaints, evidence gathered from conversations with speculators, disgruntled petty bourgeois, deposed intellectuals, and the like. He makes no attempts to give a picture of the accomplishments of the proletarian revolution on a large scale.

In strong contrast to this is Mme. Marx's book. Her original intention was to gather facts and figures, weigh advantages against disadvantages, and bring her conclusion to the rest of the world. But, she says in her book:

"I discarded my figures, facts and documents; I let eyes speak, living pulsating youth, toiling hands, crowds, quivering voices—the whole an image of de-

liverance larger than an entire nation and assuming the form of a single being.

"My figures were correct enough, but life blotted them out with its pictures. The pictures alone were true."

And the pictures are not only true but beautiful. They have depth and breadth, life and vigor. Poverty, suffering, pain are all there. But something new is growing up, something young and fresh and sturdy.

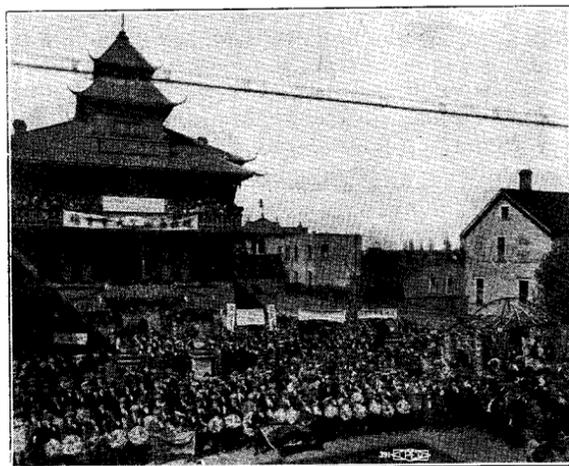
Take for instance the picture of Masha, the peasant woman. In the old days there was drunkenness, squalor, beatings, depressing old Slavic prayers, submission to the barin. . . degradation. Today there is poverty also. Oh, yes, there will be poverty for some time to come. But now Masha has books, lectures, reconstructive work in the village. . . self-respect. At the end of her visit with Masha, Mme. Marx presents her with a few articles. For a moment the old slave Masha rises up and she grovels before her benefactress, but the next moment, the new Masha, the Masha that was born since the October days, rises up with a look of shame in her eyes and kicks the old Masha into the dust.

There are many more pictures—of Lenin, Trotsky, Kollontay, Krupskaya and others. Zorin, the worker-propagandist is the subject of a chapter inspiring in its simplicity.

The book ends with a picture of some aristocratic refugees escaping from the little isolated world they had built for themselves in the midst of the seething life of new Russia. Their conversation is a dribble of trifling complaints—three rooms for two women instead of twelve, most of their jewels gone, vulgar workers running the government, table no longer loaded down with delicacies, no rich wines. . . ad infinitum, ad nauseum.

—Ida Dailes.

## A Pledge to Free China from Imperialist Rule



VANCOUVER, CANADA—CANADIAN COMMUNISTS AND CHINESE RESIDENTS HOLD CEREMONY FOR SUN YAT SEN



PHILADELPHIA, PA.—WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA UNITES WITH LOCAL BRANCH OF KUOMING-TANG TO HONOR DEAD LEADER OF CHINESE MASSES

## The Little Red Library

No. 1.—TRADE UNIONS IN AMERICA, by Wm. Z. Foster, Jas. P. Cannon and Earl Browder.

No. 2.—CLASS STRUGGLE vs. CLASS COLLABORATION, by Earl R. Browder.

No. 3.—PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNISM, Original Draft of the Communist Manifesto, by Frederick Engels. Translation of Max Bedacht.

No. 4.—WORKER CORRESPONDENTS, by Wm. F. Dunne.

SO much publicity and so much attention drawn to the Little Red Library you feel is well deserved. For after all a pocket series, selling at only ten cents, is obviously just suited to propaganda needs and to stimulate reading among workers.

Number one of the series, "Trade Unions in America," by Wm. Z. Foster, Jas. P. Cannon and Earl R. Browder, has come out of the happy collaboration of three men who through long experience in the American trade union movement and the important part they have played in the development of the Left Wing within it, are best qualified to write on the subject. In a nut-shell, here is the development of organized labor and its salient features—from the pen of Wm. Z. Foster; the Left Wing development and its history (and nowhere will you find a better account!) is written by Cannon, while Browder analyzes its program and purposes.

Number two, "Class Struggle vs. Class Collaboration," by Earl Browder, covers matter never touched by any previous book or pamphlet published. You can almost feel the author's anxiety to overstep the narrow confines of the small booklet to elaborate on the camouflage schemes of capital and its allies to keep workers from struggle—to pacify and to deceive them with the hokum of Labor Banks, Insurance Schemes, fake Workers Education and the B. & O. Plan.

In number three for the first time in history there is given English publication of that historical document, "Principles of Communism—the Original Draft of the Communist Manifesto," by Frederick Engels. You wonder how its appearance has been delayed to this day, how the first draft of a work that has served as a guide to the world of revolution, could have remained hidden from the English speaking worker. The translator, Max Bedacht, adding to a careful translation, the history of this great document and the period in which it was written, together with valuable explanatory notes, has contributed to make the booklet one of great value indeed.

In number four, the Little Red Library again produces something new. This volume, "Worker Correspondents," by Wm. F. Dunne, is one on a subject which is becoming of increasing interest today. In Russia, worker correspondents have played and are playing an important role. This booklet serves as a hand-book to explain the what, where, when, why and how of workers' correspondence.

If the future numbers of this mighty big little series can measure up to the first ones, the successes already achieved will seem puny in comparison to the achievements still to be recorded.—W. C.

## Hammer and Sickle

MAN with the sickle

Wiping away the sweat which blurred your vision,  
Looking you ancient master in the eye  
Nor bowing low,  
I join my calloused hand with yours.  
My hammer hand which beats alike  
The ploughshare and the sword,  
When joined to yours  
Which tends the herds and fields  
Shall conquer all.  
We drop our age-old odds;  
Our common needs must balm  
The wounds of ancient feuds.  
Facing the foe whose panic, bred of fear,  
Sweeps terror through the world,  
We find the common ground of olden days  
When Sire of us with single hand  
Wrought tools or tilled the land  
Or made a fist to smite a robber foe.  
Again as one we fight the terror back.

—Bud Reynolds.

## Books Received

To Be Reviewed in Forthcoming Issues of the WORKERS MONTHLY.

FAIRY TALES FOR WORKERS' CHILDREN, by Herminia zur Muehlen. Translated from the German by Ida Dailes; cover drawings and color plates by Lydia Gibson. (Daily Worker Publishing Co. Cloth \$1.25; duroflex cover 75c.)

SUN YAT SEN AND THE CHINESE REPUBLIC, by Paul Linebarger. (Century Company. \$2.50.)

LIFE OF SAN MARTIN, by Anna Shoellkopf. Preface by Honorio Pueyrredon, Argentine Ambassador to the U. S. (Boni and Liveright: \$2.00).

SEVENTY YEARS OF LIFE AND LABOR, by Samuel Gompers. (E. P. Dutton, 2 volumes: \$10.00.)

THE WOMEN'S GARMENT WORKERS, a history of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, by Louis Levin, Ph. D. (B. W. Huebsch: \$5.00.)

COMMERCIAL YEAR-BOOK OF THE SOVIET UNION, 1925, compiled and edited by Louis Segal and A. A. Santalóv. (B. W. Huebsch: \$2.50.)

LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION, by Leon Trotsky. Translated by Rose Strunsky. (International Publishers: \$2.50.)

FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY, by Karl Kautsky. (International Publishers: \$4.00.)

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF LENINISM, by I. Stalin. Translated by Thomas Bell. (Daily Worker Publishing Co. Duroflex cover: 35c.)

# The International

**ENGLAND** THINGS are stirring in England. With nearly 2,000,000 unemployed and 38,000 more added to the official unemployment list in one week, a powerful left wing movement has developed in the trade unions demanding resolute action against the bourgeoisie. The National Minority Movement, in which the Communists play an important part, now counts some 600,000 members. In the face of the frontal attack of the bosses on the miners and railroad workers, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain has called a conference for June 4, at which miners, engineers (machinists), railwaymen and transport workers will be represented. The purpose of the conference is to discuss an industrial alliance between these unions to resist employers' attacks and to advance their own wage demands.

Under the leadership of A. A. Purcell, the British unions have been pushing forward the work for international trade union unity. The British Trade Union Council has now decided that in case Amsterdam refuses to act, it will itself call a meeting of the unions affiliated with Amsterdam on one hand and the Russian unions on the other.

At the recent national conference of the I. L. P., Ramsay MacDonald's Labor government was severely criticized. Moreover, the blame for the credence given the fake "Zin-vive letter" was laid squarely at MacDonald's door. Such criticism means a whole lot for the pale pink I. L. P., of which MacDonald has been considered almost a patron saint. But of course it is minority criticism. The I. L. P. has not changed. Clifford Allen struck the keynote when he pleaded for "tolerance" and "generosity." By a three to one majority the I. L. P. voted to congratulate the Labor government which, when it was in office spent all its time pursuing a Liberal imperialist policy.

The Communist Party is making excellent headway, particularly in the matter of trade union work and work in the factories. A number of factory papers are being published and are meeting ready response.

**FRANCE** THE Communist Party of France is conducting a resolute campaign against the imperialist war in Morocco. Special propaganda is directed to the black colonial troops and to the natives in the occupied territory. This has become the central point of the party's campaign against imperialism. In the trade unions, the party members are supporting the move of the C. G. T. U. for unity on a national and international scale. The recent municipal elections in France represented a sharp defeat for the reactionary "bloc national," the vote showing a strong swing to the left. Municipal elections are doubly important because the municipal councils play a part in electing the French senate. As a result of the elections the Communists have now eight seats instead of seven in the Paris Council and have gained a clear majority in several suburban councils.

**MEXICO** MUCH harm has been done the Communist Party of Mexico by extravagant exaggeration in the English-language labor press. Surrounded by the manifold difficulties of the Mexican situation, handicapped by poor facilities for travel and great distances between cities, lacking in experienced leaders, the party is still very small, consisting only of a few hundred members. Nevertheless, it is on the right road and rapid strides are being made. The third congress of the party, held April 7-13, laid the basis for disciplined, co-ordinated action under the leadership of the national executive committee. Delegates were present from twelve locals. There were also fraternal delegates from the Workers (Communist) Party of America and the Communist Party of Central America.

The congress was essentially an organization congress; its chief business was to cement the ties binding the various locals to the national executive committee and to bring about a better centralization of activities. Bolshevization of the party was taken up both from the ideological and organizational standpoints; the first steps toward the future reorganization into shop, street and branch nuclei were taken. Other important items on the agenda were the trade union and peasant questions. The party has influence in certain sections of the important railwaymen's union, as well as in the unions of oil workers in and about Tampico. This represents a strategic advantage which should not be minimized. In some states, notably Vera Cruz and Michoacan, members of the party have established contact with, and even leadership over, wide masses of peasants. The party congress decided to continue its vigorous opposition to the government policy of disarming the peasants.

Throughout all the discussions of the congress, ran an understanding of the importance of a struggle against American imperialism. Co-operation with the Workers Party in the United States was strongly stressed. Definite decisions for joint action were adopted unanimously.

Rafael Carrillo was re-elected national executive secretary of the party.

**JAPAN** REACTION in Japan has just passed a "Peace Preservation Law" which makes it a crime not only to join in an agitation for reforming the Constitution, but even to oppose the existence of capitalism. The law has two objects: first, to keep down the advancing labor movement; and second to suppress Korean agitators. These latter are always spoken of as "Bolsheviks," in the best European style. The Japan Labor Federation is taking the initial steps toward organizing a Labor Party, modeled on the lines of the British Labor Party. The project is already well under way. The officials in control of the Japan Labor Federation are, of course, using all means in their power to keep real left-wing elements from getting control. They have declared their intention to exclude Communists.

## THE WORKERS MONTHLY

Combining  
The Labor Herald, Liberator and Soviet Russia Pictorial  
EARL R. BROWDER, Editor

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### General Staff of World's Revolutionary Forces Meets.

NO self-delusion marked the recent sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International. The fact that capitalism had succeeded in acquiring a certain stabilization of a temporary nature, and that the waves of immediate revolution had subsided in a number of countries was soberly faced and analyzed by the keenest leaders of the world revolutionary movement. At the same time it was recognized that while the partial breathing space gained by capitalism in Central Europe was an actuality, Central Europe was not all of Europe. Europe was not the world. A revolutionary situation exists at the very present moment in the Balkans; the Baltic slave states are in suppressed ferment; and from the Orient the rumblings of protest of millions of colonial people din constantly in the ears of the imperialists. The knowledge that the "stabilization" was achieved at the expense of the working class was an added factor in determining the chief tactic of the Comintern in the next period.

No stabilization of the Communist International in the sense of retrogression to pure, sectarian parties! This was the keynote. Instead, the slogan is raised: Bolshevization of the parties of the Comintern! Deeper into the hearts of the masses; more of the quiet building up of the revolutionary party by the patient participation in the meanest of working class struggles, leading, encouraging, broadening the vision and battlefield.

"Our Communist International is the only real organization of the world revolution. As such it was created, as such it stands, and as such it will fight on and on to the final victory."

### Cause of International Trade Union Unity Advancing.

CLOSE upon the heels of the endorsement by the British General Trade Union Council of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Agreement, comes ratification by the General Council of the Russian unions. The Russian unions have also appointed their representative to the Anglo-Russian advisory committee, and a committee headed by Comrade Losovsky has been named in Moscow to reopen negotiations with Amsterdam.

In this period of sustained and persistent attacks by the bosses, the need for international trade union unity is especially urgent. The existence of two autonomous labor federations in France, for instance (C. G. T. U. and C. G. T.), one affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions and the other to the Amsterdam International, has allowed the bosses

to play off both organizations against each other. The same condition holds true on an international scale. Everywhere the rank and file of the workers demand unity.

No attempt to defeat the Anglo-Russian unity movement through the proposed Anglo-German trade union "alliance" against unity must be tolerated. The British workers have already shown where they stand in this matter, by ratifying the Anglo-Russian agreement, and without the British unions there can be no Anglo-German "alliance." No disruptionist maneuvering, no exclusivist alliances, but unity!

### "B. & O. Johnston" Rejected by Machinists.

ONE of the most important trade union elections that has taken place this year is that in the machinist union. The tabulation of the votes has not been completed but the indications are that Johnston and his slate have been badly defeated. The center controversy in the election was the struggle against the B. & O. class collaboration scheme sponsored by Wm. H. Johnston, and the right of the Communists and the adherents of the T. U. E. L. to express themselves within the union. Johnston openly approved the expulsion from the union of members of the T. U. E. L. and endorsed the action of the Minneapolis and St. Paul Central Labor bodies in expelling local machinist delegates because they were members of the Workers (Communist) Party.

Johnston has not accepted defeat but is using all the machinery at his disposal to throw out the votes of locals who cast heavily for the Anderson slate. Whether or not he will be able to get away with this, will depend upon the attitude of Anderson and company. However the left wing will carry on the struggle with or without the support of the Anderson group. The defeat of Johnston is a great political victory for the T. U. E. L., which is the only organized group consistently carrying on a struggle against the class collaboration policy of the Johnston administration.

The fear expressed by many, when the alliance was made between the left wing and the Anderson group, that the left wing would lose its identity, has been completely eliminated. The left wing has been greatly strengthened: even Johnston blames his defeat upon the Communists and the T. U. E. L. The left wing presented the full T. U. E. L. program to the rank and file, explaining the reasons why they supported the Anderson slate and why the members should vote for it. They showed the hesitating policy of Anderson, but declared that in spite of this, Johnston had to be defeated, that he was the symbol of class collaboration.

The tactics pursued by the left wing in this election should be studied by all militants. They are the successful, flexible tactics that lead the left wing to victories.

### Senator Wheeler, Oil and War.

JUSTICE diluted with oil brought Senator Burton K. Wheeler to trial in Great Falls, Mont., on trumped up charges. The jury declared him innocent after being out ten minutes. His real crime was that he helped expose the oil interests in the course of the senatorial investigation of former Attorney General Daugherty, solicitous friend of Fall, Doheny and Sinclair. Meantime Fall, Doheny and Sinclair have still not been brought to trial, and the chances are that they never will. For on April 3, Chief Justice McCoy, of the District of Columbia Supreme Court, dismissed the indict-

ments charging bribery and conspiracy to defraud the Government in the Teapot Dome and Elk Hills leases. While the Government made every attempt to "get" Senator Wheeler, it exercised the most flagrant leniency in the case of the wealthy Teapot Dome crooks—vital witnesses, officials of various oil companies being permitted to slip away with the connivance of the Government, having left the country on passports issued by the government.

Two days after the indictment against Doheny and his playmates was dropped, a great \$548,000,000 oil merger was announced, in which Doheny's Pan American Petroleum and Transport Co. properties in the east and in Latin-America were taken over by a combine consisting of Standard Oil of Indiana, the British-Mexican Petroleum Co. and Blair and Co. (an investment banking firm which Doheny himself bought out some months back). Interestingly enough all the oil men figuring prominently in the deal except for Lord Inverforth of the British company—including Col. Robert W. Stewart, head of Standard Oil—had been mixed up in the Teapot Dome case, most of them as missing witnesses who could not be made to testify against Doheny because they happened to be "out of the country on important business." Now Doheny and the men who were to testify against him are suddenly partners in one of the most sensational combines the oil industry has ever seen. The corruption, mockery of law and facile control of the government by Wall Street revealed in this merry burlesque stagger even our untrammelled imagination.

Doheny has always been considered one of the biggest of the independents among the oil interests. We have pointed out all along that his "independence" was mostly bluff, maintained to keep alive the fiction of unrestricted competition in the oil industry. Now his companies take their place openly among the properties of the great American oil trust. It is significant that banking firms enter into the combination—not only Blair and Co., but Morgan and Rockefeller firms at well. Monopoly, finance capital, direct control over the government by a single Wall Street group; these are the factors which characterize our epoch; they are the stuff of which imperialistic policy is made. They come into contact with foreign imperialism in various parts of the world. They terminate in wars. The Teapot Dome financiers who have shown themselves so adept at controlling our Department of the Interior and Department of Justice, will have no less trouble in controlling our Department of State. In next month's issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY we shall show how even now they are entering into international maneuvers, with the aid of the Secretary of State, which must inevitably lead to war. Naval exercises and military reviews are in preparation for the expected event.

#### Negro Labor Congress.

THE masses of Negro workers and farmers in America are beginning to stir and the proof of their interest in themselves as a class is contained in the energetic efforts now being made by them to organize, for a conference to be held in Chicago later in the year, the Negro industrial workers, in the north and south and the oppressed Negro farmers.

The tenor of the call for the congress which we have received is emphasis on the working-class character of the overwhelming majority of the Negro masses—a healthy sign

in view of the class collaboration nature of most of the schemes heretofore put before the Negroes as aids to their liberation. There is no doubt but that the achievement of full economic, political and social equality by the Negroes depends upon the workers and farmers of the race and that the leadership of the movement vested in the intellectuals, businessmen and clergy will result in the same futility and betrayal that such leadership has always handed finally to revolts of oppressed classes and races.

The question of the admission of Negro workers to all the unions without discrimination of any kind is one of the principal questions dealt with in the call for the conference and certainly there is need for the fullest discussion and understanding of this problem by black and white workers. The capitalists alone profit from any division of the workers on race lines and only solidarity on class lines can prevent disastrous defeats like those suffered in the packing house, steel and railway strikes. If the conference can work out a plan whereby the Negro workers can force abolition of all existing discrimination in the reactionary unions it will have justified its existence by this accomplishment alone. The labor unions are the great laboratory in which racial lines are dissolved and they are already and must be more and more the combined common meeting place and weapon of the working class—black and white.

One other matter to which the conference should give much of its attention is the growing revolutionary movements in the African colonies. To this movement the American Negroes have been fitted by history to give leadership. Persecuted and oppressed as they are, driven to and kept below the social level of the rest of the workers, they nevertheless have had experience and training far superior to that of their African comrades.

The American Negro masses must fight on two fronts: Against American capitalism and capitalist government with the rest of the working class.

Against world imperialism, in the front ranks of the colonial liberation movements with the African Negroes and the world's working class led by the Communist International.

The American Negro Labor Congress should turn the eyes of the American Negro masses towards Soviet Russia where, before all the world, lies the concrete solution of the problems of national minorities and colonial peoples—self-determination by the abolition of the rule of bankers, bosses and landlords—native and foreign.

### If You See Number 41

On the address label of the wrapper on this issue of the Workers Monthly when you receive it by mail—your subscription has expired, and you are in danger of not receiving the next issue. By all means.

**RENEW!**

# History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

#### The Ideology and Orientation of Iskra.

THE basic ideas underlying Iskra were the following: Before all it declared a crusade against the mutilation of the workers' movement advocated by the Economists; it mercilessly attacked and ridiculed them for their desire to lay the workers' movement in the Procrustean bed of peaceful economic demands. Its beacon was the concept of the hegemony of the proletariat, the belief that the proletariat would be the liberator-class, the prime force in the revolution. Then, the paper carried on a struggle against the socialist-revolutionaries. For the first time in its columns they were designated, already in 1901, as "socialist-reactionaries" instead of socialist-revolutionaries, and this at a time when they had only just come into existence, when their members were carrying out effective terrorist acts, when it was still difficult to discern their reactionary character. But the keen vision of Comrade Lenin and the editorial staff of the Iskra, already discerned in this party the future socialist reactionaries, the future representatives of the "Kulak" (rich peasant) petit-bourgeoisie. The campaign of Iskra against the socialist-revolutionaries aroused great excitement among the groups still counting some of the Populist intelligentsia among their members, as well as among a section of the workers, who said: why quarrel among yourselves; come on, all together, against the autocracy, in one front. Under the yoke of czarism this was the psychology of the workers: let all revolutionists, without reference to party, or differences of opinion, form a close union, and, as friends, teach us to battle against the autocracy. And thus, Iskra had, on the one hand, to gather under the leadership of the workers, all opposition and revolutionary tendencies—students, liberals, Zemstvistis and socialist-revolutionaries—and, at the same time, in laying the foundations for a purely proletarian and uncompromising workers' party, to war on the liberals and socialist-revolutionaries, to expose their petty bourgeois character, and show that they were not proletarian revolutionists. And finally, the third leading idea of Iskra, was contained in its fight for a single, centralized, All-Russian political organization of the proletariat.

#### The Literary and Practical Activities of Iskra.

In our time, such ideas seem axiomatic. But in 1900-1901, when the revolutionaries were accustomed to shut themselves up, each in his own little group, when no one had an All-Russian perspective nor the understanding, that only along lines above indicated could anything be accomplished, when there was no true standard, when no one imagined how immense a force would have to be mobilized in order to accomplish any results,—in those days the idea of a centralized party, and All-Russian political organization, seeking to unite the whole proletariat, was at the same time novel, and in the highest degree difficult of comprehension. The paper not only advocated it in its articles: it created a special Iskra organization, with 100-150 members, (Iskrovtsi),—the outstanding revolutionists of the time. And this group put into effect those plans, which Lenin and Plekhanov developed in the paper in literary form.

#### "The Liberators" and Iskra.

In the early days of Iskra, a number of figures who stood half outside of the workers' camp, were associated with it. This situation resulted from the fact of the necessity of a united front with the liberals and socialist-revolutionaries against the autocracy. In this connection, Martov tells of a very significant incident from first-hand knowledge.

As I have already said, for a time, men of the type of Struve, and Tugan-Baranovsky, the future leaders of the "Liberators," attached themselves to Iskra. Stranger yet: at the very start Prince Cholensky also associated himself with its activities, even going so far as to become a member of the party. A year after its foundation, when the paper had very clearly revealed its political physiognomy, as guide of the working class, propagating the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat, in 1902, Obolensky wrote in from Orel to Iskra as follows: "I think that it is time for us to drop the idea of hegemony from the liberation movement." On these grounds Obolensky soon broke with Iskra, being, in fact, expelled from the party. With his going, was broken the last bond still existing between Iskra, and those revolutionary-liberals, who, at the start could be considered as forming definite bloc, in a coalition with the "Iskrovtsi."

This episode is extremely illuminating. As I see it, it is significant that such people as Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky and Prince Obolensky, were at all about at that time, to attach themselves to the workers party. Nowadays to many this will appear inexplicable, but then it was inevitable. And Comrade Lenin was right in using Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky, and Obolensky for the moment, saying that in a large household, even a bit of string is of service: Even Obolensky might serve for certain ends. Remember: the working class had been driven underground, it had been outlawed, and its agitators and propagandists possessed neither a refuge, nor a kopek of money. And these representatives of the liberals, who hated czarism after their own fashion, were rich in money and connections, and had spacious homes. This last alone was full justification for using them temporarily.

But if the fact that such men as Prince Obolensky could form contacts with the party at that period, is remarkable, the circumstances of their rupture with it are still more interesting. How did it come about? Through minor differences of opinion? No, it arose out of a divergence in fundamental ideas. Obolensky said: "I think it is time to drop the idea of hegemony from the liberation movement." In other words, time to drop the idea that the worker should strive for a directing role in the revolution: he was to be only an auxiliary force. This was how this set looked upon the worker: Let him drive the wagon of the revolution—so far so good; but some gentleman-liberal, such as Struve, or Tugan-Baranovsky or Prince Obolensky must accompany him to hold the reins, and determine the program, goal and tactics of the revolutionary movement. When they were convinced that Iskra would not agree to this, they said, "We're going." And Comrade Lenin, and the others, of course, having already used these gentry, did not stop them, but wished them godspeed.

### The Progress and Influence of Iskra.

Iskra, resting upon the above-mentioned organizations, but even more upon its printed columns—Iskra succeeded in capturing the workers' committees, the Gubkoms (district committees) of that day, in a number of cities, and, above all, in both capitals.

An exceptionally important role, ranking with that of Iskra, was played by Comrade Lenin's book, "What To Do," published in the spring of 1902. It was an epoch-making work, and summed up the two years' total of the work of Iskra. At the time, it constituted a reference-book, a gospel, for all active revolutionary Marxists. It was not till 1903, that the Mensheviks, seeing the effect that the book was having, began to subject it to a microscopic examination for points upon which they could base hostile criticism. The central thesis of "What To Do" was the same as that of Iskra: i. e. the hegemony of the proletariat. But, in addition, the book gave a trenchant exposition of the question of the so-called "Kustarnithestvo," and the professional revolutionists.

### "Kustarnithestvo."

"Kustarnithestvo" (home industry) was the term with which Comrade Lenin christened the petty sectarianism of certain self-isolated circles of revolutionaries. He criticized and ridiculed those revolutionaries who complacently prided themselves upon the fact that in such and such a city one group existed—in another, all of two. Comrade Lenin wrote: this is a petty affair, this "home industry," and what we need is revolution on the scale of heavy industry. An end must be made of "home industry;" it was necessary during the years, when no other form of activity was possible; but now, when the masses are seething, when working men and women write demanding combat and ask to be taught "how to fight, when there are strikes, like the textile workers', for instance, which involve some 30,000 workers; when there are battles in the Viborg district; when even the students, the sons of the bourgeoisie, go out by the thousands and tens of thousands into the streets, and fight the czar's mounted police with their naked hands—to organize groups at this juncture, means occupying oneself with "home industry," with picking up crumbs, at a time when what we need is to develop revolution into a real large-scale industry.

No, said Lenin, in "What to Do?" we must create an All-Russian party, with such a division of labor, that each will know his tasks and his obligations. For this plan of a division of labor, the right-wingers of the period were particularly bitter in their denunciation of Lenin. They charged him with wanting to transform the individual revolutionist into a soulless cog in a great machine, which, they claimed, meant degrading his revolutionary calling. Lenin answered them: No, to be a small cog in a great revolutionary party, pursuing its historical, world aims, this does not imply a degradation of the calling of revolutionist. And, in this connection, Lenin brought forward the idea of a co-operative—if it can be so expressed—union of professional revolutionists, i. e. men occupied with revolution as a profession.

### The Professional Revolutionists.

This term, "professional revolutionist" also played a large part in the controversies of the Bolsheviks with the Mensheviks. For years the latter fought against the idea,

asserting that the professional revolutionists would form a closed caste, isolated from the masses, and not breathing the same atmosphere as the workers' movement; that it would degenerate into a conspiratorial group, etc. In answer to them Lenin pointed out the simple truth; against us, he said, are arrayed the mighty forces of the czarist autocracy, its whole machinery created during the 300 years of its dominion; against us are all the scientific forces of the old Russia, its schools, and its press; and on our side, we have only a young workers' movement. If we wish to fuse the worker masses, and to unite into a single immense conflagration all the separate flames, breaking out here and there—we must have an extraordinary—almost a miraculous apparatus. And in order to create the latter, it is essential to unite those whose whole activities are devoted to the working class movement, into a single organization of professional revolutionists, that is, individuals who shall be wholly occupied with the service of the revolution, and capable of creating, even though working in a state of illegality, and under incredibly difficult conditions, a highly complex system of revolutionary co-operation, with a clear-cut division of labor, and adapted to swift and skillful maneuvering.

### Their Activity and Significance for the Party.

Comrade Lenin was forced to wage a bitter fight in defence of the idea of an organization of professional revolutionists. It was an absolutely novel concept at that time, and appeared to many as "organizational delirium." But Lenin was correct in his stand, and this idea turned out to be particularly fruitful in its results. And, indeed, examining it from the view-point of the present composition of the leadership, it is evident that even at the present time, twenty years later, the party so to say, draws nourishment from this same group of professional revolutionists, the basis for which was laid in the nineteen-hundreds. The old workers in our party, constituting a very small percentage of it, (in all Russia we now have 10,000 members who belonged to the party prior to 1917), but possessing tremendous influence and authority, represent the cement which serves firmly to consolidate our party. These 10,000, the glorious band of professional revolutionists, directed the revolutionary struggle year in and year out, and knew no other occupation in life. They were imprisoned, and when they got out—by escaping or on the expiration of their sentences—they went anew to their revolutionary work, just like a worker, who goes home at evening; and having slept, goes back to the factory again next morning.

A considerable portion of the volume "What To Do" was devoted to the idea of an organization of professional revolutionists. It wielded a tremendous influence and made a very deep impression. A certain member of the Bund, a supporter of the Mensheviks, who approved neither of the organization of professional revolutionists, nor of the struggle against "kustarnithestvo," nor of a division of labor, wrote recently, recalling the period of 1900:

"I have often caught myself thinking: How wonderful it would have been, after all, if anyone ever had resembled that ideal revolutionist pictured by Lenin in his book "What To Do?"

After reading "What To Do?" the best of the Mensheviks, although ranged against Lenin, felt, even if they did not acknowledge, how great and how vital a revolutionary truth was inclosed within the pages of this book.

(Continued on page 382)

## Party Industrial Methods and Structure

By William Z. Foster

(Continued from page 352)

the isolation and to bring the broad left wing definitely under the leadership of the League. This is one of the most important tasks of the Workers Party.

We must broaden out the League. Throughout the labor movement there are great numbers of individual workers, ranging from mildly progressive to near revolutionary, who are deeply discontented with the present policies and leadership of the unions, and who are more or less sympathetic to our general industrial program. To bring these at present scattered and demoralized elements into the League must be our constant aim. By the same token those local unions in the various centers which are sympathetic to our program must be brought into the closest organic contact and co-operation with the local and national committees of the League and induced to contribute regularly to their financial upkeep. The non-party elements should be got to pay regular donations, and the best of them should be made members of the various local and national committees of the League.

The Party must devote more energy to the building of the Trade Union Educational League. Its goal in this respect should be twofold: first, to have a general group of the League in every locality where our Party has any connections, and second, to make these local leagues real organizations of the whole left wing in their respective localities. Special attention must be given to the problem of bringing the non-party elements into the League. Where the local leagues consist only of Party members and close sympathizers, where they have not succeeded in attracting to themselves large bodies of non-party elements, they are in reality not leagues at all. They are Party fractions.

### Building a Progressive Bloc.

In the furtherance of our trade union work we must, in addition to building up shop nuclei, trade union fractions, and the organization of the left wing generally directly in the Trade Union Educational League, also undertake the task of developing a progressive bloc in the trade unions of those elements who are discontented with the policies of the reactionary bureaucracy but are not yet ripe enough to be brought into the League or under its immediate influence.

A characteristic of the American labor movement is the utter spinelessness and lack of leadership and organization among these so-called progressive elements in the trade unions. Although more or less in opposition to the old bureaucracy, they have no real program of their own, and they lack the ideological development to follow that of the League.

This situation presents a problem and an opportunity for our Party. This group comprises great numbers of the rank and file and smaller officialdom. It would be a major mistake for us to confine ourselves to a campaign of vilification against these progressives for their weakness, and to abandon them as hopeless by simply lumping them together with the reactionaries as part of a united front opposition

to us. That would not be Leninism. It would be sectarianism. Our policy must be to stimulate this latent opposition and to lead it against our central enemies, the reactionary bureaucracy controlling the unions. For this purpose we must give it a program and organization. We must put out such united front slogans as will rally these elements, and then we must find the means to connect with them organizationally and to exercise the maximum amount of leadership possible over them and to draw them closer to our Party. The medium through which these tactics shall be carried out directly is, of course, the Trade Union Educational League.

We must apply our basic slogans for immediate work in this sense, towards the building of such a bloc of progressives, as well as for the more radical elements directly into the League. The slogans for a labor party, for amalgamation, for the organization of the unorganized, etc., can be used effectively in this connection. An especially potent slogan should be the demand for world trade union unity, a slogan which has served as a strong rallying cry for all the progressive and revolutionary elements in the British trade union movement. In this connection efforts must be made to link up the struggle of the progressive wing of the British movement with that of the trade union movement of this country in a general demand for world unity as proposed by the Comintern and the Profintern.

An especially favorable opportunity for the building of such a progressive bloc is presented by trade union elections. These must be exploited to the full. It must be our policy to stimulate the progressives to set up united front opposition tickets to the administration candidates in all local unions, international unions, and central labor council elections, except in such cases, of course, where we are strong enough to make a substantial showing with our own revolutionary candidates. We must not only challenge the rule of the bureaucrats ourselves, but we must induce and drive the progressives to do the same thing.

The basis of such united front election tickets must be a program dealing with the most urgent needs of the unions. In a number of instances we have outlined and applied such programs. The one proposed by the left wing to the Hannon-Anderson opposition in the Machinists' Union may be taken as a minimum type. This envisaged a fight against the reactionary Johnston machine based upon the following three points: (1) Rejection of the B. & O. Plan; (2) Reinstatement of all expelled left-wingers; (3) A militant campaign for amalgamation. Upon the refusal of the Hannon group to accept this proposal, the left-wingers placed a full ticket of its own in the field. United front tickets of revolutionaries and progressives, based upon such united front programs must be developed to a far greater extent and with a much clearer understanding of what is involved in these tactics than has hitherto been the case in our industrial work.

To stimulate and organize the progressive forces into an oppositional bloc against the reactionary machine, presents great difficulties in this country. In England the task was easier. To begin with, the ideological level of the masses, and consequently of the trade union leadership, was far higher than in this country. There were many trade union leaders with strong left-wing leanings, such as Purcell, Cook, etc., who took the initiative, under the driving force of the revolutionary minority movement, and shaped up an opposition to the right wing in the Amsterdam International. But

in the United States our so-called progressives in the unions, especially amongst the leadership, are far more backward ideologically and they are completely demoralized and programless. An especial difficulty in stimulating these progressive elements into action against old bureaucracy, is the fact that it is exactly from these so-called progressives that are emanating the schemes of class collaboration on the political and economic fields which we have to combat most sharply, such as LaFolletteism, B. & O. Plans, etc. The old bureaucracy is too hopelessly reactionary to put forth even such schemes as these. But despite the many points of sharp opposition that exist between our revolutionary wing and the progressives, it will nevertheless be possible for us, by the systematic and intelligent application of our united front slogans and tactics, to unite masses of them into struggles against the powerful and firmly entrenched reactionaries for constructive ends that will open the ears of the masses to our message and will bring these masses under our general influence.

These united front tactics, while opening the door to contact with the masses, also contain dangers that must be guarded against. In our united front elections and other campaigns in combination with progressives, two points must always be clearly kept in mind. First, these campaigns must always be made upon the basis of definitely stated united front programs, however minimum in character they may be; and second, our comrades involved must always definitely state our full program and criticize frankly not only the central enemies, the ultra-reactionaries, but also the temporary allies, the progressives.

Under no circumstances shall such campaigns be allowed to degenerate into mere maneuvering for strategic positions in the unions, as has happened to a considerable extent in the needle trades; nor shall they simply be the support of one set of reactionaries against another, as was the case in the election of Jim Lynch in the Typographical Union. The basis of such united front movements must be at least progressive, if not actually revolutionary. Opportunism in all its forms must be categorically rejected. The tactics must lead constantly to clarification of larger and larger masses of workers, to bringing them constantly closer under the influence of the Workers Party, and to stimulate them into ever more militant and extensive struggles against capitalism.

#### In Conclusion.

In carrying out our industrial work we must keep clearly in mind the four stages outlined above: (1) shop nuclei; (2) trade union fractions; (3) T. U. E. L.; (4) progressive bloc. Only by so doing can we really carry out our program successfully.

The shop nuclei are our basic contacts with the masses of workers, organized and unorganized in the industries, and they will serve for the initiation and carrying out of various movements to unite the workers in struggle against the employers. The Party trade union fractions are the consolidation of Party members in the trade unions and in the T. U. E. L., and they are the basic instruments for the carrying out of Party policies in these organizations. The Trade Union Educational League is the organization of the left-wing elements generally in the trade unions and serves to unite them in a militant struggle against the bureaucrats

and for the rejuvenation of the unions. The progressive bloc, in closest possible organic connection with the T. U. E. L., will be the beginnings of organization among those broad, discontented but ideologically backward organized trade union masses seeking blindly for some way out of the impasse into which they have been led by their reactionary leaders.

As pointed out in the beginning of this article, the working class, due to the severe defeats it has recently suffered on the political and economic fields, has a lowered fighting morale, and because of additional factors which have tended somewhat to break some of our connections with the masses, the general effectiveness of our propaganda has been lowered. But these are passing phenomena. The pressure of capitalism increases constantly on the masses and they will soon be driven into a fighting mood again. The present passive state of organized labor must eventually give way to a fresh wave of struggle against the employers. And the connections that we have lost, through the labor party splits, etc., will soon be re-established. The way to re-establish these connections and to take the real lead in the struggles of the workers, will be by militantly carrying out the political and economic programs of the Workers Party through the organization forms outlined above. We must eradicate the lingering conception that work in the trade unions is in some way Syndicalistic. This is a basic error which greatly injures our Party. We must recognize the trade union work as one of the prime tasks confronting our Party. We must undertake it with far greater militancy and upon a broader scale than before in the history of our Party.

## Bolshevism and the World Situation

By Gregory Zinoviev

(Continued from page 342)

It fears sanguinary battles much less than formerly. We are all acquainted with the mentality of the masses of the workers that has arisen since the war almost everywhere in Europe.

#### The Awakening of the Peasantry.

The awakening of the peasantry. One of the causes of the defeat of the Paris Commune was the hostility of the peasantry toward the working class. The Russian proletariat in 1905 was defeated primarily because the Russian peasantry went against the working class. In all previous revolutionary battles, the peasantry not only did not occupy a neutral position but frequently was directly hostile to the workers. In our days, however, the peasants are beginning to occupy quite a different position. Every rank and file worker should now feel instinctively that he is not as isolated and alone in the struggle as was the generation before him.

#### The Revolution Defeated.

We have not passed through a zone of utterly defeated revolutions. The situation throughout the whole of Europe is that the forces of the working class are not sufficiently mature to carry through a victorious revolution.

The revolutionary working class now has its General Staff, the Communist International, which embodies the

experience of the revolutionary movements, and renders powerful aid to the various units of the international proletariat. In former times such a thing did not exist.

#### The Tactics of Bolshevism after the Revolution of 1905.

Comrades, this then is the objective state of affairs, and I resolutely protest against anybody leaving our meeting under the impression that the consolidation of capital has taken place, that the working class has been defeated, that an ideological crisis prevails, that we must start from the very beginning, the parties will lose members and the crisis will break out in every country. Comrades, this is far from being the case.

After the defeat of the first Russian revolution in 1905, the Bolsheviks throughout the whole of 1905 argued with the Mensheviks concerning the character of that period. The question was presented as follows: Is the period similar to that of 1847 or 1849, i. e., are we on the eve of a fresh bourgeois revolution or have we already gone beyond it? The Mensheviks assert that we were in the 1849 period, the period characterized by the fact that czarism had won a decisive victory, that constitutional monarchy would be established, that czarism and a part of the big bourgeoisie have solved the problem of the Russian revolution from above. "From now on," they said, "we must build our Party on the model of the European legal Social Democratic Parties and fight for reforms; the 'ultimate aim' will be achieved after 50 years."

The Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin, was of the opinion that Russia was passing through, not 1849, but 1847. It regarded 1905 merely as a rehearsal; a second revolution was coming for czarism and the big bourgeoisie were incapable of solving the problem of the revolution from above. That is what we said in 1907, in 1908, in 1909, etc., right up to 1917. A little over a decade separated 1906 from 1917. Throughout the whole of this decade the Russian and international Mensheviks simply gloated over us: "Well you said it was not 1849; you said the revolution was coming every day; where is your revolution? There do not appear to be any signs of it." The Social Democrats said to the workers: "The Bolsheviks are dreamers, you had better come into our shop." We said then and we say now: the hour will come when we will throw you over the fence together with the capitalists and you will grind your teeth with envy when you see our victorious red flag flying in the breeze. Those ten or twelve were years of trial for us. Not everyone was inclined to believe that perhaps after all the Bolsheviks were right; but history proved that we were right.

Of course one cannot draw a complete parallel between the position then and the position now, but we are experiencing something of the kind on an international scale. The Social Democrats, yes, and a small crowd in our own ranks, assert that the working class is experiencing 1849 on an international scale, and consequently before there is a long epoch of consolidation of capitalism, which will last for a whole generation. We assert, however, that the present situation is similar not to 1849, but to the interval between 1905 and 1917, similar to those twelve years. Of these twelve years, Germany has already been through six. If we calculate that historical development on an international scale will proceed approximately at the same rate as it proceeded

on a national scale prior to 1917 in Russia, then we have to wait at most only several years and certainly not a whole epoch, during which the international bourgeoisie will celebrate its complete victory. It is true that if it was difficult for the working class to drag through this zone of development in a single country, it will be much more difficult for it to do so on an international scale, where the situation is uneven; for in some countries the bourgeoisie has become stronger than in others. But I consider that the international situation must be defined in the same way as the Bolsheviks defined the position as it existed after the first revolution in Russia, the more so, that, as I have said already, there are a number of factors on a broad international scale that are favorable to our struggle.

#### The Lessons of the Presidential Elections in Germany.

I must devote a few words particularly to the question of Germany, because Germany has had the doubtful privilege of being regarded as the country in which the consolidation of capitalism has achieved the greatest success, and also because the hottest battles recently were fought out in Germany.

Several comrades have already referred to the presidential elections. I too, would like to say a word or two about them. We lost rather a large number of votes. This is due partly to the fact that the workers are generally less interested in presidential elections than in Reichstag elections.

But this explanation is inadequate. There is one factor here which demands considerable attention on our part.

Germany at the moment, is confronted with the alternative of bourgeois republic or monarchy. Of course for us Communists, the conflict is between proletarian dictatorship and the bourgeois state. This distinguishes the Communists from all other parties, and our position on this is unalterable. But a situation may arise in which the alternative "bourgeois republic or monarchy" may revive for a time, and acquire real importance in the eyes of the masses in a certain country. Such is the situation in Germany. In the present phase of its historical development, the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat has only a propagandist significance. The workers of Germany instinctively feel that their country has come up sharply against the question of bourgeois republic or monarchy. Fearing that the horrors of monarchy may be added to the charms of the Dawes Plan, they seek salvation by voting for the Social Democrats. If our Party fails to understand this, and is not able to approach the question in the Bolshevik manner, we stand to lose adherents in the future. It is not a question of losing votes, that is not so bad; the danger lies in becoming isolated from certain sections of the proletariat.

I have heard comrades say, is it not all the same to us whether the black, red and gold banner of the bourgeois republic or the black, red and white banner of monarchism is victorious?

No, it is not all the same. That is not a Marxist way of presenting the question. The method recalls the old controversies between the Marxists and Lassalians (or more correctly the vulgarists of the latter).

What conclusion must we draw from the fact that eight million votes were cast for the Social Democrats? The con-

clusion is clear: in spite of the accumulated experience, the proletariat still fails to understand that the Social-Democracy is the "third" party of the bourgeoisie. We must strive to emancipate the working class from the influence of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, we must distinguish between monarchy and republic, because for the class struggle of the proletariat, a bourgeois republic is more favorable than is a monarchy, not because a republic is supposed to be more favorable to civil peace, but because this form of government more clearly than ever, reveals the genuine class character of the bourgeoisie. Now we already know that universal suffrage has become a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie in the class struggle against the proletariat. But we must understand that the proletariat cannot remain indifferent when it is a choice between bourgeois republic and monarchy. If our brother Germany Party will be able to explain this idea to the proletariat it will considerably relieve its position in the period of revolutionary stagnation.

I have already received details of the progress of the presidential elections in Germany. The figures show that in certain working-class centers we have lost a certain number of votes to the Social Democrats. Such is the case in Berlin and even in Halle, where formerly, we have had the majority. In Halle, we obtained 20 per cent of the votes and the Social Democrats 21.4 per cent, and this is in Halle, where only the other day the police shot down the workers gathered at an indoor meeting; in Halle, the citadel of Communism.

It is the great misfortune of the working class that it is still ideologically dependent upon the bourgeoisie and consequently, upon Social Democracy. But should this discourage us? Must we assume that this is a symptom of a profound moral crisis in the working class, and that the latter for many years yet, perhaps for decades, will bend its back under the yoke of the bourgeoisie? No comrades. It means merely that we must conduct a more protracted and more stubborn fight for the revolution; that large sections of the more progressive of the working class—and I include the German working class among the most progressive—will still have to suffer defeats. It compels us to take into consideration the bourgeois mentality of sections of the working class, in the sense that we must strive to understand it better in order to be able to obliterate it from the minds of the workers. We cannot say: we have 1,800,000 Communists, and we will only count on this main column. These 1,800,000 Communists represent our fortified positions, our iron battalions, the flower of the working class, the lever of the world revolution. Without these cadres we are nothing. That is so, but the whole question is how to win over the remainder of the masses. To do this we must know where the shoe pinches. But this must not be taken to mean that we will drag at the tail and reconcile ourselves to all the defects of the masses of the workers.

**Revolutionizing Factors in Germany.**

I believe that this pause in the revolutionary movement, if one may call it that, in a country where great street demonstrations and severe class battles take place so frequently—will not be a very prolonged one. In Russia, the first revolution was separated from the second revolution by twelve years. This interval was not so long, because the revolutionary process in Russia was accelerated by two

factors: 1. A new war was approaching, and 2: Czarism was incapable of solving the agrarian crisis.

In Germany, three important factors are operating:

1. The consequences of the defeat in the world war are still operating. Germany is still the booty of the Entente. A peaceful international solution of the question has not been found.

2. In Germany, the working class is more powerful than in Russia, numerically it is almost three times as large.

3. The German revolution is developing in an environment of international revolutionary struggles and of severe conflicts which must inevitably lead to fresh wars.

We can laugh merrily when the reptiles of "Vorwaerts" write: "It is all up with the world revolution; the international says it." You German friends and comrades, keep your nerves. For 12 years (from 1905 to 1917) we in Russia had such arguments hurled at us. As each Bolshevik was sent to jail, the Mensheviks gloatingly hurled at him the words: "You are going to prison, you have been sentenced to penal servitude, only because the Bolshevik Party is acting stupidly, because it is keeping to romantic tactics. You are going to jail for nothing; there is no revolution, and there will be none, you are sacrificing your life in vain." Our best fighters had these words hurled at them from the Menshevik camp, at every step. But they remained firm. They said to themselves: "No, it is not all up. We must keep firm; we must not believe these lackeys of the bourgeoisie." Comrades, we can say to the "Vorwaerts": "You wait, the time will come when we will say: it is all up, not with the revolution, but with social democracy." (Prolonged applause.)

**History of the Russian Communist Party**

(Continued from Page 378.)

**The Destruction of the Iskra Organization in Kiev.**

In the meanwhile the Iskra organization kept on growing. The czarist government, convinced that it was commencing to be the most influential source of revolution, and to arouse the whole revolutionary camp, launched a series of repressive measures against it. In 1901, in Kiev, which was the main support of Iskra, the authorities destroyed the organization, and arrested its leaders. Of the latter I shall recall the following: N. Bauman, slain in Moscow in 1905, a real Bolshevik. Next, V. Krokmal, who afterwards became one of the most ardent Mensheviks; he was a delegate to the Pre-Parliament hunting us down in the October days, and later, in Petrograd—to conceal no errors—was more than once arrested for counter-revolutionary activities by our G. P. U. Then there was Basovsky, associated with the revolutionary scene; Radchenko, of whom I have spoken, now deceased; Litvinov, our present assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs; Piatnitsky, Bolshevik, now working in the Comintern; and several others. In a word, in the Iskra organization—which was essentially Bolshevik—within the course of a few years were gathered a number of men, from the ranks of whom sprang the foremost leaders of Bolshevism, and the most eminent representatives of Menshevism.

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