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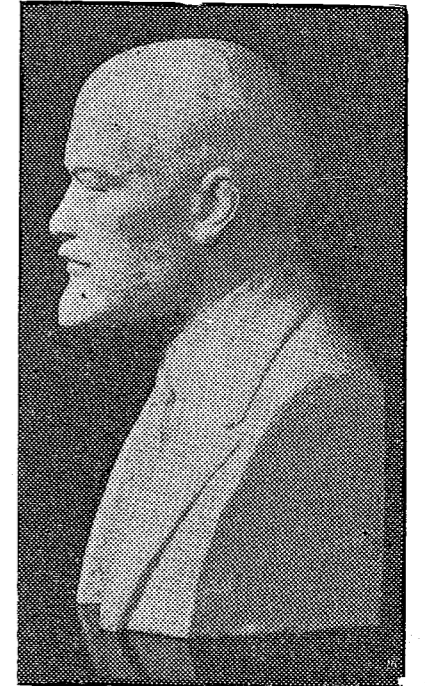
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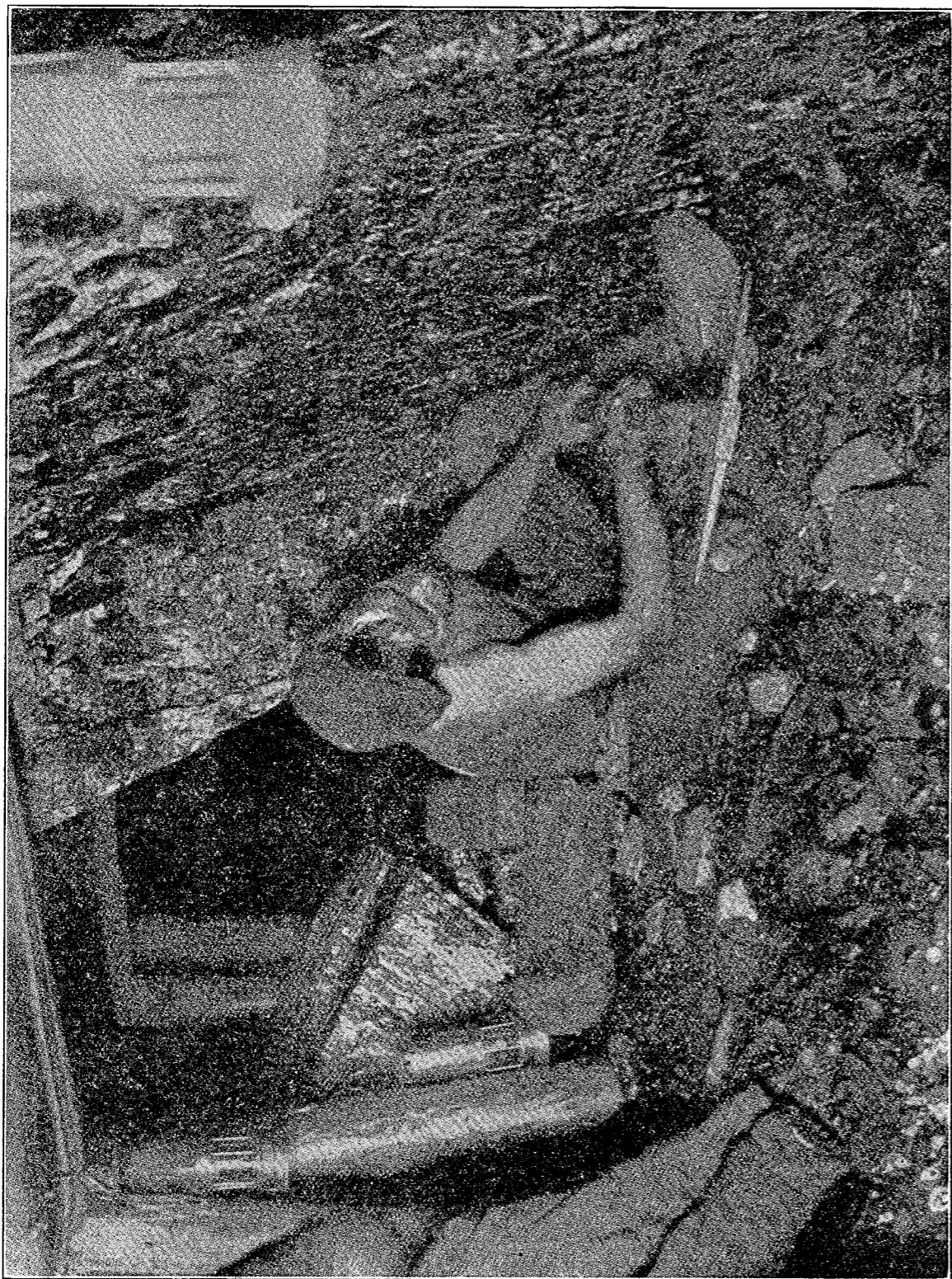
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290

JUNE, 1926

NO. 8.

The Session of Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International

By C. E. Ruthenberg

THE Second Session of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International since the Fifth World Congress was held in

Moscow from February 17 until March 15. In addition to the members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the additional delegates which the constituent parties are entitled to send to the Enlarged Executive Committee sessions there were present large delegations from the German, French and American Parties which gave the sessions in some degree the character of a small world congress.

The agenda of the Executive Committee included the questions:

1. The present political situation and the tasks of the Communist Party.
2. The trade union question.
3. Work among the masses.
4. The reorganization of the apparatus of the Comintern.
5. The German question.
6. The British question.
7. The French question.
8. The American question.

C. E. Ruthenberg, the General Secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party, was one of the delegates of the American Party to the Enlarged Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and took part in its deliberations. He was elected to the Presidium of the Executive Committee.

The Political Situation.

The principal debate took place on the general political situation and the tasks of the Communist Party,

theses on which were submitted by Comrade Zinoviev as chairman of the Communist International.

At the session of the Enlarged Executive held early in 1925, the Communist International gave as its estimate of the situation of world capitalism that in comparison to the situation which it faced in the years immediately following the end of the imperialist world war capitalism had achieved a certain measure of temporary stabilization. This frank admission was hailed by the capitalist statesmen and the social-democratic supporters of capitalism as an admission by the Communist International that world proletarian revolution was an illusion and that capitalism had overcome the forces let loose by the war and was re-established on a firm foundation.

The thesis of the 1925 Enlarged Executive of the Comintern, of course, was not what the capitalist and social democratic enemies of the world revolution tried to make it out to be. The Enlarged Session of the Communist International did not say that capitalism had succeeded in overcoming the forces of disintegration brought into existence by the world imperialist war and that a period of world revolution and the overthrow of capitalism was at an end. What the Enlarged Executive Committee of 1925 did say was that relatively to the situation which existed in the five-year period immediately following the war, capitalism had achieved a breath-

CONTENTS

	Page.
The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International, by C. E. Ruthenberg.....	339
The Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Y. C. I., by Herbert Zam.....	343
The Passaic Textile Workers' Strike, by Ben Gitlow	347
Trade Union Capitalism Undermines the Brotherhoods, by Jack Kennedy.....	352
What Price the British Empire? by Wm. Dunne....	356
After Garvey—What? by Robert Minor.....	362
The Soviet Union in 1926, by Wm. Z. Foster	366
"It Still Moves—," by J. Louis Engdahl.....	370
Problems of Party Training, by Bertram D. Wolfe	374
Marx and the Trade Unions, by N. Auerbach.....	378
Review	381

ing spell thru partial and temporary stabilization.

This estimate of the situation of world capitalism was confirmed by the 1926 Session of the Enlarged Executive Committee. However, the Enlarged Executive Committee, while confirming the estimate of the year before, took note of new developments of capitalism which, tho not indicating the end of the period of partial stabilization, indicated a weakening of the stabilization.

This weakening of the stabilization of capitalism found its expression in the economic and financial condition which existed in a number of the major capitalist countries.

In **Germany** the improvement industrially which followed the adoption of the Dawes' Plan had been succeeded by new industrial crises and unemployment reaching into the millions with no apparent way for German capitalism to overcome the situation in which it found itself.

France was facing a continuous financial crisis, government after government disappearing from the scenes because of their inability to find a solution for the French financial problems. The financial situation is an ever threatening factor which may at any moment develop to a deep crisis undermining the whole structure of French capitalism.

Poland is in a period of deep-going economic and financial depression. The hardships and suffering of the Polish workers as a result of the crisis in Poland have already resulted in the shooting down of workers in the streets because of their demand for relief from intolerable conditions.

The tendency of capitalism in **Great Britain** is distinctly downward. Production in the British industries has not regained its pre-war level. British capitalism has a permanent army of unemployed of 1,200,000 workers. These facts indicate that British capitalism has reached its apex and is now in a period of decay.

This view of British capitalism was considered too gloomy by some of the British delegation. They pointed to the improvement in the profits of certain British corporations and to the policy of British capitalism of exporting capital to the colonies and building up the industries there and taking the profits from these industries. It was the opinion of the Enlarged Executive Committee, however, that the latter process would hasten the downfall of British capitalism by creating competition in the colonies for British industry.

Blows at Imperialism.

Another factor weighing against the temporary stabilization of capitalism is the revolt in the colonies and imperialistically exploited countries against imperialist capitalist domination. The successes registered by the people's revolutionary movement in China and the struggle

against French imperialism in Morocco show how insecure is the basis of capitalism.

In this field, the year that has gone by has shown a definite strengthening of the movement against capitalist imperialism by the colonial peoples which has had the effect of weakening capitalism internationally.

The Soviet Union.

The continued favorable progress of the Soviet Union in rebuilding its economic structure and giving a higher standard of life to the workers is also a powerful factor operating against world capitalism. The year since the previous session of the Enlarged Executive has been notable for the number of workers' delegations who have visited the Soviet Union. From all over Europe these workers' delegations had come to investigate the conditions in the Soviet Union and to return to their home countries and spread among the workers the fact of the achievements in the Soviet Union.

As the Soviet Union overcomes the difficulties arising out of the breakdown of Russian industry in the imperialist war and the years of revolutionary struggle and improves the standard of life of its workers and peasants, its influence as an inspiration to the workers of other countries grows, thus serving to strengthen the will to struggle against capitalism on the part of these workers.

New Developments Among the Workers.

The effect of the foregoing factors upon the working class can be seen in the new developments which have come to light among the European workers.

The letter of the Executive Committee of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain urging the amalgamation of the Second and Third Internationals is an expression of the pressure from the working masses for a more favorable attitude towards the Soviet Union and the Communist International. A speech by Otto Bauer, leader of the Austrian Social Democracy, in which he very materially modified the position he had taken at the Marseilles Congress of the Second International, and adopted an almost friendly attitude towards the Soviet Union, expresses the growing sympathy and support of the Soviet Union among the working masses and further the growth of the will to struggle against capitalism, which forces even such an enemy of the Soviet Union as Bauer to trim his sails.

The United States.

The exception noted to this general viewpoint in regard to the situation of international capitalism was the United States. The Enlarged Session of the Executive Committee of the Comintern which has just recently completed its work will be notable for the fact that for the first time the role which the United States is playing in relation to world capitalism was given

adequate consideration.

The Enlarged Executive Committee recognized the fact that so far as the United States was concerned capitalism was still on the upgrade, that is, that it is still developing and strengthening itself.

The role which American capitalism is essaying in Europe is that of the savior of capitalism. More and more, the European capitalist countries are dependent on the loans and investments of the American capitalists. Their financial dependence upon American capitalism has its reverse side in the growth of the influence of the United States as the dominant imperialist power.

As a means of fighting the imperialist domination by the United States the Enlarged Executive Committee raised the slogan, "A Socialist United States of Europe."

The economic and financial strength of American capitalism and the fact that American imperialism is now looting the entire world has found its expression also in the working class movement of the United States. The view of the Enlarged Executive Committee is that the labor movement of this country has taken great strides toward the right. In expressing this estimate of the situation, the Enlarged Session did not overlook the fact of crises in certain industries due to special developments in these industries, such as textile, mining, needle trades, and consequent left tendencies among the workers in these industries. However, the main line of the development of the labor movement in the United States has been towards the right and the Communist Party in this country must reckon with this in formulating its policy.

The Work of the Communist Party.

The conclusion drawn from this estimate of the world situation by the Enlarged Executive Committee was that the condition for the building of the influence of the Communist Party was more favorable than the year before. The new developments among the working class movement favorable to the Soviet Union and the Communist International required, in the opinion of the Enlarged Committee, more energetic action by the Communist Party in applying the united front tactic and thru this tactic approaching the broad masses of the working class movement and drawing them into common struggle with the Communists. In the European countries where strong social democratic parties exist, the Communist Party must in this situation approach closer to the social democratic workers and endeavor to win them from the influence of the social democratic leaders. The conditions are favorable for success by the Communist Party if it adopts the proper tactics in this field.

The work of Bolshevization which the last Enlarged Executive Committee emphasized as the task before the Communist Party in the period of stabilization has made considerable progress during the year past and must be carried to conclusion. This includes the task of reorganizing the party on the basis of the shop and street nuclei.

This summary of the situation of international capitalism and the situation in the labor movement was accepted by the delegates present with the exception of Bordiga of Italy who opposed strongly the viewpoint of the Enlarged Session on the question of reorganization and in regard to the inner party situation in a number of the parties and on this account voted against the thesis on the political situation.

The Trade Union Question.

The trade union question was the second important point on the agenda of the Enlarged Session. No vital differences of opinion developed in the discussion of the work of the party in the trade union. The theses on this question proposed by Comrade Losovsky summarized the achievements of the Communist International in this field, emphasized the fundamental importance of the work in the trade unions, told in detail the progress that had been made in the campaign for world trade union unity and made a survey of the errors in the various parties in their tactics on the trade union field.

The theses adopted urges all the parties to more energetically than in the past take up the task and carry on the propaganda for world trade union unity and for establishing the influence of the Communist Party in the trade unions with the view to making them fighting organs of the workers in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

Work Among the Masses.

The Enlarged Session set up a special commission to study the question of approach to the masses and methods of drawing them into common struggle with the Communists. The experience of such organizations as the International Workers' Aid, the International Red Aid and the rest indicate that masses of non-party workers can be organized together with the Communists for special campaigns on issues arising out of the class struggle. The fact that the International Red Aid has been able to build up an organization which includes millions of members who support the victims of the class struggle indicates the possibility of non-partisan organizations of this character.

The Enlarged Session gave its unqualified approval to the continuation of the work of the Communist Party in this field. It urged the necessity of finding new instruments to spread wider the influence of the Communist Party over the non-party workers. It endorsed the organization, in addition to the existing non-party or-

ganizations, of such organizations as the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Friends of the Colonial Peoples, Organizations in Opposition to Wars, etc.

The co-operation of the Communist Party in building these and similar organizations which draw large masses of workers into active struggle against the capitalists presents an opportunity for establishing and extending the leadership of the Communist Party. They must use these instruments to the greatest possible extent.

The Reorganization of the E. C. C. I.

One of the pressing problems before the Comintern as viewed by the Enlarged Session was in the question of drawing the sections of the Comintern into greater active and responsible participation in the work of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The question was raised at the Congress of the Russian Communist Party and placed on the agenda of the Enlarged Session. A special commission was created to study the question and its report was adopted by the Enlarged Executive.

The report emphasizes the importance of active participation in the work of the Comintern by all parties and provides for organizational changes to achieve this end. Under the decision as adopted all the parties of the Comintern are required to have their representatives permanently in Moscow and these must take an active part in guiding the work of the Comintern. An Enlarged Secretariat of the Comintern is provided for thru which a Special Secretary is given charge of each country, or a group of countries, and a sub-secretariat formed under his guidance to carefully follow and direct the work of each section of the Comintern.

In place of a Presidium of the Executive Committee made up of members who are rarely in Moscow a new Presidium has been elected consisting of representatives of the parties in Moscow who can actively participate in the work of the leading body of the E. C. C. I.

The British Commission.

The British party was made a special point on the agenda not because, as is usual when some party is placed on the agenda, there was a factional struggle or controversial political question at issue in the British party, but because the British Communist Party had, thru its work in the past year, extended its influence to such a degree that its activities could serve as a model to the parties of the Comintern.

The report of the British commission called attention to the fact that the downward tendency of British industry created the economic basis for the revolutionization of the British working class. Another factor tending in the

same direction was the experiences of the British workers with the Labor government.

The mass of the British workers have moved toward the left. This expressed itself at the last Trade Union Congress in the stand taken against British imperialism, in the growth of the Minority Movement in the British trade unions, and in the development of a left wing in the Labor Party and the growth of the influence of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party was a vital factor in developing this left movement thru its correct tactic in the trade union work, that is, thru insisting that every member of the party participate actively in the trade unions and endeavor to win the strategic positions there. Thru participation in the day to day work the party has built up a powerful influence in the trade union movement. The party has also correctly applied the united front tactic in relation to the struggle of the British workers thus establishing its prestige and leadership in the everyday struggle.

The tasks of the British party were declared to be: (1) to carry forward its work in the trade unions; (2) to support further the already great achievement in relation to world trade union unity; (3) to bring about the development of solidarity between the British workers and the workers in the British colonies in a common fight against British imperialism; (4) to carry on an active struggle against the illusions of liberalism in England and against the idea that the general strike could achieve the victory of the working class without developing into a struggle for control of the governmental powers; (5) to carry on an active campaign to double its membership during the present year, and thus develop its organizational strength in proportion to its influence among the masses of workers.

To the Right or Left?

The three main commissions dealing with the parties in the various countries in addition to the British commission were the French, German and American commissions. The work of the American commission will not be dealt with in this article in view of the fact that the decision itself will come before the membership of the Workers (Communist) Party in another form and the question of any discussion of the decision will be determined by the Central Executive Committee at a later date.

The issue in the French party was that of certain right wing deviations in the party. And in the German party the struggle was against the ultra-left tendency within the party.

The commissions which dealt with the situations in these parties brought in decisions which sharply criticized the right wing in France and

(Continued on page 373.)

The Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International

By Herbert Zam

"THE Communists are retreating." "The Communist International is gradually dropping its ideas of violent revolution." These are some

of the expressions one can read in the Social-Democratic papers, and this is the theme of a good many of the speeches delivered at Socialist Congresses. It is precisely such expressions as these that show the utter incapability of the Social-Democratic leaders to comprehend the tactics of the class struggle, and their utter bankruptcy as leaders of the working class. To them, compromise with the enemies of the working class is the only form of strategy and every maneuver in the class struggle they interpret from this standpoint.

The Communists are neither retreating nor are they revising their principles. They are adapting their work to the conditions of the moment and it is precisely because they are performing this task well, that the Social-Democrats are in such a panic. The business of the Communists in every country is to lead the workers in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. This task assumes different forms in different countries and different periods.

During the present period it is the duty of the Communists to strengthen their organizations, to win a majority of the working class, to unify the ranks of the working class and to prepare it for the next decisive struggle. This the Communists have been doing, and every time they come together on an international scale to take store of their accomplishments, it is seen that great progress has been made and that the rate of progress is ever increasing. Viewed in this light, the last plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International marked a decisive forward step for the young workers of the world and prepared the way for an ever greater advance of the revolutionary youth.

Left Tendencies Among the Young Workers.

If, as a result of the partial stabilization of capitalism, it has been enabled to grant to some sections of the working class better conditions, the working youth did not share these better conditions. On the contrary, the conditions of the young workers in the capitalist countries is becoming ever more difficult, their wages are being reduced more and more, while at the same time they are being used more and more as a

Herbert Zam, the Secretary of the Young Workers (Communist) League of America, was a delegate to the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International. He has been elected to the Presidium of the Executive Committee, the first American in this position.

weapon of fighting the adult workers. In some countries, as in Germany, compulsory labor laws are even being introduced as a direct

weapon against the young workers. The young workers are the worst sufferers from the chronic unemployment. As a result of these attacks, a distinct leftward movement has begun among the young workers, both among those organized in the Social-Democratic and bourgeois youth organizations, and among the trade union and unorganized young workers. The sending of the youth delegations to Soviet Russia is only one indication of this left tendency. This pressure from the rank and file is so strong, that even religious organizations are beginning to take a favorable stand toward the workers' struggle as compared with their previous anti-working class attitude.

The left movement among the rank and file of the young workers has become so strong as to seriously threaten the hold of the bourgeois youth organizations and of the reformist trade union leaders. They were compelled to bend before the storm or be broken. And they bent. The reformist trade union officials began making special efforts to get the young workers into the trade unions, to issue special demands for the young workers and even to put up the front of fighting for their interests. The bourgeois youth organizations which had hitherto neglected entirely the interests of their members as young workers, which had hidden the class struggle and had tried to "mix" the young workers with the bourgeois youth, were compelled to include economic demands into their programs, and to assume a more sympathetic attitude toward the working class movement generally. Thus these measures, and as a result of the insufficient strength of the Young Communist Leagues, the reformist and bourgeois youth organizations have managed to keep within their ranks a large part of the working class youth.

The Young Communist Leagues and the Working Youth.

In this situation we find the Young Communist Leagues not yet in a position to utilize fully the objectively favorable conditions for increasing their influence upon the masses of the working class youth. Most of the Leagues had not yet learned how to approach the masses properly, how to make use of every opportunity

to draw the young workers into their rank, and increase their contact with them, how to satisfy the needs of the young workers and so make the Communist youth organization an attractive place for them. This situation the plenum of the E. C. Y. C. I. discussed and in the solution of the problems which presented themselves marked an important step forward for the international Communist youth movement and for the young workers.

The Y. C. I. had before issued the slogans of going to the masses but in a majority of cases these instructions were not carried out or were carried out very poorly. Many of the Leagues accepted the directives mechanically, without regard for the particular conditions under which they were working. They tried to apply the decisions dogmatically. No better example can be given than the reorganization. The proper reorganization of the Leagues should result in an increase of membership and influence of the League. We find, however, that, as a result of the mechanical way in which many of the Leagues put the reorganization into effect, there was actually a loss of membership, and not a gain; that the work of the League was held up for long periods of time, and consequently suffered greatly. The plenum established that the Leagues must display greater initiative in the solution of their own problems and greater elasticity in carrying out the directives of the Y. C. I. The Y. C. I. is international in its outlook. It lays down the decisions for application on a world scale, taking into consideration the general world situation, and not the situation in a particular country. It is the duty of the Leagues in the various countries to properly apply the decisions in accordance with the conditions and the situation in their country. Only in this way can a world youth League function, and only in this way can the Leagues develop as mass organizations.

Mass Work.

The plenum not merely criticized the work of the Leagues in the past. It laid down directives for the practical extension of the mass work of the Leagues. Only by obtaining contact with the young workers in every field of activity, only by participating in all these activities, can the Leagues win the leadership over the masses of the young workers. "Without for a moment forfeiting the task already set by the Second World Congress, of organizing the entire youth into our ranks, all Leagues of the Y. C. I. must devote the greatest attention to the so-called non-political organizations of the working youth (trade union youth sections, sport and cultural organizations, etc.) and set themselves to the serious task of capturing the leadership of these masses. We must make an end to the conception that regards these organizations as enemy units to be destroyed. These

are the organizations that we must win and lead. Experience with the Jungsturm in Germany have proven that not only can we utilize similar organizations, but also that we can and must create, on our own initiative, such organizations for the winning and leading of the broad masses of the non-Party youth. The utilization of all possibilities of leading the working youth must in no way lead to the confusion of the role of the Communist youth as laid-down by the Second and Third World Congresses. We must, however, relentlessly extirpate the hitherto prevailing fetishism in this field." This paragraph in the decision of the last plenum deserves to be memorized by every member of the Y. C. I. and adopted as the watchword by every League, and if the idea expressed here is grasped by the various Leagues and carried out in their actual, every-day work, then the transformation of these Leagues into mass organizations will be brought more than one step nearer completion.

Internal Life.

The plenum also dealt with the large fluctuation of membership in the Leagues, and the inability of a League to recruit membership in the same degree that it increases its political influence. In some countries, the League is the actual leader of the working youth and yet organizationally it remains a small sect. The plenum established that "the chief reason for the fluctuation (and for the poor recruiting—H. Z.) is an insufficient, narrow, poor internal life of the League not commensurate with its political recruiting power and incapable of integrating the newly won members in the every-day work of the League. Our Leagues do not yet understand how to give the young workers everything or at least most of the things that they need. This must be changed decidedly." How can this be done? Surely not by regarding every other activity except economic trade union work as something to be eliminated but by a proper union of such activities with our central task as an organization of struggle. "In certain Leagues, the initial efforts have been noticeable toward carrying out the decisions of the last Enlarged Executive with regard to supplementing our methods of work by means of greater satisfaction of the cultural needs of the young workers. This enrichment of working methods is to be welcomed. Despite the dangers which it brings with it (if its significance for the development of the League is overestimated, or if it is countered against the other battle methods of the Y. C. I.) it is and remains a vitally necessary complement to our methods for the winning and leading of the working youth. The formal schematic conception which hitherto predominated in our ranks and which stood hostile to all new forms of winning the masses must be energetically combated. Our Leagues are strong enough to try out and apply every meth-

od, every form of work on all fields of struggle in the fight for the youth, for their organization in our ranks, and for our leadership insofar as they are outside of our ranks. Every initiative in this field must be welcomed and carefully studied."

The other problems that confront the Y. C. I. and its various sections were also dealt with in the same manner, from the same standpoint, and the greater increase in activity, in membership and in influence will be the living proof of the correct solutions that the plenum made for these problems.

America at the Plenum.

For America, this plenum was especially important. It was important generally insofar as whatever has been said above of the necessity for broadening out the activities of the Leagues, for establishing a wider area of contact with the working youth and for developing more avenues of approach to them, for enriching the life of the League to make it possible to obtain and hold greater masses of young workers, applies with doubled emphasis to the American League, where we are only now fulfilling the first prerequisites for the development of a mass youth organization, where the great majority of the young workers are hostile to our program, aims and organization, and where the bourgeois organizations still hold almost undisputed sway. It was important, however, also for another reason. The present position of America as the ruling imperialist power of the world, and its increasing economic grip on the rest of the world, makes the Communist movement in this country of world importance, for it will have a tremendous role to play in the struggle against world imperialism. The Young Workers (Communist) League therefore received special attention at the plenum. The situation of the young workers in America was more thoroly gone into than ever before. The work of the League was critically examined, its tasks were taken up in a realistic manner, and the work outlined for it is more concrete, and more in harmony with the conditions in America than ever before.

Tasks of the American League.

The Young Workers (Communist) League of America has some extremely difficult tasks before it. These tasks are even more difficult owing to the fact that the League itself is only recently coming into the position where it can successfully tackle the tremendous work that lies before it. In our country the task is not only to broaden the activities of the League thru the application of new methods, but just as much to really utilize the old methods of which only a beginning has been made. We must develop an organization capable of carrying out our tasks—old and new. At the same time we must make every effort to adopt

special methods for working among the American youth.

Already at the last convention of the League, these difficulties began to be evident. The convention declared that the League "is in no sense a mass organization" but the significance of these words was lost in the smoke of the factional struggle and the concrete measures for changing this situation were not even discussed. The plenum has strengthened this analysis, "We have in the United States a League which, due to its composition and activities is completely separated from the masses of the American young workers and is a sect, and therefore, does not comply with the requirements of a young workers' mass organization." Only by facing the facts, by looking realities in the face can we obtain solutions for our problems, and no amount of exaggeration or of picture painting can cover the sectarian nature of the League and the difficulties which it faces.

The Position of the Young Workers in America.

The fundamental task of the League is to set the young workers in motion. In the carrying out of this task it will be able to develop its own organization and influence. Without the beginning of movement in the direction of the working class struggle on the part of the young workers, the development of the Communist mass organization of the youth in America is impossible. America, the only country which emerged stronger as a result of the war, is at present enjoying the profits from the exploitation of millions of workers not merely within its own boundaries, and not merely in backward countries, but also in the so-called civilized countries like Germany, Italy, etc. As a result, capitalism is still powerful, still on the up-grade and still exerts an almost exclusive influence on the workers, especially on the young workers. The young workers, who have no experience in the class struggle, readily fall under the influence of the numerous bourgeois organizations, the tremendous state apparatus at the disposal of the capitalist class and every other means of influencing the minds of the workers that modern development makes possible, and which is still the monopoly of the capitalists. On the other hand, even in America, the young workers are the most exploited section of the working class, receive the lowest wages, work the longest hours and have the poorest conditions. No amount of bourgeois propaganda can do away with this fact. The tasks of the League, therefore, altho very difficult, are founded in objective conditions which lend themselves to our work. By proper utilization of our forces, by making use of every opportunity for strengthening our contact with the young workers, by initiative and elasticity in our work, by close adhesion to the line of the Y. C. I., will we be able

to overcome all difficulties and emerge triumphant.

This can be accomplished only thru activities that will set the young workers into action. Any step in this direction must be welcomed and it will be the duty of the League not to be the only organization to take this step, but to urge and work for other organizations to do so also. Especially important are broad representative youth conferences as well as campaigns for the unionization of the youth, into which the trade unions must be drawn. The organization of workers' sports, struggle against child labor, against militarism—all these must also be utilized for this purpose. The League will grow in the degree in which it succeeds in awakening the young workers out of their apathy and make them think as workers.

Discover America!

The League must strike out along new ways. It must become an American League, both in composition and in activity. We have had only too many experiences in the past to demonstrate to us the necessity for these steps. The tendency manifested by certain comrades only recently against the election of committees by youth conferences, a tendency that leads to the immediate reduction of these conferences to the Communists and their immediate sympathizers, is only one indication of the sectarianism which is still prevalent, even in the leading strata of the League. The failure of the League to react to important youth events in America, its lack of knowledge of the conditions of the young workers, its ignorance of the strength of its enemies are indications that the League is not an American League. It still has the task before it of "discovering America" politically.

On the question of the election of committees by youth conferences, the resolution on the American question is very emphatic. "Young Workers' Conferences shall be organized on an extensive manner. At these conferences, the election of committees shall not be neglected." And again, "The most important form of United Front tactics in the United States today is the organization of broad youth conferences and the election of committees thru them." Further, not only at general youth conferences, but also at trade union youth conferences, the election of committees is absolutely essential to gain the benefits of the conference. "Also the trade unions and Central Labor Councils shall be urged, particularly in connection with the unionization campaign, to organize youth conferences at which campaign committees shall be elected."

Greater Initiative!

Hitherto, the League has shown great reluctance to solve its problems on its own initiative, to adapt itself to the American conditions, and to broaden itself to become more attractive to

the young workers. The plenum emphasized, for all Leagues, but especially for the American League, which has problems so different from the problems of the other Leagues, the necessity for greater initiative, greater elasticity, and less fear of approaching the young workers. "The Young Workers' League must be a broad and open organization, accessible for all young workers. It must understand how to apply broad and flexible methods and forms in all activities." And further, "the League must show greater initiative in developing the special means of approach to the American young workers."

The League and the Party.

A word to the Party members and to the adult workers. The Comintern has laid down that a proper attitude toward the youth is one of the characteristics of a Bolshevik Party. Altho this has been recognized by all in theory, it has not yet been carried out in practice. The last plenum has again emphasized this matter. "The creation of a Party core in the League, and the attraction of Party members into active work among the youth remains the precondition to a correct relation with the Party." Altho the Social-Democrats have never had a proper attitude toward the youth and have in fact endeavored to exclude the young workers from the struggle, they have known how to maintain their hold on the young workers organizationally. Even at the present time, the S. P. in America is realizing the necessity for winning the youth and is making strenuous efforts to do so thru the unions, Workmen's Circle, etc. It is the duty of the Communists and left wingers to help draw the youth into the revolutionary movement, thus strengthening the struggle against the capitalists, and to build the organization of the revolutionary youth, the Young Workers' (Communist) League. The hold of the bourgeoisie on the youth must be broken, and the adult workers must use all their strength to help in this task.

Without doubt, for the American League, the last plenum has been one of the most important, if not the most important session of the Young Communist International. From this point on, the activities of the Young Workers' (Communist) League, if in line with the decisions made at this plenum, will take on a new form and the League will start on the road to becoming a mass organization of the Communist youth, worthy of taking its place besides its brother Leagues, especially the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union. It remains now for the comrades to throw themselves into the work, to drive the movement forward and to make these decisions levers for the conquest of the American working youth.

The Passaic Textile Workers Strike

By Ben Gitlow

THE country which is now aroused over the industrial war going on in Passaic, took very little cognizance of its beginning. The strike began on January 25, in the Botany Mill, the largest mill in Passaic. It was provoked by the discharge of workers for belonging to the United Front Committee. Its real cause was the last wage cut that this mill had initiated a few months before.

The Sources of the Strike.

When the 40 delegates from the various departments of the mill presented their demands to Col. Charles F. Johnson, the vice-president of the mill, for the abolition of the 10% wage cut, time and half for overtime, the reinstatement of those discharged and for no further discriminations against union men, they found present a squad of police headed by the chief of police of Passaic by the name of Zober. Zober tried to eject the workers from the mill after Col. Johnson had flatly refused the demands thus indicating at the very start of the strike that the government of the city of Passaic was hostile to the workers and would use its power in the interests of the mill owners.

The mill owners tried to avoid the issue of the workers' demands by raising a fake issue of Communism. In the afternoon of the first day of the strike the Botany Mill issued a statement justifying the wage cuts which included the following:

"Shortly after this Passaic was visited by a small group of outside agitators who began to have meetings at which literature was given out, principally of a nature extolling the virtue of the Soviets and calling upon the workers to organize along similar lines. They described themselves as the United Front Committee and among their principal speakers was one by the name of Gitlow associated with the Communist Party in New York. . . . Viewing the walkout not as a result of justified grievances but as a result of professional agitators who have no interest in our working people the management is determined to protect to the utmost those who desire to work."

The mill owners and all the opponents of the strike maintain this attitude to date in spite of the fact that the strike has upon the basis of its economic demands won wide support from all sections of the labor movement.

The Strike Spreads.

The strike which started in the Botany Mills, soon spread to the other mills. There are now over 16,000 workers out on strike from the fol-

lowing mills: The Botany Consolidated Mills of Passaic and Garfield, Passaic Worsted Spinning, Gera Mills, New Jersey Spinning, Forstmann and Huffmann Mills, Dundee Textile, a silk mill, United Piece Dye Works of Lodi and the National Silk Dyeing Plant of East Paterson, the last two being dyeing mills. The strike has spread from woolen mills to one silk mill and two silk dyeing plants.

The leader of the strike is Albert Weisbord. The strike has been conducted in a well-organized and masterful manner. The strikers have organized their own force to keep order. This force, which is designated by orange bands around the arm, directs the picket lines and sees to it that the strikers deport themselves in an orderly manner. The Passaic strikers in this matter are giving a demonstration of the ability of workers to handle well their own affairs in a critical situation.

The Nature of the Strike.

Passaic is maintained by the Botany and other large textile mills as an open shop paradise. The Botany is the largest concern in Passaic. It has been making a profit of approximately 93%. In the last 3 years it has been making a net profit of almost \$3,000,000. The other mills have been making profits on their investments relatively as high. Nevertheless, these mills have been paying starvation wages. The majority of workers in Passaic earn from \$10 to \$22 per week. The basis of the strike is the rebellion of the workers against low wages and inhuman conditions. The fact, however, that they did not go out on strike immediately following the wage cut, but insisted upon being organized first and did strike when members of the United Front Committee were discharged by the Botany Mills, indicates that this strike is also a strike for organization. The organization or building of the union phase of the strike is of vital importance to hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers in the textile industry.

Since many of the workers struck against mills that had not cut wages, tho the wages in these mills were not higher than those paid in the mills that did, the United Front Committee had to reformulate the demands so that they would be general and form the basis for rallying all the workers to continue to struggle against the bosses. On February 4, the following new demands were made public:

1. Abolition of the wage cut and a ten per cent increase in wages over the old scale.

2. Time and a half for overtime.
3. The money lost by the wage cuts to be returned in the form of back pay.
4. A forty-four hour week.
5. Decent sanitary working conditions.
6. No discrimination against union members.
7. Recognition of the union.

The Development of the Strike.

The parade held during the second week of the strike was a splendid mass demonstration of the solidarity and determination of the strikers to carry on the struggle until victory was won. This, together with the effectiveness of mass picketing, the successful spreading of the strike and the order maintained by the strikers, enraged the mill owners. Realizing that the strike would not disintegrate, the mill owners decided upon an open smashing policy. The incidents that followed have made Passaic famous as a landmark of the class struggle in America. The police instituted a reign of terror and brutality. Men, women and children were brutally clubbed. Picket lines were dispersed. Mounted cossacks rode into the crowds. Tear gas bombs were thrown at the strikers. Hundreds of arrests were made. Fines and jailings took place. The newspapers took notice. They printed stories and illustrated them with pictures of the atrocities. The newspaper men were then attacked by the police. Cameramen were clubbed and their cameras destroyed. Newspaper men and photographers appeared on the scene in armored cars and flew over the strike zone in aeroplanes. The strikers held firm. They defied the police brutality. They appeared on the picket lines singing, determined to hold firm. Those arrested immediately had their places filled by others. They met the clubbings with steel helmets. They met the gas attacks with gas masks. What a vivid picture of the war-like character of the industrial war in America!

The labor movement became aroused. Even the liberals rushed to the defense of the strikers. From all parts of the country the battlers in Passaic received support. The outrageous goings on in Passaic became a matter of national concern. A committee of strikers went to Washington demanding an investigation. The president refused to see the committee. The agents of the mill owners raised a howl against the demand for an investigation. The opponents of the protective tariff used the Passaic strike as an issue against the tariff. In a word, the Passaic strike became an affair of national politics. Secretary of Labor Davis rushed to the assistance of the mill owners with a proposal for settlement that meant the breaking of the strike. The strikers rejected Davis' proposal. The governor was attacked for his inactivity and for his statement that he was without power to interfere in the situation. The mill owners had not only the strikers now to contend with, but a formidable growing outside opposition made up of all kinds of heterogeneous elements.

The mill owners retreated. The police abandoned their brutal smashing tactics. The mill owners concentrated their efforts on Washington. They raised the scare of Communism, of Bolshevik leadership of the strike. Senator Edwards, their henchman in Washington, led this campaign for them. The mill owners, however, did not succeed. They won very little support. They brought the National Security League into the strike to conduct a campaign against Communism. They got the American Legion to actively interfere. They used the hostility of the A. F. of L. to the United Front Committee and to Weisbord to offset the protests and condemnation and demand for settlement that came in increasing volume from all quarters. When this policy proved ineffectual, they tried to vindicate its use by a series of sudden desperate raids. They raided the union headquarters and confiscated all records. They raided the relief office as well. They arrested organizer Weisbord, held him incommunicado and later placed him under \$30,000 bail. This was one of their trump cards. With the arrest of Weisbord they expected to demoralize the strike.

All these desperate moves on the part of the mill owners failed to break the strike. The workers held firm. The mill owners then realized that the strike did depend upon a single leader. The storm of protest arose from all over the country. The mill owners became desperate. They renewed the clubbings and brutal violence against the strikers. The riot act was read in Garfield. Sheriff Nimo established virtual martial law. Halls were closed. Robert W. Dunn, Jack Rubenstein, Clarence Miller, Norman Thomas and others were arrested in quick succession and placed under \$10,000 bail. Every right was taken away from the strikers in Passaic. Regardless of this terror, the workers kept up their splendid solidarity. The denial of freedom of speech and assembly was met with open air meetings in Wallington, a small town near by.

The mill owners then resorted to the injunction. The Forstmann-Hoffmann Co. obtained a most sweeping injunction against the strike. This injunction has now been materially modified. The workers are as determined today as they were at the beginning. The bosses have been defeated in all their maneuvers. They are again resorting to their original tactic of trying to raise the issue of Communism in order to avoid the real economic issues involved. At the time of writing the mill owners are issuing a newspaper named the American Review. It is a red baiting sheet. Its purpose is to try to create the impression that the Passaic strike is a move for a civil war started by Moscow. If the workers continue to keep up their spirit and enthusiasm then the mill owners will be forced to end their stubborn resistance and settle.

IT is very difficult at this time to convey the full significance of the Passaic strike. The strike is not yet over. Nevertheless, there are many important conclusions that can already be drawn. These conclusions help us to formulate the correct tactics that must be used in many of the important tasks before the party. They also bear out the correctness of the position of the Communists on many important problems, political and economic, confronting the American labor movement. These can now be touched on but briefly.

The Strikers.

The strikers are composed mostly of foreign-born workers. The biggest percentage are Poles. Next come Italians and then Hungarians. The foreign elements, however, are welded together by their children who are American born and have followed them into the mills. This phenomenon is the aftermath of the world war following the restriction of immigration. The result is that the subjective factor for organization is now much better than ever before in the textile industry. The continual changing of the complexion of the workers from one nationality to another so common before in the textile industry is now at an end. The foreign-born workers are now much more fixed to the industry and have, so to speak, become greatly Americanized. They understand English and have acclimated themselves to many of the American customs. Their children cement the textile population into a homogeneous mass. In Passaic these young workers are the backbone of the strike and its most militant element. It means that strata of young American born workers are coming to the forefront of the struggles of the textile workers in America. This element is the new blood in the textile industry that makes militant struggle possible. It is the element that must be developed to build effective organization. The Passaic strike demonstrates that clearly.

The Textile Industry.

In the number of workers employed the textile industry is the largest in the United States. It employs approximately 1,000,000 workers. It is spread all over the country but is concentrated mainly in the southern, middle and north Atlantic states. The wages paid in this industry are among the lowest in any industry in the U. S. Woman and child labor is extensively employed. The hours fluctuate from 48 to 60 hours a week. Efficiency methods are continually applied with the result that speeding up is increased, continually eliminating more workers. The unemployment situation is chronic, and greatly aggravated. Extreme exploitation of the workers is resorted to. A spy system is maintained. Company unions, completely dominated by the bosses and under the leadership of company stool pigeons, are more and more being set up

in the mills. In spite of the many militant and impressive struggles conducted by the textile workers in the past, the bulk of the industry is unorganized. The Passaic strike is a move for the organization of the textile workers into one union. The United Front Committee leading the strike is making every effort to unite into one union. the organized and unorganized textile workers. The United Front Committee does not oppose the existing unions in the field. It organizes the unorganized on the basis of mill councils. At its delegate bodies it accepts delegates from whatever union happens to be functioning in a particular mill. It also allows the workers to affiliate with any union they see fit. Its main object is the amalgamation of all the existing unions into one textile union. The Passaic strike shows that the great stimulus for unity in the American labor movement and for militancy will come when the movement for organizing the unorganized develops and grows. It also indicates that the strike is an important and necessary step in organizing the unorganized.

The Strike and the Trade Unions in the Textile Industry.

The strike aroused the textile workers organized and unorganized and forced the American Federation of Labor and the unions in the textile field to take a position in reference to the strike. At the same time the mill owners also forced the issue between the American Federation and the United Front Committee when they maintained that they would deal with a bonafide union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and not with a "Communist organization" like the United Front Committee unrecognized as it was by the American Federation of Labor.

At the beginning the attitude of the American Federation of Labor towards the strike was one of hostility. Then it veiled its hostility in a hands-off policy. The rank and file of the American Federation of Labor, however, supported the strike. Local unions from all over the country rallied to the support of the strike. Many of the labor journals adopted a friendly attitude to the strike and urged its support.

In the textile industry itself organized labor is found in three main divisions. One is the United Textile Workers, the official A. F. of L. union. The other is the Associated Silk Workers, an independent union of silk workers with headquarters in Paterson. Then there is the Federated Textile Unions, a federation of a number of independent unions.

The Federated Textile Unions from the start had adopted a very friendly attitude to the strike and to the United Front Committee. This organization agreed to call a conference of all the existing unions in the textile industry. It further favored, if the United Textile Workers participated and did not object, that the unions participating in the conference agree to the amal-

gamation of their forces within the United Textile Workers of America. The United Front Committee went further in its effort to achieve unity. It addressed a letter to President Green, calling attention to the need of unity and the necessity of organizing the industry and it pledged its full support to any move that the American Federation of Labor would make to achieve such unity within the American Federation of Labor. In his reply President Green ignored the request for unity, stated that the American Federation did not recognize the United Front Committee, expressed his sympathy with all workers fighting against wage cuts and for better conditions and ended with the following: The American Federation of Labor will cooperate in every practical way with the officers and members of the United Textile Workers of America in all efforts made by that organization, first to organize the men and women employed in the textile industry and, second to secure for them decent wages and more human conditions of employment.

The record of the U. T. W. is black indeed. It is despised by the textile workers for the treachery and betrayal of the workers' interest on the part of its officials. Its journal, the Textile Worker, included the ads of the Botany and other mills in Passaic that are involved in the strike. The reactionary and treacherous character of this organization can only be changed by bringing so much pressure from below by organizing the unorganized that unity of the existing textile unions will be forced. This will bring new elements into the U. T. W. and will make possible a change in its present character.

The Associated has maintained a centrist position in the textile situation. It hesitates and is afraid to make a step. It hesitated on the organization of the dyeing industry and left the field to the United Front Committee. It hesitated on joining hands with the United Front Committee on common action for improved conditions. It has, however, finally seen the necessity of electing delegates to the Amalgamation Conference called by the Federated Textile Unions in New York for June 5th and 6th. This means that outside of the U. T. W. all the unions will participate at the conference. It may be possible that many local unions of the U. T. W. will also be present. The Passaic strike has started one of the most important moves for the organization of the textile industry by the drawing of the organized workers into one union. The U. T. W. will have a difficult time standing in the way of unity and the organization of the industry.

The Conference, if successful, will form a big block of organized workers whose numbers will increase as the drive for organization develops and the pressure upon the A. F. of L. will become great and will possibly force favorable action in the future on the question of admission.

Passaic shows how to move for unity and how to deal with the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L. has been forced to come out publicly in sympathy with the strike. Passaic proves that is only to mass pressure that A. F. of L. yields.

The Strike and the Role of the Government.

The strike has vindicated the position of the Communists that the government is hostile to the workers and is used by the capitalists as a weapon against the workers in their fight for improved conditions. The outstanding proofs of this are the actions of the Passaic authorities—over 200 strikers arrested, the hostility of the mayor and the judges, the brutality of the police, the antagonism of the governor of the state of New Jersey, the use of sheriffs, and the riot act, the sweeping injunction granted the Forstmann-Hoffmann Co., the arrest of Weisbord and others, the refusal of President Coolidge on two separate occasions to see a committee of strikers, the strike breaking proposal to settle the strike by Secretary of Labor Davis, and the refusal of congress to act favorably on the demand for an investigation of the outrage taking place. The strike proves that the local, state and national governments serve the interests of the mill owners.

Coolidge opposes the strikers. The national administration is hostile. This is the Republican position towards the workers. The state administration, however, is equally hostile. Governor Moore is a Democrat. Recently, at Atlantic City, in spite of the fact that he was supposed to be working for a settlement, Governor Moore attacked the strike. The local government which is most vicious in its strike breaking activities is also Democratic. Passaic shows the need for a Labor Party. Passaic proves that both the two old parties are hostile to the workers.

Passaic also shows in a small way the nature of the parliamentary state. The city council of Garfield has on more than one occasion expressed its sympathy with the strikers. The councilmen are on record as protesting against the police brutality, demanding that the brutality cease and have also voted support to the demands of the workers. Nevertheless, the police brutality has been most severe in Garfield. It was in Garfield that the riot act was invoked. Garfield proves the Communist contention that behind the cloak of capitalist democracy is the grim reality of the dictatorship of the bosses.

The Passaic United Front.

Passaic has offered a very good issue for the establishment of a broad united front in support of the strike and of the issues arising out of the strike, such as defense, civil liberties, etc. The call for relief has met with a great response. The International Workers' Aid works in very

close co-operation with the strikers' General Relief Committee. Assistance has come in from all sections of the labor and radical movement. Even the liberals have responded to the call for relief. Church organizations and petty bourgeois organizations have also responded. Relief conferences were held in many cities, well representing all sections of the labor movement. In many places branches of the Socialist Party were drawn into the conferences. At these conferences the Workers (Communist) Party played an important role in stimulating activity for the support of the strike.

The strike agitation was conducted on a broad basis. All wings of the labor movement were drawn in. Communists, Socialists, radical and conservative trade unionists united in assisting the strike. The International Labor Defense, the American Civil Liberties Union and the General Strike Committee united in defense of the strikers and the protection of their right to picket and hold meetings.

The Socialist Party, however, refused to participate in the first united front meeting held in New York in support of the strike. Norman Thomas, who had been genuinely supporting the strike and rendering the workers' valuable services, participated in this united front through the League for Industrial Democracy. The Passaic strike has shown us that there is a wing in the Socialist Party represented by Thomas and others which is prepared and willing to go along with the Communists in united front activities on concrete issues. Passaic proves that the more the Communists can actively participate in the struggles of the workers the better will they be able to build up united front movements and the better will they be able to draw into such united fronts the Thomas and genuine working class elements in the Socialist Party, thus isolating the reactionary right wing forces that now dominate the Socialist Party.

The Settlement Situation.

The early moves for a settlement were maneuvers on the part of the mill owners to ensnare the workers and defeat the strike. The strikers were able to recognize the true character of these early proposals and outmaneuvered the mill owners. Now there are only two committees actively engaged in working for a settlement of the controversy. The governor's committee headed by Governor Moore and the committee headed by Judge Cabell. The Cabell

committee is working for a settlement. It is not a hostile committee. This committee did not refuse to meet with Weisbord. The same cannot be said of the governor's committee. The personnel of the committee when first announced contained two military men, since removed, whose hostility to the strikers was pronounced. In addition, the governor included the secretary of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, Hilfers. This A. F. of L. bureaucrat has from the outset been openly hostile to the strike. The committee now consists of the governor, McBride, commissioner of labor, who without an investigation praised as excellent the unsanitary conditions in the mills, and Mr. Hilfers. The governor insists upon the retention of Hilfers. The reason is obvious. Hilfers is antagonistic to the strike and especially to those leading it. In the governor's commission he can give "labor's" approval to a settlement that will be in the interest of the bosses. At the same time he can make it possible for the U. T. W. officialdom to step in, as they have done in many instances, and make a settlement that will betray the strike. It is no surprise that the governor's committee has taken up the cry of the mill owners against Weisbord and the United Front Committee and refuse to deal with either. The strike, however, is too well in and for the governor and Hilfers succeeding in their plan. The refusal of the governor's committees to deal with Weisbord was answered in no uncertain terms when ten thousand strikers waving their union cards gave Weisbord an impressive vote of confidence. Weisbord has voluntarily withdrawn from the negotiations. The strikers themselves are negotiating. The mill owners still stubbornly refuse to negotiate. The mill owners, however, will be forced to settle. The strikers are too well organized and are determined not to give in.

Passaic marks a historic turning point in the history of textile labor. This fight against starvation and inhuman conditions has set in motion a mighty movement for unity and for the organization of the unorganized. It has aroused the unorganized workers. It has inspired a spirit of militancy and solidarity in the ranks of labor. Passaic marks a step forward for the American workers. Passaic is an answer in no uncertain terms to the position of the reactionary labor bureaucrats and the socialists. Passaic is a warning to the powerful capitalist class of America that the fighting spirit of the American working class is not dead.

Trade Union Capitalism Undermines the Brotherhoods

By Jack Kennedy

TWO dangers confront America's skilled railroad workers. By far the worse is that which is arising in their very midst; the financial oligarchy which is in open and unashamed control of one great Brotherhood and in thinly veiled dominance over two others. The other danger lurks in the direction of the cool, calculating and very able railroad executives, and that is the menace of company unionism and company loyalty. Needless to say, this effort to set up company loyalty in the place of union loyalty would never get to first base did not the first and greater danger already exist.

The Degradation of the Railroad Brotherhoods.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Order of Railroad Conductors and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen—these are the Big Four which in other years have constituted the most direct threat to American capitalism. Now they seem tamed and even domesticated, so much so that every organ of business and finance goes out of its way

to acknowledge the respectability, the "Americanism," nay, the humble supineness of these same four big unions. Once they negotiated together, presenting an inspiring united front of 500,000 workers in wage and hour demands. Those were the days when congress trembled and a president of the United States obsequiously obeyed. They were distinctly the cocks of the labor walk.

And now?

These four Brotherhoods negotiate separate contracts with their employers. They are afraid of being seen together in wage conferences. "What will the public think?" is the pitiful response of their bourgeois-minded leaders when impatient rank and filers demand united action. With one breath they dictate pitiful letters to the railroad executives asking trifling wage increases in order to keep the "boys" from grumbling too much—and a minute later they are explaining to Wall Street newspaper reporters their undying patriotism, their unflinching loyalty to the "public interests" and their

devotion to capitalism as the crown and glory of all civilization.

In short, the officialdom of the four great Brotherhoods has abdicated all power to the bourgeoisie; they have even served as their own Delilahs in shearing themselves of their strength in order to install themselves in the ante-chambers of Wall Street.

The Officialdom and the Rank and File.

Who is to blame? Is the rank and file utterly indifferent or oblivious to what is happening in their "grand offices?" By no means! A powerful undertow of sentiment—as yet unorganized—is in motion and may, if carefully directed, engulf the labor financiers in the midst of their financial maneuvers. The Brotherhoods must be stripped of all the impedimenta which now prevents them from being on the march, ready for action against the

united army of railroad bosses.

Your average labor official is a routinier. His very ordinary mind may be sharpened a bit by his wider contacts, but in 99 cases out of a hundred, he is willing to stick to

routine, grab the per capita and pray for good luck. In the Brotherhoods, organization problems have been reduced to formulae; nearly all the men in the craft have been organized and—

"Well, we've got everything we want, ain't we?" your typical Brotherhood "executive" asks.

Right there the petty bourgeois mentality of the railroad labor leader halts short.

The world is conquered, he assures himself. Higher wages are out of the question, unless the union strikes, and a general strike is about the worst nightmare an "executive" can suffer. A shorter working day is impossible for the same reason, for only vigorous, aggressive fighting will gain such an objective. The typical labor executive has no stomach for fighting. He prefers negotiation across the green-topped tables; when he is whipped in the conference room all fight is gone out of him.

So our labor leader turns for new worlds to conquer. In the old days he either went into business on the side, using his prestige as a

RAILROAD FACTS.

Profits in 1925	\$1,137,000,000
Profits per Employee	\$638
Workers Employed	1,800,000
Workers Unionized	800,000
Average Wage (monthly).....	\$130
Engineer's Wage (monthly).....	\$250
Trackman's Wage (monthly).....	72
Railroad Unions	20

labor leader for capital, or quit the union cold to join, quite definitely and openly, the ranks of the capitalist class. But right after the war Warren S. Stone, able, aggressive, but burdened with a typical small business man's mind, found himself lord of all labor creation. Backed by 500,000 railroad men spoiling for a fight, he had poked his fist in the face of congress and told President Wilson where to get off. His union had won a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work" and the eight-hour day as a basis for calculating that pay. His mind crippled by the usual limitations of the American labor leader, he could not see he had barely begun to scratch the ground he had set out to plow. He might have outlined a program like this for his union, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

"Higher wages and a shorter working week, by strike if necessary.

"Organization of the unorganized railroad workers on the right of way, in the shops and in the offices.

"Creation of an American Labor Party with a solid foundation in every division of the B. L. E., serving as a nucleus in every town and city of America with the Plumb Plan of union-technician control of the railroads as one of its immediate aims."

The Hard Road of the Class Struggle.

To carry out such a program would inevitably have meant a consolidation of the Big Four into one big railroad union, very likely a general strike of railroad workers (there has never been one under Brotherhood auspices) and a constant aggressive battle with the press, the pulpit and the rest of the "molders of public opinion."

The "Easy Path" of Trade Union Capitalism.

But Warren Stone's ability and aggressiveness ran within the narrow limits imposed by education on a backwoods Iowa farm and a typically bourgeois outlook. And just because that outlook sees only money as a goal, so Warren Stone saw a vision of the financial power he could achieve by gaining control of the savings of all his members. For years he worked assiduously among key men in his Brotherhood implanting the germ of labor capitalism; finally due to peculiar economic conditions obtaining in 1920-21, he was able to drive his idea thru to fruition, and we have today the \$150,000,000 financial structure of the B. of L. E., all founded on the spare cash in the pockets of the railroad "hogs."*

Stone's success was a revelation to the rest of the "executives." "What fools we are," must have been the thoughts running thru their minds as they saw Stone rearing one financial edifice on another. Immediately they got into

*A railroad term for engineers.

the trough with all four feet. The swilling had begun. There follows a story which must be written soon for the warning of working men the world over; the story of private greed officials building themselves up as financial power on the backs of their members.

It is a disgusting narrative which perhaps reached its climax the other day in the columns of a Wall Street paper when President William B. Prenter of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was introduced to its readers as "a banker who is also a labor leader."

This is the gangrene which has infected the official body of America's railway unions, rendering them valueless, nay worse than useless in their legitimate functions as the leaders of working men. The indictment against the ordinary trade union official, engineer of a machine and ruthless practitioner of ward politics in his union; narrow, short-sighted, hopelessly middle class in his opinions and frequently corrupt; all this still holds, but in any event he was not striving by might and main to hook up his members as bag and baggage of the capitalist class. Nothing short of this however, is the aim of the money-mad labor official of today. This fellow pooh-poohs the demands of his union for higher wages by counseling thrift and investment. "Save part of your pay in our bank," says this new official, "and you won't need more wages. In a little while you'll be living off capital and then maybe you can quit working."

What an ideal for working men!

Is the membership drinking in this new "philosophy" of labor capitalism? It must be admitted that a small minority is swallowing the whole mess of swill-ideas offered them. But the very force of circumstances keeps the majority safe and rather sound—and that is the fact that they're not making enough money to save anything beyond a few hundred dollars emergency fund. And back of that inert majority is an active group of railroad workers who are disgusted with the whole mess. One may group them as:

1. **Left wingers**, who are opposed to labor capitalism and its palsying effect on union aggressiveness because they see the whole game clearly and mean to end it.

2. **Embittered losers** in the various stock promotions led by Warren Stone and the rest of the labor financiers. It was not in the cards that every "sure thing" would turn out right, especially when amateur financiers of the calibre of the labor executives went to dabbling in promotions. The inevitable happened. A big army—ever growing—of those who got skinned are out after the scalps of every labor financier they can catch.

3. **Old timers**, who can't get it out of their heads that the main aim of a union is to fight the bosses for better conditions. These work-

ers, lacking a more definite labor philosophy, feel that the present tendency is all wrong. They remember the union struggles of old and can't accommodate themselves to the modern methods of capturing industry by saving your money.

4. The "outs," who are ready to use any club against the "ins." Right now they are busy capitalizing the widespread discontent in the railroad unions against labor capitalism, and will make it an issue in every convention until they get in power. Once in power, they are sure to follow the financial game, altho they'll probably do it in the old style of capitalizing their prestige in private ventures.

The Situation in the Brotherhoods.

Necessarily the foregoing remarks are aimed generally at all the four Brotherhoods. Nevertheless, each Brotherhood faces special problems which it is within the province of this article to list:

1. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. It is in this organization that labor capitalism has reached its full bloom. Its officers are now regarded more as financiers than labor leaders. Sensing quite properly the new tasks before a Brotherhood official, they reorganized their executive staff at the last convention. The Grand Chief, formerly the supreme authority, was relegated to a minor position "in charge of labor affairs." The Old Man of the organization is now the President, who is ex-officio president of all the Brotherhood's financial outfits. He is assisted by two vice-presidents who supervise the financial and Florida real estate ventures of the Brotherhood. Down the list in fourth place comes the "grand chief," a minor dignitary who takes care of wage negotiations and other side business of the union.

Quite naturally, it is in this union that the opposition to labor capitalism is also most fully developed. The issue is to be fought out in the 1927 convention when a battle royal is promised. Both sides are digging in now for what will undoubtedly be the most bitter session in the 63 years of the union.

2. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. The officials of this union are by all odds the most aggressive of the Big Four. They have not actively dabbled in finance, they have not given hostages to Wall Street in the form of co-partnership in far-flung financial schemes. But one cannot say much more for them.

Because they are not collaborating so closely with capital, the Firemen are leading the war on company unions and company loyalty. The last convention—Detroit, 1925—forbade any member to join company unions, company athletic groups, company insurance plans, veterans' associations, company building and loan associations and all the other devices the clever railroad bosses are forging to tie the hands of labor.

Nevertheless, very definite tasks lie ahead of this most hopeful of the Big Four. First, it must force amalgamation with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. It is ridiculous that the men in the engine cab should belong to different and even antagonistic unions. In every other country, the men on the right and left

hand sides of the cab either belong to the same union, or to the general railroad men's union. There is strong sentiment in the Engineers for amalgamation, altho petty craft jealousies and differences over pay, etc., stand in the way of an easy union. The biggest differences—and one typical of selfish, narrow American individualism—is this: Both engineers and firemen hold their jobs thru seniority. But in slack times, seniority works all to the engineer's advantage, for when his throttle job is taken away, he automatically steps back into the firemen's seat. But the fireman steps back—off the cab and into unemployment.

Is it necessary to add that these are after all easily surmountable difficulties—given the will to amalgamate? The left wing in the B. of L. F. & E. must press harder on their officers for amalgamation with the B. L. E. as the first step toward a real Railroad Men's Union, uniting

every worker from the man at the throttle to the man on the extra gang.

It would be amusing—were it not so serious—to record that the Firemen are having trouble in convincing the Engineers that they too should go out after higher wages. The Engineers' officers are so pre-occupied in high finance, so fearful of offending the powers that be, that they refuse to lead a movement for higher wages. Only when something resembling a revolt spread thru the B. L. E. did the officers wake up and reluctantly consent to canvass opinion formally as to the desire for more money. The Firemen have been pressing on the other hand for a united front of the engine service men in the present wage negotiations, but the downright refusal of the Engineers' officials at first to join in the movement, and their halting action now in allowing themselves to be forced into conference will have a deadening effect on the negotiations once they are started. The bosses know at the start that the Engineers' officials don't mean to fight.

3. The Order of Railroad Conductors. This is the well-nigh hopeless section of the Big Four. Their officials sunk deep in finance and themselves almost irretrievably lost to the working class thru their corruption by petty bourgeois elements, the Conductors present a pitiful appearance. One hesitates to call this organization of obsequious butlers to traveling business men a labor organization. They shrink from the title themselves, and pass themselves off anxiously as sort of Chamber of Commerce brass button bourgeois. Little else can be expected from men who brush elbows daily with their "betters," who carry fond memories of conducting a prince of industry or finance on their own trains, who display proudly their Masonic coat emblems and boast of their membership in the local Chamber of Commerce.

But who has not seen the shabby conductor of the branch lines? His coat frayed about the collar and cuffs, his shoes run down at the heel, his anxious eyes looking fearfully into a blank future of endless "runs" from Podunk to Fostoria? A graduated trainman, he lives in mortal terror of going back to work on the swaying freight cars; and he fawns anxiously on the superintendent in the hope of eventual promotion.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to say that there is no balm in Gilead, even for these. Many a belligerent trainman, husky and able-bodied, rises to the rank of conductor and bull of the train without losing all sense of class loyalty. More frequently he will be met on the freights, but many an old passenger conductor will pat his union button and refer with pride to his Order. Yes, there is distinctly hope for them, but any promising activity in the O. R. C. must wait, evidently, upon more aggressiveness from the other three members of the Big Four team.

4. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. This is the classic example in America of the power of a machine. If the foreign visitor to these shores were told of the existence of four skilled railroad workers' unions, he would unhesitatingly name the Trainmen as being logically the most aggressive of all. And just there he would fall down, for he wouldn't know old Bill Lee, the pal of hard-boiled railroad presidents, a business man on a large scale and the dictator of one of America's most ruthless labor machines.

Just how this incubus of the railroad labor world fastened himself on a turbulent union of husky young brakemen is another story that should be told. From his pretty little seven-story copy of the 21-story Engineers' Bank in Cleveland, he rules with an iron hand over 150,000 trainmen. He has agents in every union, and woe betide the Progressive who opens his mouth when Sir Oracle speaks. Nevertheless, old Bill's days are just about over. His face slowly succumbing to an inexorable cancer, he foresees the time when he must hand over the reins of control to his understudies, a group of officials who understand well the secret of his power and mean to continue his domination.

Warren Stone told his men to achieve victory thru their savings—in other words, to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. D. B. Robertson leads a fight in congress for a meaningless rail labor bill. Old L. E. Sheppard of the Conductors doesn't do much of anything except gumshoe around on financial ventures. But Bill Lee will be found fighting every day of the year—on the side of the bosses. Bill it was who led the campaign for higher wages—for railroad presidents. "They don't get nearly enough," he cried. "A good president is worth \$100,000 a year at the least. I hope they get it."

Bill it is who broke the united front of the Big Four after the war. "The Big Four," he said in effect, "is too powerful. It might do something some day somehow. The Big Four must be broken. I'll do it."

Bill did it. Now he negotiates with the Conductors, rigidly excluding the engine service men. He believes in avoiding even the appearances of "evil."

Of course, there is strong opposition in the B. R. T. to all this impudent boss-psychology. The executive board is by no means unanimous in this craven submission to Bill Lee's incurably capitalistic outlook while among the rank and file an impatient spirit longs for the moment when revolt will tear down the thick solid walls of reaction and give the B. R. T. back to the labor movement.

The Task of the Left Wing.

What is the job for the Left Wing in the Brotherhoods? First, and most important, to
(Continued on page 359.)

What Price the British Empire?

By William F. Dunne

ON Friday, April 30, the Workers' Weekly, official organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain, said to its 60,000 readers:

"May day comes at a time when the Miners and with them the whole working class—are confronted with the most brutal capitalist attack in history.

"The government has ranged itself with the mine-owners in their attempt to force down the miners' standards. Every weapon—including, if necessary, that of naked force—will be used against the workers."

On April 27, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party had issued a statement to the Special Conference of Trade Union Executives called by the Trades Union Congress of which I quote the following:

"We call upon the Conference of Executives to reaffirm the policy of class solidarity. It is its plain duty, alike to the miners and to their class, to issue a call to every worker in Britain to stand solidly behind the miners in the struggle, and to issue a similar appeal to the workers of the world, to give the British miners every possible backing.

"Declare for a United Front, and we are confident that every section of the working class of Britain will give you whole-hearted and willing support."

The enthusiastic determination with which the masses of the British workers have rallied to the miners, the stoppage of British industry, the world-wide boycott established by international labor against coal and shipments of other goods to Britain is stern and convincing proof that the confidence of the British Communists in British labor and the masses of workers in other lands was fully justified.

The confidence of the British Communists in the desire of the workers in England to aid the miners and engage in an open struggle to check the offensive of British capital against the trade unions and the living standards of the workers was no product of sentimentality.

The belief of the Communists in the willingness of international labor to aid the British labor movement was likewise founded on knowledge and understanding of recent developments in the ranks of labor, continental labor especially, as well as knowledge that the international political situation was favorable.

There was one danger in the situation. It was that the right wing leaders of the trade unions and the Labor Party would, by delay and a series of compromises with the Baldwin government, succeed in destroying the morale of the masses and dissipate their will to fight into channels harmless to the ruling class.

That the trade union membership had been swinging to the left ever since the Liverpool conference of the Labor Party which, under the

leadership of MacDonald, excluded the Communists and opened the way for the prosecution and imprisonment under the Mutiny Act of 1797 of 12 members of the Central Executive Committee, there was no doubt.

First, the entire labor movement—with some negligible exceptions—came to their defense in spite of the fact that they were accused and convicted of attempting to "cause mutiny and disaffection in the armed forces of the Crown," by circulating among soldiers and sailors a leaflet calling upon them to refuse to fire on workers.

The release of Bell, Murphy, McManus, Cant, Campbell, Arnot and Wintringham on the expiration of their six months sentences on April 12 was the occasion for one of the most unique and significant demonstrations ever seen in London.

Twenty thousand workers of all shades of opinion marched to the gates of Wandsworth Prison where five Communists were still imprisoned and remained there for two hours making the prison walls shake with the impact of mass cheering carried on under the direction of a single chairman in the most disciplined fashion.

Second, at the special conference of the National Minority Movement—the organized left wing in the trade unions—held in the Battersea district of London on March 21, 950,000 workers were represented.

Seventy per cent of the organizations sending delegates had been represented at the first conference held last year and there was a gain of 47½% in new organizations (262 trade union branches, trade councils, etc.).

Moreover, the biggest section of workers represented was from heavy industry—mining, metal, and transport.

At this conference the main resolution was on "The Capitalist Offensive." Adopted unanimously it instructed the affiliated membership to:

"1. Urge each Trade Council to constitute itself a Council of Action by mobilizing all the forces of the working class movement in its locality.

"2. Urge the General Council (of the Trades Union Congress) to convene a National Congress of Action."

In short, thru the Minority Movement, approximately 1,000,000 members of the trade unions, more than one-fifth of the British labor movement, had adopted the left wing program for support of the miners. In the miners' union itself the left wing program went over with a bang.

The majority of the executive board of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain were wavering previous to the Minority conference and were

following the lead of the conservative leadership of the trade unions and the labor party.

But A. J. Cook, the militant secretary of the Federation, went into the coal fields and huge mass meetings and delegate conferences at which the report of the Royal Coal Commission was rejected and the left wing program endorsed by overwhelming majorities brought Herbert Smith, president of the union, and the rest of the executive into line.

Fifth, a number of spontaneous strikes in the transport and metal industries and the rapid development of the wage struggle in the entire engineering industry showed that the workers were determined to accept no reductions in wages or increases in hours.

Sixth, the refusal of influential sections of the Labor Party to obey the Liverpool mandate and exclude the Communists. Such important districts as Rhondda, in the heart of the mining industry, voted for the affiliation of the Communist Party by a majority of 10,718 out of the 18,923 votes cast. The right of Communists to become Labor Party candidates and their individual membership was voted for by a majority of 15,650.

The indisputable leftward tendency of the British masses shown by the above events was the fact on which the Communist Party based its program of immediate struggle.

In the international arena there was the collapse of the Locarno pact and the defeat of Chamberlain which would have resulted in the discrediting of the Baldwin government had the right wing of the labor party not sabotaged the struggle in the House of Commons.

There was the Russo-German treaty which caused consternation in the European capitals.

There was the new militant spirit of the masses shown in Germany by the great wave of sympathy and support for the Soviet Union, the Communist victory in the Berlin elections and the immense increase in the prestige of the C. P. G. as a result of its campaign for the expropriation of the princes coupled with the rapidly worsening economic position of the German workers.

In France the Communist victory in the elections held in the ten largest districts of Paris and the critical financial position of the French government amounting to a chronic crisis increasing the burden on the masses was a guarantee that the French workers were on the march.

British capitalist diplomacy and pressure had failed to bring stability to Europe, Chamberlain had suffered the most humiliating defeat ever administered to a British foreign minister and the world position of the British ruling class had been weakened greatly.

Only the reformist leadership of Labor Party and the trade unions hesitated to base their pol-

icy on a situation which the masses sensed and the Communists and the left wing saw and understood.

May Day, the Saturday preceding the Monday on which the general strike was declared, saw the biggest working class parade and demonstration ever witnessed in London.

An incident occurred which, in the light of recent developments, was of the greatest significance. I quote from a dispatch sent by the London correspondent of the United Press to Canadian papers:

"Shapurji Saklatvala is the only Communist in the House of Commons. His constituency is Battersea, a London working class district. Normally the Battersea May Day marchers are relegated to the rear of the processions, for Communism and socialism do not mix well. . . . TODAY, HOWEVER, THE REDS FROM BATTERSEA PROUDLY LED OFF THE PROCESSION. THEY SIMPLY TOOK THE LEAD, NONE SAID THEM NAY AND THEY MARCHED IN PLACE OF THE USUALLY ACKNOWLEDGED LEADERS."

It is my opinion that the government had intended to continue the subsidy to the coal owners for the two weeks or so and frighten and cajole the reformist leaders into a compromise by its customary methods but that the temper of the trade union membership frustrated this delightful scheme.

As late as April 17, not even the left wing leaders and others closely in touch with the situation believed that a strike would result. Everyone looked for some sort of a compromise which would postpone the crisis.

Early in April a conference of left wing British trade union officials, continental union officials and heads of the All-Russian unions had been held in Paris to consider the British mining situation.

The unanimous opinion at this meeting was that no strike would take place and that if it did it would receive only half-hearted support from the Trade Union Congress.

But the less articulate masses in between the organized left wing and the reformist leadership had the last word.

The signal that the British working class had the will to challenge British capitalism was not given by a trade union official but by members of the Printers' Union who shut down the Daily Mail rather than set up an editorial attacking the trade unions.

The British printers are listed as conservative and their spontaneous action therefore was all the more important.

It may be that Premier Baldwin lost his head and helped precipitate the crisis by breaking off negotiations, but the decisive factor was the temper of the trade union membership.

This temper is the joint result of the decline of British capitalism which can only maintain itself by lowering the living standard of the workers and the ceaseless agitational and or-

ganizational work of the National Minority Movement and the Communist Party.

What burdens the decline of British capitalism has placed on the workers and the additional burdens the ruling class are striving to place on them is best shown by the present wage scale of the miners and the reductions proposed by the bosses. The following table gives the wage scale and the proposed reductions by districts in shillings:

	Paid at present	Owner's proposals	Reductions per day
Scotland	10 0	8 3	2 1
Northumberland	9 4	7 0	2 4
Durham	10 0	7 3	2 9
South Wales and Mon.....	10 9	7 11	2 10
Yorks, Notts, Derby, Leics, Cannock Ch., Warwick, Derby	10 10	9 10	1 0
Lansc, North Staffs, and Cheshire	10 0	8 5	1 7
North Wales	9 2	7 6	1 8
North Staffs, and Salop..	8 5	6 10	1 7
Cumberland	10 7	8 0	2 7
Forest of Dean.....	8 11	7 8	1 3

In the largest coal fields such as South Wales and Durham, the proposed reductions would bring down the wages to approximately 14 per cent over the 1914 wages while the present cost of living is 76 per cent above the 1914 index.

The Communist Party has from the very first interpreted the attack on the miners as the first blow in a general attack on the whole trade union movement and the general strike is proof that the trade unions so regarded it.

The implications of the gigantic struggle in Britain cannot be concealed in spite of the quite truthful protestations of the trade union and labor party leaders to the effect that they were not fighting the British government, and their feverish efforts to confine the struggle strictly to the questions of wages and hours.

The British strike is a classic example of how, in the period of declining capitalism, purely "trade union" issues and the struggles centering around them take on a revolutionary character.

The capitalists of the world and their press are not deceived. They see and feel clearly that since the Russian revolution all the struggles of labor combined have not shaken world capitalism as has the British general strike.

In the so-called Anglo-Saxon countries, the British colonies and the United States—the stimulating effect on the working class is even more apparent than that of the Russian revolution.

It could not be otherwise.

Before the war the British trade union movement was excelled in conservatism only by the American Federation of Labor. It was saturated thru and thru with the ideology of imperialism. Its outlook was that of a working class which had lifted itself on the backs of millions of colonial slaves from the mire of misery which early capitalism brought to Britain.

When British ships carried the trade of the world, when the British pound sterling was the world's standard of value, when British iron and steel were sold in the four quarters of the globe in the "dear dead days before the war," when a golden sun—and not an orb seen only thru the red mist of revolution—never set on the British Empire, the American capitalist press had nothing but words of praise for the "safe and sane" British labor movement.

What price the safe and sane British labor movement now as its general strike grips Britain and the empire writhes in convulsions which shake the whole capitalist world?

As this is written the Trade Union Congress is calling out its second line of reserves—food workers, gas and electric workers in reply to the flooding of all industrial centers with troops with full war equipment.

The tie-up is the greatest in history, yet two million workers can still be called out.

It is obvious from this distance that the strike can be broken only by the government making war upon the working class—crushing all resistance by military methods.

The labor movement is splendidly disciplined and moves like one vast army altho as yet it is only trade union and not revolutionary discipline.

What will the outcome be?

First of all the tremendous impetus given by the force of the British example to the working class of all the capitalist world and especially to the working class in the western nations.

Secondly, the British labor movement itself will take on a more revolutionary character. There will be a rise of the left wing in the Labor Party and the trade unions and added prestige and influence for the British Communist Party.

Barring an outright betrayal by the reformist leaders, there will be a big increase in the Labor Party representation in the House of Commons with the possibility of a Labor majority and a Labor government.

Another labor government, by virtue of the strength of the proletarian left wing whose opposition to British imperialism was expressed in the historic Scarborough resolution, will make extremely difficult the maintenance of a world empire by force of arms, will under left pressure be forced to take steps to apply the lessons of the general strike by drastic reorganization of the army and navy or take up the struggle directly against the masses.

The general strike will have more than an echo in India, Egypt and China. It will give new hope and life to the national liberation movements. Henceforth colonial and British workers will stand together in the struggle for the overthrow of British imperialism—the struggle for which the general strike is marshaling, drilling and steeling the whole British

working class from Glasgow to Southampton, from Liverpool to London.

It is a glorious sight—these unbroken ranks of British workers backed by labor in all lands. Even the American Federation of Labor officials have expressed a willingness to aid the strike and this alone is testimony enough to convince one of its world-wide powerful sweep.

* * *

IN Moscow seventy-year-old Tom Mann, fifty-five of those years spent in organizing workers, preaching the general strike and the social revolution, enters the mausoleum where the body of Lenin lies with a Red soldier standing by.

The face of the old fighter is aglow and his heart near to bursting with pride. Tears of joy fill his eyes as he whispers: "Ilyitch, it's come. You lived to see your beloved workers marching down the road to victory. I've lived to see the boys I organized swing into action in one solid mass against the might of British capitalism. My seventieth birthday is a few days past, but now I believe that I shall live to see the Union of the Soviet Republics of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales."

The red soldier at the head of the bier salutes the old revolutionist and old Tom Mann dashes for a train that carries him toward England and the struggle.

Trade Union Capitalism

(Continued from page 355.)

perfect its own organization as a rallying point for the mobilized sentiment against labor capitalism. The Brotherhood officialdom feels the throne tottering, and is in deadly fear. A good healthy shove by an intelligent, well-organized left wing will send that throne crashing down, throwing the financial kings and their damnable theory of labor as a mere savings-breeder for their ventures into the discard.

For this purpose, the rallying cry of "Down With Capitalism" should be the focus for opposition. Beyond that slogan tho there must be a concrete program for the Left Wing either to force upon the officials, or in case of early victory, to carry out themselves. Among the cardinal issues are:

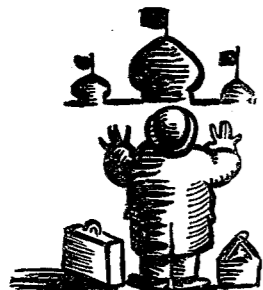
1. Amalgamation of the railroad workers into one fighting front.

2. Even above their own wage and hour demands, the skilled privileged workers of the Brotherhoods must insist that the unskilled and semi-skilled brother workers be allowed to organize. This involves the destruction of company unionism and will demand the most heroic sacrifices on the part of those already organized.

3. Creation of an American labor party, with the railroad unions for a numerical and financial nucleus.

4. Control of the railroad system by the workers and technicians in the industry with suitable representation for the body of other workers and farmers.





ON TO MOSCOW!

THE BIG PRIZE IN THE THIRD ANNUAL NATIONAL BUILDERS' CAMPAIGN OF THE DAILY WORKER TO ATTEND THE 6TH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
Will You Be in the American Delegation?



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IN the third year of the first American Communist daily a new spirit runs thru the ranks of the revolutionary movement.

Labor is awakening. Labor is stirring—fighting, girding its loins for further struggle. The Miners, Furriers, Passaic—all are signs of the times. The great English strike points to great events.

In such times the growth and greater strength of the revolutionary press is essential—and more certain of success. To be of greater service to struggling Labor, the Daily Worker rises on the tide of the new spirit and calls to all workers:

Build for the future! Strengthen the press! Make it a stronger daily call to action!

At this time the Daily Worker begins a campaign for ten thousand new subscribers—and lays its fate, comrade, in your hands!



its quota, will elect from among the individuals having 1,000 points or more to his individual credit, one comrade to make a trip to Soviet Russia to the approaching Sixth World Congress of the Communist International with all expenses paid.

More Going!

In addition to the district reaching the highest percentage of its quota every district which secures a total of 40,000 points to its credit will also be entitled to elect from among the individuals who score more than 1,000 points one comrade to make the trip to Moscow.

The election will take place immediately after the conclusion of the campaign. The Daily Worker will at that time publish the standing of the various individuals within the winning districts. These will vote for their choice candidate to make the trip, each one having as many votes as he has points in the campaign.

A committee chosen of prominent figures in the movement will count votes cast and announce winning candidates to compose the delegation of Communist Builders going to Moscow!

Here's How!

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German workers have been on the barricades. They have experienced revolution. Like their comrades in Moscow they also join in awards to American workers in their task of building the Daily Worker.

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Win the honor for your city!

Turn Over to
THE LAST PAGE
Red Youth Has All
the Advantage.

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Turn Back to
PAGE 1 AND 2

Read Over the Premiums that Come with These Points.

After Garvey—What?

By Robert Minor

AT Carteret, New Jersey, a few days ago, a body of armed men drove the entire Negro population from the town, burned a Negro church and generally conducted an organized reign of terror of the sort which America calls a race riot and which the old Russia of the now-dead czar called a pogrom.

The Negro in America.

In the state of Kentucky there has been during the past few weeks a series of lynchings of new character—lynchings in which the state government participated, no longer as a "silent partner" merely permitting unofficial murder, but this time as an open, active leader in official murder without trial: In Kentucky courts of law Negroes accused of crime are being given "eighteen minute trials"—and the latest was a "ten-minute trial"—with a mob outside the court room, twelve actual members of the mob in the jury box, a virtual member of the mob as judge, usually a "confession" extorted by torture in a back room before the "trial," no defense whatever for the Negro victim (with the lack of defense concealed behind the presence of so-called attorneys for the victim), and a verdict of hanging delivered to the cheering mob from ten to eighteen minutes after the ceremony began. A body of state troops, acting in fact as uniformed lynchers, is in these cases stationed between the rest of the mob and the victim until the farce can be completed, and a few days later the sheriff acts as the mob's master of ceremonies in placing the noose and pulling the trap of the gallows. Then the ruling class of Kentucky leers into the faces of the Negro population and says: "The nigger got a trial didn't he?"

The 12,000,000 Americans known to be wholly or partly of African descent occupy a position which can not much longer be tolerated by them. Enslaved as landless peasants or serfs in the agricultural southern states, working at odd jobs in extremest poverty in cities north and south, and just now breaking into big industrial plants as the workers at the heaviest labor, excluded from more attractive forms of labor, working for a wage much below that of other workers, often excluded from trade unions, living in miserable segregated slums, systematically degraded as a low caste by a rigid social code—the Negro masses have a score of issues which are worth life and death to them.

For a half-century these or similar issues have existed, but the forces which could deal with them did not emerge. At last the Negro has touched the transforming chemical—by en-

tering into large industrial labor. By becoming a part of the modern industrial proletariat—a process through which many thousands of Negro former peasants are now going—the Negro masses are reaching the epoch in which their liberation is placed on the agenda of history. The flood of black population into the cities of the north has generated a culture which takes the form of a fever for organization. This culture has already gone through the stage of the exclusive devotion to the exaltation of favored individuals of the race. It has reached the stage where a serious mass movement for organization and mass emancipation has come into being.

The American Negro Labor Congress.

The most modern of these movements—one which promises a mass character—is expressed in the American Negro Labor Congress. Simultaneously several particular movements, such as the successful organization of the Pullman porters, and the pressure upon the American Federation of Labor for the organization of other and more basic groups, show the trend of development.

The Role of the "Negro Question."

At this time all promises and realizations of mass organization among Negroes are more or less recognized as being objectively movements against capitalism. In a formal "theoretical" way—in thought divorced from the concrete realities—it might be reasoned that the special burdens borne by the Negro are essentially relics of feudalism having no necessary place in capitalist society, and that therefore these burdens can be removed within capitalist society. It might be thought that the maintenance of a system of racial inequality within the borders of a highly developed capitalist country is not necessary to capitalist society, and that therefore when the forward pressure of an unfavored racial group begins to express a serious contradiction, capitalist society can accomplish the removal of the racial discrimination. But in concrete reality in a concrete world, it is not so. There is not and never was a purely capitalist society; by the term "capitalist society" is meant a society in which capitalist forms predominate. In all capitalist societies there are some remainders of feudal society which become interwoven with and interdependent with the capitalist economic and state systems. In no case has the complete removal of the feudal impurities taken place, and each proletarian revolution that we have experienced has overtaken a capitalist society

still retaining much of the forms of feudalism. The mere existence of a peasant class is itself a relic of feudalism, and out of this comes the "alliance of the proletariat and peasantry" against capitalism.

In the case of America today, the existence of the "Negro question" is the existence in capitalist society of a remainder of a previous social system, and at the same time it is an integral part which cannot be separated from the capitalist system as it exists here and now. For the race question is interwoven with the class question; the special disabilities put upon the Negro toilers (real proletarians and peasants), are a built-in part of the concrete system of class exploitation. To any empty words about the ability of the capitalist society to abolish the special inferiority of the position of the Negro, we may answer that the capitalist system does not abolish this condition and that the struggle of the Negro as a racial group against the inferior racial caste status shows signs of beginning to merge with the proletarian movement against capitalism.

When the American Negro Labor Congress was founded in Chicago at the end of last year, the thing which caused a flurry among high capitalist and government circles was not the fact that some Communists were among its leaders, but the fact that the Congress represented the merging of cause of Negro equality with the cause of the labor movement. Some Communists had been among those who called together the Negro Sanhedrin Conference the year before; but the government did not send any of its agents to harrass the Sanhedrin; it was the combination of "Negro" and "Labor" that caused fear. This is borne out further by the fact that when the Pullman porters (not a basically important element in the railroad industry, but an influential element in the Negro city populations) started to organize their trade union, the government supplied an assistant of the attorney general of the United States to act as an organizer of strike-breaking. There were other anxious counter-movements such as Coolidge's recent appointment of a commission of several prominent Negroes of the job-seeking type, charged with the duty of finding "solutions" for questions of race friction—a commission which, of course, it is understood, must not meddle in such matters as segregation or murder or disfranchisement of Negroes.

It is seen that there are new developments among the masses of Negroes, developments which lead forward, and which are causing a shifting of landmarks.

But we are concerned here chiefly with a movement which is not so new—with the first of the organized mass movements of Negroes, and which appears still to be the largest now in existence, the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Universal Negro Improvement Association.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association, which seems at one time to have had about a half-million adherents, has been in a state of constant crisis during the past four years, and now appears to be in a process of rapid disintegration. When this movement first appeared about eight years ago, with something of a working-class character and even some traces of a working-class program mingled with utopian theories somewhat resembling that of Jewish Zionism adapted to Africa and the Negro, the United States government assumed that its effect would be anti-capitalist and began an uninterrupted course of persecution. Under the leadership of Marcus Garvey the Association has retreated before every attack into a more and more fantastic opportunism.

The Decay of the Organization.

The decay of this first great experience of the Negro in mass organization is one of the tragedies of the struggle for emancipation—and it is a tragedy of the most disgracefully treacherous leadership ever known, a leadership which has never hesitated to desert its followers and which today has degenerated into the gutter of scramble for direct material gain for individuals.

Take up a copy of the "Negro World," organ of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and try to get from it a reflection of this great world-full of struggle of the Negro people—or of the beginning crystallization of the forces of the Negro masses for the struggle. What do you find about these tremendous affairs in the organ of what still claims to be the mass organization of the exploited black people?

You find nothing whatever except a seething stew of controversy about the financial affairs—not precisely the financial affairs of the organization itself, but the financial affairs of various officers or ex-officers of the organization who have been or are now struggling for position for themselves in the effort to obtain financial gain for themselves out of the organization. For instance, the current number of the "Negro World" (May 8) shows that the sole present activities of the organization are devoted to a violent controversy over control of the remaining property of the organization in New York, the controversy over mortgages, etc., and, second, the effort to raise more money for—what?

For the organization and struggle against lynching of the Negro in the old or new form? No. For the struggle against segregation? No. For the struggle for the political rights of the Negro? No. For the struggle of the Negro working masses for equality in the labor movement, for equality of pay and equal access to all kinds of jobs for organized Negro workers

with organized workers in general? No. For the struggle against the ku klux klan? No. For any effort of any sort whatever to put the Negro upon a plane of equality? No. Is there even a consistent, aggressive fight for the release of the imprisoned president, Marcus Garvey himself, whom the United States government framed up and jailed on the mistaken idea that Garvey in some way represented an effort of liberation of the exploited Negro masses? No, not even that; Garvey's political bankruptcy is nowhere better exemplified than by the fact he understands nothing of the possibilities of his case for mass organization in his defense; his only policy is to crawl and beg and bargain for his release. There is nothing in this organ in any way even suggesting a claim that the Negro has any rights whatever in this country.

Only the foulest scramble for money for the pockets of one or another officer or ex-officer of the organization—or at least for control of the financial resources.

Two Events.

Two events of the last convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association correctly foreshadowed the present situation:

The first in importance relates to program. Since Mr. Marcus Garvey appeals in big type for the support of "the great program," let us look again at the program that was adopted at the last convention in Detroit. The substance is:

"THE NATURE OF RACE PROBLEMS PRODUCED BY THE CONTACT OF RACES."

"Race problems move on to solution and they cannot be solved except by separation or amalgamation.

"Thomas Jefferson proclaimed the nature of race problems and proposed separation.

"Bushrod Washington, James Madison, John Marshall, James Monroe, Henry Clay, John Randolph of Roanoke, Abraham Lincoln, and Ulysses S. Grant are among the eminent men and women who took part in the African colonization movement of the blacks.

"The Virginia General Assembly and others through resolutions and acts, supported the colonization of Liberia.

"The present resolution has high historical precedent, and, in effect, memorialized the Congress to assist an important group of Negroes who wish to continue the colonization of Liberia as an independent Negro nation.

"HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION."

"Memorializing the Congress of the United States to make provision for the colonization of persons of African descent, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States where they may form a Nation and Government of their own.

"1. Whereas, race problems produced by the contact of races cannot be solved except by amalgamating the races or separating them; and

"2. Whereas, it is highly desirable that the American 'Negro Problem' should be solved in a manner that will preserve the white race and the black that each may make its contribution to the welfare of mankind; and

"3. Whereas, many of our Negroes evidence a desire to live in an independent nation of Negroes and strive to achieve a high and honorable race destiny; and

"4. Whereas, such desire on the part of our Negroes was encouraged by eminent white Americans who founded the colony of Liberia, and, later, by other eminent white Americans who sought to acquire San Domingo for a colony for the Negroes; and

"5. Whereas, there is much valuable land sparsely populated in the Negro republics of Hayti, San Domingo and Liberia; and

"6. Whereas, the ancestors of our Negroes were deprived of liberty and property, and forced into servitude to the white race; and

"7. Whereas, in servitude and in freedom the Negroes in America have served the white race in America in a manner morally to obligate the white man to recompense the Negroes by generously assisting them to establish themselves with bright prospects for the future in an independent nation ruled by men of their own race;

"8. Wherefore, be it resolved by the Legislature and the Senate concurring, that the Legislature memorializes the Congress of the United States to make provisions for the colonization of persons of African descent, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States, particularly in Africa."

The essence of this "program" is simply the deportation of the masses of American Negroes to the African colony of the Firestone company. Of course it is idiotic. The only reality it has is as a means of raising money.

The Salary Grab.

The only other important incident of the convention aside from the fight for control, was one which had to do with the method of employing officers of the organization. It had been a custom for several years, begun at the high point of prosperity of the organization, to fix handsome salaries for officers and the custom of the officers, acting as representatives of the organization, to make contracts with each individual officer for these large salaries which ranged up to many thousands of dollars a year. This was supposed to be necessary to the "dignity" of the fancy-titled men who obligingly took the position of leadership. The result was that during the past few years the U. N. I. A. has found that with every internal dispute there came an ousting of some officer and a consequent law suit of the officer for the enormous salaries stipulated in the contract of employment. Of course, the treasury was drained with constant court judgments in favor of the ousted officers. It can be said that with very few exceptions that the treasury was looted and gutted with every ousting of an officer—and these ousters were many. It was inevitable that after several years of this, at the last convention a naive delegate offered a motion to the effect that no more contracts be made of a sort that would enable discharged officers to sue the organization for salaries for unexpired terms. The proposal was a challenge to the sincerity of every newly elected officer present.

The test was effective, in a certain way. Immediately the proposal was made, the newly elected acting president, Fred A. Toote, jumped to his feet excitedly to declare that if the motion was not withdrawn he would resign. Toote explained that "You can't obtain the services of competent men unless you give them some security of a means to support their families." What he meant was, of course, that the officers of the organization placed a value upon the power to milk the treasury and upon their independence of control by the organization. The motion was withdrawn, not one delegate having the courage to speak plainly of the character of officers who would serve the Negro organization—the "great program"—only on condition of a strangle hold on the often-looted treasury.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association became at its last convention, so far as its officers were concerned, an organization of private plunder for "leaders" and nothing else, excepting its character as a promoter in the ranks of the Negroes themselves, of the program of the ku klux klan for the submission of the Negroes to hopeless servitude.

The Disintegration of the Organization.

The inevitable result is found in the present situation in which a war of money-grabbing leaders is accompanied by the rapid break up and disintegration of what once was a magnificently promising mass organization.

A peculiar feature of the policy of Marcus Garvey is that it results in the destruction even of the machine itself. The organization for several years fixed its center of gravity in a scheme for a steamship line in connection with a utopian venture of "trade with Africa." Now the salary-takers have lost the "steamship line" in the sheriff's sale of the steamship "General Goethals" (re-named the "Booker T. Washington.") Almost nothing of value is left to the contract-holding officers except a piece of property on 138th street in New York City, the headquarters of the organization, for the possession of which two sets of officers are fighting in the courts. The New York division of the organization has split away from the parent body and controls the mortgaged property, and the faction of Garvey is fighting for its recovery.

What Will Be the Fate of the U. N. I. A.?

What will be the fate of the Universal Negro Improvement Association? That an organization of masses of exploited Negroes should throw off the disintegrating influences, discard its Garvey-imposed opportunism, take on a clear program of struggle, and find new health and strength, must be the wish of any one who desires the emancipation of the Negro. Whether the saving of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is possible or not, cannot be said now. Every effort should be made to save it from destruction and perversion. The tendency of most observers is to regard the organization as inseparable from Garvey and Garveyism, and to consider that the two will disappear from the scene together.

But this is not a sound conclusion. The broken fragments of the U. N. I. A. contain some of the best rank and file material to be found—material which has not been corrupted by false leadership, as its resistance proves. If the organization cannot be saved, at least out of the best of the fragments something will grow that is more in line with the new tendencies.

But Garveyism has been the dominant note in Negro mass activity in America for nearly a decade.

After Garvey—What?

When Garveyism evaporates what will remain?

An article by Abram L. Harris in the April number of the "Crisis" contains the following interesting observation:

"The social unrest among the Negro race over which we waxed philosophical a few years back was not completely exhausted by the Garvey movement fiasco. Much of the ferment remains. Two years ago a friend of mine wrote this about the Garvey movement: 'It is just another name for the psychology of the American Negro peasantry—for the surge of race consciousness felt by Negroes throughout the world, the intelligent as well as the ignorant. Though visionary and perhaps impossible of accomplishment, it afforded a mental relaxation for the long submerged Negro peasantry. Balked desire, repressed longings, must have an outlet.' My friend then queried, 'After Garvey—What?' Had I known what I think I know today I would have answered, 'Communism.'"

If what the writer means is the merging of the mass unrest of the Negro population with the advanced section of the labor movement, I believe the quoted prediction is correct.

The Soviet Union in 1926

By Wm. Z. Foster

NOT more than four or five years ago the Russian revolution was still confronted with such terrific life and death problems that only those workers of real revolutionary understanding and courage could perceive the elements of victory in the incredibly difficult situation. But now, so great is the progress that has been made, the victory of the revolution is patent to all except those who refuse to see it. In Soviet Russia at the present time one is struck on every side by a thousand manifestations of the successfully growing new social order, by the enormous advances that are being made in the development of industry and in the welfare of the working masses, cultural, material, political.

The Central Problem of the Revolution.

Since the end of the civil war in 1921, the central problem confronting the revolution has been the rehabilitation and development of industry and agriculture, ruined by seven years of war and deep-going revolution. The difficulties in the way of solving these vital problems were staggering. But these have either been completely overcome or are being rapidly surmounted. So much is this so, that now the Soviet Union is just entering a period of rapid and far-reaching development of its industry and agriculture such as probably no other country has ever experienced. The new industrial machinery of the Soviet state is still creaking a bit, wearing off its newness and adapting itself to its unique problems. But it has already unmistakably demonstrated its ability to initiate and carry thru the great Socialist economic development now going on in the Soviet Union.

The Industrial Revival.

Despite the ravages of war, blockade, famine, sabotage by technicians, and all the enormous problems of revolutionizing production from a capitalist to a Communist basis, the output of Russian industry had by Oct. 1, 1925, already reached 71% of the pre-war rate. In his report to the recent convention of the Russian Communist Party held five months ago, Stalin said that this year's program would increase industrial production to 95% of pre-war. Now Rykov says that 95% has already been reached. Dzerjinsky, of the Supreme Economic Council, speaking before the Central Committee of the All-Russian Trade Unions, said:

William Z. Foster, Secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, has just returned from an extended tour in the Soviet Union covering a number of its most important industrial areas. This article is a chapter from his new pamphlet "Russian Workers and Workshops in 1926" soon to be off the press.

"The last economic year, 1924-25, had a record increase of 64%, whilst the figures of increases for previous economic years are: 1921-22, 50%; 1922-23, 45%; 1923-24, 30%. Thus, we have experienced a rate of increase which has never been known before in history, and that not only in the history of our own reconstruction, but also of other nations since the war."

The State Planning Commission (Gosplan) provided for a general increase of 49% in industrial production during the present economic year of 1925-26, ending Oct. 1. Owing, however, to an overestimation of the amount of grain available for export, this figure had to be cut 7%. But this is an insignificant check in the face of the tremendous surge forward now taking place in Russian industry. An important consideration is that the rapidly increasing production is definitely tending in the direction of socialized industry and away from privately owned industry. Altho the N. E. P. still makes some progress in volume, relatively it is on the decline because the state-owned industries and co-operatives are making much more rapid progress. Stalin, in the above mentioned report, stated that in the economic year of 1923-24 the production by state-owned industry and co-operatives was 70% of all industrial production, and private 24%, whereas in the year 1924-25 that of state-owned industry and the co-operatives had increased to 80%, and that of private concerns had decreased to 20%. The danger of the N. E. P. is a rapidly diminishing quantity in the face of the healthy new social order.

The great project for the electrification of Russia's industries and cities, which Lenin correctly held to be of vital importance in the development of the new Communist society, is also proceeding with unexpected rapidity. In 1921 the whole project seemed hardly more than a dream. Now it is almost half completed. It will be finished by 1932. On Dec. 6, 1925, the immense Shatura power station near Moscow, the largest of its kind in the world, was opened. Many of the other 30 power plants projected in Leningrad, the Don Basin, the Urals, etc., are far on the way to completion. The conclusion of this great project will give a vital impulse to the whole economic and political life of the Soviet Union.

Extensive plans are everywhere being put into operation for the development of industries. During the period of civil war and acute revolutionary struggle, up till 1921, about all the workers could do was to preserve the exist-

ing industrial plants and to carry on a small minimum of production. From 1921 until the present time, the task has been to rehabilitate these plants and to bring them to the maximum production possible. This has been practically accomplished. The great task now confronting the workers is to build new factories, to dig new mines, and to generally develop and extend the whole industrial system. They are going at this with unexampled vigor and enthusiasm. They realize that only with an industrialized country can they have real Communism. The transport, metal, fuel, electrical, and other key industries are being widely developed; the distributing system of co-operatives is growing with young and lusty strength. The building of 26 new steel mills and metal works, and the importation of 300,000,000 marks' worth of machinery from Germany, are only two items of the far-reaching plans of industrial development.

In building their industries, the revolutionary workers are demanding the most advanced industrial technique. They are taking as their model the American industries. In Russian factories and mills one hears from the directors and engineers little about the industrial methods of England, Germany, or France. It is all America, and especially Ford, whose plants are quite generally considered as the very symbol of advanced industrial technique. In view of the tremendous wave of industrialization now taking place in Soviet Russia, it is safe to say that within a very few years that country will be among the leading industrial countries of the world.

Increasing Farm Production.

Agricultural production is also being increased. It has now reached 75% of the pre-war rate, and the plans for the coming year will raise it to at least 88%. The number of sheep, cattle, and hogs now exceeds the pre-war figure. A fundamental necessity for the development of Russian economic life in all its phases is to increase the productivity of agriculture, especially with regard to exportable grains. At present, Soviet Russia produces an average crop of only 11 bushels of wheat per acre. With proper methods this output can be doubled, which, when accomplished, will not only lay the basis for a big domestic market, but also for an enormous export of food stuffs and import of machinery and other commodities necessary to build the Russian industries. To increase production the peasants must be educated to modern methods of farming, supplied with fertilizers, and provided with tractors for deep plowing. Great strides are being made in all these directions. An enormous educational work, technical as well as political, is going on among the peasants, and within the past two years 10,000 tractors have been imported. These tractors are only the straggling advance guard of the gigantic army which will be brought into Russian

agriculture within the next few years. The revolution in the technique of agriculture is proceeding apace. And the evermore firmly cemented alliance between the workers in the cities and the poor and middle peasants on the land, makes certain that this developing revolution in farming methods will proceed in harmony with the interests of the proletarian revolution as a whole.

Rising Living Standards.

As the workers build and develop their industries, bending every effort to this end, they do not forget the main purpose of the revolution, which is to improve their own general social conditions. They are rapidly and systematically bettering the conditions of the working masses. Average wages in industry are constantly on the rise. On Oct. 1, 1924, wages amounted to 67% of pre-war rates, on Oct. 1, 1925, 82%, and on Dec. 1, 1925, 96%. In many industries wages already exceed pre-war rates, as textiles 121%, chemicals 120%, leather 121%, etc. In all the industries wages will soon be far above pre-war standards. The Soviet Union is the only country in the world where real wages are on the increase for the masses of the workers. In all other countries, not excepting the United States, they are on the decline.

Cultural Development.

The cultural level of the Russian workers is also being raised. The tremendous educational work being done by the Communist Party, the Soviet government, the trade unions, and other organizations, thru the schools, clubs, theaters, cinemas, radio, etc., despite a thousand difficulties, is one of the most striking features and greatest accomplishments of the revolution. Its extent and revolutionary significance, can hardly be imagined by one living in a capitalist country. The working masses of Soviet Russia are being educated; they are emerging from the long era of ignorance and superstition into the bright sunlight of proletarian culture.

Concurrently with the development of Soviet institutions generally, the working masses are being thoroly organized politically, culturally, economically, and in many other ways. The Communist Party, head and brains of this whole vast revolutionary movement, has sunk its roots deep into the masses. On Nov. 1, 1925, the Party had 1,025,000 members, of whom 57% were workers, 25% peasants, and 18% office employees. Of the working class as a whole, 8% are members of the Party, and of the workers in the heavy industries 25%. The Communist Youth organization on the same date had 1,633,000 members. The 23 trade unions, based on industrial principle, comprise over 90% of all the workers, or 7,846,789 members, an increase of 2,024,117 in the past 18 months. Many millions of workers and peasants are comprised

in the co-operatives, the Red Aid, and various other organizations, making for the intellectual and physical welfare of the producing masses. All of these organizations are growing with great rapidity. The whole society is alive with growth and progress.

Relation to Peasantry.

But the revolution is still confronted with many complicated and difficult problems. The central one is the ever-present problem of the workers, who comprise only about 15% of the total population, retaining control over the overwhelmingly agricultural country and directing the revolution into proletarian channels. The difficulties of this task are enormous and quite unique in history. The last two general discussions in the Russian Party, with first Trotsky and then Zinoviev leading the opposition, whirled around this problem of the relation of the workers to the peasants. Upon its correct solution depends the fate of the revolution. And it is being correctly solved. The Russian Communist Party, which has met and solved so many apparently insoluble problems, has definitely consolidated the working class as the leaders of the great Russian masses. It keeps the reins of the revolution in the hands of the workers and wins the active co-operation of the poor and middle peasants in the building of the new society.

The "Capital Famine."

One of the greatest difficulties now confronting the Soviet Union is the "capital famine," as I may so call it. All the industries are fairly crying out for the capital necessary for their development. Soviet Russia is confronted with the problem, unique in our time, of being compelled to accumulate all the capital necessary for the development of its industries. Other new and developing countries have been able to draw upon the old capitalist countries for necessary capital. When, for example, the United States was laying the basis of its great industrial system, it was a vast investment field for foreign capital. Many of its railroads and industries were built by English, German, and French capital. But Soviet Russia, ravaged by civil war and just beginning an era of tremendous industrial development, despite its ravenous appetite for capital, cannot draw upon the great world sources of capital. It is thrown upon its own resources. It must gradually accumulate its own capital. This is a terrific handicap. It slows up the whole tempo of industrial development. On a recent trip thru Russian industry, I talked with many factory directors and engineers, and without exception they complained of the great difficulties placed in the way of their projected plans of industrial development by the ever-present lack of funds. Soviet Russia is suffering from a veritable "capital famine," the product of the opposition of the world capitalist class to the new social order.

"Capital Famine" and Capital Blockade.

This "capital blockade" against the Soviet Union is only the present dominant phase of the long struggle of the world's exploiters to destroy the Soviet government. The first phase of this struggle began immediately after the outbreak of the revolution, when the capitalist countries sent their armies to overthrow the workers' government. But this attack failed completely. The next phase in the great struggle was the organized attempt of the capitalist nations to blockade Soviet Russia politically and economically, and thus to isolate it from the rest of the world. But the Russian workers broke through this infamous blockade, which paralyzed the industries of the country and cost the lives of many thousands of people. Eventually they forced all the capitalist countries of the world, except the ultra-reactionary United States, to officially recognize the Soviet government and to open the avenues of commerce to it. Now is taking place the struggle of the Soviet government against the "capital blockade," which is the present effort of the capitalist countries to kill Russian industries and thereby the revolution, by withholding from it the capital so vitally necessary to their development. But this counter-revolutionary strategem will fail also. The capitalist world knows no means and has no measures at its command which can block the advance of Soviet Russia, the spearhead of world revolution.

Revolutionary Russia is making headway in the difficult struggle to get capital for its industries. It is attacking the problem from all sides. The first victory in this general direction was the stabilization of the rouble. This the financial experts declared to be utterly impossible. Lenin, as usual, saw the tremendous importance of this task. He said: "If we succeed in stabilizing the rouble for a long period and subsequently forever, it means that we have won." The rouble has been definitely stabilized. One of the interesting exhibitions of the past winter in Moscow was the former czar's crown jewels, which, worth 600,000,000 roubles, served as a treasury reserve to support the rouble. Little did the czars guess, in amassing these fabulous jewels, that one day they would perform such a useful service to humanity. The next task in strengthening the financial system was to balance the government budget, which the capitalist financial sharks thruout the world also pronounced impossible. But that, too, has been accomplished. The former abysmal deficits have been turned into substantial surpluses. Now is proceeding apace the task of the direct accumulation of capital for the building of industry. This is being accomplished in many ways: by increasing exports of food stuffs and imports of machinery (this year's exports will total 800,000,000 roubles as against 462,000,000 last year, and 700,000,000 imports as against 600,000,000 last year) by the concentration of

the financial resources of the country upon the building of the key and basic industries, by the raising of production in the industries to their maximum, etc., etc. Consequently the financial resources of the Soviet government are developing by leaps and bounds. In February, 1924, the total money in circulation was 312,000,000 roubles; in February, 1925, it had mounted to 1,250,000,000. In January, 1922, the resources of the State Bank were 53,000,000 roubles; in June, 1925, they had increased to 2,849,000,000. The program for this year calls for a surplus, or "profit," of 480,000,000 roubles in the state-owned industries, as against 40,000,000 last year, and 100,000,000 the year before. These few figures barely indicate the vast process of capital accumulation that is now going on and proceeding with ever-greater speed in Soviet Russia. The Russian workers are accumulating their own capital, but we may rest assured that they will also find ways and means in the near future to draw heavily upon the vast supplies of capital in the capitalist countries. Beyond question they will succeed in liquidating the "capital famine" and breaking the "capital blockade."

The Revolution Victorious!

Other difficult problems confront the revolution, but these are gradually being solved. A case in point is that of unemployment. Altho the number of workers employed in Russian industries is rapidly increasing, an army of about 1,000,000 unemployed persists. This is due primarily to the flocking of peasants to the cities to get away from the overcrowding on the farms. The unemployed are mostly unskilled. There is a big shortage of skilled workers. At present mass technical training of the unskilled unemployed is being carried on to enable their absorption into industry. But unemployment, altho a vexing problem in Soviet Russia, is not a menace to the workers like unemployment in capitalist countries. It is not used as a club to beat down their living standards. Wages in Soviet Russia are not established by cut-throat competition among the workers. The representatives of the unions get together with the representatives of the government industries, which are controlled by the workers, and, after calculating the production of the industries and allowing for their future development, pay the

workers as much in wages as the industries can stand. There are no exploiters to use the unemployed against the employed. Nor are the unemployed abandoned to starve as in capitalist countries. They are provided for. The elimination of the unemployment problem is one that will be progressively accomplished as Russian industry develops.

One clear and definite conclusion is forced home upon every visitor to present-day Soviet Russia—the revolution is an unqualified success. Altho the Russian workers still have many difficult questions to contend with they have broken the backbone of the great revolutionary problem. The worst is over. The past eight years of bitter, heart-breaking struggle are now bearing their fruits of victory. The revolutionary Russian toilers have vanquished every foe and solved innumerable problems altogether unique in human history. Their standards of life are rapidly rising. They are successfully constructing the new industrial system. They are pointing out the way that the workers everywhere must go in order to emancipate themselves from capitalist slavery.

Russia Shows the Way!

Of revolutionary significance is the fact that the workers in western European countries are getting an inkling of the success of the Russian revolution. Confronted by falling standards of living in their own countries, the offspring of a decaying capitalist system, and unable to improve matters by the old time reformist policies, they are beginning to realize that the Russian workers have found the true way to proletarian emancipation. Gradually the conviction is growing upon them that they too, must take the same route. This is the meaning of the many delegations of workers within recent months, from England, Germany, Austria, and various other countries, that have visited the Soviet Union to study the revolution at first-hand. It also explains the alliances between the British and Russian trade unions which is shaking the Amsterdam International and promising a radical reorganization and unification of the international labor movement. It is a big factor in the present British general strike. The victorious Russian revolution, now more than ever, is becoming the inspiration, the teacher, and the leader of the world's working class.

"It Still Moves—"

By J. Louis Engdahl

"Parties rise on the basis of social relations in society, representing the interests of various classes."—Karl Marx.

THIS declaration by Karl Marx provides an excellent footrule with which to measure the decadence of the Socialist Party of the United States that has just held another national convention in Pittsburgh, Pa.

To be sure there were those present among the delegates who pointed out that the socialist organization had ceased to exist as a political party. They contended it had now become merely an instrument for the spread of socialist propaganda. But even the right of the socialists to claim they are educators of the masses in the theories of socialism may be successfully challenged, since within their dwindling ranks they have more conflicting groups than ever. Not one of these, however, raised its voice for socialism at Pittsburgh.

Three Outstanding Leaders.

There are three prominent leaders of the Socialist Party. They have conflicting viewpoints on most matters facing their organization. They are Eugene V. Debs, the chairman of the party, and the nominal editor of its official organ, the American Appeal; Victor L. Berger, the party's congressman, and editor of the Milwaukee Leader; and Morris Hillquit, of New York City, the party's international secretary.

Debs lived up to past traditions when he failed to appear at the convention. He had been to Bermuda with Mrs. Debs but returned to this country shortly before the gathering convened. He went immediately to Terre Haute, Indiana, his home, however, and did not come to Pittsburgh for the convention, the mass meeting or the banquet prepared for him. He was reported too ill to attend. At no time was his influence upon the delegates noticeable to any degree. He was re-elected to his two positions without opposition, a tribute to the five-time presidential candidate of the party.

The Debs leadership in the socialist party, therefore, does not actively function. It is pretty much of a myth. But there are those among the delegates who have a Debs ideology and they constitute what might be termed the socialist "left wing." They are party workers of the "Jimmie Higgins" type who have taken party positions that have gone begging for occupants.

The Question of the League of Nations.

These "left wingers" are possessed of little aggressiveness. They went into battle on but one question, that of urging the United States government to enter the League of Nations. They opposed this attitude championed by Hill-

quit. They could have mustered enough votes to defeat it. Yet when Hillquit's catspaw, James Oneal, editor of the New York Leader, hypocritically urged study and discussion of this question, with the postponement of any decision until the next convention two years hence, they surrendered without a struggle and accepted the overture. They carried their opposition, however, into the elections for the party's national executive committee, resulting in both Hillquit and Oneal retaining their committee positions by the smallest margin. The Pittsburgh optician, William J. Van Essen, received the highest number of votes, outstripping even Berger, who had joined in the fight against the League of Nations.

Those delegates who opposed League affiliation claimed they still adhered to the party's declaration in 1919, when it denounced the League of Nations as the "black capitalist international." They had little conception of the meaning of this utterance. They could not visualize a workers' international as opposing a capitalist international. If the European governments were only "labor governments," meaning of the MacDonald British type, then there might be some object in joining the league. But not now. These delegates would have been shocked beyond recovery at the suggestion that they join in the Communist struggle against the League. They find satisfaction sufficient for themselves in their opposition and isolation.

Berger in Borah's Footsteps.

Berger opposes the League for quite a different reason. Berger has been a constant attendant at the congresses of the Second (Socialist) International. Before the war he religiously said "Amen!" to all its majority policies. When the war came he sided with the central European socialists as against those of the Versailles peace. Berger was anti-war in the United States, and especially in German Wisconsin. To demand the revision of the Versailles Treaty called for its sequel-opposition to the League. In this Berger was consistent. Berger was anti-war to the extent of absolving Germany of all war guilt. When the German Social-Democrats themselves turned to the Dawes plan and supported the Hindenburg government in its efforts to have Germany join the League, Berger still insisted on his opposition. It was better campaign material in Wisconsin and Berger has his feelers out for the United States senatorial candidacy. Berger's arguments against the League are the arguments of Senator William E. Borah, the Idaho republican, or of Frank L. Smith, who took the republican nomination recently from Senator William B. McKinley, in Illinois.

Hillquit on the other hand definitely takes his stand with the Second International in its attitude toward the League. He is for the League—the world government. Just as the socialists hope to win a majority of the votes and take power peacefully in the United States, just so does Hillquit expect a majority of nations to establish socialist governments and thus dominate the League. This is the Hillquit that says he is opposed to the Russian way, that he believes in the British way. He capitalized this sentiment when the MacDonald "labor government" was in power, but said little at the Pittsburgh convention about British reactions challenge to the striking miners and their allies in the general strike. Hillquit follows the lead of the European socialists who definitely ally their parties with the left wing of capitalism.

It is plain that the opposition of Debs and Berger to the League offers no basis for socialist growth, since they do not call the workers and farmers to join the class war against world capitalism. The anti-League appeal of the Borahs and the Reeds is much louder, from the middle class viewpoint, and easily attracts these elements. The Hillquit pro-Leaguers do not need to come to the Socialist Party to function. In fact, here is the basis for further disintegration rather than growth for the Socialist Party. Yet this was the big political question before the convention.

Socialists in the Trade Unions.

Up to the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, in 1917, in Russia, the socialists in the United States had been in the opposition in the trade union movement. To be sure, this opposition manifested itself in a multitude of forms. But it was definitely arrayed against reaction and won considerable support from masses of the rank and file. With the Communist International offering new and militant leadership to the world's workers, the American socialists, like their counterparts in other lands, turned their attack against the left wing inspired and led in great part by Communists. This led to their gradual but ultimately very definite alliance with the reaction they had previously opposed. The socialists who fawned on the Green administration in the American Federation of Labor at the Atlantic City convention last October, are the same socialists who made bitter war on the left wing in the Furriers' Union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, the International Association of Machinists, and other organizations, using thugs and gangsters to break up meetings, seeking to undermine the morale of workers on strike, and even conspiring with the bosses to bring about the defeat of the workers' struggle. The direction of this campaign is acknowledged to be in the hands of the elements that cluster about Abraham Cahan's New York Jewish Daily

Forward. There are elements, to be sure, within the Socialist Party fighting Cahan policies in New York City. These were not represented at the Pittsburgh convention. Not the slightest disagreement with Cahanism was voiced. The convention satisfied itself with defeating a proposition that the requirement for trade union affiliation be stricken from the Socialist Party membership pledge.

Here, too, therefore, the socialists have no basis for existence. If workers will follow reactionaries, they do not need to pick them under the "socialist" label.

Out of the LaFollette Mess.

There was a general feeling of self-congratulation at Pittsburgh among the socialists, that they had finally gotten out of the LaFollette third party mess of 1924. It was urged that the party had now surely found salvation. Oneal, in the New Leader, reviews the casualties since the beginning of the world war. He recalls the jingo National Party and Social-Democratic League, started by renegade socialists, but fated to wither. The socialists steered shy of the farmer-labor party movement but how they did embrace the Conference for Progressive Political Action, joining savagely with the most conservative labor leadership to attack the Communists. But the C. P. P. A., and its greatest effort, the LaFollette campaign, have also gone with last fall's leaves. The "liberal party," representing "all the people," the dream of the 48-ers has vanished. The railroad brotherhoods, who espoused the Plumb Plan, that was too progressive for Gompers, and who supported LaFollette as an independent candidate for president have now repented of their ways. Their espousal of the Watson-Parker bill, passed by congress, that raises class-collaboration on the railroads to the nth degree, definitely allies them with the most anti-labor capitalists. The socialists, admittedly defiled in 1924, now claim that the two years of independence they have passed thru has restored them to their former pristine purity.

"Our Smallest Convention," Berger.

But the workers who refused to be lured during the war into support of the National Party and the Social-Democratic League, who refused to accept the "progressive" party offered them by C. P. P. A. elements, when they demanded the labor party, are not now over-anxious to join the socialist party and give it strength for new betrayals. This was the big fact that confronted the socialists at Pittsburgh, admitted by Berger when he confessed, "This is the smallest convention we have ever had."

No more than the other numerous wrecks that have strewn the highway of political conflict these past few years, does the socialist party now represent the interests of a section of any class. It does not even function as a worthwhile tip feather to a wing of capitalism.

With the 1926 national congressional elections rapidly approaching the socialists hold their main problem to be plans for increasing the party membership and expanding the party's educational work. Yet the Pittsburgh convention did not seriously consider either of these measures.

In spite of the fact that the party constitution demands a convention report from Congressman Berger on his work for socialism in Washington, he made no such report. Berger does as he pleases in congress, without party guidance, and so little does the party know of his activities that the convention actually considered endorsing the reactionary Dyer-McKinley anti-lynching bill, when Berger had introduced a bill on the same subject.

The socialists have made strenuous efforts to win new members. Having lost 2,000 more members after the 1924 fiasco the party grovels at a new lower level. It has made no progress during the past year. One thousand new members were secured at a cost of \$7 each, but an equal number was lost, so the membership figures remain stationary. It is difficult to ascertain what is meant by the party's educational work. It conducts no schools. Its literature distribution has fallen to a minimum. During the whole year of 1925 a mere 188,445 leaflets were sold and distributed. The same period saw 95 cloth bound books and 17,832 books and pamphlets disposed of, the faintest shadow of an activity. It must be remembered that practically all local socialist publications have ceased to exist, which means that there is little or no distribution of literature outside of that actually accomplished by the national organization.

The "American Appeal."

It was very evident at the Pittsburgh convention that many socialists placed their last hope in the American Appeal, the party's official publication. This weekly was launched in January when, reports made to the convention declared, "the movement was at its lowest ebb in activity, vitality and enthusiasm. . . . because of the substantial effacement of the party as a national political organization by the lack of a national socialist campaign in 1924 and the despair and hopelessness on the part of individual members as to whether anything could ever be accomplished."

The American Appeal is patterned after the pre-war "Appeal to Reason," founded by J. A. Wayland, but later edited and managed by Fred D. Warren. The policy of this weekly, that was privately owned, was to seize on popular issues, some of them having little relation to socialist propaganda, and use them as the bulwarks of circulation campaigns. Debs was at one time editor of it. An effort is being made to transfer this policy to the American Appeal. The first big subscription drive was to be based on a "May First Edition" dealing with the liquor

problem. Debs had announced that this was the paramount question before the American people. This announcement was quickly withdrawn. Instead the issue dealt with the restoration of Deb's citizenship, supposed to have been taken away at the time of his conviction under the espionage act during the war.

The Prohibition Issue.

It is still claimed, however, that the "wet and dry" issue is a live one from the standpoint of Socialist Party propaganda. When the subject was introduced in the convention, half a dozen delegates from various sections of the country declared that any stand at all would split their local organizations wide open. It was finally decided to leave this matter for the different states to decide on the various policies they should pursue. Thus again the socialists acquiesce in the bourbon demand for "state's rights."

Reject the "United Front."

It was into this sectarian and confused atmosphere that the Workers (Communist) Party sent its appeal for a united front at the fall congressional elections, the hope being to develop the independent political action of the workers and farmers under Labor Party standards.

The reply was the usual social-democratic attack on the Communist International with added vitriol for the American Communist movement. Hillquit made an effort to eliminate some of the language of gutter politics from the resolution that came before the convention. He wanted to scent it with the perfume of "dignity." But in this he failed. The national Socialist Party insists on holding aloof from united fronts in which Communists play a part. It is interesting to note, however, that socialists locally do participate in such united front activities.

The socialist convention did pass a resolution demanding the recognition of and the opening of commercial relations with the Union of Soviet Republics. But it did not consider the defense of the Soviet Union.

No Fight for the Foreign-Born.

It did not consider the tidal wave of legislation in congress set in motion to intimidate, gag and shackle America's large foreign-born population.

It did not take a stand on the important measures now before congress and, altho it had been announced that one of the chief objects of this convention would be to draft a congressional platform for the fall elections, no such draft was at any time submitted to the delegates for discussion and action.

Instead the convention conducted a serious debate on the question of keeping the party alive thru adopting sick and death benefit features as attractions to party membership. It was declared that hundreds of thousands of members had come into the party and gone out

again. It is difficult to hold them. It was declared by some of the delegates that if the party became a semi-fraternal society, with attractive insurance features, then members would be loathe to leave its ranks.

"That is a good way for the party to die," was the comment of Delegate William A. Toole, of Maryland, but the delegates voted, nevertheless, that a commission should investigate this matter and report to the next convention.

What remains of the socialist party membership is to be found in those centers where the party has enjoyed some election campaign successes and trade union contacts in the past. Thus New York, where the socialists still have a slipping hold on some of the needle trades unions, the membership is the highest. Milwaukee with its socialist mayor and congressman, and many city, county and state socialist officials, comes next, altho much of its trade union strength here has slipped away to the LaFollette movement. Massachusetts comes third, because of the hold that the socialists still have upon a dwindling number of Finnish workers grouped about the Finnish daily, Raivaaja, at Fitchburg.

No Strength in Basic Industries.

Thus the remaining socialist strength is largely artificial. It is nowhere a factor in the great basic industries of coal, steel or transportation. Its once extensive influence among the agrarian population is completely gone. In Texas, for instance, the socialist party, for the first three months of the year, showed an average of only five members, where formerly it had thousands.

There is vegetation in the tropical jungles that exists without roots in the soil. Political parties cannot lead such an existence in human society and live. They must be rooted in economic conditions, representing the interests of some class. The socialist party, once more in a national convention, has proved that it no

longer has roots in any section of the working class. It cannot exist as tropical vegetation. Therefore, it must pass away, like the numerous offshoots it gave birth to, during and after the world war, as well as those semi-political organizations with which it sought alliances from time to time in an attempt to continue its own life a little longer. The American section of the Second (Socialist) International, the left wing of world imperialism, passes.

The Session of Enlarged Executive Committee of the C. I.

(Continued from page 342)

the ultra-left in Germany. What was probably the most bitterly contested debate of the whole Enlarged Executive Committee developed during the report of the German commission. The ultra-left attacked the resolution of the commission as indicating that the Comintern was moving to the right. This view was supported by Bordiga of Italy, Hansen of Norway, Ruth Fischer, Scholem and Urbans of Germany.

An editorial in the Pravda sums up the actual position of the Enlarged Executive Committee on this subject as follows:

"The conference pointed out that the question of fight against deviations must always be put concretely, that it is dependent upon the circumstances and on the situation of the country and party in question. In France, the deviation to the right is the more dangerous and it is therefore at this that the blow should be aimed; in Germany on the other hand, fire should be concentrated on the left deviation, for there the deviation of Scholem and others is incomparably more dangerous."

The Enlarged Executive Committee followed this policy; it dealt a blow at the French right and at the same time hit hard at the German ultra-left.

Problems of Party Training

By Bertram D. Wolfe

AN important problem of our party and of all the parties of the Communist International is the problem of party democracy. But the problem of more party democracy is essentially a problem of bridging over the gulf that separates the rank and file from the leadership in capacity for political analysis and thinking.

Hitherto theoretical training has been largely the monopoly of a little top group. This has made party democracy largely an empty slogan and has furnished a breeding ground in which demagoguery could flourish, in which a successful appeal to "rank-and-fileism" would sometimes mean a lowering of the theoretical level of the party and a repudiation of correct policies. Only a trained rank and file with an understanding of political strategy and tactics and their theoretical basis can make the slogan of greater party democracy realizable without a serious degeneration in the quality of our party and its activities.

Again, the reorganization of the party has put on the order of business the realization of the Leninist slogan, "Every member an active member." But the reorganization finds the membership badly prepared for the realization of this slogan. Hitherto we have had a few experienced propagandists who did all the speaking and lecturing, a few experienced editors who did all the writing, a few in each branch who made all the motions and did all the arguing on them, and a few devoted Jimmie Higginsons who did most of the technical and organizational work that was to be done. The bulk of the party membership sold tickets, put money into collection baskets, made up the audiences at mass meetings, made up the bulk of the readers of what the few editors wrote, of the listeners to what the few speakers said, paid dues and came to vote when the faction strife ran high. Today the reorganization demands that every member become a propagandist among the workers in his shop. In place of contenting ourselves with a few editors who do all the writing, we are trying to develop the workers' correspondence system where the workers become the collective editors of our papers. In place of just listening at the mass meetings, our members are expected to make the same arguments in advance in the shop in order to get their fellow workers to come to the mass meetings and demonstrations. In place of following and supporting one or another "mass leader" every worker is expected to become a mass leader

himself among the workers with whom he comes into contact.

The Primary Task Before the Party.

Without minimizing the importance of raising the theoretical level of the leadership (we must recognize that it is all too low) and without deluding ourselves into believing that all differences in level between leadership and rank and file can or should be abolished (a leadership must be capable of leading) we must recognize that our primary task today is to raise the level of the mass of the party, abolish the monopoly of theory now existing, and bridge over somewhat the gap that exists between the party leaders and the party membership generally.

From the above it follows that the center of gravity for our educational work must be shifted from the central party school to the shop nucleus, that every party member must undergo an elementary training in Communist theory and that such theory must become the common property of the party as a whole.

Training Thru the Class Struggle.

In this we are largely handicapped by the fact that our concept of party training is much too pedantic. The "educators" of the past, the Watsons, the Boudins, the O'Briens, the pedants and pedagogues of the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Party of Canada and the Proletarian Party worked very largely as if they thought that the class struggle got its name from the fact that it was to be fought out in the class room. Primary education in Communism can be secured only in the class struggle itself. And secondary education or higher theoretical training can be secured only by combining theory with experience. The class struggle in all its forms is the great proletarian school. Revolutionary theory can only be studied in the closest connection with revolutionary practice. Books are an aid, but they are no substitute for activity in the class struggle. Any worker who gets the idea that he will "take a couple of years off for study" is on the high road that leads away from Communism and the class struggle and towards sterile intellectualism and pedantry, that makes study not an aid to struggle but a substitute for struggle.

Hence the primary problem of mass education of the party membership is the problem of making every member an active member because

activity in the class struggle is the primary school of Communist education and the higher school is but the study of the theory that was born in the class struggle, that tests itself, renews itself and grows and alters itself in the class struggle, and that finds its value to the proletariat only in its application to the problems of that struggle.

The Value of Theory.

Yet this must not be construed in such a way as to minimize the value of theoretical training. A lack of revolutionary theory leads inevitably to unrevolutionary practice, to opportunism. The experience of past struggles is crystalized and interpreted in our theory. Only by building on past experience can the working class rise from elementary to higher forms of struggle. If each worker has to learn all over again by himself thru the empirical method of trial and error, our class will never get past the stage of trial and error. We will always be beginning anew to study the "A. B. C.'s." For historical reasons the American working class inherits all too much of a contempt for theory which is ruinous to its class aim and furnishes fertile soil for demagoguery, opportunism and treachery. This contempt for theory must be rooted out of our party along with the pedantic worship of theory for its own sake and not for the sake of the class struggle.

Educational Work in the Nuclei.

The first requisite then for party training in the nuclei is to make every member an active member. The second requisite is to have the individual activity of each member discussed by the entire nucleus in the light of the work of the other members and the aims of the party as a whole. Individual reports by each member on his own activities and a general discussion of these reports should be a regular feature of the "business" meetings of each basic party unit. Many comrades do not perceive the importance of detail discussions of their shop and union experiences and of their other daily activities, yet these experiences when discussed, related and digested make up a valuable body of American Communist theory. This exchange of experiences makes every comrade a contributor to the collective theory of the party.

There is the danger that these discussions will remain fragmentary and unconnected with the broader efforts of the party—that comrades will acquire the conception that the whole aim of the party is to shorten hours, improve ventilation, clean up unsanitary toilets, curb "tough" foremen, increase wages and organize shops. To prevent this it is necessary that the nuclei take up the general campaigns of the party, their aim, their tactics and the general theory of Communism as it ties up with the activities

of the nucleus. This requires that the "business" meetings which deal primarily with practical activities should alternate with "educational" meetings which deal primarily with the theoretical meaning of these activities and their relation to our general strategy, tactics, program and theory.

These discussions should be systematic and related. Taken together they should form a "political minimum" course which would put the practical activities of the party in their proper theoretical setting. Every member of the nucleus should participate in the discussions.

Teacher and Curriculum.

When this plan was proposed in the New York District, the plan of putting every member of the district thru a political minimum course during a period of six months, the objection was immediately raised: "Where will you get enough teachers to give a course in every nucleus?" Our answer to this question was: "The Shop Nucleus Training Course."

The training course was held in the Central School. Each nucleus was required to select its own "teacher" from among its own members. This teacher came on alternate weeks to the Central School to get his training in what to teach and how to teach it. He was then required to return to his nucleus on the alternate (educational meeting) weeks and lead a discussion on the same subject which had been taken up by him in the Central School. The nucleus that paid for the course was supposed so as to exact attendance and see to it that it got "its money's worth." So far this system has proved in the main a failure. The reasons for this were: (1) Not all nuclei elected representatives; (2) they did not meet regularly; (3) the delegates did not attend regularly; (4) the nuclei did not always arrange educational meetings and give their teacher a chance to lead the discussion; (5) the outline was not well-adapted to the purpose of the course. In most cases only the delegate got anything out of the course. Many of these defects can be remedied in the next course for the reorganization is now more complete, the nuclei are meeting more regularly and they are beginning to have "educational" meetings.

Simultaneously with this plan another was tried which is better adapted to those districts that have no Central School. Requiring less systematic organization it worked better during the confused period of reorganization. The method was to send instructions to the nuclei as to when and how often to hold educational meetings, to send them a list of suggested topics for discussion, and to request that they choose a different member each time to lead the discussion on a particular topic. The district agitprop department offered to supply (1) a discussion outline for the leader to follow; (2) a

very simple list of readings; (3) an explanation of the subject further if necessary in an interview with the nucleus agitprop director or the discussion leader selected.

Both plans have their advantages and their disadvantages. The first plan—the shop nucleus training course—allows for more systematic work but requires more systematic organization and a higher stage of organization.

The subjects for discussion proposed to the nuclei by the second plan were the following: How to Carry on Propaganda in the Shop; How to Work in the Union; Fractions; How to Advocate the Labor Party in Shop and Union; How to Work with the Socialist Worker and How to Carry on the Struggle Against the Socialist Party; How to Conduct the United Front; Classes and Class Divisions in America; League of Nations and World Court; American Imperialism; Trade Union Unity; Work Among Negroes; Why the American Labor Movement is Backward; Recent Tendencies in the Labor Movement; Class Collaboration; Company Unions; How to Win the Women for the Class Struggle; Why We Have a Young Workers' League; The First of May; The British General Strike; Problems of the Needle Trades, etc. New topics are added from time to time. The unit selects the topics that interest them most and each individual is assigned to the one that most interests him. The advantages of this system are obvious. Chief of them is the training of every member as a discussion leader. Its disadvantage is lack of systematic relation between discussions. It is, however, working well.

The Central School.

The training of party functionaries must be carried on in a central school altho this may be supplemented by neighborhood schools and circuit courses.

The chief problem is how to get the right "students." Leading party functionaries engaged in trade union activities, newspaper editorship, or other mass activities often believe that they know enough, that the school cannot teach them anything, that "experience is the best teacher" and they are getting it (hostility to or contempt for theory) or that they are "too busy working to learn how to work."

The kind of student that first presents himself is either the drifter and floater who has plenty of spare time because he never works, but who is worthless to the party because he has no contact with masses of workers and no disposition to do anything or the academic "student" type who is a willing receptacle for learning, registers for six nights a week of courses and reads every spare moment and who therefore has neither time nor disposition to put his study to practical use for the party. **Both these types of student are worthless.** Whenever we

discover such a type, we get rid of him. In the more important courses (the party training courses) we admitted no one who could not prove he was an active party member and intended to remain so.

Then we decided to go after the busiest workers, the trade union officials, the party functionaries. Only those who have "no time to study" are really worth wasting much time on. In order to make it possible for such leading comrades to study we arranged our most important courses in such a way that an active comrade could get important necessary training by spending only one night a week at the school and we raised the slogan: "Every member has the right and the duty of spending one night a week in preparing himself for better work." The result is that we got a very high quality of comrades into the party training course. The roll of registered included a half dozen members of the bureaus of language fractions, a member of the District Executive Committee, members of the editorial staff of one of the party papers, members of the District Executive of the Young Workers' League, various section organizers and many active trade unionists including the secretary of an important union. Still further efforts must be made, however, in this direction.

Teachers.

Another serious problem is the problem of teachers. The ideal teacher must combine a broad grasp of theory with much practical experience and sure political understanding. If his teaching is not to be purely academic he must be actively engaged in party work. But those who are actively engaged in party work have little or no time to prepare and give courses and often do not know how to teach. The teachers in the New York School, however, include the general secretary, the organization secretary, the industrial organizer, the agitprop director and various specialists in different fields.

Teaching Methods.

There is a bad tradition in the party schools and in workers' education general of lecturing in place of teaching. It is the path of least resistance. But the aim of teaching is to make the student think, not to do his thinking for him. The net result of a lecture course is that the student goes away with the impression: He's a good teacher. He's a bad teacher. The lecture wasn't as good as usual tonight, or better. But the lecturer does most of the thinking. Real teaching requires more work from the teacher and much more from the student. The lesson should consist of problems to be solved and questions to be answered. In spite of the difficulty of lack of text books this can be and should be the basis of our work. Even where they have done no outside reading it will be

found that the students have a fund of experience to draw upon and proper questioning will produce results. A good method is to prepare a half dozen main question each week for home study and thought and then prepare a whole series of subordinate questions for use in class to elucidate points in connection with the main question. The teacher should prepare an outline of the things he would like to tell the class and then a list of questions which will make the class tell him those things. The method of distributing questions and answers is fatal. It produces parrots not Communists.

Pedantry must be avoided. Our teachers so often tend to forget the class struggle. One teacher, otherwise good, got himself and his class lost in the origins of capitalism and never got up to modern times in an elementary course which should have dealt primarily with present day problems and only incidentally with origins in so far as they aid comprehension. Not a historic order but a political order should be followed. It is a genuine evasion of the class struggle to bury oneself in the study of the past—even if it be past revolutions.

Courses.

The central problem of Marxian dialectics is the relation between the general and the particular, the abstract and the concrete. When we leave out specific American conditions, no abstract acceptance of the dialectic method will make dialecticians of our students. Our courses in the past have tended to a certain timelessness and spacelessness—the same every year and good for any country in the world—therefore, good for no country and no year. The question and answer book prepared as a study aid for the A. B. C. of Communism by the American party has no relation to American conditions. This is typical of most of our past work. It makes for pedantry, academic abstraction, divorce from life and the class struggle. Our courses must center around American conditions, and serve our practical needs. The Ameri-

can Party has still to "discover America." A course in Leninism should deal much more with the American farmer than with the Russian peasant, pay more attention to Mexico than to India, concern itself more with the National City Bank than with the "D-Banks" of Germany, give more attention to the Socialist Party than to the Mensheviks and study the American revolution of 1776 rather than the Decembrist uprising of 1925. Otherwise it is not only "un-American" but un-Leninist as well.

Training For Leadership.

While I purposely emphasize in this article the need of training of our rank and file, the task of raising the theoretical level of our leadership is of no lesser magnitude. In no country of the world has the bourgeoisie such ideological dominance over the mind of the worker as in this country. No capitalist class is so powerful and so rich in resources for corruption. Nowhere else is capitalism so strong and in no industrially advanced country is the working class so weak. In America reformist illusions and corruption schemes of class collaboration take on new and highly complicated forms. These schemes of class collaboration are becoming a world gospel and European capitalism is trying to copy American production methods and American methods of "solving the problem of the relation of capital to labor." We cannot solve our problems without making ours the theory and experiences of the proletariat of other countries—and in this our leadership has, it must be confessed, a big task before it. But even the sum total of experiences of the proletariat of other countries will not solve all our problems. We must make specific American contributions to the world theory of the workers in solving new problems that reach new and more complicated forms in America. The proletariat of the whole world has the right to look to us for solutions of such problems as class collaboration and the new forms of trustification and imperialism put to us and to them.

The Trade Unions in the Theoretical System of Karl Marx

By N. Auerbach

I. IN THE ECONOMIC THEORY OF MARX.

EVERY trade union policy is, in the first place, a wage policy; every trade union theory must therefore emerge from some wage theory. What is the Marxian wage theory?

Wages are the price of labor, said the classical national economy; it is determined exactly as is the price of all other commodities—thru supply and demand or thru the cost of production of labor. Even Ricardo, that greatest genius of the classical school, who opposed the optimistic beliefs of the English Manchestrans in the harmony of interests with the pessimistic picture of a national economy torn apart by irremediable antagonistic interests, even Ricardo could not succeed in crystallizing out the specific character of the wage relations. And so, for Ricardo also, wages remained the price of labor depending on its cost of production; he does not look upon labor itself as the standard of value.

Wages and Labor Power.

Marxian analysis leads to quite other conclusions. Before, therefore, we answer the question as to the role of the trade unions in the Marxian system, we must formulate very briefly this theory of value, of surplus value, and of wages.

1. "Labor is the substance and the immanent measure of value but has itself no value." * Hence the expression "value of labor" is entirely irrational; it only serves to veil the true laws of the capitalist economy. Were there really a "value of labor" and did this value lie at the basis of the price of labor paid for in wages, then the existence of capital, the essential constituent of present day economy would be rendered impossible.**

What the worker is paid for in his wages is in no sense his "labor" but his labor-power that exists in the person of the worker and that cannot be conceived as apart from its bearer. What then is the value of labor-power? It is determined—since the value of every commodity is in proportion to the labor-time necessary for its social production—by the labor-time necessary for its maintenance and reproduction. This value and solely this value is accounted for in the wages. In no sense does the worker receive

the equivalent of his "labor," by which are to be understood his efforts or his products. On the contrary, it is rather a prerequisite of capitalist production that wages must always remain lower than the value of the product since the commodity labor-power possess this peculiarity (in which it is fundamentally to be distinguished from all other commodities) that not only does it create value but in continually creates surplus-value, i. e., more value than corresponds to its own reproduction value. This surplus-value, however, falls not to the wage worker as the owner of labor-power but to the capitalist as the owner of the means of production since the capitalist when he bought the commodity labor-power, naturally bought its use value along with it. Since, however, the use-value of labor-power consists in the fact that it gives rise to exchange-value, the buyer naturally has the right to use the labor-power as he pleases and then to take possession of the surplus-value created by it. Indeed, the production of this surplus-value is the "immediate aim and the determining motive of capitalist production", * and only on condition that he realizes surplus-value will the capitalist carry on his production at all. Hence it follows: The value (V) is of a commodity made up, outside of the equivalent for the constant capital used up in production (c), of separate components—the value-equivalent of the used-up labor-power or variable capital (v) and the surplus value that corresponds to the unpaid labor-time (s).

It therefore follows that the wages of the worker in capitalist society is the expression of the price of the commodity labor-power; its height is determined by its value, i. e., "by the value of the necessary means of life used to produce labor-power, to develop it, to maintain it, and to perpetuate it." **

The "Iron Law of Wages" and the Marxian Wage Theory.

2. The question now immediately arises: Is the Marxian wage theory equivalent to the so-called "Iron Law of Wages," the basis for which was already laid by Ricardo and other writers of the classical school but which was formulated

* Karl Marx: Capital, III, 225.

** Karl Marx: Value, Price and Profit, p. 76.

in all its sharpness by Lassalle. "The confinement of the average wage to a level necessary for the maintenance of existence at a level customary to the people and for its reproduction—this is therefore. . . the cruel iron law that rules the wages of labor under the relations of today." *

At the first glance it may appear that a certain similarity exists. When, however, we penetrate beyond the sound of these words and reach their sense and their context, we note striking contradiction between both of these basic views.

What does Marx understand by the "value of labor-power"? He analyses this value into two separate components, of which one is determined physically—by that total of the means of life that is absolutely essential for the barest existence and reproduction. The other component, on the contrary, is socio-historical. This includes all the means of subsistence that satisfy the so-called necessary demands that are in themselves dependent upon the natural needs of a country, upon the cultural level of a people, upon the habits and customs of the working class, and upon the actual force it can muster in the struggle against the capitalists. This so to speak historical-moral element varies according to the country and period but, for a definite country and a definite period, the extent and circle of the average needs are given.**

The extent of these needs must, according to Marx, always be greater than the mass of commodities necessary daily to renew the life-process of the bearer of the labor-power, the human being, i. e., it must be greater than the lower limit or the minimum of the value of the labor-power. "If the price of labor-power falls to this minimum, it falls below its value, since under such circumstances, it can be maintained and developed only in a crippled state. But the value of every article is determined by the labor-time requisite to turn it out so as to be of normal quality."*** Nor is there any contradiction between this determination of value and the fact that the wages of labor show a continual tendency to approach its minimum. Indeed, it may be possible for the capitalists to raise the rate of exploitation to such an extent as to repress temporarily the price of labor below its value.****

* Lassalle: Offenes Antwortschreiben, p. 39.

** Karl Marx: Capital, I, 189; III, 295.

*** Karl Marx: Capital, I, 192.

*** Compare Engels' note to Marx's Poverty of Philosophy, German edition, page 24:

"The formulation that the 'natural,' i. e., normal price of labor power coincides with the wage minimum, that is, with the value equivalent of the necessities for the life and reproduction of the worker—this form-

Lassalle bases his Iron Law of Wages on purely biologic facts: as soon as wages rise temporarily above the average minimum for the barest maintenance of life, in other words as soon as the condition of the workers shows signs of improvement, then marriage becomes easier and marriages multiply, more children are thrown into the world; thru this increase in the toiling population the supply of laborers grows so that wages again sink to the previous level or even below it. On the other hand, a lasting fall of wages below the average is prevented thru the fact that the growth of the misery of the poor, the lessening of marriages, restraint in the matter of bearing children, emigration, etc., lowers the number of hands and so forces wages up again. This biologic regulator that traces the social fact of the wages of labor to purely natural relations is the essential characteristic that brands the Lassalean law as an "Iron Law."

How utterly different are the foundations and the views of the Marxian conception. This conception has, thru the correlation of wages with labor-power and not with labor, opened the way to an understanding of the essence of the relations of capitalism and thereby dealt a heavy blow to the liberal economy that is satisfied with a defense of appearances. Such a conception certainly cannot remain satisfied with a law of population that holds as permanent and absolute the historical appearances of a definite epoch. In his investigations on the process of the accumulation of capital, Marx rejects every "abstract" law of population for human beings and maintains that every economic and social form has its own law of population based upon the specific conditions of production. For capitalism the following correlations are valid.

Every reproduction on a capitalist basis is an extended reproduction or accumulation; it therefore continually demands an increased proletariat. This accumulation, conditioned on the rise of productivity* the development of which is again dependent upon the extent of accumulation, accomplishes, however, not only quantitative but also qualitative changes in so-

ulation was first drawn up by me in the 'Umrissen zur einer Kritik der Nationalökonomie' (Deutsch-französische Jahrbücher, Paris 1844) and in the 'Condition of the Working Class in England.' As is evident Marx accepted the idea. Lassalle took it from both of us. Even tho, however, it is true that wages tend continually to approach their minimum, yet the above formulation is false. The fact that labor-power is paid for on the average and as a rule below its value cannot change its value."

* "Increases in the productiveness of labor" means "an alteration in the labor-process of such a kind as to shorten the labor-time socially necessary for the production of a commodity." Capital, I, 345.

* Karl Marx: Capital, I, 588.

** Karl Marx: Capital, I, 592.

cial capital. Changes in its composition* set in that manifest themselves in the relative decrease of the variable component. The more therefore the productivity of labor rises, the more does the demand for labor decrease. This relative decrease in variable capital is hastened with the progress of development thru the fact that the accumulation is accompanied by the concentration of great masses of capital in a few hands and thru the centralization of the already existing capital which is not at all limited by the absolute growth of social capital. "With the widening of concentration and of the technical efficiency of the means of production, decreases the extent to which they are the means of occupation for the workers," says Marx, and to make the antagonistic character of capitalist production still clearer he formulates the law of population corresponding to it still in a sharper form—"The laboring population therefore produces, along with the accumulation of capital produced by it, the means by which itself is made relatively superfluous, is turned into a relative surplus population; and it does this to an always increasing extent."** The over-population resulting therefrom, expressing itself in a permanent industrial reserve army, is in itself the consequence and the lever, yes, the condition of existence, of capitalist accumulation, whose mark is the growth of the social capital of a country. The essence of the capitalist economic form is revolutionary, its sense is continual change, transformation of its own basis of production. The continual growth of capital and the raising of the productive power of labor thru this, the sudden power of expansion of capital, the great mobility of the available and functioning capital, the high development of credit—all this demands the possibility for sudden great changes in the productive structure of society. And this can be accomplished thru the industrial reserve army that is continually at the service of capital but has cost it nothing to raise. And it continues to maintain itself at the cost of the workers, the employed as well as the unemployed. In the hands of the capitalists it is the best weapon to force those who are working to work longer hours and thus to hasten still more the relative decrease of variable capital called forth by the

* It is assumed here that the reader knows that, according to Marx, capital is composed of a constant part (machinery, buildings, raw material, etc.) and a variable portion (sum of the advanced wages); the relation $c:v$ is called the "organic composition of capital," the higher c is, the higher is the "organic composition," the lower c is, the lower, etc.

** Karl Marx: Capital, I, 692.

accumulation process. For extended hours of work, an increased intensity of labor, has always become transformed, on the capitalist basis, into a sinking of the value of labor-power, while a rise in the rate of exploitation of the toilers means to the entire proletariat a decrease in the demand not so much for labor as for laborers.

Upon this theoretic basis we must strictly reject the wages-fund theory of the liberals; for, according to Marx, there does not exist any fixed size for social capital, even when this is given in its material composition. Above all there does not exist a fixed size for the variable component since, outside of the degree of efficiency of the functioning constant capital, this is dependent upon the degree of exploitation of the individual labor-power, upon the price of labor, of which at most only the very flexible minimum limit is given. Least of all, can the number of employed workers be designated by a constant number. And so the quotient, wages-fund divided by number of workers, yields no fixed magnitude from which the wages can be extracted.

In the same way must we reject the "Iron Law of Wages" of Lassalle which, in essentials, is based on the same errors of method of such liberals as Malthus, Mill, McCulloch. We have bourgeois economists who believe in the "wages-fund," that has its existence only in the "material of variable capital, i. e., the mass of the means of subsistence it represents for the laborer, fabled as a separate part of social wealth, fixed by natural laws and unchangeable."* And similarly we have here Lassalle operating with unchangeable wage determinants based only on natural laws. Marx shows, to the contrary, that it is a matter of manifold social forces, one of which can at the same time be the cause and the result of another and which therefore stand in a dialectic relation to each other. If we wish to retain the determinants put forward by the classical writers, then we must transform them into social powers. The "law of supply and demand" Marx accepts, not as determining value or price, but only as regulating it, but for wages it loses even this possibility. For we have seen that it is not the absolute increase or decrease of the laboring population that determines the rate of wages but the relation of that section of the laboring population that is condemned to overwork to that other section that is condemned to unemployment, in other words, the industrial reserve army. "Relative surplus-population is therefore the pivot upon which the law of supply and demand of labor works."**

* Karl Marx: Capital, I, 669.

** Karl Marx: Capital, I, 701.

(Continued in next issue).

Review

THE MARX-ENGELS SCIENTIFIC EDITION.

MARX-ENGELS: Saemtliche Werke. Kritische

Ausgabe. Im Auftrage des Marx-Engels-Instituts, Moskau. Herausgegeben von D. Rjasanov. Marx-Engels-Archiv Verlagsgesellschaft M. b. h. Frankfurt a. M. (42 vols.).

IT is superfluous to insist upon the fundamental necessity of a scientific edition of the works of Marx and Engels. The lack of such an edition and of a scientific biography of the founders of Marxism on the basis of it, has long been a handicap to Marxian scholarship. Moreover, the history of the last ten years has demonstrated the extraordinary significance of Marx and Engels to the international proletariat, at the same time indicating the practical need for a thoro understanding of Marxian fundamentals.

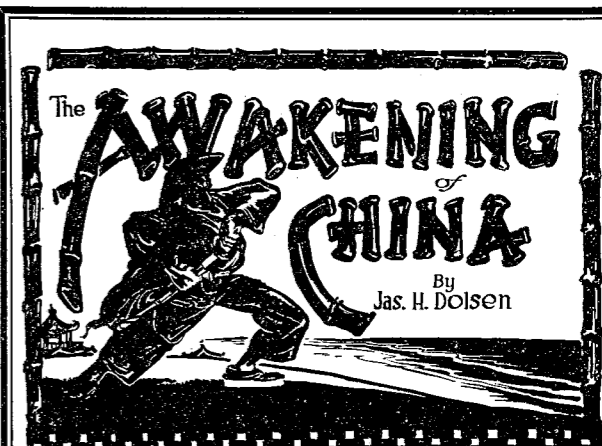
The invaluable contribution of Lenin has served to emphasize the importance of such an understanding. And tho a knowledge of Lenin's work has become indispensable to all present-day Marxists, it is clear that an intelligent understanding of Leninism presupposes an intelligent understanding of the works of Marx and Engels.

Furthermore, the manifold interpretations of scientific socialism represented as Marxism, not to speak of outright distortions and misrepresentations, have made an authentic edition of the complete works of Marx and Engels an absolute necessity.

The founders of scientific socialism have been dead now for decades. But it was not until the Soviet government established the Marx-Engels Institute at Moscow that a scientific edition of the complete works of Marx and Engels was made possible. Following their death, little or no effort was made to record or control whatever material was left unpublished. No one seemed to realize the importance of such work, and much that might have proved of value was undoubtedly lost. Two important contributions, however, were made by the publication of Marx's letters to Kugelmann in the "Neue Zeit" in 1902 and the Sorge correspondence, the original of which is now in the New York Public Library, containing letters from Marx and Engels, in 1906. But it was not until 1912, when a quantity of new material was given to the public, that Marxian scholarship entered a new and more advanced phase.

Hitherto, the tradition that correspondence should not be published until fifty years later kept material of the greatest importance in the S. P. D. Archive at Berlin or in the hands of Eduard Bernstein. In 1912, however, the Marx-Engels correspondence, edited by Bernstein and Bebel was published in four volumes. The same year the Marx-Engels "Nachlass" was published by Franz Mehring in three volumes. The Marx-Freiligrath correspondence, containing mostly letters by the latter, was made public about then, too. And Prof. Carl Grunberg founded the "Archive for the History of Socialism and the Labor Movement," which soon became the center of socialist and Marxian research in Europe.

Partial editions of the works of Marx and Engels were published by Louise Kautsky and Prof. Rjasanov, the latter's coming as late as 1917, and covering the ten years of 1852-1862. In 1920, Gustav Mayer published a



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biography of the young Engels with a supplementary volume containing Engels' youthful writings. And two years later (1922) he published the Marx-Lassalle correspondence in his four-volume "Ferdinand Lassalle Nachgelassene Briefen und Schriften."

In spite of these many publications, however, numerous writings of Marx and Engels, including letters, are still unknown and await publication. Mehring's "Nachlass" has proved to be incomplete and the Bernstein-Bebel edition of the Marx-Engels correspondence is deficient for scientific purposes, as was shown by Prof. Rjasanov in 1914 in his criticism of its omissions.

These deficiencies, however, are now to be made good by the Marx-Engels' critical edition, which the Moscow Institute is preparing under the direction of Prof. Rjasanov. It will meet the demands of scientific investigation by including every phase of Marx's and Engels' activity expressed in writing. For the first time, students will have an opportunity of following carefully the origin and development of the ideas of Marx and Engels, and at the same time, of gaining a comprehensive view of their practical organizing activity. The collection of all of their practical and theoretic writings in a scientific, systematically organized edition will lead to a clearer and more thoro understanding of Marxism, as well as to a more extensive study of its content on the part of ever-increasing numbers. It will undoubtedly serve as a basis for the preparation of a much-needed popular edition.

THE critical edition will include all hitherto published and unpublished articles, fragments, and larger, unfinished works. Outlines, sketches, and rough drafts will be used in the preparation of the edition and included when necessary. In addition to the entire correspondence of Marx and Engels, it will embody all those letters written to them which might prove of interest in the illumination of their personalities and especially of their practical political activity. All letters and writings will be printed in the language of the original texts, the introductions and notes of the editor, which will form an important feature of the edition, in German.

The complete edition is to consist of forty-two volumes in four main divisions. The first division, which consists of seventeen volumes, will contain all economic, philosophic, historic, and political works, with the exception of "Capital," arranged chronologically.

The second division, consisting of thirteen volumes, will embrace Marx' economic life-work, "Capital." By utilizing the original manuscript, an opportunity will be given to reconstruct the volumes of "Capital" published by Engels in their original form.

The third division is to consist of ten volumes. It will contain the extensive correspondence between Marx and Engels as originally written, and all other letters having no direct connection with the subject matter of earlier volumes.

The fourth division, consisting of a two-volume index, is calculated to serve as a sort of Marx-Engels Lexicon. The introductions and notes of the editor are prepared primarily for the purpose of illuminating the cause and origin of the individual works.

The texts are being critically determined on the basis of original manuscripts; but where these are not avail-

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able, original editions will be used. More important variations will be recorded. In addition, each volume will contain a separate index.

Those who are acquainted with the work of Prof. Rjasanov realize that the Marx-Engels scientific edition was made possible by years of persistent effort on his part. It was Prof. Rjasanov who, with the help of the Soviet government, built up the Marx-Engels Institute at Moscow, and his activity that has finally given Marxian scholarship the possibility of organization. The complete Marx-Engels edition, however, will be the result of collective effort. While most of the preparatory work is being done in the Marx-Engels Institute proper under the personal direction of Prof. Rjasanov, a large number of scientific collaborators are occupied at different points outside of Russia. Each section of the edition is given over to trained specialists.

The publication of the forty-two volumes is to extend over a period of seven, possibly ten, years, beginning with the year 1925. In the course of the years 1925-1926, the following ten volumes are scheduled for publication: 1-5, 15, 30-33, of which volumes 1 and 15 are to appear first of all.

These volumes will contain many new and valuable writings, of biographic as well as of scientific interest. Volume one is devoted to all of Marx's works up to 1844, volume two to all of Engels' works up to 1844. Thus, the first two volumes offer, under separate cover, all the works of Marx and Engels, which were written before they began their work in common. Among the hitherto unknown writings contained in the first volume, the most significant is a fair-sized manuscript, almost complete, on Hegel's "Rechtsphilosophie." It is essentially a criticism of Hegel's concept of the state. The volume also contains interesting studies on the history of Greek philosophy, especially of the philosophy of self-consciousness, as well as of all Marx's contributions to the "Rheinische Zeitung." In addition to Marx's letters written during this time, the first volume will also include a manuscript on the great French Revolution.

The third volume contains all of Marx's and Engels' writings from September, 1844, to May, 1845. Volumes four and five embrace Marx's and Engels' "German Ideology" which is a criticism of post-Hegelian philosophy as represented by Feuerbach, B. Bauer and Max Stirner, as well as, of the socialism of its various German prophets.

Volume fifteen will embody Engels' work from 1876 to 1883, including the manuscript, "Zur Dialektik der Natur," which Engels put aside after Marx's death in order to dedicate himself to the preparation of "Capital" for publication. Some of the subjects considered by this hitherto unpublished manuscript are: Dialectics and Natural Science; The Share of Labor in the Process in which Ape Became Man; Old Preface to Anti-Duhring; General Nature of Dialectics as a Science; Basic Forms of Movement; Two Measures of Movement; Dialectics in Modern Natural Science; From "Ludwig Feuerbach"; Variations of the Introduction to Anti-Duhring.

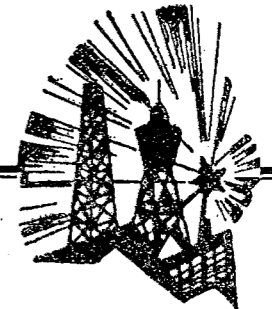
Volumes thirty to thirty-three inclusive, embody the first complete impression of the correspondence between Marx and Engels.

For technical purposes, a special publishing organization was formed by the Marx-Engels Institute at Moscow and the Society for Social Research in Frankfurt a. M. The organization is called: The Marx-Engels-Archive Publishing Co. and is located at Frankfurt a. M.

Altogether, the forty-two volumes will cost about \$190; although they may be bought individually. The fact that the volumes are to be had over a period of years will undoubtedly make it easier for the individual to buy. Nevertheless, it would be extremely desirable for a larger group, even the party, to make the beginnings of a Marxian library and party archive, facilitating the work of individual investigators. The Marx-Engels scientific edition would be an excellent nucleus on which to build.

The appearance of the complete edition will be a quiet but important event of the international movement. But more than anything, it will be an effective tribute to the memory of our two scholar-fighters.

—A. LANDY.



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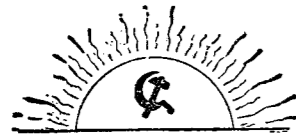
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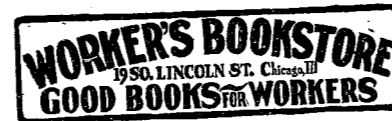
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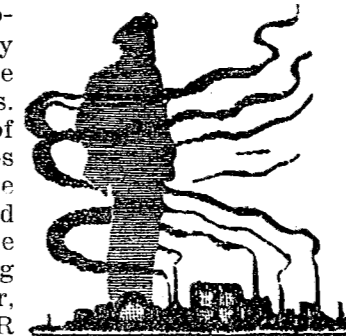
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