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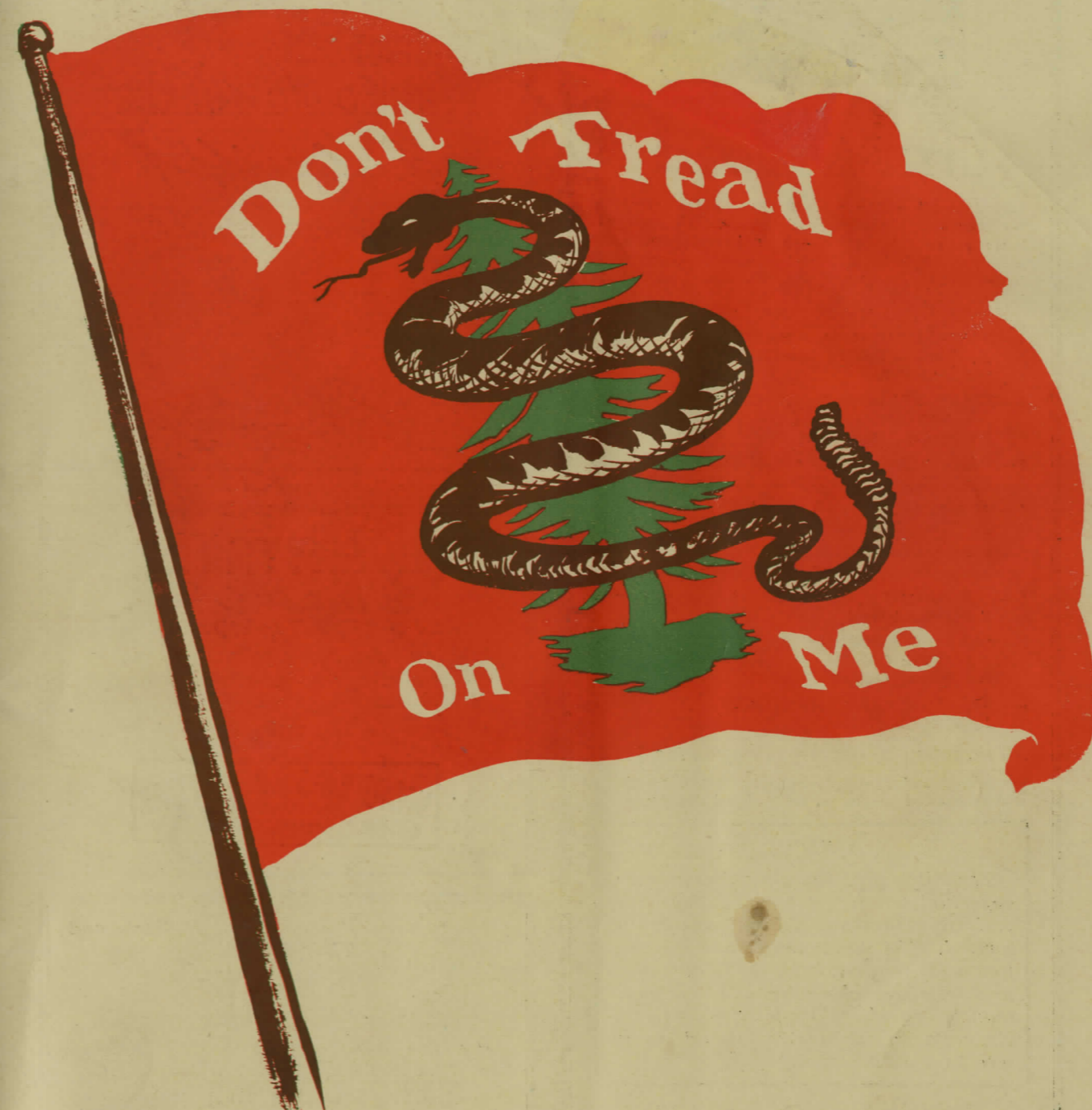
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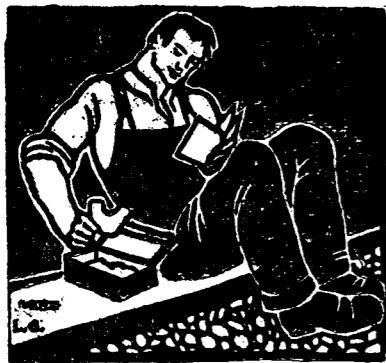
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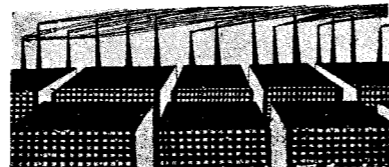
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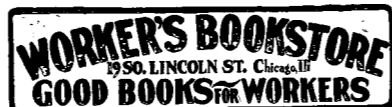
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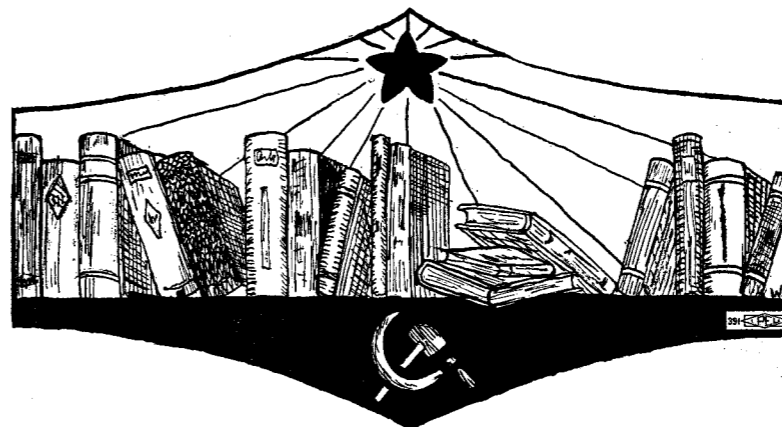
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Whose Revolution Is It?

By Bertram D. Wolfe

WHEN a child comes of age, he has the right to claim his inheritance. And it is a test of the maturity of the working class when it begins to claim its inheritance from past revolutions.

One of the earliest articles of Lenin, written in 1897, concerns itself with this very question. It is entitled: "What Inheritance Do We Reject." It disputes step by step with the Populists the inheritance from past bourgeois revolutionaries. "We are definitely more consistent and truer guardians of the inheritance than the Narodniki (Populists), he declares, and he then adds. . . . "to keep the inheritance by no means signifies that one must limit himself to what he has inherited." This article by the youthful Lenin was a definite declaration that the Russian working class was coming of age and claiming the inheritance that the Decem-

brists, the "enlighteners" and the earlier generation of Populists had left to it.

We Claim Our Inheritance.

Judged by this test, the American working class is still immature—still infantile leftist. It does not claim its heritage. It does not dispute with the bourgeoisie, and particularly the petty-bourgeoisie (the "back to 1776-ers") for its share in the inheritance of the first American revolution. This year, the Workers (Communist) Party intends to claim this inheritance on behalf of the American working class. It intends to proclaim that our class has come of age and demands its heritage.

This year is the 150th anniversary of the American revolution of 1776. If the average conscious worker is asked whether the American working class should commemorate the anniversary, his answer is an indignant "NO!"

"It was a bourgeois revolution," he will declare. "It created our present capitalist government. The constitution is a capitalist constitution. The Declaration of Independence is bunk. The revolutionary fathers represented the interests of landowners, merchants and capitalists. It's not our revolution. It gave the working class nothing but exploitation. We have nothing to commemorate."

Last year the Russian working class celebrated the 100th anniversary of the Decembrist uprising of 1825. The same workers who would condemn the celebration of 1776 by the American workers thought the celebration of the Decembrist uprising right and proper and to a limited extent joined in the celebration. Yet the Decembrist uprising of 1825 in Russia was an uprising of a few nobles and generals. If it had succeeded it would have developed a capitalist

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page.
Whose Revolution Is It? By Bertram D. Wolfe..	387
The British General Strike, by Robert Minor.....	393
Lessons of the Moscow Uprising, by V. I. Lenin..	397
The Tasks of the Party in the Light of the C. I. Decision, by C. E. Ruthenberg.....	401
The Furriers' Strike, by Ben Gitlow.....	406
China's Period of Organization, by Wm. F. Dunne	410
Trade Union Insurance, by Wm. Z. Foster.....	413
Agrarian Relations in America, by N. Ossinsky..	416
1877—The Bloody Year, by J. Sultan.....	419
The Persistent "Mexican Question," by Manuel Gomez	424
Marx and the Trade Unions, by N. Auerbach.....	429
Review	431

government or, more properly speaking, a liberalized feudal government where capitalism could develop more freely.

Again there is the French revolution. It also was a bourgeois revolution. Its leaders outlawed the labor unions. It created the government that rules France today in the interest of capitalism and imperialism. Yet not only do the conscious French workers commemorate the revolution of 1789, but even the workers of other countries commemorate it, build upon its achievements and draw revolutionary inspiration and lessons from it.

"We are trying to bring up our youth in the spirit of the deepest respect for the outstanding representatives of the great French revolution," declared Zinoviev in his lectures on the "History of the Russian Communist Party." "We understand their class character. We know that while the revolution sent a monarch to the guillotine, it also enforced laws against labor unions. Nevertheless, these representatives of the great bourgeois revolution were the first shock troops of struggling humanity; they broke thru the dams of feudalism and thereby opened the way to the spring floods of the proletarian revolutions."

The rejection of the heritage of the first American revolution is one of the signs of what Lenin named "infantile leftism." There is a tendency on the part of an immature left wing to "throw out the baby with the bath." To throw out the dirty water of parliamentary opportunism, it dumps out the baby as well—the participation in parliamentary campaigns. Reacting against opportunist platforms, it rejects partial demands altogether. Rejecting the bunk with which the American revolution of 1776 has been surrounded and the uses to which it is put in breeding chauvinism, rejecting also the reactionary slogan of the petty bourgeois liberals—"Back to 1776"—it renounces its revolutionary inheritance as well and declares that there is nothing in 1776 which can be carried forward toward 1927 and beyond. Such purely negative reactions to incorrect tactics and programs is a natural and wholesome first reaction of an undeveloped working class. But it must outgrow these reactions if it is to grow up. Hence, in the year 1926, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the first American revolution, it is appropriate that the American working class should grow up sufficiently to debunk the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of chauvinism, mystification and reaction and keep and use the wheat of revolutionary traditions and methods and lessons.

"Debunking" the Revolution.

And there is much debunking to be done. The average Fourth of July "celebration" would be better named a "silly-bray-tion." The official

orators of the Sesquicentennial will portray the revolutionary fathers as demigods, the revolution as a glorious vindication of the eternal rights of man, the institutions created as classless and eternal and unimprovable.

A first examination of the revolutionary "fathers" reveals them to be for the most part smuggling merchants fighting against the restrictions on trade set by the British government, "bootleg" manufacturers illicitly fabricating and selling articles that the British law forbade them to make or sell, land speculators trying to lay their hands on land which belonged to the British Crown or which had been awarded to Canada by the Quebec acts, men of wealth and affluence who continued to own slaves after "all men were created free and equal." The eternal rights of man prove to be the class interests of certain classes struggling for dominance as against another set of dominant classes. The glorious phrases of the Declaration of Independence to the effect that "all government rests upon the consent of the governed" did not prevent the rulers of the newly freed land from continuing the property and other qualifications for suffrage and putting over a constitution illegally and secretly drafted by the consent only of a small minority of those who were to be governed under it. If the right of the "pursuit of happiness" which the Declaration declares inalienable still stands, it is because "pursuing" does not necessarily mean catching up. If, in the pursuit of your happiness, you find that you have to picket a shop, you may find that your "inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness" may be taken away from you also.

But in this the revolution of 1776 is no exception to other bourgeois revolutions of which Engels wrote: "We know today that this kingdom of reason was nothing more than the idealized kingdom of the bourgeoisie; that this Eternal Right found its realization in bourgeois justice; that this equality reduced itself to bourgeois equality before the law; that bourgeois property was proclaimed as one of the essential rights of man; and that the government of reason. . . . came into being and could only come into being, as a democratic bourgeois republic. The great thinkers of the eighteenth century could not . . . go beyond the limits imposed upon them by their epoch."

But as soon as we have said that the Revolution of 1776 was a class revolution which produced certain class institutions and which made many promises which it did not and could not fulfill, then we have cleared the ground for a closer examination of the real nature of the revolution, the things it achieved and the things it represents.

Causes of the Revolution.

The dominant class in England at the time of the Revolution of 1776 held to the mercantilist

economic theory that colonies exist to produce raw materials for the mother country and to provide markets for its manufactured goods. During the latter part of the colonial period a whole series of laws were adopted by Parliament regulating the shipping trade and manufactures of the colonies in such a way as to foster the commercial and business interests of England. The Navigation Acts, framed for the purpose of building up the British merchant marine and navy, gave a monopoly of colonial commerce to British ships. The Factory Acts forbade the manufacture of hats, woolens and iron, and the exportation of such manufactured articles. The Trade Laws compelled the colonists to export certain goods to England only, and to purchase certain other things only in England. Prohibitive taxes were placed upon other articles when not imported from England. Thus the revolution was in the first place a revolt against a whole series of laws which limited the productivity of the colonies, denied them the right to manufacture what they pleased, to buy where they could buy most cheaply, to sell where they could sell most profitably, and to produce, ship and trade without restriction. As in all revolutions the existing framework of government and social structure in the interest of certain British classes had become a fetter upon further development of the productive forces of the new world and the fetters had to be broken if social progress was to continue.

James Oneal in his "Workers in American History" dismisses the leaders in the struggle against these laws as "smugglers." That they were smugglers there is no doubt. Lalor's "Encyclopedia of Political and Social Science" rightly declares: "Nine-tenths of their merchants were smugglers. One quarter of all the signers of the Declaration of Independence were bred to . . . the contraband trade. . . . Hancock was the prince of the contraband traders, and with John Adams as his counsel was appointed for trial before the admiralty court of Boston at the exact hour of the shedding of blood at Lexington." Yet it must not be overlooked that this smuggling was a violation of laws which hindered the further development of production in America and that by their secret and open struggle against these laws they were fighting for social progress.

A second cause of the American revolution was the limitation on western land sales. The thin strip of coastal settlements that made up the thirteen colonies was destined to spread over a whole continent. But the British king, backed by certain interests in America, was for limiting the settlements to the coast where they could be more easily controlled, more easily taxed and regulated, and whereby a cheap supply of labor would be assured (since laborers could not leave for unoccupied lands) and whereby the price of

coast lands would go up in value since the supply of land was limited. Laws were passed forbidding purchase of land from the Indians (in the name of protection of the Indians) and granting the Western lands to Canada.

James Oneal dismisses the opponents of these acts as "land speculators." He points out, and rightly, that Washington, Hamilton and Morris were interested in land speculation and that "Washington had good reasons for being a rebel, as he had surveyed lands outside of the royal grant and in exceeding the powers of his commission was liable to persecution as a law breaker." But he does not point out at the same time that the poor frontiersmen, the pioneers who occupied small farms on the Western frontier and who made up the bulk of the army of the revolution, were also interested in fighting these laws. And as "squatters" who had occupied land in defiance of the laws, they were also "land thieves." These land thieves and speculators were also fighting the battle of progress against laws that put fetters upon the development of the productive forces of the colonies.

A third cause of the revolution was the paper money question. During the French and Indian wars British merchants had sent over large quantities of goods on credit and rich planters, importers and merchants in America were all debtors to British merchants. These classes had been fighting against the issue of cheap paper money as a means of settling on easy terms the debts of the colonial poor but now that they were debtors they united to issue large quantities of paper currency. The British merchants succeeded in passing a law limiting and prohibiting this practice. This cause, generally ignored by orthodox historians because it shows the revolutionary fathers trying to escape paying their debts, was one of the prime causes of the American revolution and, like the land issue, united rich and poor alike in a common cause.

A fourth cause of the revolution was objection to British taxation. "Taxation without representation" was undoubtedly a fraudulent slogan. It was not the intention of those who raised it to give representation to everybody who paid taxes. What they objected to was the size of the taxes, the articles on which they were levied, the objectives of the taxes in placing restrictions on trade in "niggers," rum, molasses indentured servants (stamp tax) and other commodities, and the purpose of the taxes—to make the royal governors independent of the colonial legislatures by paying their salaries out of royal taxes in place of legislative grants. In one case, they even objected to the lowering of a tax—the tax on tea—because it enabled the British East India Company to undersell the tea smugglers. The Boston Tea party was nothing but the dumping overboard of the tea in question.

Taken all together the British laws for the governing of the colonies and their exploitation in the interest of certain British wealthy and ruling classes hampered the industrial life of the colonies and fettered the further development of the productive forces of America. Further industrial evolution was impossible without revolution. So revolution had to come—and it came. This disposes of all the current bunk about America being “unrevolutionary,” of the American method being “not revolution but evolution,” of the natural unnaturalness of revolutionary methods to the Anglo-Saxon and all the other master-class twaddle that masquerades as sociology and history.

A Minority Revolution.

All the available evidence tends to prove that the revolutionaries were a minority of the population. Most of the “aristocracy,” the large land-owners of the coast with the exception of the plantation owners of the South, almost all office-holders, the clergy of the Church of England, the more eminent lawyers and physicians, and the “legitimate” merchants—large merchants who did no smuggling—these were the active Tories or royalists. The Tory party included, in the words of the historian Jameson, “more than half of the most educated, wealthy and hitherto respected classes.” With them was a great indifferent mass having no great interest in change. They provided over 25,000 colonial troops to the British army. The active revolutionaries were the smuggling merchants, manufacturers and speculators in western land, backed by the small farmers, frontiersmen and artisans, who were won to their cause by such issues as paper money and thru the glittering and vague promises of the Declaration of Independence.

How could the minority of the population which made up the revolutionary army fight against the combined forces of a more or less equal number of active counter-revolutionaries and the British regular troops more numerous and better equipped and supplemented by hired Hessian soldiers.

Dr. Ramsay, a contemporary of the revolution, writing of North Carolina, says: “There was an ardor and an enthusiasm in the friends of Congress that was generally wanting in the advocates of royal government.” A rising social class whose victory means social progress always has “an ardour and enthusiasm” generally lacking in the counter-revolutionists.

This in part explained the victory of the rebels.

If the American colonists were divided, the inhabitants of the mother country were also. The Whigs (party of the new merchant-manufacturer class) in England were fighting against King George and his system of government. Pitt and Burke and Fox and a host of other major statesmen opposed the colonial policy and

supported the revolutionists. Lord Howe, who commanded the British troops in America during the first critical years of the revolution, was an avowed Whig and when it was too late was recalled and tried for treason because he abandoned Boston to George Washington, made no effort to come in time to the relief of Bourgoyne at Saratoga, and did not try to crush Washington's miserable, ill-equipped little army after repeatedly defeating it in New York and New Jersey. “Thruout the revolution the favorite toast at banquets of American officers was ‘General Howe’.”

During the latter years of the revolution, France, Spain and Holland came to the aid of the American forces, the revolutionists having managed to utilize not only differences in the British ruling classes but also conflicts of interest between England and other countries as well in the strategy of the revolting colonials. There is a little “Leninist” lesson in winning alliances for a revolution.

A Revolutionary Revolution.

Finally, the revolution succeeded above all because it was truly “revolutionary” in its methods. “The people who write histories,” says S. G. Fisher in his “True History of the American Revolution,” “are usually of the class who take the side of the government in a revolution; and as Americans, they are anxious to believe that our revolution was different from others, more decorous, and altogether free from the atrocities, mistakes, and absurdities which characterize even the patriot party in a revolution. They have accordingly tried to describe a revolution in which all scholarly, refined, and conservative persons might have unhesitatingly taken part; but such revolutions have never been known to happen.”

The truth of the matter is that our revolution of 1776 was carried out as a class dictatorship with all the accompaniments of force and revolutionary terror that the ruling class historians of today attack in the case of Soviet Russia and that the polite liberals deplore.

Dictatorship.

All revolutions create alongside of the regularly constituted government their own unconstitutional, extra-legal revolutionary authority that unites the revolutionists, mobilizes their forces for resistance to the legal authority and forms the germ of the future government if the revolution succeeds. In the bourgeois revolutions of the continent these “dual authorities” as Lenin called them, were the clubs of Girondins and Jacobins in the French revolution and the clubs of workers in the revolutions of 1848. In the Russian revolution the revolutionary authority that challenged the legally constituted government is to be found in the Workers' and Peasants' Councils or Soviets.

In the American Revolution of 1776 the dual or revolutionary authority was to be found first in the Committees of Correspondence and then in their national delegate bodies called Congresses. The Committees of Correspondence were small, local, unofficial groups of revolutionaries, formed to develop and unite resistance on all-colonial scale against objectionable British measures. They held meetings, sent out emissaries, carried on correspondence, supervised the boycott of British goods, tarred and feathered and otherwise punished those who broke the boycott or who informed on smugglers or other violators of British law, carried on a constant propaganda and in the later period mobilized and drilled volunteers and secretly gathered supplies of ammunition and developed a spy system to reveal the movements of British troops. They are analogous to the provincial clubs of the French Revolution or to the local Soviets of the Russian revolution. From another standpoint, they correspond to locals or sections of a revolutionary political party. They acted as the unifying vanguard of the revolutionary forces.

As the revolutionary movement developed and the day of open revolt approached, they chose delegates to national “congresses.” The first of these was the Stamp Act Congress called to plan resistance to the tax known as the Stamp Act. Of this Congress the historian Beard rightly says:

“The Stamp Act Congress was more than an assembly of protest. It marked the rise of a new agency of Government to express the will of America. It was THE GERM OF A GOVERNMENT WHICH IN TIME WAS TO SUPERSEDE THE GOVERNMENT OF GEORGE III. IN THE COLONIES.”

This is strangely reminiscent of the words of Marx:

“And the clubs, what were they but a coalition of the entire working class against the entire bourgeois class, the formation of a workers' state against the bourgeois state. . . . so many constituent assemblies of the proletariat and as many detachments of an army of revolt ready for action?”

As to suffrage, there was no pretense of letting anybody vote for these committees of correspondence and congresses except revolutionaries, just as exploiters and counter-revolutionaries were not permitted to vote for delegates to the Soviet congresses. On this Beard says:

“Such agencies were duly formed by the choice of men favoring the scheme, all opponents being excluded from the elections.”

The committee of correspondence and Congresses also “passed laws” and the committees executed them by a sort of summary or revolutionary justice which is technically known as “revolutionary terror.”

Every one of the “horrors” of the Russian revolution were repeated, including some of which the Russian revolution was innocent. The land and property of the loyalists was confiscated without indemnity. As to freedom of the press:

“Loyalists or Tories who were bold enough to speak and write against the Revolution were suppressed and their pamphlets burned. . . . A few Tories were hanged without trial, and others were tarred and feathered (this is a peculiar American sport.—B. D. W.). One was placed upon a cake of ice and held there ‘until his loyalty to King George might cool.’ Whole families were driven out of their homes. . . . Thousands were blacklisted and subjected to espionage. . . . Those who refused (to support the revolution.—B. D. W.) were promptly branded as outlaws, while some of the more dangerous were thrown into jail. . . .” (Beard.)

All loyalists were driven out of the State Legislatures much as Cromwell “purged” the Long Parliament, as the Jacobins drove out the delegates of the Girondins or as the Bolsheviks expelled the counter-revolutionaries from the Constituent Assembly. It seems that the methods of all revolutions are alike—revolutionary.

In this connection it is interesting to hear the testimony of a very conservative historian, Dr. James Sullivan, Assistant Commissioner of Education of the State of New York. Speaking at Columbia University recently, he said:

“Just as at present we are wont to speak with a kind of horror of the Soviets of Russia without realizing that our own committees of correspondence during the Revolution were almost counterparts of the present Russian system. . . . outside of the executions, for practically two-thirds of the revolutionary period our Soviets ruled with much the same cruelty, rigor and summary justice that the modern Russian Soviet has practiced.”

We can pardon Dr. Sullivan his little weakness as to executions (in Russia they are called executions, in the United States “lists of the slain in battle”) in view of his unusual clarity in political analysis. In spite of his proviso as to executions, he was roundly hissed by his respectable audience, as the New York Times reported.

The Results of the Revolution.

It is false to pretend, as many working class writers do, that the American revolution of 1776, since it did not live up to the glowing promises of the Declaration of Independence, did not accomplish anything. I can only briefly list a few of the results in an article that is already too long. The revolution freed the colonies from England, freed the western land for settlement and thereby raised the standard of living of the colonials, broke the fetters upon the expansion of production and released the gigantic productive forces that are now at hand for social use when the workers take them, lessened to a limited extent the area of slavery, made the first weak steps in lightening the laws against debtors, disestablished the Church and introduced greater religious toleration in many of the colonies, effected a much wider and more democratic distribution of the land than had existed previously, extended the suffrage slightly altho the property qualification for voting was not finally abolished in all states until after 1840, forced the Bill of Rights into the American Con-

stitution, set up a republican form of government which for its day was the most advanced, and served as a revolutionary inspiration to the European bourgeoisie in the French revolution.

What it did not do, it is needless to recount, except by way of debunking the nonsense of the capitalist apologists who pretend that it did everything that any "sane" man can desire. It did not do what a bourgeois revolution can not be expected to do. It did not free the wage slaves. It did not even free the chattel slaves. It did not keep all its fine promises. It did not introduce even "complete" bourgeois democracy (there is no such thing as complete bourgeois democracy). It did not abolish classes. It did not introduce socialism. It was only the first American revolution.

Whose Revolution Is It?

Whose revolution is it? The master class of today rejects it. They shudder at its revolutionary methods and conceal them. They reject its revolutionary traditions. They violate the Bill of Rights, calumniate or falsify its most advanced leadership, distort and disfigure its men and its acts. They are ashamed of its methods and its traditions.

A socialist speaker in New York was arrested in 1918 for publicly reading the provisions of the Constitution which guarantees freedom of speech and press. A Communist speaker in Pittsburgh who tried to read the Declaration of Independence was pulled in. "I didn't write that," he protested to the policeman, "Thomas Jefferson wrote it."

"Well, I'll pull you in first," answered the cop, "and then I'll go back and get this here guy Thomas Jefferson."

The bourgeoisie is arresting the revolutionists of 1776 and rejecting its heritage!

Whose revolution is it? I maintain that it is our revolution. The working class of today is the inheritor of all past ages. It does not reject the past. It takes what is good from the past and upon it builds the future. We need not go abroad for all of our revolutionary traditions. Some of them at least we can find in a body of American tradition. We are the inheritors and defenders of the Bill of Rights today. The bourgeoisie does not need, does not desire freedom of press, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly. We as a revolutionary class struggling for power become defenders of those freedoms. We are the inheritors and defenders of the right

of revolution to change a government that has become obnoxious and tyrannical. In a single sentence that is all that is declared in the Declaration of Independence. We should salvage and utilize the traditions of dictatorship and revolutionary struggle that the revolution has bequeathed and that the bourgeoisie rightly rejects. There is a tradition of struggle against "tyrannical" laws, there is a tradition of struggle against a system of fetters the further development of the forces of production and the further progress of society.

The Left Wing in the American Revolution

And finally there is the left wing. As in the French Revolution, as in every revolution, not all of the revolutionaries are the same. The leaders of 1776 range all the way from the aristocratic Washington and the monarchial Hamilton (the Mellon of his day), thru the democratic Franklin and Jefferson and the free-thinker, Tom Paine, to the champion of the poor farmers and imprisoned debtors, Daniel Shays, who started a new revolution against the newly formed government as soon as he had helped complete the old one against King George. We can say with Zinoviev:

"We understand their class character. . . Nevertheless these representatives of the great bourgeois revolution were the first shock troops of struggling humanity; they broke thru the dams of feudalism (imperialist-feudalism in this case) and thereby opened the way to the spring floods of the proletarian revolution."

Discover America!

This year, on the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the American revolution of 1776 it is time that the American workingclass begins to "discover America" and its body of native revolutionary traditions. It is time that we grew up and like the youthful Lenin disputed with the bourgeoisie for our heritage. We are the revolutionaries of our day and they the counter-revolutionists. In the words of Lenin we can say: "We are definitely more consistent and truer guardians of the inheritance than you." And to the "back to 1776-ers," the Norman Thomases and LaFollettes we can add in the words of Lenin: "To keep the inheritance by no means signifies that one must limit himself to what he has inherited."

"Back to nothing," we can answer. "We use the past to build the future, not to block the present. Forward to Communism. . . ."

After all it is only the first American Revolution. . . .

The British General Strike

By Robert Minor

"I REFUSE to believe that the general strike will really take place. It is a continental notion, and the British workingman is too sensible a being . . ." wrote a smug English gentleman, at the beginning of May. The gentleman was wrong only because he spoke some years too late. It used to be true that it couldn't happen in England. A better man has expressed the one-time unreadiness of the British labor movement to conduct a mass struggle, in the following words:

"Imperialism has a tendency to create privileged ranks also among the workers and of separating them from the broad masses of the proletariat.

"It should be observed that in England the tendency of Imperialism to split the working class, to increase opportunism among them and also to bring about a temporary stagnation of the labor movement, expressed itself much earlier than at the end of the Nineteenth and the beginning of the Twentieth Centuries. For two great typical characteristics of Imperialism existed in England since the middle of the Nineteenth Century: great colonial possessions and a monopolistic position in the world market. Marx and Engels for several decades systematically studied this relation of opportunism in the labor movement to the imperialistic characteristics of capitalism. For instance, on October 7, 1858, Engels wrote to Marx: 'The English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so much so that it appears that this most bourgeois of all nations evidently wants to bring things about to the point where it will have a bourgeois aristocracy and bourgeois proletariat alongside of the bourgeoisie. Of course, this is to a certain degree natural on the part of a nation exploiting the whole world.' "

—Lenin, "Imperialism."

That a general strike was impossible to England was a reasonable view as long as the entire working class was saturated with the ideology of imperialism, and while its upper and leading strata, in control of the organized labor movement, shared relatively well in the exploitation of half the world by the British bourgeoisie. But in April, 1913, Lenin could write:

"In recent times, England has been completely deprived of her monopoly. The former relatively bearable conditions of life given place to extreme impoverishment as a consequence of the high cost of living. The class struggle is becoming acute to a considerable degree, and simultaneously with this the basis of opportunism and the propaganda of Liberal-Labor politics among the workers is being undermined."

In the world war England struck the death blow at the then most dangerous rival in imperialism: Germany. But only to find that the war ushered in the period of proletarian revolution, and at the same time robbed England of the dominant position which had made her immune to revolution.

The decline of British capitalist economy since the war, giving place to the hegemony of the capitalist imperialism of the United States, has made it inevitable that attacks are made on the standard of living of the working class, and that the British proletariat begins to

cease to be what British bourgeois gentlemen call "sensible." A comparatively rapid series of events developed the working class toward proletarian consciousness.

"Classic England" and Force.

But "England is traditionally peaceful and orderly." England is the prototype of modern capitalist countries. The English revolution of extreme violence and civil war from 1642 to 1660, which cleared the way for the conquest of the world market, for the industrial revolution and the modern factory system under a government of the capitalist class (with a nominal monarch), was completed one hundred years before the American and French revolutions. The violence of Cromwell in 1642-1660 made it possible for the English bourgeoisie to pass over the periods of civil war of the French in 1789 and of Europe in 1848. It was possible to "muddle through" the Chartist crisis in the 1830's and to wet down the British working class movement with the loot of India, Africa, and the Pacific. By enslaving half a world England had "freedom" at home; by sweating brown and black colonials, England had a relatively prosperous—and "prosperous-thinking"—upper stratum of the home working class. The epoch of modern imperialism found England still the mightiest of empires and still possessing the name of "classic" democracy. The heroic traditions of the British bourgeois revolution were lost in the darkness of centuries, the traditions of the Chartist movement lost in the shadows of reform. And the new tradition of a patriotic labor movement—living as a lesser partner in the looting of the colonial empire—became firmly fixed. The martial face of England was turned outward toward the colonial world, not inward toward the English masses. The enormous bureaucratic and military machine which was necessary to hold power in continental states, was unnecessary in England, and therefore, absent. The dominant position of British capitalism made it possible to rule the British working class with compromises. British labor proceeded in the "democratic" way.

In the third quarter of the last century it was possible to conceive of England being an exception to the rule that the working class must shatter the bureaucratic and military machine of the state. It was during the Paris Commune of 1871 that Marx wrote to Kugelmann the famous passage in which it was implied that England might at that time be considered an exception to the rule of the violent "shattering" of the capitalist state:

"If you will look at the last chapter of my Eighteenth Brumaire, you will see that I declare the next attempt of the French revolution to be: not merely to hand over, from one set of handles to another, the bureaucratic and military machine—as has occurred hitherto—but to SHATTER it; and it is this that is the preliminary condition of any real people's revolution on the Continent. It is exactly this that constitutes the attempt of our heroic Parisian comrades."

Lenin, commenting on the above quotation, wrote:

". . . First, he confines his conclusions to the Continent. This was natural in 1871, when England was still the pattern of a purely capitalist country,

without a military machine and, in large measure, without a bureaucracy.

"Hence Marx excluded England, where a revolution, even a people's revolution, could be imagined and was then possible, without the preliminary condition of the destruction 'of the available ready machinery of the state.'

"Today, in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this distinction of Marx becomes unreal, and England and America, the greatest and last representatives of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty,' in the sense of the absence of militarism and bureaucracy, have today completely rolled down into the dirty, bloody morass of military-bureaucratic institutions common to all Europe, subordinating all else to themselves. Today, both in England and in America, the 'preliminary condition of any real people's revolution' is the breaking up, the shattering of the 'available ready machinery of the state' (perfected in those countries between 1914 and 1917, up to the 'European' standard)."

Lenin, "The State and Revolution."

However, we can now add to the foregoing quotations of Marx, Engels and Lenin, a quotation from the official announcement of the British government of May 7, 1926:

"All ranks of the armed forces of the Crown are hereby notified that any action they may find it necessary to take in an honest endeavor to aid the civil power will receive both now and afterwards the full support of his majesty's government."

The bourgeois press frankly paraphrased this order with the words: "Don't hesitate to shoot." (N. Y. Times, May 16.)

This pronouncement of the post-war bureaucratic-military machine of Great Britain on the occasion of the general strike in 1926 is a "literary" contribution worthy of being compared to those of Marx and Lenin. But it was not only a piece of writing; it was put into action; heavy bodies of troops in full trench equipment were moved extensively during the general strike, and not only for "moral" effect but also for military action against the workers; in the Poplar district of London they were actually used, according to reports.

The British bourgeoisie, with its state bureaucracy, its professional military machine and its subsidiary fascist organizations of violence, demonstrated beyond a shadow of question that any advance of the struggle toward the taking of power by the working class would have been met by the bloodiest civil war.

The years of the "peaceful British" tradition are at an end.

Forerunners of the General Strike.

A SERIES of developments, sketched in last month's issue of the Workers' Monthly by Comrade William F. Dunne, brought Great Britain rapidly toward the terrific event of the first British general strike. The myriad of transformations by the world war, the Russian Revolution, the formation of "Councils of Action" by British labor to prevent the intended declaration of war on the Soviet Republic (the Councils of Action having already shown the rudiments of the phenomenon of "dual power")—all of these events were preparing the ground. When it became necessary for the British bourgeoisie to call upon the right wing "labor leaders" to conduct the capitalist government on its behalf, a considerable disillusionment in regard to parliamentary methods resulted. The example of the Russian revolution began at last to have its effect when the upward trend of Soviet economy began to show a sharp con-

trast to the downward trend of their own standard of living. The trade union delegation went to Russia, and its report upon returning had a profound effect among the masses. The attacks by the bourgeoisie continued, and the coal crisis, not solely a British crisis, but a world coal crisis, fixed the point of greatest friction.

The Scarborough congress of the British Trade Union Congress brought to a head much of the accumulating material for a reorientation. In spite of some very distinct failures, in spite of the failure to get rid of the "heroes of Black Friday," there was something done which partially reflected the deep-going changes: The British Trade Union Congress adopted the principle of the right of colonial units to self-determination even to the point of separation from the empire. Second: A certain increase of the powers of the General Council of the Trade Union Council, which was a move away from the loose, federative form and toward the centralized form which would bring the entire labor movement of Great Britain under a single general staff, enabling concerted action and the centralized responsibility necessary to a general strike. (That the leadership which formed such a general staff remained dominantly the traitors of the past, was a fatal weakness in the result). The endorsement of a campaign for World Trade Union Unity through a joint committee of Russia and British workers, was both an effect and a cause of rapid acceleration.

In July, 1925, came "Red Friday," when the right wing leaders were forced to agree that the entire British Labor Movement would stand behind the coal miners in resisting the cut of their living standards. But still the decision of "Red Friday" for solidaric action remained to be executed by the "heroes of Black Friday."

The declaration of solidarity on "Red Friday" in July showed the leaders of the British bourgeoisie the necessity on their part, not to precipitate the struggle immediately, but to delay it by resorting to the subsidy until May 1 of this year.

Against May 1 the government prepared with system and energy.

The most impressive features of this period of the events were: (1) the bold, energetic preparations of the bourgeoisie and government, and (2) the callous and even openly stated, dogged determination of the right wing leaders of the trade unions that NO preparations should be made by the working class. According to an advance excerpt from a book soon to be published by A. J. Cook, secretary of the Miners' Federation, "there were certain leaders who were determined that no preparations should be made. Most notable among these was J. H. Thomas, who argued that any preparations would only encourage the government to make ready. Everybody knew that the government had made full preparations."

The formation of the "Order for the Maintenance of Supplies" was the organization of a monster strike-breaking body, largely of the middle and upper class youth, was the preparation as nearly as possible for a combination of strike-breaking and fascist violence. The existing fascist organization was absorbed into an official police force.

These preparations did not fail to alarm the rank and file of the trade unions, and a wave of discussion of the necessity for organizing an armed workers' guard swept through the entire field of organized labor. That this was not supported from the top by the leadership of the unions is the index of the treason of those leaders.

In its period of respite the capitalist class through the government moved to destroy or paralyze the small

British Communist Party. The effort was to arrest the entire Central Committee of the Party; twelve were arrested, tried and imprisoned for "fomenting mutiny in the armed forces of the crown." But to the astonishment of the bourgeoisie, the arrests only served to mobilize the working class behind their arrested comrades, the workers recognizing that this was a preliminary attack connected with the coming struggle.

To the further dismay of the bourgeoisie, for some "inexplicable" reason the big May Day parade in London was headed by the Communists and Communist sympathizers from Battersea.

In Great Britain during the months preceeding the general strike it was proven beyond any argument that the tactics of the Communists for work in the trade unions are sound. The left wing movement in Britain takes the name of the Minority Movement. Led by such men as George Hardy, Nat Watkins, Tom Quelch and Tom Mann, the Minority Movement had already obtained the organized support of one-fifth of the trade unionists of Great Britain, the conference of the left wing in March having represented 950,000 organized workers.

Was the General Strike a Political Struggle?

The British general strike brought a controversy as to whether the strike was of political nature. Open enemies said that the strike was political, that it was producing the phenomenon of "dual government," while the supposed "leaders" of the strike (secretly its enemies) strenuously denied any political character in the strike, saying that it was one of purely economic demands and that it would not in any way extend into political character.

The General Strike Was of Political Character.

The bourgeoisie and the government, knowing how to handle the right wing leaders, terrorized them by pointing out the inevitable political significance of the general strike. Baldwin expressed it:

"The government has found itself challenged by an alternative government."—N. Y. Times, May 4.

Baldwin meant that the strike if continued, must dispute the power of the bourgeois state; and, knowing the nature of the right wing leaders, he offered this as an argument that they must discontinue the strike.

Being unwilling to carry the strike to its inevitable development, and yet compelled to pretend to be carrying on the strike, the right wing leaders had to pretend that the strike had no political significance; but with these words on their lips, they in fact recognized that the strike struggle was political, and proceeded to destroy the strike.

When the pressmen of the "Daily Mail" refused to print that scurrilous capitalist newspaper with an editorial attacking the workers, the whole question—the political question—of "freedom of the press" became the precipitating incident of the general strike. Sharply before the eyes of the whole working class of Britain it was demonstrated that freedom of the press is not some abstraction of rhetoric, not a matter of negative permission, but a question of possession of printing plants, paper, etc. In order to have solved the question of the press—in order to have obtained Freedom of the Press (Oh! sacred Anglo-Saxon words!)—for the great masses of Britain, for all but the small circle of millionaire publishing house proprietors and their clients, it would have been necessary for British Labor to confiscate all of the big newspaper plants, paper supplies, etc., and, before this, to create the necessary authority, at first "dual" to, and then superior to, and suppressing, the bourgeois state authority.

The Communist International recognized in advance the political nature of the struggle that was coming. On April 25, it issued a manifesto which contained the following passage:

"The miners' strike would mean a general strike and a general strike cannot remain an economic struggle, that is to say, the proletariat will fight against the capitalists, class will fight against class. The British bourgeoisie, the British government will mobilize all forces of the state, as the fundamental question of capitalist society are involved, as the question of private property is raised and the whole capitalist state apparatus will be used to defend private property. The workers are seeing with growing fury how the government is coming forward more and more brutally on the side of the capitalists, how it is organizing special troops against the workers, how the government is affording help in the organizing of fascist groups. The struggle for wages and working conditions will raise in the minds of the working class the question of power."

Politics and the Army.

But we must understand the full significance of the political character of the general strike. As the army (and in the case of Britain, the navy) would be the finally decisive element, it was necessary to draw the soldiers and sailors into a correct political position toward the general strike. The army, after the long periods of unemployment in Great Britain, had become of the estimated composition of about 97 per cent working class and included 10,000 young unemployed coal miners. This army, as the ultimately decisive element in relation to the general strike, should have been gotten to take its political position in regard to the strike, free from coercion by the government, which was not a neutral element. The government did not neglect to use every means of influencing the army. The right wing trade union leaders refused to make any approach to the army to secure its support of the workers, because the trade union leaders did not want to have the army support the workers. The mere suggestion of the trade unions sending delegations to regiments of troops to ask their sympathy for the strike seemed to the right wing leaders of the Trade Union General Council as the most unspeakable treason. To their view, the loyalty of the army to the government which was fighting the strike was necessary. It was necessary in order to give the government the ultimate power to break the strike.

An address to the army by the Trade Union General Council would have been an acknowledgement of the political essence of the strike; that is, that the workers' organs did not acknowledge the government's right to dispose of the army, that the question of state power was at issue.

The Communist Party issued the famous leaflet, "Don't Shoot!" which formed the basis of the conviction and imprisonment of twelve members of its central committee.

Comrade Trotsky, in answering a critic of his recent book on England, has pointed out that:

". . . a real transference of power from the hands of one class to those of another depends to an incomparably greater degree on the British army and navy than on parliament. The fight for power of the proletariat must therefore be a fight to win over the navy. "It is necessary that the seamen—not, of course, the admirals, but the stokers, electrical engineers, sailors and other workers know of and learn to un-

derstand the tasks and aims of the working class. All difficulties must be surmounted in order to find the way to them. Only by indefatigable, systematic preparatory work can a situation be created in which the bourgeoisie will no longer be able to rely on the navy in its struggle. Unless this condition is fulfilled it is nonsense even to speak of victory."—Imprecor, June 3, 1926.

The Right-Wing Leaders.

The Manifesto issued by the Communist International on April 25 said:

"... The working masses are ready to fight, but their leaders are partly hesitant; some of them are betraying the fight before the battle. **THE RIGHT WING OF THE LABOR PARTY AND OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ARE SHAMELESSLY WORKING FOR A NEW 'BLACK FRIDAY.'** MacDONALD and HODGES have openly gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie; MacDONALD has come forward against the strike and HODGES advocates the lengthening of the working hours. Even the General Council, to which falls the role of General Staff, declared on the eve of the conflict that it did not demand any increase in its powers, in spite of the decisions of Scarborough."

Commenting further on the actions of the reformist leaders, the rejection of the united front by the executive of the Amsterdam International, the fact that even the Left leaders of the Labor Party and the trade unions were showing themselves not up to the situation, the manifesto continues:

"... The Communist International is convinced that the international labor movement will prove its solidarity by deeds, if the general council places itself at the head of the movement. **IT IS THE HISTORICAL DUTY OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO TAKE OVER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE STRUGGLE.** If the General Council abstains from the fight and follows the way of base compromise, it will take upon itself a great historical responsibility."

The British bourgeoisie—and the shrewd American correspondents—were as conscious as was the Communist International that the right wing leaders were working for the single purpose of defeating the strike. On May 3 a correspondent of the New York Times, cabling from London, spoke of "J. H. Thomas, affectionately known as 'Jim' by political opponents as well as friends."

Mr. Thomas, while supposed to be leading a general strike, was quoted by an American correspondent on May 9 as saying publicly:

"If the people who talk about a fight to a finish carried it out in that sense the country would not be worth having at the end of it."

"I have never disguised and I do not disguise now that I have never been in favor of the principle of the general strike."

A New York Times correspondent from London on May 8 cabled of: "Ramsey MacDonald and J. H. Thomas, who never really wanted the general strike and who were forced ahead by more radical elements of the organized labor movement."

J. A. Cook, secretary of the Miners' Federation, was avoided like poison by the right-wing leaders, who pulled off their treason in secret conferences in the offices of the government, not notifying Cook and apparently playing a game of hide-and-seek to prevent his foreknowledge of conferences to be held. Cook begged the Trade Union General Council to co-opt two representatives of the Miners' Federation, but the General Council refused. Speaking to a meeting of miners in South Wales, Cook

said:

"We have been fighting not only against the government and the owners, but against a number of labor leaders, especially the political leaders, whose position has been compromised. . . . I have had the experience of being bullied in colliery offices; I had experience in 1920 and in 1921 in meeting various prime ministers, but never have we been bullied by the employers or the government to the extent that we were bullied by certain trade union leaders to accept a reduction in wages. The government knew that, and the owners knew it. One man on the other side said to me: 'The T. U. C. will help us,' and the prime minister on more than one occasion publicly thanked the T. U. C."

Double dealing of the most abandoned sort was going on from the moment that the struggle became certain. On the first of May at 9 p. m. Secretary Cook of the Miners learned, entirely by accident, that the negotiating committee of the Trade Union Congress were at that moment closeted with the prime minister in the government offices without having notified the miners' representatives. Already on the first of May the right-wing leaders were selling out the British workers. At this treacherous conference they agreed to a formula which meant that on the day of the opening of the struggle the right-wing leaders agreed to a reduction of wages and to district agreements.

On Sunday, May 2, while the whole world was ringing with the news of the coming general strike in support of the miners' fight against a reduction of pay or lengthening of hours, a small sub-committee was again in secret conference with Baldwin, and the following formula was drawn up:

"We will urge the miners to authorize us to enter upon a discussion with the understanding that they and we accept the report as the basis of a settlement, and we approach it with the knowledge that it may eventually mean a reduction of wages."

This was treason, but it was perfectly logical treason. There were only two courses to take: The decline of British capitalist economy, and especially the crisis in the coal industry, had sharply brought the necessity to choose between two courses: "(1) The complete resistance to all wage cuts and the consequent sharpening of the class struggle up to the point of the workers organizing to take power from the capitalists, and (2) the adaptation of the workers to the conditions of capitalism on the down grade by the continuous acceptance of wage cuts."

The right-wing leaders preferred to serve their masters.

But the tremendous labor struggle in Great Britain has not ended, but, on the contrary, is now (at the time this is written, June 21) at a sharp period in the form of a strike of more than one million coal miners. The repercussions of a strike of more than a million coal miners in Great Britain (twice as many as struck in the great American coal strike of 1922), are today, contrary to all pretenses, penetrating the vitals of the British capitalist system.

The first necessity today for American workers is—**SUPPORT THE BRITISH COAL MINERS!** Especially in every American trade union, this means moral and FINANCIAL support with the utmost speed and generosity.

The Question of "Foreign" Aid.

The bourgeoisie has implanted in the minds of the working class very firmly the idea that it is "unnatural" and "treasonable" for workers engaged in a desperate

(Continued on page 400.)

Lessons of Moscow Uprising

By Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin

THE book "Moscow in December 1905" (published at Moscow, 1906) has come out at a moment that could not have been more timely. The assimilation of the experience of the December uprising is an essential task of the workers' party. To our regret this

book is a "barrel of honey with a spoonful of tar"—most interesting material despite its incompleteness—but incredibly slovenly, incredibly trivial deductions. Of these deductions we shall speak separately, but now let us turn to the contemporary political topic of the day—to the lessons of the Moscow uprising.

The chief form of the December movement in Moscow was a peaceful strike and demonstrations. The overwhelming majority of the working masses' activity participated only in these forms of struggle. But just this December action in Moscow has shown plainly that the general strike as an independent and main form of struggle has outlived itself, that the movement with elemental, unrestrainable force surges out of these narrow frames and creates the highest form of struggle—the uprising.

All the revolutionary parties, all the unions in Moscow, in declaring the strike, recognized and even felt the inevitability of its transformation into an uprising. On the sixth of December it was decided by the Council of Workers' Deputies "to strive to transform the strike into an armed uprising." But in fact, all organizations were unprepared for this; even the coalition Council of the fighting companies (on the ninth of December!) spoke of the uprising as of something remote, and undoubtedly the street fighting went on over its head and without its participation. The organizations lagged behind the growth and the swing of the movement.

The strike grew into an uprising first of all under the pressure of objective conditions which piled up after October. To catch the government unawares by the general strike was already impossible; it had already organized the counter-revolution, which was prepared for military actions. And the general march of the Russian revolution after October and the succession of events in Moscow in the December days have strikingly affirmed one of the profound propositions of Marx: the revolution goes forward by the fact that it creates a solidified and strong counter-revolution; that is, it com-

This article by Lenin, published in the "Proletariya" on August 29, 1906, discusses the general strike of December, 1905, in Moscow, which developed into an uprising. It traces the development from the general strike into the higher form. Since the British general strike has brought to the front the question of the general strike, this analysis by Lenin becomes of peculiar interest at this time. The elimination of a few words in the article has been unavoidable.

pels the enemy to resort to ever more extreme means of defense and in this manner it works out ever more powerful means of attack.

December 7 and 8: Peaceful strike, peaceful demonstrations of the masses. Evening of December 8: The siege

of the aquarium. Afternoon of December 9: The assault by the Dragoons upon the crowd at Strastnaya Square. In the evening: The wrecking of the house of Fidler. Feeling is rising. The unorganized street crowd builds, quite elementally and hesitantly, the first barricades.

December 10: The beginning of artillery fire at the barricades and into the crowd on the streets. The constructing of barricades becomes confident, already not isolated but unquestionably of a mass character. All the population is upon the streets; the entire city in the main centers is being covered with a network of barricades. In the course of a few days there opens up a stubborn guerilla struggle between the companies and the troops, a struggle which wore out the troops and compelled Dubasov to plead for reinforcements. Only toward the 15th of December did the preponderance of the governmental forces become complete, and on the 17th the Semenov troops demolished Pressnya, the last stronghold of the uprising.

From the strike and demonstrations to isolated barricades. From isolated barricades to mass construction of barricades and to street fighting with the troops. Over the heads of organizations, the mass proletarian struggle passed from the strike to the uprising. In this consists the greatest historic acquisition of the Russian revolution attained by the December of 1905—an acquisition bought, like all preceding ones, at the price of greatest sacrifices. From the general political strike the movement was lifted to the highest stage. It compelled the reaction to go to the limit in resistance, and by this it brought nearer by a gigantic step the moment when the revolution also goes to the limit in the application of the means of attack. For the reaction there is no further to go than the artillery fire upon the barricades, the houses and the street crowd. For the revolution there is still further to go than the Moscow companies; there is much, very much further to go, in width as well as in depth. And the revolution has gone far ahead since December. The

basis of the revolutionary crisis has become immeasurably broader; the cutting edge must be sharpened now more acutely.

The change in the objective conditions of the struggle demanding the transition from the strike to the uprising, was sensed by the proletariat earlier than by its leaders. Practice, as always, went ahead of theory. Peaceful strike and demonstrations all at once ceased to satisfy the workers, who asked: What next? Who demanded more aggressive action. The directive to construct barricades came to the outlying regions with enormous delay while barricades were already being constructed in the center. The working masses set to work but were not satisfied with that, and—asking: What next? they demanded aggressive action. We, the leaders of the social-democratic proletariat, showed ourselves in December to be like that chief of the army who so absurdly disposed his regiments that the greatest part of his troops did not participate actively in the battle. The working masses looked for and did not find directives in regard to mass actions.

Therefore, there is nothing more shortsighted than the view of Plekhanov which was seized upon by all opportunists, that it was not advisable to begin an untimely strike, that "they should not have resorted to arms." On the contrary, it was necessary more resolutely, energetically and aggressively to resort to arms; it was necessary to make clear to the masses the impossibility of a mere peaceful strike alone, and the necessity of a fearless and ruthless armed struggle. And now we must finally, openly and to everybody's hearing, acknowledge the insufficiency of political strikes, must agitate among the very broadest masses for the armed uprisings, not covering up this question with any sort of "preliminary stages," not throwing any veil over the question. To hide from the masses the indispensability of a desperate, bloody, destructive war as the immediate task of the coming action, means to deceive both oneself and the people.

Such is the first lesson of the December events. Another lesson concerns the character of the uprising, the method of conducting it, the conditions of the coming over of the troops to the side of the people. In our midst, in the right wing of the party, an extremely one-sided view is wide-spread in regard to this transition. One cannot pronounce for a struggle against the modern army; it is necessary that the army become revolutionary. It is self-understood that if the revolution does not assume a mass character, and does not catch hold of the army itself, then there can be no talk of a serious struggle. It is self-understood that work in the army is indispensable. But it is impossible to conceive this coming over of the army in the form of some simple, isolated act coming as a result of conviction on the one hand and con-

sciousness on the other. The Moscow uprising clearly shows us how stereotyped and deadly is such a view. Indeed it is inevitable in every truly popular movement that the vacillation of the army leads to a sharpening of the revolutionary struggle, to the real struggle for the army. The Moscow insurrection demonstrates to us, precisely this most desperate, most curious struggle between the reaction and the revolution, for the army. Dubasov himself declared that only 5,000 out of 15,000 Moscow troops were reliable. The government held the wavering troops with the most varied and desperate measures, persuaded them, flattered them, bribed them with the distribution of watches, money and such things, debauched them with vodka, deceived them, intimidated them, locked them in the barracks, disarmed them, and snatched away from their midst by treachery and violence, soldiers suspected of being the most unreliable. And it is necessary to have the courage to acknowledge directly and openly that we have found ourselves lagging behind the government in this respect. We were not capable of utilizing the forces at our disposal for such an active, daring, enterprising and offensive struggle for the wavering army as that which the government carried on and carried through. We prepared, and we shall still more persistently prepare, the mental "making over" of the army. But we would show ourselves miserable pedants if we were to forget that in the moment of insurrection a physical struggle for the army is also necessary.

The Moscow proletariat gave us, in the December days, excellent lessons in the mental "making over" of the army—for example, on the 8th of December, upon Strastnaya Square, when the crowds surrounded the Cossacks, mixed with them, fraternized with them and induced them to ride away. Or on the 10th, at Pressnya, when two girl workers, carrying the red banner in a crowd of ten thousand, dashed out to meet the Cossacks with the cry: "Kill us! We shall not give up the banner while we are alive!" And the Cossacks became confused and trotted away while the crowd shouted: "Long live the Cossacks!" These examples of courage and heroism must be forever imprinted on the consciousness of the proletariat.

But the following are examples of our backwardness as compared to Dubasov. On the 9th of December, along Bolshaya Serpukhovskaya street, soldiers march, singing the Marseillaise, to join the insurrectionists. The workers send delegates to them. Malakhov gallops up to them at break-neck speed. The workers were late, Malakhov arrived in time. He delivered a fiery speech, he caused the soldiers to waver, he surrounded them with dragoons, led them to the barracks and locked them in. Malakhov came in time, but we did not, although in two days, in response to our appeal, 150,000 men

arose who could and should have organized the patrolling of the streets. Malakhov surrounded the soldiers with dragoons, but we did not surround the Malakhovists We could and should have done it and the social-democratic press had already long ago (in the old Iskra) pointed out that

..... That which happened on Bolshaya Serpukhovskaya street was duplicated, apparently, in its main outlines, before Nesvizhsky barracks and before the Krutitsky barracks and during the attempts of the proletariat to "pull out" the Ekaterinoslav troops, and during the sending of delegates to the sappers in Alexandrov, and during the returning of the Rostov artillery which had started on the way to Moscow, and during the disarming of the sappers in Koloma, etc. At the moment of insurrection we were not equal to our tasks in the struggle for the wavering army.

December obviously confirmed still another profound proposition of Marx that had been forgotten by the opportunists: That insurrection is an art and that the chief rule of this art is—desperately daring, relentlessly decisive offensive. We have not sufficiently assimilated this truth. We ourselves have not sufficiently learned and have not sufficiently taught the masses this art, this rule of offensive at whatever cost. We must now with all energy recover what was lost. It is not sufficient to form groupings with respect to political slogans, there is necessary another grouping with respect to armed insurrection. Whoever is against it, whoever does not prepare for it, must be ruthlessly thrown out of the ranks of partisans of the revolution, must be thrown over to its adversaries, to the traitors and cowards; for the day is approaching when the force of events, when the environment of the struggle will compel us to separate our enemies from our friends by this test. Not passivity must we preach, not simple "waiting" for the time when the army will "come over"; no, we must ringingly proclaim the indispensability of a daring offensive and

..... and the most energetic struggle for the wavering army.

The third great lesson which Moscow has given us touches upon the tactics and organization of forces for the insurrection. Military tactics depend upon the level of military technique—this truth was masticated and put into the mouths of the Marxists by Engels. Military technique now is not the same as it was in the middle of the 19th century. To operate against artillery with crowds and to defend barricades with revolvers would be stupidity. And Kautsky was right when he wrote that it is time to revise, after Moscow, the conclusions of Engels, Moscow having put forward "new barricade tac-

tics." These tactics were the tactics of guerilla warfare. The organization conditioned by such tactics was of mobile and exceedingly small detachments: Units of ten, three, and even of two. One can often meet among us at present social-democrats who snicker when the talk is about five and of three. But the snickering is only a cheap means of closing one's eyes to the new question of tactics and of organization, called forth by the street struggle in the face of modern military technique. Read thoroughly the account of the Moscow uprising, gentlemen, and you will understand what connection the "units of five" have with the question of "new barricade tactics."

Moscow brought forth these tactics, but was far from developing, far from expanding in any broad, any really mass dimensions. The members of the fighting groups were few, the working masses did not receive the slogan of daring attacks and did not apply this slogan; the character of partisan detachments was too uniform, their arms and their methods were insufficient, their knowledge of how to lead the crowd was hardly developed at all. We must make up for all of this, and we shall make up for it in learning from the experience of Moscow, propagating this experience among the masses, stimulating the creativeness of the masses themselves for the further development of this experience. And that guerrilla war, that mass terror which is going on in Russia everywhere almost incessantly since December, will undoubtedly help us to teach the masses the correct tactics for the moment of insurrection. The social democracy must acknowledge and accept into its tactics this mass terror, of course, organizing and controlling it, subordinating it to the interests and conditions of the labor movement and of the general revolutionary struggles, throwing aside and ruthlessly chopping off that "hoodlum" distortion of this guerilla war which was so excellently and so ruthlessly dealt with by the Moscowans in the days of the uprising and by the Letts in the days of the renowned Lettish republics.

In the most recent time military technique is making further new steps forward. The Japanese war brought out the hand grenade. The arms factory has placed upon the market the automatic rifle. The one as well as the other already begins to be applied with success in the Russian revolution, but in a measure far from sufficient. We can and must utilize the perfections of technique to teach the workers' detachments

..... With the participation of the working masses in the city uprising, with the mass attack upon the enemy, with the decisive skillful struggle for the army which wavers still more after the Duma, after Sveaborg and Kronstadt, with the assured participation of the vil-

lage in the common struggle—the victory will be with us in the next all-Russian armed insurrections!

Let us, then, more widely extend our work and more courageously formulate our problems, assimilating the lessons of the great days of the Russian revolution. At the base of our work lies the true estimate of the interests of the classes and of the needs of popular development at the present moment. Around the slogan of the overthrow of the czarist power and the convocation of the Constituent Assembly by the revolutionary government, we are grouping and will group an ever greater part of the proletariat, the peasantry and the army. The development of the consciousness of the masses remains, as always, the basis and main content of all of our work. But let us not forget that to this general, constant and basic task, such moments as Russia is living through now are adding peculiar and special tasks. Let us not be transformed into pedants and philistines, nor excuse ourselves from these peculiar tasks of the moment, these special tasks of the present form of struggle, with meaningless references to our constant duties, unchanging under all conditions and at all times.

Let us remember that the great mass struggle is drawing near. This will be the armed insurrection. It must be, as far as possible, simultaneous. The masses must know that they are entering into an armed, bloody, desperate struggle. Contempt for death must spread among the masses and secure the victory. The offensive against the enemy must be most energetic; attack, and not defense, must become the slogan of the masses, the ruthless extermination of the enemy becomes their task; the organization of the struggle takes a mobile and flexible form; the wavering elements of the army will be drawn into the active struggle. The party of the conscious proletariat must fulfill its duty in this great struggle.

The British General Strike

(Continued from page 396)

struggle, for example in England, to accept financial help from "foreign" workers, and particularly from workers in the Soviet Republics. MacDonald, Thomas, Henderson, Clynes and Varney literally trembled before the solemn incantation of the Duke of Northumberland, that

"this is a conflict between those who love their country and those who ally themselves with its enemies."

But the experience of facing the concrete problem has gone far toward destroying this absolutely fatal taboo among the masses of the British workers. After the betrayal of the general strike, it was no longer possible to give any potency to the "Soviet gold" taboo in respect to the coal strike. Dispatches to the American capitalist press indicate that the contributions from many countries—but particularly from the trade unions of the Soviet Republics, are enabling the British miners to hold out firmly.

Yet something of this dangerous taboo, with which the capitalist medicine-men may again paralyze British labor remains. Slave ideology is not removed in a single week.

Relying upon this, the British government addressed a memorandum to the Soviet government based on the idea that the Soviet government had intruded into British affairs when the Soviet trade unions sent money into England for the use of strikers.

A large dramatization of the anti-imperialist, the real proletarian, attitude, was called for by the situation. The Presidium of the Union of Soviet Labor Federations (according to the New York Times of June 18), in connection with a demonstration against the British memorandum, issued a protest, saying:

"This interference of the British government in the mutual relations of the Russian and English workers is an attempt to infringe the freedom of our working class to give fraternal aid to the workers of other countries in whatever form and to whatever extent it is deemed necessary.

"The Union of Soviet Labor Federations expresses a decided protest against the interference of the English government in the affairs of the Russian workers and declares that organized labor in our working republic will not allow anyone to dictate its line of conduct.

"To demand that the Soviet government forbid the Soviet Federations to help their class brothers is to show an entire lack of comprehension of the spirit and existence of the Soviet power.

"The Labor Federations of the Soviet Union declare that they helped, are helping and will help the striking workers of England because the affair of the English miners is our affair, whatever may be the opinion of the British government supporting the mine owners.

"Down with interference in our mutual relations with the English workers!

"Hands off the Soviet Labor Federations!"

The issuance of this statement can be called a milestone in the history of labor. It sharply enlightens and helps to consolidate one of the big gains of the general strike experience; not the hegemony of a national bourgeoisie over "its own" proletariat, but the international relations of the work class is the inviolable thing.

The British general strike was by treachery defeated, but the British labor movement was nevertheless carried forward by tremendous stages, through exactly this general strike.

The Communist Party of Great Britain will grow rapidly as a result of the great action, and every effort of the government to destroy the Communist Party will certainly only draw greater support to the Communists among the broad masses of organized labor. The already splendidly begun work of building the left wing can but go ahead more rapidly, and the basis for the elimination of the yellow leadership of the unions and of the Labor Party has been laid by themselves. The open road of Bolshevism alone lies ahead.

Of course, the victory of the British workers is out of the question until the right wing leadership is overthrown and a strong Communist Party of Great Britain leads the struggle. The phenomenal successes of the British Communist Party in the period preceding the general strike have been striking. A detailed account of the party's activities and tactics in the general strike ought to be the center of this article, but information is lacking. The Workers' Monthly hopes to have such an account in a later number.

The Tasks of the Party in the Light of the Comintern

By C. E. Ruthenberg.

I. THE INNER PARTY SITUATION.

THE theses of the Enlarged Committee of the Communist International point

out that the role which the United States is essaying is that of the "saviour" of the world capitalist order.

This country has become the dominant imperialist capitalist power. It is with the aid of the loans and investments of the American capitalists that the partial and temporary stabilization of European capitalism has been achieved. Every European country looks to the United States for the loans and capital with which to avert financial crises and to rehabilitate its industry. American capitalism, through its loans and investments, through the debt settlement made by the government under the pressure of the great banking houses, which actually represented partial cancellation of the war debts, is trying to save European capitalism from the undermining forces which were let loose by the World War, and at the same time trying to save itself.

American imperialist domination is extending itself to all parts of the world. In Latin-America, in Asia, the power of the American capitalists, as wielded through loans and investments, is constantly increasing.

In considering the status of the capitalist order as a world system we can say that American capitalism is the most powerful force fighting against the proletarian revolution.

The Role of the Party.

This fact is emphasized by the Communist International in its resolution on the controversy within our Party. The role which American capitalism is playing in the struggle against the proletarian revolution, places a great responsibility on the Workers (Communist) Party.

It is our task to carry on the revolutionary struggle against this mighty capitalist power, to mobilize the workers against it, and finally to overthrow and destroy it.

It is in the light of this task and this responsibility that we must consider the decision of the Communist International in regard to the controversy and factional struggle which has been going on in our Party for the past two years.

We are still a very weak Party, compared to the great task and responsibility which we must fulfill. We must work in a labor movement which, compared to that of Europe, is still very backward in the development of class consciousness. We must fight the mightiest capitalist foe which exists.

This article is a comprehensive summary of the report of the Political Committee given by Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, general secretary of the Party, at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party, held May 26, 27, 28, 1926.

If, in addition to the great difficulty which we have to overcome in the objective condition in which we are working, we are unable to

mobilize our full strength for the struggle because of our inner factional fighting, then indeed the outlook for us is dark.

Effect of the Past Factional Struggle.

We all know that the result of the factional struggle which has raged in the Party for two years now, has been a serious deterrent to the building of the Party influence among the working masses and to developing the organized strength of the Party. The greater part of our energy and strength was drawn into the factional fight in place of being directed against our capitalist enemy.

Comrade Zinoviev declared, in his closing speech in the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International, that if the factional struggle in our Party continues, there was great danger of the temporary disappearance of the organized Communist movement in the United States.

We all realize that our Party cannot stand further factional fighting. We must find a means of unifying the Party and directing its energies into constructive work among the masses.

The Decision of the Comintern.

The decision of the Communist International emphasizes over and over again that the factional struggle in our Party must come to an end. It lays down a basis for co-operation in the Party work of the comrades who have hitherto supported various groupings.

The division of work established by the Comintern decision is an unusual one so far as a Communist Party is concerned. To create within the Central Committee of the Party a sub-committee with a majority made up of comrades previously in opposition, was a step which only exceptional conditions could justify. The Comintern believed that these conditions existed in our Party and that such a step was necessary in order to create the condition for common work within the Party.

The present leadership of the Party will carry out this decision in letter and spirit.

Unifying the Party.

It has been the attitude of the comrades at present charged with responsibility for the leadership of the Party, from the beginning of their taking up this responsibility, that the factional alignment in the Party must be eliminated and the Party unified for common work. We have consistently followed the policy of achieving this goal.

The decision of the Communist International establishes the fact that substantial successes were achieved in this work, and endorses these efforts. Our policy in the future will be to carry on the work of the Party in such a manner that this work can be completed.

We must broaden the leadership of the Party and draw into it every comrade who can contribute to that leadership. We must try to draw into responsible Party work every comrade capable of carrying on such work without any discrimination based upon the previous factional alignment.

The Party tasks are so great that the services of every comrade who can contribute to the upbuilding of the Party are needed and should be used in the Party work.

Naturally, the greatest responsibility in carrying out the decision of the Communist International and carrying on the Party work in such a manner as to eliminate the factional struggle, rests upon the comrades entrusted with the majority in the Political Committee of the Party. We recognize that responsibility, and we will endeavor to direct the Party policy in such a way, and support such an inner Party line, as will create in the Party the conditions for the ending of the factional struggle. We will give the opportunity for full participation in the Party leadership to all the comrades irrespective of previous groupings.

At the same time we must, however, have the co-operation of the comrades who have previously been in opposition. They must work with us in banishing the factional atmosphere and creating the condition for co-operation and common work.

It cannot be expected that all of the bitterness and strife which has existed in the Party for so long a period can be banished over night. We will have difficulties to overcome. We will, however, approach the problem in the spirit of overcoming and eliminating the friction growing out of past conflicts, and if we co-operate in this spirit, we can quickly create in the Party a new atmosphere: **that of unity and work.**

The basis of such co-operation and the broadening of the leadership of the Party, is agreement on the line which the Party must follow. This line has been clearly established by our convention and in the decision of the Communist International.

On the basis of the policy accepted by the Party and in the spirit of the decision of the Communist International, our Party can go forward into a new period of united work and common struggle against our capitalist enemies and for the upbuilding of the revolutionary mass movement in the United States. The Plenum should mark such a new beginning in the Party life, the beginning of a period of achievement, of a forward movement by the Party.

II. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

IN order correctly to formulate our policies and tactics in relation to the present situation, we must take as the basis the economic situation and the prospects for the immediate future. Without such an estimate we cannot lay down the correct line for the Party.

Capitalism in this country has been enjoying a per-

iod of economic prosperity. What are the indications so far as a continuation of this prosperity is concerned?

There are signs that we have reached the peak of the present period of high production and big profits for the capitalists, and that the trend from now on will be downward and not upward.

This does not mean an immediate period of economic crisis, but rather that the tendency is toward a period of depression such as we had, for instance, in the year 1924 and during part of 1925.

Capitalism in this country has had a number of ups and downs since the end of the war. The cycle of these changes has been in much shorter intervals than before the war. The period of great prosperity following the end of the war was succeeded by the deep-going crisis of 1921-22, which was accompanied by wide-spread unemployment, the open-shop drive and great industrial conflicts. Then in 1923, there was an upward movement bringing fairly good conditions for a period of something over a year. This was succeeded by the depression of 1924, which extended into the spring of 1925. This latter depression, however, was not of the deep-going character as the crisis of 1921. In 1925 industry again reached a high level.

Thus we see that during the years since the end of the war and since the exceptional prosperity of the immediate post-war period, American industry has gone through a quick succession of depressions and high levels of production. The present indications are that industry is again tending downward, and that within possibly a year we will have another period of depression.

Indications of this tendency are to be found, for instance, in steel production, which usually acts as the barometer showing the direction in which industry is going. During 1925 steel production reached an unusually high level, passing above 100% of the theoretical level of capacity production. During the first four months of this year production of steel has fallen steadily and is now again below 90%. Advance orders placed in the steel mills have fallen from month to month for the past four months.

During the month of April we find that employment in manufacture as reported to the United States Department of Labor shows a falling off of 1%.

Reports of the building industry also indicate that the boom period of this industry which extended up to last year is over. New permits for building issued in 40 of the principle cities show a decline. The building industry for the past couple of years has been operating on the basis of production of six billion in new buildings each year. A large part of this activity was due to the fact that building in several lines was neglected during the war period and in the years immediately following the end of the war, because firstly, the building industry was mobilized to create new war industry, and secondly, because of the excessively high prices following after the close of the war. The shortage of houses and apartments seems now to have been made up, and the building industry is heading for a period of lower production.

Another factor in the situation is the agricultural crisis. The farmers are passing through a difficult per-

iod with debts and mortgages increasing, and the migration to the cities from the land is increasing again. When we remember that the farmers consume, in the form of agricultural implements and tools, more than 40% of the steel production in the United States, the effect of the agricultural crisis upon industry in general becomes clear.

Another factor in the situation is the difficulties which are developing in connection with the installment sales. The installment business has developed tremendously in recent years. It has been extended to lines of merchandise not previously sold on the installment plan. A part of the stimulation which industry has had in the last few years has been due to this tremendous development of selling on the installment plan. Warnings are being sounded in financial circles that the installment business is overdeveloped, that the discount houses which handle the notes of the installment business have reached the limits of their capacity to discount these notes. A curtailment of the ability of the firms selling goods on the installment plan to discount their notes will result in a curtailment of installment selling, with the natural consequences of curtailment in production in the industries producing goods sold on this basis.

The general estimate which we can draw from this analysis of the situation is that, while at present industry is still producing at a high rate and while it will probably continue to do so for some months, yet production is on the downward curve toward a depression which will make itself felt in a developed form possibly within the next twelve months. There are no signs that the depression will be a crisis such as we had in 1921-22, but rather a period of such slowing down of industry as in 1924.

Special Crises in Industry.

While industry generally has been enjoying a period of high production, certain portions of industry have not shared in this general prosperity, due to special conditions in the given industry.

This has been true of the coal mining industry where, due to over-development, the industry is in a state of crisis. In coal mining, we also have the phenomenon of the industry drifting from the northern union fields to the southern non-union fields, which has accentuated the crisis.

There is also in the coal mining industry the additional factor of the great development of the use of electricity generated through water power.

The textile industry is facing a situation similar to that of the coal industry. The industry is moving from the north to the south and at the same time changes in style have resulted in reduced orders for the industry. The needle trades are in a state of crisis due to the factor of style, and the movement of the industry from the large centers to small towns.

It is in these industries, which have been going through crises or partial crises, that we have had the great struggles of the workers, and it is in these industries also that our Party has made its greatest gains.

The Workers' Struggle.

The economic conditions outlined above have tended

towards reawakening the spirit of struggle among the workers of this country. In the industries which have shared in the high level of economic well-being, there is a tendency for the workers to demand to share in this prosperity in the form of increased wages. Thus we have, for instance, a movement of the railroad workers for the higher wages, and the struggle of the 158,000 anthracite coal workers for higher wages and full recognition of their union (the anthracite coal regions are not deeply involved in the general crisis of the coal industry because of the special character of their product).

In those industries involved in special crises we have, on the other hand, the resistance of the workers against the attempt of the capitalists to make them bear the burden of the losses of the industry through lower wages, longer hours and worse working conditions.

With the present developing mood of the workers to demand a bigger share in the still existing prosperity, and with a depression in the offing, we may look forward to another period of sharper struggle between the workers and the capitalists. The coming of the depression will undoubtedly be the signal for attempts against the standards of the workers. It will result in resistance and wide-spread strikes.

Such a situation creates a favorable ground for the Party to take the leadership in the struggle of the workers and through fighting for their immediate demands extend its influence and strengthen itself.

III. THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE great victory which the capitalist reactionaries scored in the election of Coolidge in the 1924 presidential election has been followed by an aggressive use of the political power consolidated in the hands of the capitalists through this big victory.

President Coolidge has more frankly espoused the capitalist program than his predecessors. The law-making power of the government has been openly and continuously used to strengthen the position of the capitalists. The president's message to congress for the first time acknowledged the partnership of the government with the great trusts and corporations. All appearance of fighting against mergers and trustification has been abandoned and the government sponsors trustified business.

Tax law revisions were made so as to relieve the big capitalists of the burden of taxes, and thus opened the way for greater accumulation of new capital.

The debt settlements with the war debtors have resulted in cancellation of from 20 to 75% of the debts owing this country. The partial cancellations were made in the interest of the international banking houses and for the purpose of strengthening American and European capitalism.

At the same time the program of legislation directed against the workers is being put through congress. The adoption of the Watson-Parker bill, the proposal for the registration of foreign born workers, the proposal for legislation on the mining industry similar to the Watson-Parker bill, are the offensive programs of the capitalists against the workers.

With this open offensive of the capitalists in the use

of the state power, signs of developing differences within the capitalist camp have made their appearance.

On two major issues, recently, there have been votes cutting across the party lines. This was true on the world court issue and in relation to the Haugen bill for relief of the farmers. In the vote on the world court we find expressing itself the opposition between that part of finance capital which is primarily interested in international loans and investment and which desires the entry of the United States into the world court and league of nations as a guarantee for its loans and investments, and capital which is primarily interested in industry and which sees no gain for itself in having this country become involved in the international collection agencies. In the second instance, the Haugen bill, we have the opposition of the middle class farmers against the predominant big capitalist interests which are ruling at Washington.

Another issue which will play a big part in the struggles within the capitalist class is the question of the tariff. The international banking houses with their loans and investments in Europe desire a lower tariff in order to create the condition which will enable their debtors to repay them, and the only possibility of their doing this is through selling in the United States. Hence, the tendency to favor the lower tariff in these circles. Naturally this will be resisted by the industries which are profiting from the tariff. These economic conflicts become the basis for struggles with the capitalist parties and, together with the open use of the governmental power by the capitalists against the workers, creates the condition for a new momentum in the development of the movement of the workers and exploited farmers for independent political action.

The Labor Movement.

The organized labor movement of this country has undoubtedly moved far towards the right, as is established in the analysis of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International. The approval given to the various forms of class collaboration such as labor banking, the B. & O. plan, the tendency to avoid strikes and to enter into agreement for all forms of arbitration, establish this fact clearly. At the same time we have the development of company unions, sham forms of industrial democracy, stock-selling and other schemes through which efforts are made to tie the workers to the capitalist machinery of production.

While the acceptance and approval of these schemes to prevent the workers from carrying on an open class struggle in their interest shows that the bureaucratic leaders of the labor movement have become the lackeys of the capitalists, at the same time we must not overlook the social significance of the fact of the movement by the capitalists to extend these sham forms of participation by the workers in the ownership and control of industry. We must ask ourselves why is it that the capitalists are making these tremendous efforts to extend these forms of class collaboration.

If we approach the question from a Marxian standpoint, we must come to the conclusion that the highly developed collective, monopolized industry in the United States necessarily will give birth to a demand among the workers for greater participation in the control of this

industry. Fundamentally it is the development of such a yet unconscious and unclear desire on the part of the workers for greater participation in the control of industry which the capitalists are meeting through the sham forms which have had such a great development recently.

It is the task of our Party in such a situation to develop a clear program for actual control of industry by the workers and set this against the sham forms offered by the capitalists. Such a program would be the best method of fighting against the class collaboration schemes of the capitalists.

There is also the likelihood that this question will result in division within the labor bureaucracy itself, between those who fully accept and support the capitalist program as now developing and those leaders in the trade unions who oppose the making of the union an auxiliary of the capitalist machinery of production.

IV. THE WORK OF THE PARTY.

What are the tasks of the Party in the light of this situation. They are not new. They have already been laid down in our statement of Party policy. What is new is that we must take up the tasks with greater energy than ever before in order to take full advantage of the favorable situation which is developing for our work.

Work in the Trade Unions.

The work in the trade unions remains the major task of the Party. We must win the organized workers for the revolutionary class struggle. To do that we must establish our contacts on the basis of the existing development of class consciousness in the labor movement. Then, from that starting point, build up a left wing movement which we can, in the process of work and struggle, draw closer to us. We have outlined our program for this work. We have based it upon the realities of the present situation. Now we must transform it into action. It still remains part of the duty of the Party to draw its members into the trade unions where they are not already organized in the unions, and then to organize them into fractions, which can systematically apply the Party policies and aid in the crystallization of broad left wing movements in the trade unions.

Organization of the Unorganized.

The period of prosperity is a period in which the work of organizing the unorganized can be undertaken with prospects of success. The indications are that there still stretch before us some months before the economic depression will set in to such a degree as to interfere with this work. We must make the most of the opportunity which we have in this respect. We have gained some experiences as the result of our work in the past six months and this must be turned into account in carrying forward this work. The organization of the unorganized is part of our program for the winning of the organized labor movement for the revolutionary class struggle. The workers brought into the trade unions through our organizational efforts, both in stimulating the existing unions and through direct independent effort, will strengthen the left wing in the labor unions.

The United Labor Ticket.

The campaign for a united labor ticket must be given major attention by the Party. The congressional and state elections this year will stir up new interest in political affairs among the workers. The open action of the Coolidge administration against the labor movement has created the foundation for a new momentum for the movement for a labor party.

Our Party must see to it that this year there are labor candidates on the ballot in every state and congressional district where we have Party organizations. We have not set hard and fast rules as to how the labor ticket shall be placed on the ballot. We will support existing farmer-labor parties, where they have been organized. We will endeavor to create united front conferences to nominate united labor tickets where the ground is sufficiently prepared and the conditions ripe for the nomination of a ticket on this basis. If we cannot achieve either one of these forms of developing a united front movement in the election campaign, we will nominate candidates on our own Party ticket and conduct a campaign directly under the Communist banner.

It should be possible for us to rally several hundred thousand votes for independent political action through this campaign. That will be a forward movement for labor in the United States. If we throw sufficient energy into this work, we may be able to drive this expression for independent political action up to a half million votes. That is within the realms of possibility. Such a vote for united labor candidates would be a big step forward for the labor movement in this country. We must put sufficient drive into the movement to make the election campaign this year count in the development of a class movement for independent political action among the American workers.

Agricultural Work.

We have again made a beginning in our work among the farmers. The crisis in the agricultural field creates favorable conditions for the progress of this work. As the Party strength increases, it must give more support to the development of the movement among the farmers. It must establish its nuclei among the agricultural workers and poor farmers, and make them the starting point for a broader mass movement against capitalism on the part of the farmers.

The DAILY WORKER.

We have considered fundamentally the situation in which The DAILY WORKER finds itself. We have carefully scrutinized our paper with a view of finding its weaknesses and developing the form that will enable it to become a mass labor paper, while not sacrificing its Communist editorial policy. The improvements must be carried through and the Party must be placed behind The DAILY WORKER organizationally so that we may make it a more powerful instrument in our work in this country.

The anti-imperialist campaign, the work among women, the work of the Young Workers' League, the work among the Negroes, are phases of our work which must

be co-ordinated with the major policies of the Party and aid us in developing a real movement for this country.

Building the Party.

We have not, also, given sufficient attention in the past to the strengthening of our Party organizationally. This becomes more than ever a question which must have systematic and persistent following up since the Party reorganization. Our Party, organizationally, is still very weak. We must teach the new Party units how to function. Until we do this, the reorganization will not be fully effective.

A number of thousands of Party members have dropped out of the organization through failing to register in the reorganization. There has been too much of a tendency to accept this without an energetic campaign to draw these members back into the reorganized Party. Many of them can be won back for the Party work. This work must be undertaken immediately.

In addition to these efforts to strengthen the Party, we must carry on an energetic campaign for new members to be drawn into the Party organization from the shop by the new Party units. We can greatly strengthen our organization and thus fit it for undertaking greater tasks in the work if given the proper attention. We must take full advantage of the extension of the influence and prestige of the Party to build the Party organizationally.

New Progress for the Party.

Our Party is breaking the isolation in which it has found itself now for nearly two years. The Party has for the first time actually undertaken the organization of the unorganized workers and has achieved successes in this field. The Party has become the leader in great strikes of the workers.

In the campaign for the protection of the foreign born workers, the Party has successfully applied the united front tactics and has drawn hundreds of thousands of workers with it into common struggle.

The opportunity which lies before us is favorable for the growth of the influence of our Party as the leader of the labor movement and for building the Party organizationally. What is now needed is that we throw our full energy into the work of taking advantage of the favorable conditions which are developing.

This requires of us the liquidation of the factional struggle within the Party. It requires of us that all the forces within the Party, irrespective of previous groupings, be drawn into constructive work for our movement.

This is the goal towards which all our efforts must be directed. The present leadership of the Party, taking the decision of the Communist International as its basis, will carry on the work of the Party in this spirit, and with the co-operation of all the leading comrades, irrespective of previous groupings, will develop such an inner Party line as to carry forward to a successful conclusion the work of mobilizing the whole Party strength for mass work and liquidation of factionalism.

"Unity and Mass Work" is the slogan under which our Party will go forward.

The Furriers Strike--A Victory for the 40-Hour Week

The Left Wing from Opposition to Leadership

By Ben Gitlow

THE New York Fur Workers' Union was the first union in the United States of any importance to come under the leadership of the Communists and of the Left Wing. This union has approximately 13,000 members. The New York union functions in an industry that produces 80 to 85% of all the fur garments manufactured in the United States. This accounts for the position the New York union holds in the International Fur Workers' Union of North America and Canada. It is the financial backbone of the International and comprises over 75% of its membership. The International, however, is not controlled by the Left Wing. At the last convention the Sorkinites, who were the allies of the Left Wing, broke away and united with the reactionaries and the Socialists and gained control of the organization. The International Fur Workers' Union is therefore in the hands of the right wing machine that still maintains its hegemony over the majority of needle trade unions.

The Original Demands of the Furriers.

Early in January the New York Furriers' Union presented the following demands to the manufacturers:

1. Forty-hour, five-day week.
2. Thirty-two-hour week during the slack periods.
3. Equal division of work thruout the year.
4. Unemployment insurance fund to be raised by contributions from the manufacturers at the rate of 3% of the wages paid, distribution of the fund to be completely in the hands of the union.
5. Manufacturers to be punished for failing to obey the agreement.
6. A twenty-five per cent increase in wages over the present minimum scales.
7. All skins must bear the union label.
8. Foremen must not be permitted to work in the shops on skins.
9. Shops to be inspected by the representatives of the union.

The Manufacturers Reject the Demands.

The demands were rejected by the manufacturers who are divided into three associations—the Greek Fur Manufacturers' Association, the United Fur Manufacturers and the Associated Fur Manufacturers, Inc. The Associated Fur Manufacturers, Inc., represents the big dominating manufacturers, those financially most powerful. This association succeeded in uniting all the others in a common struggle against

the workers. The bosses followed up their rejection of the workers' demands by declaring a lockout of the workers employed in the shops of the Associated Fur Manufacturers, Inc. This was answered by the union with a strike of all the 12,000 workers employed in the shops of the three associations.

The United Front of the Right Wing and the Bosses.

The strike which was fought out most bitterly and lasted 17 long weeks would have been settled much sooner had the manufacturers not depended upon the following two factors from the very beginning of the strike:

1. The manufacturers had assurances from the Right Wing and the Socialists represented by the Jewish Daily Forward that the Left Wing Communist leadership during the course of the strike would be discredited and eliminated, thus enabling the Right Wing to gain control of the strike situation and pave the way for a satisfactory settlement in the interest of the manufacturers.
2. The manufacturers were assured by the same elements that the funds of the union were insufficient for carrying on a long struggle and that if the manufacturers would prolong the struggle the strike would collapse on account of lack of funds.

The manufacturers opened the attack upon the strike by raising the cry of Bolshevism. They declared the strike did not involve trade union questions, that the leaders of the strike did not represent the workers but were Communists, that the demands presented were not in the interests of the workers, but in the interest of Communism, and that undoubtedly the strike was being engineered by Moscow and that the Communist leaders were receiving funds from that quarter. The Right Wing took up the cry of the manufacturers and made it their cry thus forming a united front with the bosses against the workers. The Jewish Daily Forward declared that the Communist leaders were more interested in the championing of their particular political views than they were in fighting for the demands of the workers. They charged that the demands presented by the Communist leaders to the manufacturers were utopian demands and that the Communist leaders might as well have demanded that the shops be turned over without compensation to the workers.

The united front of the bosses against the strikers included the Tammany Hall city gov-

ernment through the police and courts, the Sorokin, Winick elements on the joint board of the New York Furriers' Union, the majority of the officials of the International Fur Workers' Union, the Right Wing machine in the needle trades, the Beckerman reactionary forces in the Amalgamated, the Socialists dominated by the Jewish Daily Forward and Morris Hillquit, and the reactionary bureaucratic machine of the American Federation of Labor.

The Forces of the Workers.

Against this formidable united front of the bosses the union had to depend first upon its own forces, their determination and militancy, and second, upon a united front of all honest working class elements in support of the strike. The Furriers' Union did not take a sectarian position in the face of this formidable opposition. To have done so would have resulted in certain defeat. The Furriers' Union insisted that it was part of the recognized labor movement of the United States, the American Federation of Labor. The union answered the charge that it was not part of the labor movement by getting the Central Trades and Labor Council to officially indorse the strike. All elements of the working class movement were officially invited to address strike meetings and support the strike. It was this policy pursued thruout the strike that accounts for the successful tactics used in conducting the strike to a victorious conclusion. The union never abandoned the official labor movement. It entrenched itself so well in the American Federation of Labor that every attempt to dislodge it failed. In spite of every provocation of the Right Wing to force a break between the union and the American Federation of Labor the union maintained its position. It did not fall a victim to the splitting dualistic opposition tactics so often resorted to by militants in the American Labor movement in similar situations.

The Leadership of the Union and the Rank and File.

This policy of the union was backed up by a Left Wing leadership composed of a large number of Communists, and by a militant fighting rank and file. The union was fortunate in having a solidified capable leadership. Comrade Ben Gold is a young, astute, capable and energetic mass leader. From the beginning of the strike he had the complete confidence of the masses. He was ably assisted by Comrades Gross, Shapiro, Warshofsky and others. In this strike the rank and file fought and not the hired sluggers and professional gangsters formerly used. The rank and file picket committee displayed the finest qualities of proletarian sacrifices and courage. The picket committee was backed up by the whole membership of the union. Militancy and mass action characterize the Left Wing methods of conducting this

strike. It was not unusual to witness from five to ten thousand workers on the picket line. The strikers fought against cut throats, sluggers, gunmen, and brutal clubbing police. Hundreds of workers were arrested. Many are now under very heavy bail. Some have been sent to prison.

The Role of the Needle Trades Right Wing, the Forward and the Socialist Party.

The needle trades Right Wing saw an opportunity in the Furriers' strike to recuperate the power it had lost. The Left Wing had succeeded in conducting a successful opposition fight in two organizations, very strategically situated. From an opposition the Left Wing became the administration, first, in the New York Furriers' Union, and then in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York. These two Left Wing administrations have charge of a membership of approximately 78,000 workers. The Right Wing fully recognizes that, if the Left Wing administrations can prove that they can in addition to managing the affairs of the organizations, lead the workers successfully in struggles against the bosses, then the Left Wing will not only establish itself permanently in the organizations it now controls but will so win the confidence of the masses in the needle trades that the continued dominance of the Right Wing bureaucracy will be menaced. The Furriers' Union of New York must therefore not be allowed to win the strike. Everything must be done to sabotage and smash it. It was recognized that the strike could not be successfully attacked by the Right Wing in the Furriers' Union alone. The situation demanded that the whole Right Wing in the needle trades with the assistance of the Socialist Party under the driving leadership of the Jewish Daily Forward would be necessary for this well thought-out conscious plan to betray and smash the strike in order to discredit the Left Wing. These elements became, in the fight against the Left Wing, the direct strike-breaking agents of the bosses. A few events will prove this contention.

At the beginning of the strike the Forward differentiated between the strikers and the Communist leadership that was "misleading" the workers. This campaign to break down the confidence of the workers in their leaders and thus the morale of the strike, it conducted under the guise of supporting the strike. The Socialist Party did not object to this undermining work of the Forward and by its silence acquiesced.

Early in the strike the Right Wing leaders of the Fur Workers' International Union met in the office of the International together with a representative of the Forward and adopted the following dastardly plans for smashing the strike.

1. That the Forward shall print news to the effect that the workers are dissatisfied with the strike leadership and the manner in which the Communist leaders are conducting the strike.

2. That Abraham Beckerman, manager of the New York joint board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, shall supply sluggers who shall beat up innocent strikers and that then the Forward should charge that the non-Communist strikers are being beaten up by the express orders of the Communist strike committee.

3. That the officers of the International who are right wingers, shall take over the leadership of the strike.

4. That the strike funds shall be attached so that the Communist leaders shall not have the wherewithall to carry on the struggle.

5. That the Fur Manufacturers' Association in whose interest the moves were to be made, shall contribute \$100,000.

Did the Socialist Party repudiate this nefarious plot and condemn the Forward? Following the exposure of this plot Norman Thomas repudiated the activities of the Forward and rallied to the defense of the strikers. The official speakers of the Socialist Party, however, who addressed the strikers at their meetings never condemned the action the Forward but instead minimized the importance of the leadership, deprecated the quarrels which they termed personal quarrels between leaders, stated that the old leaders had rendered service and made sacrifices for the union and in general spread pessimism. In this case the silence of the Socialist Party and its failure to repudiate was nothing else than an indorsement of the schemes of the Right Wing to smash the strike. It was therefore not surprising that during the course of the strike many workers abandoned the Socialist Party, that demonstrations took place against the Forward and that the representatives of the Workers (Communist) Party were given the most enthusiastic welcome.

When the Right Wing tied up the funds of the union the International Bank controlled by the Right Wing of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Jewish Daily Forward and the Socialist Party carried out directly upon the advice of Morris Hillquit their orders to keep the money from being turned over to the General Strike Committee. Morris Hillquit advised the bank to withhold the funds even after the Joint Board of the Union had made the necessary legal changes required in the personnel of the custodian of its funds. The recognized leader of the Socialist Party here also played the role of strike breaker and used a labor bank not in the interests of labor but against labor.

The Left Wing Must Fight as a United Force.

Many more cases could be cited but it is useless. Important are the lessons to be drawn. The Right Wing now attacks with its united strength. The Left Wing in the needle trades must learn to do likewise. The failure of the

Left Wing in the needle trades to properly support the Left Wing fight in the Amalgamated made possible the advent of Beckerman, the most reactionary force in the needle trade unions. The craft attitude on the part of the needle trades Left Wing must be abandoned. The Left Wing must fight as a united force for the entire industry and must broaden out from a local to a national scale.

The Role of President Green and the American Federation of Labor.

The plots of the Right Wing, the Jewish Daily Forward and the Socialist Party were shattered against the solidarity and determination of the rank and file. The Right Wing and the bosses had to bring in fresh forces against the strikers. The result was that Hugh Frayne, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and William Green, President of the A. F. of L., were brought into the strike arena. A letter was sent by the International officers to all the members of the New York Fur Workers' Union. The letter intimated that a satisfactory settlement was in sight and that announcement of the terms would be made at a meeting in Carnegie Hall at which Green would speak. In addition to reiterating the deep concern of the International officers in the strike the letter also enclosed a ballot which was to be returned unsigned to the international officers, upon which the workers were to vote whether or not the International officers should have the right to negotiate a satisfactory settlement of the strike. This maneuver failed because the General Strike Committee to the surprise of the right wing did not boycott the meeting but instructed the strikers in full force to attend and give a concrete demonstration of what they think of the new method devised to betray the strike. The leaders of the strikers were debarred from the hall. The same fate was experienced by every recognized Left Winger and Communist. Hugh Frayne could not still the demand that Gold be permitted to speak. The rank and file gave its answer. The meeting had to be adjourned. The maneuver with the A. F. of L. was defeated. President Green's prestige received a serious blow. He had to retreat and make peace with the leaders of the strike. Following the meeting in Carnegie Hall that could not be held, Hugh Frayne made public the basis upon which the strike was to be betrayed. They were as follows:

1. The old agreement shall form the basis for a settlement.
2. Elimination of overtime work as much as possible.
3. A three-year agreement.
4. No apprenticeship from Feb. 1, 1926, to Feb. 19, 1928.
5. No sub-contracting.
6. A ten per cent increase over the present minimum wage scales.

7. At the end of two years there shall be one minimum wage scale instead of two.

8. A 42-hour, 6-day week, 4 hours' work to be done on Saturday.

Hugh Frayne rushed to the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York and had them withdraw their indorsement of the strike. He planned to settle with the manufacturers on the eight points, order the workers back to the shops and if they insisted on striking to declare it an outlaw strike and to use the tactics of Berryism to smash it. The leadership of the Furriers' Union, however, were not to be caught napping. They got Green into conference. They insisted on their official standing and recognition by the American Federation of Labor. An agreement was reached in which the eight points were rejected, a mass meeting arranged to be held at which President Green was to speak and indorse the strike together with Shachtman, the president of the International, and Ben Gold, the leader of the strikers. These events prove that to have boycotted the Carnegie Hall meeting would have been a left sectarian tactic which would have permitted the Right Wing and the A. F. of L. to isolate the Left Wing leadership and betray the strike. At the 69th Regiment Armory, President Green, representing the reactionary old class-collaboration forces, the reigning reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., spoke along with Gold, the young Communist the Left Wing leader representing the militant revolutionary new forces arising in the American labor movement. And Green had to listen to the thunderous applause for Gold and the Left Wing he represents.

Green a few weeks later returned to New York in order to act as a go-between between the manufacturers and the strikers. He came to "settle the strike." According to the press report, Green acted as a sort of impartial chairman. This is a new angle on class-collaboration—the labor bureaucrats acting as peace agents between the workers and the bosses and not as champions for the workers' demands.

The Forty-Hour Week.

What Green's position was to the demands of the workers at the negotiations is not publicly known. However, following the breaking up of negotiations, Green came out with an indorsement of the main issue of the strike—the 40-hour week. The Furriers' Union used this indorsement by Green of the forty hours to build a broad united front in support of the furriers' strike on the basis of support of a fight to establish a forty-hour, five-day week thruout industry. A forty-hour mass meeting was held in Madison Square Garden. Twenty thousand workers were present. The Central Trades and Labor Council of New York officially indorsed the forty-hour week and had speakers present at the meeting. Indorsements came from all

over the country. The Left Wing became the champion of the shorter work week. The strike now had the backing of all organized labor. All the maneuvers of the bosses, the Right Wing, and the reactionary bureaucrats to break the strike had been defeated. The bosses had to recognize the fact. They had to deal with the Left Wing. The end of the strike is a victory for the forty-hour, five-day week and a victory for the Left Wing. The Left Wing has emerged from an opposition to a leader of the masses in the struggle against the bosses.

The Terms of Settlement.

The strike was settled upon the following terms:

The basic 40-hour week, which is so important to them for the protection of their health, has been won. They still have their ten legal holidays, only three without pay and these in the dull months. They have a 10% increase in their minimum wage scales and a reclassification of work which makes a further pay raise for a great many of them. No workers can be discharged the week before a holiday—the employers' old trick to avoid payment for the workers' day off. No apprentices are to be taken on for two years.

Overtime is not allowed, except during the four months from September to December, inclusive, when employers may hire workers for four hours extra on Saturday—at extra pay. There is to be no sectional contracting. Other points agreed upon deal with the more technical phases. The contract runs for three years, retroactive to Feb. 1, 1926, when the old agreement expired.

In addition an agreement was reached that all the scabs are to be discharged and their future disposition left in the hands of a special committee of the union. This is the first time such a provision has been won by a union.

The announcement of the terms of the settlement was greeted with wild enthusiasm by the workers. It was a victory, a clear-cut one. The provision to exclude apprentices for a period of two years is very unfortunate and is to be severely criticized. The Left Wing does not favor the policy of the reformist leaders of unions of skilled workers towards the youth. The Furriers' Union has depended much in the strike upon the fighting calibre of its youth. To interpret the clause as an exclusion justification would be a serious mistake. Rather the union with this clause should be free to adopt a well working policy of regulating the entrance of youth workers into the trade.

The Fur Workers' Union has won a victory. It faces new struggles. The victory of the strike must be turned into a victory to win the International Fur Workers' Union and to pave the way for unification of the Left Wing forces in the needle trades, for a national movement, and for the amalgamation of all the existing needle trade unions into one powerful union for the entire industry.

China's Period of Organization

By William F. Dunne

TWO months ago the great capitalist news services were telling gleefully of the prospective downfall of the workers' and peasants' government in Canton, recording the defeats of the Kuominchun—the people's army—predicting the break-up of the people's party, Kuomintang, praising the military genius of Chang Tso-lin, Japan's emissary in Manchuria and celebrating the alliance between Chang and Wu Pei Fu, Great Britain's tool for the time being, and who also flirts with U. S. imperialism when British influence wanes.

The capture of Peking by Chang Tso-lin was duly noted, the retreat of the national army thru Nankow pass towards Kalgan was hailed as the end of all resistance to China's imperialist enemies and the mouth of world capitalism began to water at the thought of the rich pickings that were to be had in pacified China.

Nothing is easier to over-estimate than the importance of military victories in the struggle that is taking place in China and especially is this true of victories gained by the imperialist forces over the still very poorly organized, equipped and disciplined peoples' armies.

It is easy, extremely so, when the wish is father to the thought, to believe that the struggle of the Chinese masses for their liberation can be decided solely by force of arms.

The imperialists of Japan, Great Britain and America probably have learned to their sorrow in the last two months that the armed struggle becomes at times of secondary importance and that defeats in the military field serve a useful purpose for the Chinese masses in that during and following these periods they turn their energies to such equally effective means of combatting imperialism as the organization and extension of the trade union movement, the organization of peasants' leagues—in general the consolidation of the mass forces supporting the national liberation movement without which no successful military enterprise can be undertaken.

Following the defeat of the First Peoples' Army by Chang Tso-lin and its retreat from Peking, the immediate task of the national liberation forces was to prevent a juncture of the main forces of the armies of Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei Fu.

This task was accomplished successfully with the result that a number of Wu Pei Fu's generals refused to lead their troops in aid of Chang. The news of these defiances of Wu's orders was carried by the capitalist press and the six week period in which Wu remained inactive in the face of repeated demands for as-

sistance from Chang, allowed the Peoples' Army to take up and consolidate strong positions to the north and west of Peking from which it now threatens to oust Chang.

The latest news as this is written is that Wu has ordered one of his generals to lead some 80,000 troops to reinforce Chang, but it is doubtful if this troop movement will take place. There is evidently great disaffection among Wu's troops. He has been forced to dismiss the leader of the Honan army, Chin Yu-now, but did not execute him. That Wu did not follow this pleasant Chinese custom as did Chang after the mutiny of Kuo Sung-lin is substantial evidence that his authority is far from that of an unchallenged dictator.

Without any actual account of the details (the capitalist news services either do not know them or will not tell them) what has happened, can be outlined from a knowledge of the basic strategy of the national liberation movement working thru its most active sections—the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

Roughly, this strategy is as follows:

1. To isolate the imperialist forces in the coast cities.
2. To surround and isolate the imperialists and their militarist allies in the interior.
3. To increase the mass pressure on these imperialist centers until the existence of foreign forces in China is made impossible.

This strategy is being carried out systematically by the following methods:

1. The organization of and strikes by unions in the coast cities (Shanghai and Shantung) boycotts of imperialist enterprises and imperialist centers (Hongkong).
2. The extension of union organization and central labor councils into imperialist or semi-imperialist territory (Peking, Tientsin, Hankow, etc.)
3. Organization of peasants' leagues and mass resistance to tax collections by the militarist tuchuns.
4. The organization of students and the lower middle class against the imperialists in the main centers in co-operation with the workers.
5. The organization of a national army of liberation supported by the workers and peasants and the close connection of the military campaigns with the economic and political issues of the national struggle.
6. The consolidation of a workers' and peasants' government in Canton as a solid base for the national liberation movement in all of China and the extension of the authority and influence

of this government to the southern provinces.

The horrible conditions which prevail in Chinese industry have made possible the rapid organization of the workers on the basis of demands for better wages and working conditions and more job control.

The speed with which the economic struggles of the young Chinese labor movement developed into political struggles has astonished the world, but it is explained by the fact that the Chinese masses can only better their conditions substantially by driving out the imperialists and achieving national independence. The imperialists are the chief enemy and it was natural that the Chinese labor movement, in open combat with the foreign capitalists, should develop a definite political character.

The great mass of the Chinese population of 440,000,000 are workers and peasants and the overwhelming majority of these are peasants. Not only does the national liberation movement have to base itself on the workers and peasants, but it has also to allow the most disciplined section—the working class—to lead the movement and adopt a program directed against landlordism and feudalism.

The Chinese national liberation movement therefore, takes on a revolutionary character with the workers in the lead.

Certain conflicts have developed within the Kuomintang between the middle class and the proletarian elements, but the workers have always come out victorious because the Chinese Communist Party and the left wing of the Kuomintang have been able to prove to the masses that opposition to the minimum demands of the workers and peasants is sabotage of the struggle for national liberation and in effect gives aid and comfort to the imperialists.

The work of the Chinese Communist Party among the peasantry, correct in tactics and results because of the correct approach to the problem of the role of the peasantry, will probably serve as an example to all parties in colonial countries where some forms of feudalism still persist and perhaps as well to Communists in more advanced countries.

The estimate of the situation and the policy pursued by the Chinese Communist Party in co-operation with the workingclass section of the Kuomintang (endorsed in its general lines at the Second Congress of the Kuomintang held in January of this year) towards the peasantry is as follows:

The fundamental problem of the Chinese national liberation movement is the peasant problem. The victory of the revolutionary democratic tendencies of the Chinese national liberation movement depends upon the degree to which the masses of the 400,000,000 Chinese peasantry are drawn together with the Chinese workers and under their leadership into a decisive struggle.

The Chinese peasantry live under incredibly bad conditions.

The penetration of foreign capital into the country has undermined the patriarchal relations in the country side.

The extremely backward development of agriculture makes it impossible for the increasing population in the agricultural regions to gain a living from the land.

The continued civil war between the militarist cliques places an intolerable burden on the peasant masses.

The importation of cheap foreign made goods ruins the handicraft tradesmen.

Millions of peasants suffer from land famine and either are, or are becoming, pauperized. They suffer from a shortage of land, exorbitant land rents and the continual exactions of the money lenders.

The peasantry is burdened with enormous land taxes, which with the practice of collecting these taxes a number of years in advance, takes away the little surplus the peasants might otherwise save.

In addition to all the above there are the salt taxes collected for the benefit of the foreign powers, special taxes on necessary goods and the customs barriers set up between the country and the towns.

The factors mentioned have made of the great mass of Chinese peasantry a potentially revolutionary force which needed only elementary education as to the source of their wrongs and energetic organization to become a great driving force against imperialism and its agents in China.

In the light of the foregoing, the immediate tasks which presented themselves to the advanced section of the national liberation movement were:

1. To show to the peasantry thruout China that only a workers' and peasants' government, firmly based on an alliance of the two most powerful sections of the population, could improve substantially the position of the mass of the peasantry.

2. To bring the peasantry into the struggle with the workers and the national liberation movement by combining the necessary economic and political demands with the war on the militarists and imperialists.

3. To centralize the existing peasant organizations, broaden them, extend these organization thruout China and give them a militant character.

4. To take advantage of the fact that the feudal character of Chinese agriculture and government has made impossible the development to any great extent of strata among the peasants whose differences are so great that they cannot be reconciled in order to wage a common struggle against militarism, feudalism and imperialism and therefore to organize in the

whole countryside united revolutionary peasant centers which can arouse and lead the whole peasant mass in the fight against all enemies of the Chinese masses.

From this distance and with the information at hand it is manifestly impossible to tell in detail what has been done to carry out this program or the exact extent of the successes secured.

But the capitalist press news services furnish us with a guide. We know that the people's army (Kuominchun) after its defeat before and retreat from Peking, has been reorganized and is once more a powerful force.

We know that Wu Pei Fu's army was paralyzed for six weeks, that great sections of it, perhaps the decisive sections, together with a number of military leaders, refused to enter the struggle in aid of Chang Tso-lin around Peking.

We know that the revolutionary-democratic government in Canton has not only retained its center and freedom of action but that most of South China has rallied to it.

These facts, and particularly the crisis in the ranks of Wu Pei Fu's forces, indicate that the organizations of workers and peasants are being extended and that where this is done the imperialist and militarist armies lose whatever mass base they have and collapse.

It is not too optimistic to expect that in Southern and Central China the imperialist forces will soon lose all freedom of movement and enter a period of decline ending in a complete debacle.

In Manchuria the situation is somewhat different. In this rich territory, whose development began with the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Russo-Japanese war, and which in 1923 exported 2,232,000 tons of wheat, beans, soy-beans and oil-cake, Chang Tso-lin, with the aid of Japan, has made himself master.

A powerful middle and capitalist class has developed around the agricultural and export industry and the national liberation movement in Manchuria is very weak.

It is the ambition of Chang and his Japanese backers, with sympathetic support from the prosperous Manchurian merchants and bankers, to extend his power south and west—to become the ruler of all China.

But altho financially strong and with a powerful army, Chang Tso-lin is not a real menace to the national liberation movement. His Japanese imperialist connections are so well-known that as in the case of Wu Pei Fu, an alliance with Chang discredits and defeats its maker.

The liberation movement will isolate Chang in Manchuria and when it has united the rest of China it will crush him.

The process of unifying the Chinese masses is going forward steadily and we should not be fooled into believing that in this period the purely military struggles are decisive. This is not the case. The decisive factor in the Chinese situation is the steady growth of the labor movement, the extension of the peasants' leagues, the growing strength of the alliance of workers' and peasants' organization, the closer relations of the army with the masses—in a word, the welding of the Chinese masses into an instrument for their own liberation from their native and foreign oppressors.

The strength of the Chinese national liberation movement is reflected in the statement made by Chao Chin-chu, minister to Italy, in Geneva, June 1, following a charge of corruption against the Chinese government preferred by the British representative on the opium commission, Sir Malcolm Delevigne.

Said Chao Chin-chu to the spokesman of the British Empire:

"You insult my government and I am not afraid to insult yours.

"Today I have the courage to make a statement publicly against the foreign interference with China's internal affairs. I can inform the committee that the time is nearing an end when China will tolerate any longer the interference of foreigners."

Trade Union Insurance

By Wm. Z. Foster

ONE of the most pronounced features of the new orientation of the trade union bureaucracy towards an elaborated and intensified class collaboration, is trade union life insurance. This has developed within the past three years. There are the John Mitchell Life Insurance Company, which operates among the coal miners of Pennsylvania; the Union Cooperative Insurance Association, which was founded by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and which confines its business to the members of that union; and finally, the Union Labor Life Insurance Company established by action of the American Federation of Labor and proposing to do a general life insurance business, not only among the ranks of organized labor but also among the unorganized workers throughout the United States and Canada.

The A. F. of L. and Trade Union Life Insurance.

The Union Labor Life Insurance Company, which is by far the most important of the three now in existence, is the outgrowth of a report to the Portland, 1923, convention of the A. F. of L., calling that body's attention to the possibilities of the trade unions getting into the life insurance business. The El Paso A. F. of L. convention, in 1924, heard a further report on the proposition, which painted in glowing colors the marvelous field of opportunity offered to the unions in selling life insurance.

Enthusied by this early promise of wealth, the convention endorsed the life insurance business, instructed its insurance committee consisting of Matthew Woll and George W. Perkins, to call a general conference of all A. F. of L. trade unions to consider the launching of a labor life insurance company. Accordingly, a meeting of the representatives of 50 international unions was held in the offices of the American Federation on July 25, 1925. This conference unanimously supported the plan for the unions to go into the life insurance business, stating:

"Life insurance is absolutely safe and the most profitable business known; the wage earner at present pays more for insurance than he ought for the protection received; there is a need for a labor insurance company; a labor insurance company does not interfere but enhances the value of trade union relief and benefit provisions by extending insurance to families and dependents; that insurance is essentially a co-operative enterprise; and that the trade union movement is well-fitted and equipped to operate an insurance company owned and controlled by organized labor."

Following this conference, steps were taken immediately to form the Union Labor Life Insurance Company. This organization is now selling \$600,000 worth of stock in preparation

for going into business. The bulk of the stock is already subscribed for and this company will soon begin actual operations. It practically represents the trade union movement in the insurance business. Matthew Woll, the president of the company, says it is organized as closely under the direction and control of the A. F. of L. as the laws of the latter organization will permit. The company is incorporated in Maryland and its offices are in the A. F. of L. Building in Washington, D. C.

Other Trade Union Insurance Companies.

The John Mitchell and the Union Co-operative Insurance companies are more or less trespassers on the general movement. They are in open competition with the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, at least so far as their respective spheres of activity are concerned. There are a number of others of these life insurance companies either being considered or in process of formation by other trade unions.

Trade Union Capitalism and the Insurance Schemes.

This movement for workers' life insurance is an important phase of the trade union capitalism now developing in the unions. Other phases are labor banking, house building, ownership of office buildings, coal mines, etc. It is no accident that the trade union life insurance scheme was first put forth in 1923, just when the labor banking movement was making its spectacular advances. During 1925, ten new labor banks were formed, making the total 35 for the entire country, with total resources of over 200 million dollars. The labor banking and trade union insurance movements are closely intertwined and related to each other, even as other ordinary capitalist banking and insurance companies are a part of one general financial system.

The advocates of trade union life insurance advertise in season and out that it is co-operative in character. They do this in order to trade on the mass support which is readily rallied around the slogans of the co-operative movement. But such assertions are not true. There is nothing co-operative about the trade union life insurance companies. The control is organized strictly on a capitalist basis. The rank and file of the stockholders and insurance policy holders have no control over the companies. The majority of the stock is in the hands of the trade union bureaucrats entirely.

The Union Labor Life Insurance Company is selling 12,000 shares of stock at \$50.00 per share. This is disposed of on the following

basis: International unions may each buy as much as 800 shares; local, city, and state trade unions may buy up to 80 shares each; and individual trade unionists not more than 10 shares each. Already a majority of the stock has been purchased by the conservative international and local unions, and is already safely in the hands of the big bureaucrats who control them. The Union Labor Life Insurance Company is dominated by a handful of big stockholders, the same as any other capitalist insurance company. And to anyone who knows the calibre of our trade union leadership, it need not be pointed out that these bureaucrats will use to feather their own nests the enormous sums of money they will collect thru this insurance company. Trade union life insurance, like trade union capitalism in general, is an effort of the union bureaucracy to get hold of the workers' savings. There are large numbers of workers who manage to save a certain amount out of their wages. The total amount of such savings is problematical. But it is certainly very large. Matthew Woll claims that trade union members in 1924 paid 125 million dollars for life insurance, which is a very important form of workers' savings. If this figure is correct for the 3,000,000 organized workers, then the total of 30,000,000 organized and unorganized workers must now be investing at the very least 750 million dollars yearly in life insurance. For a long time the employers have been aware of the gigantic sums involved in the workers' savings, and have carefully organized to get control of them thru savings banks, popular insurance companies, fraternal societies, stock selling schemes, etc. Now the trade union bureaucrats have awakened to the existence and significance of the workers' savings and are organizing, on the basis of their prestige and influence as trade union leaders, to induce the workers to turn their hundreds of millions in savings over to them instead of to the regular capitalists. Hence the growth of labor banks, labor investment companies, workers' insurance companies, etc. A great prize is at stake. The trade union capitalists have their eyes on billions, which they hope to assemble thru their various schemes of trade union capitalism.

The Appeal of Trade Union Insurance.

The trade union life insurance companies are being organized on a typically American "get rich quick" plan. Their literature overflows with appeals to the workers' cupidity. They tell the workers that the way "to build up a society" is thru investment in life insurance; luring profit-sharing schemes are outlined, in which the workers are to reap the fabulous profits that the insurance business will produce. The Union Labor Life Insurance Company promises its present investment on the gilt-edged stock. To dazzle the workers, it paints

the following glowing picture of the new El Dorado, trade union life insurance:

"Life insurance is a marvelously increasing business. In the United States and Canada, at the end of 1874, there were less than 850,000 policies in force. 1924 closed with over 92 millions. The amount of insurance in force in that period of time increased from 2 billions to 67 billions. The business written in the respective years increased from 150,000 policies to 18¼ millions. From 362 millions, the insurance business increased to 14½ billions. Within the same space of time the premium receipts increased from 92¼ millions to 2¼ billions. The assets increased from 400 millions to over 11 billions. And the payments to policy holders from 68 millions to 1¼ billions. These figures exclude fraternal and assessment insurance, which had its great start in the first decade of the half century period and which has increased from 1½ billions in 1885 to 11 billions at the end of last year."

The local trade unions are also invited as organizations to come into these rich financial pastures, where billions are thrown around so freely in the statistics. Instead of letting their money vegetate in banks at 3% or 4% interest, they are urged to buy insurance company stock and thus to join the movement for trade union capitalism. They are assured that there is no danger. Says the prospectus:

"By becoming shareholders, trade unions will also come into a financial union. This will not only permit them to provide insurance to the workers at less cost than they are now required to pay, but by reason of ever-increasing reserves and financial resources, labor will be able to engage and assist in housing and other projects of incalculable value to the workers and free them from the present imposition of usurious practices that workers are forced to submit to."

That's the idea. Labor will buy out the capitalists. All that is necessary for the workers to do is to turn their hundreds of millions of dollars in savings over to the trade union bureaucrats and they will do the rest by investing and controlling these funds as they see fit in various capitalistic ventures.

The Grip of the Bureaucracy.

The Union Labor Life Insurance Company is firmly in the grip of the old Gompers' bureaucracy. The idea of trade union capitalism originated among the so-called progressives, such as Hillman, Johnston, and Stone; but the ultra-reactionaries were quick to realize its value as a means to further their personal interests and they have seized the leadership of the movement, especially in the field of life insurance. Matthew Woll is president of the company, and its secretary is George W. Perkins, president of the Cigar Makers' Union whose chief claim to fame is that for 20 or 30 years he regularly nominated Gompers for president at the A. F. of L. conventions. The executive committee of the company is reactionary thruout, being composed of Woll, Perkins, Steward, Flaherty, Lynch, Ryan, and Burke. The board of directors is also almost solidly Gompersistic, altho a couple of unimportant places are provided for the "pro-

gressives" by the inclusion of Johnston of the Machinists and Sigman of the Ladies' Garment Workers. The advisory committee, headed by the notorious New York labor leader, financier, capitalist politician, Peter J. Brady of Tammany Hall, is overwhelmingly reactionary. Among the 40 members of this committee are to be found the names of such men as Victor Olander, James Wilson, J. M. Ritchie, W. M. Short, W. E. Bryan, Sarah Conboy, Ed. Flore, J. P. Holland, J. P. Frey, J. J. Manning, B. M. Jewell, Dan Murphy, B. A. Larger, etc. Sandwiched in among this galaxy of betrayers of labor are to be found the names of the "progressives," John Fitzpatrick and James Maurer. The Union Labor Life Insurance Company is a united front of the ultra reactionaries and the "progressives" with the former in full control and the latter serving as lures to give the scheme an air of respectability so that it will be adopted by the masses in the trade unions. The whole program has the unqualified endorsement of the Socialist Party.

Effects of Trade Union Insurance.

Such schemes as the Union Labor Life Insurance Company must exert a highly deleterious effect on the trade unions. They tend to divert the workers' attention from fighting the employers, and to transform their economic organizations into capitalistic organizations into capitalistic business institutions. They cultivate false notions about class peace and the harmony of interests with the employers. They foster the dangerous illusions that the workers can buy their way out of capitalist wage slavery. They degenerate the whole trend of the labor movement and weaken its fighting spirit. Such schemes lead to a great intensification of every phase of class collaboration between the bureaucrats and the employers, by directly linking up the bureaucrats, thru their millions of dollars invested, with many capitalistic enterprises, most of them violently hostile to even the simplest forms of primitive trade unionism. The fusion of the Engineers' Bank with the great Wall Street "Empire Trust Company," and the operation of scab coal mines in Kentucky by this same union, are only samples of what will happen when the program of trade union capitalism gets well under way. It is idle to expect that the trade union bureaucrats will fight the employers when they are bound together with them in hundreds of joint business institutions. If it is not checked, trade union capitalism will paralyze the labor movement.

One of the worst of the many bad features of the new life insurance and other forms of trade union capitalism is that they enormously strengthen the reactionary labor bureaucracy and make it virtually independent of rank and file control. Consider, for example, the Union Labor Life Insurance Company: Its by-laws provide that 16 out of the 24 of the members of

the board of directors shall be the representatives, that is, the bureaucrats, of the international unions. Once elected, these directors become legal entities and cannot be removed by action of the unions as such. They can only be removed by a majority vote of the stock, and it is easy to imagine how impossible it would be to secure such a majority, which is already controlled by the upper bureaucracy, to displace some favorite reactionary in case he were defeated in his union.

The growth of trade union capitalism will make it increasingly difficult to defeat the controlling bureaucrats in the unions. They will have almost limitless patronage and money at their disposal wherewith to maintain themselves in power. If the new life insurance company is a success, it will create hundreds of fat jobs in the various industrial centers. These will all be appointive, and the price for such appointments will be for the holders to help keep the labor movement lined up in support of the big bureaucrats and their capitalistic program.

Whenever the left wing becomes threatening in any section of the unions, the bureaucrats, with the enormous funds at their disposal, will be able to put hordes of agents in the field to control the elections, to pack the conventions, and to otherwise dominate the situation. Even with their present meager financial resources, which they use unscrupulously to defeat democracy in the unions, the trade union bureaucrats are exceedingly difficult to displace. But once they get the resources of a whole series of trade union capitalistic institutions behind them, they will become virtually invincible. Trade union capitalism kills the fighting spirit of the unions and delivers them over to the employers bound hand and foot in the grip of a reactionary bureaucracy. Trade union capitalism opens the door wide for company unionism.

Tasks of the Left Wing.

The left wing cannot rest idle while the bureaucrats are slipping the noose of trade union capitalism around the labor movement. The militant and progressive elements must organize in and around the Trade Union Educational League and make war against trade union capitalism, even as aggressively as against its twin evil, the B. & O. Plan of unionism. The workers must be aroused against the danger of trade union capitalism, with its insidious appeal to the workers' cupidity. In every local union and city central body, and in all the international union conventions, the fight against this menace must be carried on.

But the left wing campaign against trade union capitalism cannot merely consist in pointing out its negative, destructive features. There must also be provided a solution for the problem which gave trade union capitalism birth—

(Continued on page 430)

Agrarian Relations in America

By N. Ossinsky

THE purpose of the following investigation is to throw light upon the tendencies of American agrarian economy. Economists have a habit of representing the United States as the classic land of the so-called "labor principle"—that is, a land where the owner of the land also works it and where the capitalist principles of the concentration of property and exploitation cannot be found to any large extent in agriculture. The following conclusions, based upon official sources, especially the material of the 1920 census and the publications of the department of agriculture, will show in how far such pretensions are justified.

1. Who Possesses the Land of the United States?

The entire territory of the United States extends over 1,903 million acres. If we subtract the 122 million acres upon which cultivation is impossible (deserts, swamps, soil under cities, etc.), we have 1,781 million acres used for agricultural purposes (including cattle raising.)

In 1919 this 1,781 million acres belonged to the following categories—farmers, private non-farming enterprises, federal government institutions, other state and social institutions—in the proportions shown in Table I.

Table I.
Distribution of Agricultural Territory.
(In millions of acres.)

Owner	Cultivated Land	Desert			Other		Miscellaneous	Total
		Forests	Grazing Land		Grazing Land			
Farmers	365 (100%)	155 (32.1%)	163 (27.8%)	148 (64.1%)	70 (30.3%)	115 (100%)	946 (53.1%)	
Pvt. Enterprise		228 (47.2%)	172 (29.3%)				470 (26.4%)	
Federal Gov't.		91 (18.8%)	185 (31.5%)				276 (15.5%)	
Other institutions		9 (1.9%)	67 (11.4%)	13 (5.6%)			89 (5.0%)	
Total	365 (100%)	483 (100%)	587 (100%)	231 (100%)	115 (100%)	1781 (100%)		

From this table it follows immediately that 26.4% of the entire land belongs to private non-farming enterprises, 20.5% to the federal and state governments and other social institutions, and no more than 53.1%—that is, somewhat more than half—could be found in the hands of farmers. As we shall see below 20.9% (374 out of 1,781 million acres) of the entire land is in the hands of tenants. This means that the farmers working their own land possess, in the United States, no more than 32.2% of the entire agricultural area.

In other words, less than one-third of the land

N. OSSINSKY, former Commissar of Agriculture in the Russian Soviet Republic, is one of the most prominent agronomists in the world. The investigations, some of the results of which this article presents in a very sketchy fashion, were undertaken during a special trip of several months' duration thruout the United States. The complete reports of the investigation are recorded in the Russian journal "The Agrarian Front" and in the international scientific organ "Unter dem Banner des Marxismus." The following is but a sketchy condensation of the wealth of material contained in the full reports.

belongs to farmer-owners—large, middle, and small. One-fifth of the land belong to farm tenants. The other half belongs to owners who do not themselves cultivate the soil but hire out or operate it through wage labor.

It is significant to note the distribution of the

forests. Less than one-third belongs to farmers—more than one-fifth belongs to the government. The other half (47.2%) belongs to private companies.

Grazing land in the dry regions of the West belongs to farmers to the extent of hardly 28%; to the government, about 43%. (This constitutes the only land in America now used for colonization purposes). Thirty percent belongs to the railroads, to the great cattle companies, and to private enterprises in general. These private enterprises own 30% of the grazing land in the better well irrigated regions.

2. The Size of the Farms.

According to the above it appears that in 1919 the farmers as a whole (including tenants) owned 946 million acres of 53.1% of the entire agricultural area of the United States. How is this land divided among the big, middle, and small farmers

Table II.

Land in Possession of Farmers (including tenants).
(In millions of acres.)

Categories of farmers	1900	1910	1920
Small Farmers (To 100 acres)	147 (17.5%)	157 (17.9%)	163 (17.1%)
Middle Farmers (100-174 acres)	193 (23.0%)	205 (23.4%)	195 (20.4%)

Big Farmers (175-999 acres)	301 (35.9%)	349 (39.7%)	378 (39.6%)
Latifundia (Over 1000 acres)	198 (23.6%)	167 (19.9%)	221 (23.1%)
Total	839 (100%)	878 (100%)	957 (100%)

What do we learn from this table?

1. In 1920 the great estates made up 63% (39.6% plus 23.1%) of the entire agricultural territory. Surely these enormous farms were not built up on the "labor-principle." Moreover, it must be remembered that among the smaller farms (less than 175 acres) there are many capitalist enterprises (dairy farms, vegetable farms, orchards, etc.)

2. Between 1900 and 1910 capitalist farms declined. (In the South the great plantations were divided up, leased or sold). Between 1910 and 1920, however, the development was again strongly upwards.

3. Conservatively estimated, 40% of the farm land belongs to strongly capitalistic enterprises. About 25% belongs to very great farmers, 20% more to middle farmers, and 15% to small farmers. The small farmers, however, own over a half of the number of farms in the country.

3. Owners and Tenants.

Let us now consider the nature of the land cultivator. Here we have essentially three categories: full owners, part owners, and tenants. The full owner works his own farm; the part owner owns land but he hires more land to be able to extend his economy; the tenant owns no land at all. The relations of these three categories are expressed in Table III.

Table III.

Land in Possession of Farmers.
(In millions of acres.)

Categories	1900	1910	1920
Full owners	431 (51.4%)	465 (52.9%)	461 (48.0%)
Part owners	125 (14.9%)	134 (15.2%)	176 (18.4%)
Full tenants	195 (23.3%)	221 (25.3%)	265 (27.7%)
Total	751 (100%)	820 (100%)	902 (100%)

From the figures it appears that the possession of the full owners grew very slowly (indeed between 1910 and 1920 there was a diminution of 4,000,000 acres). At the same time, however, the lands of the part owners and tenants grew continually and quickly—for the first category an increase of 42,000,000 acres, for the second of 44,000,000 acres for the period between 1910 and 1920. This increase was not at the expense of the land formerly operated by full owners but took place through expansion to lands hitherto uncultivated. In other words, the entire increase in cultivated land in the ten years went to part owners and full tenants.

According to the structure of the economy we can regard the full owner as the "typical" average farmer altho the figures for this category hide a great many capitalist enterprises. The part own-

ers are mostly big enterprisers who utilize the momentary state of the world market for the extension of the cultivation of certain grains and hire the needed additional land for that purpose. The full tenant is on the average a small farmer who works a portion of the time for the land owner in the form of rent payment. It therefore appears that the element that can in any way be associated with the "labor-principle" possesses no more than a quarter (48% of 53.1%) of the entire agricultural territory. The rest of the land is cultivated on something very different from the "labor-principle." If now we recall that among the full owners there are many big capitalists the number of "working farmers" who own their own land in America is very small indeed.

A word or two about the tenants. Not all of them, of course, are small landowners. According to the 1920 figures it appears that 49.2% of all rented farms were found in the hands of tenants renting but one farm; 50.8% in the hands of those renting more than one farm, 25.4% of the farms in the hands of those renting five or more farms. The farmers of this last category can hardly be called "working farmers;" they are in truth capitalist enterprisers.

4. Land as a Commodity.

We have seen that in 1920, 27.7% of the total agricultural territory was found in the hands of full tenants. From this alone it follows that a great part of the land in America is passing from hand to hand. But this is not all. We have seen that there is a great number of partial landowners who are also partial tenants. If we add the rented land of the full tenants to the rented land of the partial tenants we get as follows:

Table IV.

Rented Land (in the hands of non-owners)

Categories	(Percentage.)		
	1900	1910	1920
Rented cultivated land	37.5	41.0	43.8
Entire rented land	34.2	35.6	39.3

In 1920, therefore, the proportion of rented land reached almost 40% (39.3%). And, if we consider not land in general but land actually cultivated (and this is the point), we reach the conclusion that about 44% of the entire agricultural area is cultivated by persons who are not owners of the land. As a matter of fact the figures are higher. Of course they do not reach the English level where, in 1914, 90.2% of the agricultural area was in the hands of tenants. But they practically reach the Belgian level (54.2% in 1910); they are higher than in Ireland (36% in 1910), or in Germany (12.7% in 1907.) Apparently land is a very mobile affair in the United States.

These figures in themselves, however, do not tell the whole tale. It is necessary to find out how frequently the tenant changes land. On the aver-

age, a farmer remains no more than four or five years on a rented piece of land. In 1922, 27% of the tenants changed their farms. It would not be too much to say that the American tenant farmer leads a wandering life.

These facts are associated with the change in land ownership in general. Even the full owner does not remain very long on his farm. He is always ready to sell his farm (not as in Europe where farms generally pass from generation to generation). According to an official investigator "most American farms change hands every generation and a considerable number of farms change hands several times in the period corresponding to the average business career." Investigations have shown that over 88% of the farmers (full owners) bought their farms and only 12% inherited them or obtained them otherwise. The American farmer speculates on the increase of land values and is always on the lookout for a good customer for his farm. For this reason too, he is hesitant about renting out his farm for too long a period.

Land in America is thus drawn into the stream of commodity exchange. Of course commodity exchange in itself is not capitalism but it is a fundamental condition for capitalist relations.

5. The "Agricultural Ladder": Farm Laborer—Tenant—Owner.

Under such conditions it would be absurd to speak of the dominance of the "family-labor-principle" in the United States. On the other hand the idea of the so-called "agricultural ladder" is very wide spread. This implies: the land does not pass on thru inheritance—the farmer buys it for money; hence every farm hand (farm laborer) can acquire the status of an independent

possessor. Didn't Henry Ford start out as an errand boy? Just so can any sensible, hard-working man, thru hard work, thrift, and business ability, get hold of some capital and mount the ladder: farm hand, tenant, owner.

There can be no question that once upon a time, when there still were wide stretches of uncultivated land and when the situation of America on the world market was favorable, such "climbing the ladder of success" was a widespread fact. Even then, we must remember that such "climbing" was largely accomplished thru speculation — an enterprising man would stake a claim, wait till land values rose, then sell out at huge profit, rake up the money and go still farther West to get down to more solid business.

The situation today is, of course, entirely different altho speculation of this sort was still possible only a few years ago (colonization had not come to a complete end and the war boom of 1916-20 prevailed). As a matter of fact, according to the census of 1900, 44% of all owners had been tenants and 34.7% had been farm hands. Of 100 tenants in 1910, 33 had already become owners in 1920—in other words, had ascended the ladder. Until a few years ago this "ladder of success" undeniably existed.

But we must not fail to examine the other side of the picture. First, according to the 1920 census, 42% of the owners had *never* been either tenants or farm hands. Secondly, according to the same census, 47% of the tenants became tenants immediately and did not pass thru the stage of farm hands. Even, therefore, according to the 1920 figures, "climbing the ladder" was not a common phenomenon.

(Continued in next issue)



THE RUSSIAN PEASANT—The Past and the Future

1877---The Bloody Year

By J. Sultan

MODERN American capitalism was born in the Civil War. The American Civil War (1861-1865) was a struggle for political power. The young capitalist class that had developed in the northern states sought control of the national government in order to be able to extend its system to strengthen its economic base. The semi-feudal class in the southern states that had dominated the union up to that time refused to let power slip from its hands. In the Civil War these two ruling classes crossed swords and the capitalist class of the north emerged the victor.

The victory in the Civil War lent wings to American capitalism. The class of the big bourgeoisie seized complete control of the political machinery of the state and used it to multiply its wealth. In the years of the Civil War and the first decades succeeding there grew up the powerful capitalist industries. In this period of time too there were born those gigantic fortunes that are now in control of these industries.

From its earliest years the capitalist class knew how to issue slogans to deceive the masses and throw them into action for its own ends. While workers and farmers were falling by the thousands on the battle-fields at Antietam, Fredericksburg and Gettysburg, the industrial and commercial capitalists were standing behind the scenes and manipulating the war in order to fill their money-bags. The war demand gave them the opportunity to do this and the Civil War years were years of extraordinary prosperity for the northern states.

When the Civil War was over the American capitalists became complete masters of the state apparatus and prosperity was well on its way. The triumphant capitalists with the help of the government started a mad race to swallow the continent. The net of railways that began to be built towards the end of the Civil War kept on extending until the whole country was covered with a web of iron rails. In order to build these railroads the government presented the railroad companies with a territory larger than many a European country. Besides this the government granted millions to these companies in the forms of subsidies and bond guarantees.

Hand in hand with the development of railroads went the phenomenal growth of American industry as a whole. The following table presents a comparison of the growth of American industry in the decade preceding the Civil War and the decade following it.

The Development of Industry.

Period	Inc. in no. of factories	Inc. in no. of workers	Increase in wage payments	Increase in production
1850-1860	14.2%	37.0%	60.0%	85.0%
1860-1870	79.6%	56.0%	104.7%	124.4%

"It was the time when the American dollarocracy of beef, pills, soap, oil, or railroads became the world-wide synonym for the parvenu and the upstart. In literature it produced the cheap wood-pulp, sensational daily, the New York Ledger type of magazine, the dime novel, and the works of Mary J. Holmes, Laura Jean Libby, and 'The Duchess.' In industry its dominant figures were J. Gould and Jim Fiske. In politics it evolved the 'machine,' the ward heeler, and the political boss." (A. M. SIMONS. Social Forces in American History, pp. 307-308.)

The Origins of the Modern Labor Movement.

The workingclass was the only class that got nothing out of the great capitalist feast after the Civil War. When the masses of workers left the army upon demobilization and returned to industrial life, they found a great change in the conditions under which they were forced to work. The individual boss was beginning to disappear. His place was taken by the corporation or trust. Great masses of workers were forced to sell their labor power to these trusts.

True, there was work enough. The conditions, however, were much worse than in the times of the individual boss, and the wages, in comparison to rising prices, were lower than ever. For the masses of workers who understood the nature of organization from their military life the new conditions naturally meant a strong tendency in the direction of labor organization. Many of the "International" unions of today were born in the decade following the Civil War.

The following table shows the growth in the number of unions from December, 1863, to December, 1864, just when the Civil War was about to end.

The number of members in the unions in 1872 reached 300,000. Most of them were already united in a national organization, "The National Labor Union," organized in 1866.

The Industrial Crisis of 1873.

The inherent economic laws of capitalism put a quick stop to this unprecedented prosperity. The mad race of American capitalism came to a sudden end in 1873. A crisis due to the tremendous over-production in all branches of industry marked the end of the epoch. The crisis

of 1873 was one of the worst in the history of American capitalism. The hard times lasted for almost seven years.

Growth in Number of Trade Unions.

State	No. of Unions in 1863	No. of Unions in 1864
Connecticut	2	6
Delaware	—	1
Illinois	1	10
Kentucky	2	8
Indiana	3	17
Maine	1	7
Maryland	—	1
Massachusetts	17	42
Michigan	4	9
Missouri	4	9
New Hampshire	3	5
New Jersey	4	10
New York	16	74
Ohio	4	16
Pennsylvania	15	44
Rhode Island	1	7
Tennessee	—	2
Wisconsin	—	1
Vermont	1	—
Virginia	1	1
Total	79	270

In the train of the crisis came, as usual, unemployment, hunger and misery. The bosses utilized the paralysis of industry and the great mass of the unemployed in order to reduce wages. In the textile industry, for example, wages decreased to half in the seven year period from 1873 to 1880. The new labor organizations did not have the strength to resist the attacks of the bosses, particularly the big trusts. In most cases these organizations fell apart entirely or dragged out the most miserable existence. There could be no question at all of maintaining an organized resistance. The number of national unions fell from almost thirty to eight or nine, and these eight or nine lost most of their members. The Machinists' Union lost two-thirds of its members; the Cigar Makers, four-fifths; the Coppersmiths, six-sevenths. In New York the number of organized workers fell from 44,000 to 5,000. So helpless were the workers that their standard of living fell ever lower and lower until the "free" workers lived under worse conditions than had the Negro slaves before the Civil War.

The Revolt of the Railroad Workers.

Nowhere else was the pressure of the capitalists so pronounced as in the railroad industry; nowhere else did the inhuman exploitation arouse such bitterness and resentment among the workers as here. The workers were treated worse than cattle. There was absolutely no limit to the hours of labor. In many cases the workers were obliged to work two or three days in the week and spend the rest of the week somewhere off in a small village at their own expense. The miserable wages they got were

hardly enough to cover these expenses and the families of the railroad workers were in an actual state of famine. The wages were supposed to be paid monthly, but very frequently month after month went by without any payment of wages.

Immediately after the panic that broke out in 1873 the Pennsylvania Railroad Company cut wages 10% and shortly after another reduction of 10% was announced to go into effect the first of June, 1877. The New York Central followed suit and also cut wages 10%. Here the wage cut was to go into effect the first of July. The Baltimore and Ohio declared a wage cut for the 16th of July.

A few months before the railroad magnates had attempted to destroy the railroad unions entirely. The two strikes that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers had carried on in April, 1877—one against the Boston & Albany and the other against the Pennsylvania—were both lost. The railroad capitalists used this defeat of the union in order to destroy it entirely. The president of the Pennsylvania and Reading ordered the engineers on the Pennsylvania line to withdraw from the union entirely or leave their employment. Outwardly the workers submitted, but in secret they were preparing a strike supposed to begin April 14. This plan failed, thanks to the Pinkerton spies that the bosses sent into the union. When the strike broke out the railroad company was already provided with strike-breakers. This last defeat of the union smashed the Locomotive Engineers entirely. The other railroad brotherhoods, the Brotherhood of Railroad Conductors, founded in 1878, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Firemen, founded in 1873, were too weak to play any role whatever in the industry.

As soon as the Pennsylvania announced that wages would be cut in June the workers selected a committee consisting exclusively of locomotive engineers. Towards the end of May this committee had an interview with the president of the company. The president assured the committee that the old wages would be restored as soon as "times got better." The committee accepted the president's statement, but the workers on the line declared openly that the committee had considered only the interests of the engineers. The workers on the railroads having their terminals in Pittsburgh began to organize a secret union of railroad workers to resist the coming wage-cut.

The leader of the new organization was a young conductor. On June 2, 1877, he organized the first local of the new union in Alleghany City, and became the general organizer of the union. In a short time he succeeded in organizing sections of the union on the Baltimore and Ohio, on the Pennsylvania, on the Erie, on the Atlantic and on the Great Northwestern. The new union took as

its task the consolidation of the workers in the chief railroad unions "into one solid body in order to call a strike simultaneously on all railroads."

According to this plan the strike was to begin on July 27. Forty organizers were sent out from Pittsburgh to inform the various sections about the day of the strike. However, on the 25th of June there took place a meeting of the union at which there was such great difference of opinion among the leaders that a part declined to participate in the strike that was planned. As a result, naturally, the whole movement collapsed and the new union had very little influence on the coming events.

Battles, Captured Stations, Storm and Strife!

Thus all organized attempts to resist the terrible exploitation of the railroad magnates ended in failure. The hate and the fury of the railroad workers against their exploiters, however, grew from day to day and finally found expression in a spontaneous unorganized strike that was soon transformed into an open war between labor and capital. "Never did the United States stand so near to civil war as in the days of the railroad struggles," wrote President Hayes concerning the strike.

The strike broke out on July 17 at Martinsburg, West Virginia, on the Baltimore and Ohio line, the day following the putting into effect on the 10% wage reduction. The railroad workers refused to allow any trains to go thru unless they got their old wages back. The state militia summoned to Martinsburg refused to protect the scabs that the railroad company wanted to bring in. To a certain extent even the militiamen had helped the strikers and for two days the workers held power at that point on the railroad line. Governor Matthews of West Virginia appealed to President Hayes to send federal soldiers to crush the strike and a company of two hundred federal soldiers soon arrived in Martinsburg to protect the scabs with whom the railroad company was manning the trains.

Like a wild fire the strike spread, reaching all the other sections of the line and the more important points were soon in the hands of the strikers. In Baltimore on the 20th of July took place the first bloody encounter between the revolting railroad workers and militia.

The governor of Maryland ordered two regiments of militia to leave Baltimore for Cumberland where the strikers had seized the control of the railroad. The workers of Baltimore were determined not to let the militia reach that city. One of the two regiments succeeding in reaching the depot by stealth and making for Camden from where they were able to reach Cumberland. The second regiment, however, was surrounded by thousands of workers who besieged the barracks and would allow no one to

leave the building. The militiamen attempted to break thru the crowd, but were met with a shower of stones. They answered with bullets and succeeded in making for the depot. The aroused workers besieged the depot and set it on fire and then would not permit the firemen to put it out. It would have gone pretty badly for the militiamen had not the Baltimore police arrived and helped the firemen. It was not in vain that the New York Evening Post complained in an editorial that "we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the governmental power of the state did not succeed in maintaining order."

The bloodiest encounters, however, between the workers and the militia took place in the state of Pennsylvania, chiefly around Pittsburgh.

The strike on the Pennsylvania had quite other causes. The reduction of wages had been put over smoothly a month before and a small strike that had broken out in Alleghany City was quickly suppressed. Now the company found a new way of exploiting the workers a little more, a way that meant throwing half of them out of work entirely. On the 19th of July the company issued an order that the number of cars making up a freight train should be increased from 17 to 34. This meant that about the same number of workers that had previously taken care of 17 cars would now be in charge of 34.

Encounters in Pittsburgh—Workers Overcome Militia.

On the 19th of July, early one morning when the management of the railroad company in Pittsburgh made an attempt to carry out this order, the crews of several freight trains refused to start trains going; they captured the switches and would not let any trains leave the city. The number of strikers kept on growing every hour and in the evening several thousand men were on strike.

The working population of Pittsburgh came to the aid of the strikers and the governor came to the aid of the company. Three regiments of infantry and a battery of artillery were dispatched for Pittsburgh and the federal government sent in six hundred soldiers from Philadelphia in order to suppress the revolt of the workers.

The struggles between the workers and the militia were many and bloody.

"This was no ordinary crowd that can be frightened with arrest," we read in the appeal that the city of Pittsburgh later addressed to the legislature with the aim of being released from the damages that the Pennsylvania Railroad claimed. "This was no ordinary riot. It was an insurrection against which the military was powerless. Even the soldiers had to seek safety behind the walls of a round house whence

they were dispersed because of the fury of the mob and then were forced to leave the city."

The battles between the workers and the militia in Pittsburgh began on the 21st. The masses of thousands of workers were not at all frightened at the soldiers and met them with showers of stones. Without any warning whatever the soldiers shot into the workers and 26 fell dead and dozens wounded.

The soldiers emerged victorious from the first battle, but not for long.

A few hours later the workers returned to the battle-field, this time not unarmed. They seized all weapons they could lay their hands on and besieged the depot in which the soldiers were hidden. The soldiers retreated and entrenched themselves in the round house. The strikers were determined to drive the federal soldiers out of the city and so they returned to attack again early on the 22nd. Somewhere they had obtained a cannon and they made preparations to bombard the round house. Then the officers announced their surrender and they were escorted by the workers out of the city.

As may be imagined the bourgeoisie of Pittsburgh were scared almost to death and began to organize to resist the workers. In the above quoted appeal to the Pennsylvania state legislature we read: "The leading citizens understood the danger and met it in an organized way. They created a committee of safety and collected \$51,000 in cash in order to protect property and to restore order."

This committee of safety persuaded the government to send two new regiments of soldiers to the city. The workers were now exhausted and were not in the position to take up the new struggle. With the help of the army the Pennsylvania Railroad Company triumphed this time.

The struggle now began to burst out in dozens of other cities, in Reading, Harrisburg, Scranton, Altoona and Wilkes-Barre. As far west as Chicago and Cincinnati great battles took place between the workers and the militia.

"A crowd numbering several thousand people," reads the report in the New York Evening Post for the 24th of July, "assembled along the Reading Railroad line and began stopping a coal, freight and passenger train, only permitting mail trains to proceed. At 8 o'clock last evening seven companies of the Fourth Regiment National Guard of Pennsylvania, arrived and went along the railroad to Penn St. While in the deep cut extending from Walnut two squares to Penn St. the soldiers were assailed with stones and immediately began fighting. The bullets flew among the people in the neighborhood, among whom were many respectable citizens, as well as ladies and children. Five persons are known to have been killed, and from 18 to 25 wounded, several of them mortally. A number of other persons are supposed to have been wounded who escaped in the crowd.

Among those wounded are seven members of the police force, some of them seriously. . . .

"The mob broke into the armory of the Reading rifles and captured all their guns. They also took all the weapons from a gunstore."

The same day we read in the Evening Post an account of the events in Harrisburg. "Yesterday afternoon word was sent to the mob that detachments of the Philadelphia Regiment on the western side of the river were prepared to surrender their arms, providing they were guaranteed protection. About four o'clock a crowd about one hundred crossed the wagon and foot bridge to be present at the capitulation of the troops. When the militia observed the mob they were panic stricken, supposing that they were to be attacked, and they retreated up the Susquehanna River as rapidly as possible. In an hour or two communication was established with them when arrangements were perfected for their surrender to the mob, which occurred soon after. The mob then hurried on their prisoners and amid cheers marched them through the main street of the city to a hotel where the captured militia were fed. The captors carried the arms of their prisoners.

"At 11:30 last night an armed mob took possession of the Western Union Telegraph office."

On the 25th of July the Evening Post reports that in Cincinnati "the mob attacked the General Police Station last night and endeavored to free two of their ringleaders who had been arrested, and it required almost a third of the police force to overcome them."

Gigantic Demonstrations and Encounters in Chicago.

In Chicago the strike paralyzed the entire railroad traffic; practically the whole working population of Chicago came to the support of the strikers. Tremendous demonstrations in which tens of thousands of workers participated took place in the Chicago streets.

The dry reports of the Evening Post give only a suggestion of what took place in the city in the days of the strike.

"The railroad strikers took up a line of march in Chicago this afternoon, and men of other trades joined them until nearly 30,000 persons were assembled.

"All railroad traffic is at standstill."

And on the 27th of July:

"The meeting which was to have been held by the Communists on Market St., was broken up by a force of police after a battle in which stones and sticks and blank cartridges and bullets were used.

"At about 7 o'clock in the evening a bloody riot began at the corner of 16th and Halsted Sts., where the police in attempting to disperse the crowd were overpowered and compelled to take refuge in the Round House of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad."

AND so the strike began by forty railroad workers in a small town in West Virginia spread like wild fire and in a few days embraced the entire land. It became a general strike of the railroad workers—the first general strike in America.

From New York to San Francisco raged the struggle between labor and capital, for the railroad strike was something more than a strike of the workers in one industry—it was an armed uprising of the American workers against the capitalist order. And the American capitalists understood very well that it was a struggle for the very foundations of capitalist rule in America and so they made preparations for a new civil war. A short telegram from San Francisco in the Evening Post throws light on the preparations made by the capitalists.

"Yesterday evening there took place in the Chamber of Commerce a large meeting of the most prominent citizens of San Francisco.

"It was decided to organize a committee of citizens to co-operate with the military and with the police in case of necessity. A committee of 24 was selected to organize the citizens."

We have already noted that the revolt of the workers in Pittsburgh was crushed when the

bourgeoisie of that city organized themselves and created a fund of several thousand dollars to fight the strikers. Such "committees of safety" and "committees to co-operate with the military and police" were created in every town and village where the struggle penetrated.

The first insurrection of labor against capital in America was suppressed. The workers were still too weak to cross swords with the American capitalists. In their hands the capitalists had the state power; the workers, however, had no centralized organization to carry on the struggle and to bring clarity, consistency, and system into it.

After this first revolt of the American workers there followed new bloody struggles between labor and capital in America. How untrue is the statement often heard in certain circles that the American working class has no revolutionary traditions! The official leadership of the labor movement seeks to hide these revolutionary traditions of the American working class. The conscious revolutionary workers of America recall with honor and pride the first courageous fighters against capitalism in the United States.



From an old wood cut.

FROM THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.
Tar and feathers for a British sympathizer who bought the hated stamps.

The Persistent "Mexican Question"

By Manuel Gomez

(Continued from May issue.)

THE "Mexican Question" came permanently to the fore in our generation not simply, as the amiable writers of travel books would have it, because the Mexicans do not understand English and the people of the United States do not eat chili, but because of the requirements of U. S. capitalist industry expanding upon an imperialist basis. Mexico as a source of important raw materials and as a field for the investment of surplus capital were the first considerations in twentieth century U. S. aggression.

Mexico and the U. S. Empire.

To the economic-business factors confined to direct exploitation of Mexican territory were added strategic factors. American imperialism developed further. Even while individual groups of capitalists were pursuing strictly limited purposes in Mexico, the political subjugation of Caribbean and Central American countries was under way. Swiftly and unmistakably the schematic outline of empire in the western hemisphere began to unfold itself with Mexico as an obvious converging point. Cuba, Porto Rico and Panama had already been seized by the United States. American marines planted the stars and stripes in the territory of Nicaragua. Santo Domingo was occupied. The Negro republic of Haiti was "pacified." The policy of military intervention in Latin America became a definite part of the concept of the Monroe Doctrine.

But war is another matter—and everyone agrees that large-scale intervention in Mexico means war. How costly such an undertaking would be was indicated in the tests of the Pershing expedition and the occupation of Vera Cruz. Mexico is a country of 15,000,000 people with a territory as large as all the states of the United States east of the Mississippi. General Peyton C. March has declared that it would take 1,000,000 men and two years to conquer and "pacify" the Mexican nation. Thus Mexico escaped the fate of those around her.

Nevertheless, Mexico, whose rich territory lies contiguous to the United States and is a vital connecting link with the coveted lands farther south, plays a primary role in all imperialist calculations in this country. For economic business reasons, for strategic reasons of empire—Wall Street desires Mexico more ardently than it desires any other unconquered area in the western world.

Mexico's Line of Development.

Meantime, Mexico continues to follow a line of development of its own. Our neighbor on the south is making use of its present unique position to fortify herself for the future. While awaiting the next political assault from the "colossus of the north," Mexico is grappling earnestly with the all-important problem of economic self-sufficiency, of independence from foreign bankers and industrialists. She has embarked upon a program of economic resistance constituting a serious challenge to the program of foreign capital—and this circumstance makes the "Mexican Question" all the more urgent for American imperialism, for it foreshadows a possible ultimate development which would allow Mexico to slip thru its fingers entirely.

Fundamental factors in the progress of Mexican economic development provide the main-spring for what is going on.

The revolution which overthrew Porfirio Diaz was anti-feudal and agrarian, but not anti-foreign. When Carranza rose in arms against Huerta, the Mexican revolution had already taken on a consciously nationalistic form. Indeed, if Calles should conduct his foreign relations in the same bellicose manner as Carranza—today when the aggressive imperialism of the United States is one of the marks of the epoch—the intervention avalanche from the north would be upon him in no time. Nevertheless, the economics of the present situation in Mexico embody a more serious challenge to Wall Street and Washington than all the stubborn blustering of Carranza. There are two principal reasons for this. First, the signs of a developing native capitalism in Mexico; and second, the beginnings of development of an independent national economy with a base broader than that of the strictly capitalistic classes.

The Beginnings of a Native Mexican Bourgeoisie

Great changes have taken place in Mexico in these last few years, visible even at the first glance. Capital cities of most of the states have enlarged their suburbs on the near plains and in the capital city of the republic the population has increased tremendously. Walking thru the streets of Mexico City at the hour when workers are going home from their jobs, you cannot fail to be impressed by the rush of crowded street cars and "camiones" branching out in all directions. According to official gov-

ernment figures, the Mexican republic now has 112 sugar refineries, 142 cotton mills, 36 woolen mills, 75 large shoe factories, 222 cigar and cigarette factories operating on a commercial scale, 68 hydro-electric plants, as well as important paper mills, iron and steel foundries, soap factories, etc. Like the mining and oil industries, most of the industries listed here are under the domination of foreign capital but great numbers of large individual plants are owned by Mexicans. This is especially true in the cotton industry, the shoe industry, the paper industry, the sugar industry, the cigar industry and the soap industry. In the very shadow of the foreign enterprises, which still dominate Mexican economy and which in fact press forward more surely than ever, native enterprises are springing up.

Only a few years ago revolutionists were insisting, not without reason, that there was no national bourgeoisie in Mexico. In the larger sense even today the Mexican bourgeoisie is still struggling to be born. But there is quite a definite middle class crystallization. The Mexican chambers of commerce now have a relatively large Mexican membership. Reinforced by a whole army of petty bourgeois bureaucrats, professional men and intellectuals, the bourgeois elements have acquired something like a uniform ideology and are pushing forward on all fronts. They find themselves in direct conflict with the imperialism of the United States. The struggle of the Mexican national bourgeoisie to be born is a struggle against foreign monopoly of Mexican resources, industrial production and credit.

"We must insist by all means in our defense against the imperialistic capital," wrote Senor Rafael Nieto in March of this year, shortly before his death. "I have the absolute conviction that if we allow another billion dollars of foreign capital to be invested in Mexico, in the same form it has been invested thus far, that is by buying outright the land and its natural resources, and securing the undisputed control of our industry, we might as well resign our economic independence right now. A few bitter instances in our contemporary history justify this dread.

"We need the foreign capital, but we must not secure it by surrendering to it our economic independence. The Mexican government intends to solve this giant problem—with the Law of Foreigners, the Oil Law, the Irrigation Law, etc.—and the logical result will be that the future foreign investments will satisfy themselves with securing a reasonable profit and little by little they will delegate to Mexicans the responsibility and control of their industries. This is absolutely necessary for the future autonomy of the republic."

Senor Nieto, a former Assistant Secretary of Finance in Mexico and a typical representative of the middle class, expresses the ideology which is dominant in this class in Mexico today. He died last April while serving as Calles' minister to Italy.

The Policy of Calles.

It is necessary to appreciate recent capitalist development in Mexico to understand the government of President Calles. Calles will be accused of giving in to U. S. imperialism in the recent conflict over the oil and land laws. Of course, he did give in. Yet it is a mistake to brand him as an agent of imperialism, as many radicals in this country and Latin America have been doing. There is too much in the administration of President Calles that does not go with such a characterization.

I have myself frequently insisted that the classic representative of petty bourgeois nationalism in the Mexican revolution was Carranza, who was opposed more determinedly by the United States than any other leader. Carranza was overthrown by the Obregon-de la Huerta-Calles combination and this was a defeat for nationalism, greeted with unconcealed joy in Wall Street and Washington. However, the Obregon-de la Huerta-Calles support was of a dual nature. It included workers and peasants systematically and stupidly rendered hostile by the Carranza regime, whose reasons for revolt were quite different from those of the favored friends of foreign capital.

The agrarian revolution—with its inevitably anti-imperialistic orientation—continued to develop further. The working class of the towns found itself in a strategic position as a result of the confusion reigning in the ranks of its bourgeois enemies after the collapse of Carranza. Altho Obregon tried to change it, the Mexican atmosphere continued to be "radical." It became still more so after the failure of the reactionary uprising of de la Huerta in the last weeks of 1923.

Here was a new rallying ground for the struggle against U. S. imperialism. The shattered forces of the petty bourgeoisie pulled themselves together and reorientated themselves toward the workers and peasants. They were not the same elements who had been with Carranza in 1914, for Carranza had in truth been a petty bourgeois leader without a petty bourgeoisie. It was to a considerable extent a new grouping, which is really only now finding its feet. These newly-made business men, government bureaucrats and politicians, are now making a definite bid for leadership in the broad national movement against imperialist domination.

Calles represents the movement for the creation of an independent national economy in Mexico under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie, and as such, he is an enemy of U. S. imperialism. He is not always an uncompromising enemy, however—first, because he has the example of Carranza before him and is afraid of a head-on collision; second, because Mexico

needs capital and until there is some substantial prospect of native Mexican accumulation it will have to come from abroad; third, because he dare not cut off all ties with the United States for fear that the "radical" Mexican workers and peasants will relegate the insecurely weak petty bourgeoisie to the background.

The Calles Program.

In a country like Mexico the middle class forms far too narrow a base for the construction of a national economy. Calles recognizes this fully. His governmental program—the first really well-worked out constructive program that has appeared in Mexico—assigns an important role to the workers and peasants, altho always with an eye to middle class hegemony. That is what I referred to earlier in the present article when I spoke of "the beginning of development of an independent national economy with a base broader than that of the strictly capitalistic classes."

Calles' nationalist program is clearly set forth in a long series of official acts which piece together in a surprisingly consistent whole. The more important of them are the following:

1. FOREIGN RELATIONS.

(a) Controversy with United States over attempt to regulate Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution (oil and land laws).

(b) Orientation toward Latin America. (Move for Latin American congress; official explanations of U. S.-Mexican conflict to Latin American countries; raising of Mexican legation in Guatemala to rank of embassy; similar move with regard to Argentina, etc.)

(c) Close relations with the American Federation of Labor. The A. F. of L. appears to Calles as the only existing substantial organized force in the United States itself which may be used against the imperialists.

(d) Continuation of diplomatic relations with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. (Calles sometimes takes an ambiguous and even provocative attitude with regard to Soviet Russia—first, in order to satisfy the demands of the A. F. of L., and second, to discourage proletarian revolution in Mexico, but the bare fact of uninterrupted diplomatic relations is a circumstance of importance).

2. INTERNAL-POLITICAL.

(a) Official support to the Labor Party and CROM (Mexican Federation of Labor). (Appointment of Morones as Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor; appointment of Morones' supporters to minor posts of all sorts; subsidy of Labor Party papers; support of Morones against ex-Governor Zuno of Jalisco, etc.)

(c) Application of the laws striking at the roots of power of the Catholic Church.

(d) Persecution of radical labor and peasant leaders, disruption of independent unions, etc.

3. INTERNAL-ECONOMIC.

(a) Economy program—reduction of the army—balancing of the budget—resumption of interest payments on the foreign debt.

(b) Establishment of the sole bank of issue.

(c) Establishment of farm-loan banks.

(d) Establishment of co-operatives.

(e) Distribution of permanent titles to lands partitioned out in "ejidos" (peasant communities).

(f) "Ley del Patrimonio de Familia"—step toward individual peasant ownership as against the "ejido."

(g) Oil and land laws (under Article 27)—"Ley de Extranjeria."

(h) Irrigation works, on co-operative basis or under government control.

(i) Local road-building program.

(j) Law exempting from all taxes Mexican business concerns formed with a capital of 5,000 pesos or less.

This is plainly a program for building up a national economy in Mexico which would be independent of foreign capital. It would be based upon co-operation among petty-bourgeois, peasant and working-class elements under state patronage.

Can Calles' Program Succeed?

Can such a program succeed? Certainly not if it is followed out precisely as President Calles intends. The Mexican middle class could lead in the creation of a national capitalism only at the cost of great sacrifices by the workers and peasants. Already Morones has obliged workers belonging to the Crom to accept reductions in wages, on the ground that it is necessary to help Mexican capitalism in competition with the United States. This is called the method of the "reajuste" and it is one of Calles' schemes for the accumulation of Mexican capital. Similar reasons are given for attacks on Communists and attacks on militant elements in the labor movement generally. Capitalist newspapers, business men, government and Crom labor leaders tell the workers day in and day out that "class collaboration" is a national necessity—"class collaboration," that is, for the benefit of the middle class. Calles and his friends take up the slogan of the "united anti-imperialist front" and brandish it as a club to force the workers and peasants to accept the hegemony of the petty bourgeoisie in the nationalist struggle. But Mexico is overwhelmingly an agricultural country and the agrarian revolution is still in process. For this reason alone, if for no other, it will be impossible at the present time to put a damper on the radical atmosphere of Mexico. The Mexican masses have not sufficient confidence in the middle class to allow it to carry thru its own national program. Moreover, it has neither the requisite resources nor the courage, nor the ability.

The Hegemony of the Workers and Peasants.

The petty bourgeoisie has given body and form to the economic struggle against imperialism, and is necessary to any constructive pro-

gram of Mexican nationalism. But the workers and peasants must dominate the alliance. On such a basis—with the center of gravity shifted to the workers and peasants—who can say that Mexico will not be able to work out her own economic solution while at the same time offering effective resistance to the imperialist pressure of the United States? Mexico has enormous natural resources. She has, considering the stage of development of the country, a well-disciplined working class. She has a peasantry which is already being organized on a national scale. Workers as well as peasants are skilled in the use of arms. With proper leadership and a proper constructive program—embracing many of the points brought forward by President Calles—Mexico may be able not only to maintain herself as an independent nation at the very door of the greatest imperialist power of the world but to become, far more actively than in the past, an organizing center for the whole Latin American resistance to imperialist domination.

Much would depend upon the complicated balance of forces in the United States and in the world at large. American imperialism only makes truce with Mexico. It obviously does not accept the present situation. Every step to curtail Wall Street privileges in Mexico and to build up an independent national economy places the persistent "Mexican Question" a little higher up on the American agenda.

Considerations that might have led Wall Street and Washington to temporize a few years ago do not have the same weight today. In the period since the World War, U. S. capitalists have fallen heir to a position which puts the United States in the forefront of consciously imperialist powers. American imperialism is everywhere on the offensive. Its aggressions reach into Europe, Asia and South America. It is impossible to appreciate the recent series of adventures of American imperialism in Latin America—from General Lassiter's invasion of the City of Panama to the Pershing-Lassiter "arbitral" expedition in Tacna-Arica, and including the latest U. S. assault upon the sovereignty of Mexico herself—without expecting a determined drive for the complete subjugation of Mexico.

We must realize all that is at stake in this conflict. We must be prepared to lend solid support to Calles in his struggles against American imperialism, at the same time calling upon our comrades in Mexico—and thruout Latin America to point out to him that if he is sincere in his nationalist program he must rely frankly upon the important revolutionary and constructive elements of the Mexican population—the workers and peasants, who cannot be sacrificed to a small group of petty bourgeois and whose sacrifice would constitute the betrayal of Mexican nationalism.

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The Trade Unions in the Theoretical System of Karl Marx

By N. Auerbach

(Continued from June issue.)

The Tasks of the Trade Unions.

LET us now return to our original question: Can we find in the Marxian system—as far as we are able to judge from our present knowledge—a justification for the existence of economic organization? The answer is very brief: No, only are such organizations possible but they are necessary for the regulation of the sale of the commodity labor-power so that in the constant fluctuations of the markets it will be sold at its value in spite of the counter-acting tendencies of capitalist production.

The necessity of trade unions within the capitalist wage-system is emphasized by Marx again and again in his writings and speeches touching on the subject, above all in "Value, Price and Profit," and "The Poverty of Philosophy." Repeatedly he defends the role of the trade unions as against the liberal and "socialist" economists who cry out against the "threat" these organizations hold out for the "pure" play of the "holy" law of supply and demand.* "As soon, therefore, as the laborers learn the secret, how it comes to pass that in the same measure as they work more, as they produce more wealth for others, and as the productive power of their labor increases, so in the same measure even their function as a means of the self-expansion of capital becomes more and more precarious for them; as soon as they discover that the degree of intensity of the competition among themselves depends wholly on the pressure of the relative surplus-population; as soon as by Trades' Unions, etc., they try to organize a regular co-operation between employed and unemployed in order to destroy or to weaken the ruinous effects of this natural law of capitalistic production on their class, so soon capital and its sycophant, political economy, cry out at the infringement of the eternal and so to say sacred law of supply and demand."

As a consequence of the double role of the "free" worker (the prerequisites of every form of capitalist production) as well as of the monopolistic position of the capitalist owing to the industrial reserve army, it naturally follows that the commodity labor-power can become really a commodity on the plane with other commodities only when its sellers are no longer forced to get rid of it at any time or under any condi-

tions whatever. Expressed paradoxically: Only the abolition of free competition renders free competition possible.

From an understanding, therefore, of the basic elements of the capitalist economy it follows that the regulation of the labor supply is the foundation for every form of trade union activity. A rational distribution of work, unemployment support of various kinds, in short, any sort of benefits that help to prevent demoralization of the workers—all these are valuable features that enrich the basic activity of the trade unions. Only when the antagonisms between the employed and the unemployed sections of the workingclass, only when the competition among individual workers are removed and transformed into solidarity against the common enemy, only then can the trade unions take up the competitive struggle with the capitalists, a struggle for the most favorable sale of labor-power. The aim of the trade unions is therefore the substitution of the collective labor contract for the individual and this reaches its highest point in "collective bargaining." In this connection it must be remembered that we can speak of a labor contract only when there exists some organization to take part in the formation of the contract; for, as long as the individual worker stands defenceless at the mercy of capital, he must necessarily give in to every demand of the boss under pain of destruction. The special field of activity of coalitions is therefore, the struggle for the stabilization or the raising of the price of labor-power, that is, the wage struggle.

Such activity is generally mostly a matter of reacting to previous actions of capital, as Marx, showed in his speech to the general council of the International.* The most important of these cases will be mentioned here.

The value of labor-power can be changed thru changes in any of the three factors that determine it: Length of the working day, intensity, of labor**, productive power of labor. If the working day is increased, the other factors remaining the same, the workers must neces-

*Published by Bernstein in 1907 as "Lohn, Preis und Profit" (in English as "Value, Price and Profit.")

**Increase in the density of labor, increased intensity of labor, means a greater expenditure of labor-power per time interval. This results in an increase in the value of labor-power in contradiction to increases in productivity that are followed by decrease in the value of labor-power.

sarily strive for a corresponding increase in wages; unless the price of the labor-power is to sink below its value there must be an increase in wages not merely corresponding to the increase in the working day but even exceeding it for "man, on the contrary, decays in a greater ratio than would be visible from the mere numerical addition of work."* If the increase in the working day reaches a certain stage no making up thru wage increases is possible since the degree of exploitation of the labor-power destroys all possibility for normal conditions of reproduction. These methods of increasing the absolute surplus-value, such favorites in early times, retreat to the background in the period of highly developed capitalism in comparison with the extraction of relative surplus value which can be submitted to no legal limitations. The most common of these forms the increase in the density of labor, also implies an increase in the daily value of labor-power and thus calls for a corresponding wage increase.

The most complicated, but also the most profitable method of increasing the surplus value at the expense of the worker—a method that plays a particularly prominent role in developed capitalism—is the increase of the productive power of labor. This may be the cause as well as the result of wage movements and has the great advantage, from the point of view of private capitalism, that it is the lever for technical progress. In the end this, of course, redounds to the advantage of the workingclass since "it provides the necessary material conditions for the economic reconstruction of society."**

The increase in the productivity of labor brings with it effects and counter-effects of many kinds, depending upon the particular branch of production dealt with. A decrease in productivity in agriculture means an increase in the value of labor-power and therefore wage increases if the condition of the worker is not to be worsened. On the other hand, an increase however, the mass of the products as well as in productivity means a decrease in wages; as, the mass and rate of surplus value have increased, it becomes the task of the trade unions to take a stand against the lowering of wages and to attempt to maintain the former position of the worker in the social scale thru obtaining a share in his increased productive power, that is, thru preventing the sinking of his "relative" wages.*** Increases in the productive power of labor in industry play a different role according to whether the commodities in question are directly or indirectly involved in the consumption of the worker or not. In the former case they have the same effects as changes in pro-

ductive power in agriculture; in the latter case they have no effect at all upon the relations of the paid and unpaid portions of labor and therefore, upon the rate of wages.

Alongside of these occasions for changes in wages, all to be traced to changes in the value of labor-power, there is a special form of exploitation that plays a great role in the trade union struggle—that is the "graduated wage." The necessity for fighting against this type of wage is very clear for it is the aim of the capitalist to limit in every way any increase of the total daily or weekly wage thru diminishing the piece work rate as soon as the quantity of products passes beyond the average. The decrease of piece work wages demands the most energetic resistance on the part of the trade unions, particularly in view of the fact that any increase of production is possible only thru the intensification of labor which, unless it is equalized thru a wage increase, means the sinking of the price of labor-power below its value.

As a general rule, all these factors operate simultaneously and so the changes that result are the consequences of all of them together. To unaccustomed eyes it is difficult indeed to grasp the casual relations—and so the wage movements themselves are often looked upon as the original factor. Essentially, however, it is almost always a case of the resistance of the workers to the exploitation tendencies of capital which, were it not for such successful resistance, would permanently depress the price of labor-power much below its value—as indeed was the case before the rise of labor organizations.

Trade unions must not, however, remain satisfied with realizing the full value of labor-power. They must always strive to raise its value. And here the fundamental differences between the Marxian conception and the Lassalleian theory of the "iron law" become especially evident. Of course, even Lassalle could not help note the real differences in the "necessary" wages in certain epochs of history and in the various periods of capitalism; but his system provides no explanation whatever for this phenomenon. For who is able to stop the iron natural law from—in the end—automatically wiping out every rise in wages that may arise from the advantage of the moment? What power is there that can smash this principle of nature and cure the workers of their "cursed lack of desires?"* But these things take on quite a different aspect when examined from the point of view we used as the basis for understanding the economic activities of labor organizations. Here there is no talk of any mechanically "regulating" natural law. Just as a social relation—the capital relation—lies at the basis of the

*Value, Price and Profit, page 108.

**Value, Price and Profit, page 126.

***Value, Price and Profit, page 103.

*This slogan of the "cursed lack of desires" was thrown forth by Lassalle in the struggle of the workers without any consideration of its consequences.

economy of today, so also are wages determined socially. For wages contain not only the physiologically determined element but also the element determined socio-historically. Marx emphasized this latter element (the socio-historical). Only in unfavorable circumstances do wages reduce to the minimum, their proportion to the surplus value being in general determined "by the relative weight that capital on the one hand and the resistance of the workers on the other can throw in to the scale."

It is thru emphasizing this element that Marx shows us the possibility for and also the way to increasing the value of labor-power.

The most usual case is the one noted above. If labor succeeds in counter-acting or at least in limiting to a certain point the sinking of wages resulting from an increase in productivity in agriculture and in mass production—which really means that it succeeds in maintaining the price of labor-power above its new (lower) value—and if it is successful in maintaining this wage level for a considerable time, then the value of labor-power is really raised as a result of the expansion of the moral-historical element. But this does not exhaust all practical possibilities. The greatest field of activity of the trade unions in this connection is presented in the periodical crisis of capitalism, the theoretical and practical significance of which will be presented in another connection. In the last analysis everything helps increase the value of labor-power that tends to extend the needs of the workers and so we must include here many types of educational and cultural institutions and organizations.

(Continued in next issue.)

Trade Union Insurance

(Continued from page 415.)

that of a means to handle the workers' savings. These savings exist; their total is enormous; and they are full of dynamic possibilities. We

cannot ignore them. We cannot advise the workers to turn their savings over to the capitalists nor can we tolerate the trade union bureaucrats getting hold of them and poisoning the unions with them. The workers themselves must control their own savings thru genuine co-operatives, based upon the principle of every member having one share of stock and one vote in the co-operative enterprise. Such must be our program. We must oppose the foundation of new trade union capitalist institutions and we must fight against the extension of those now existing. We must demand the severance of these organizations, such as labor banks, insurance companies, investment companies, etc., completely from the trade unions and other organizations and their transformation into real co-operatives with rank and file control. We must fight against the investment of the workers' funds in any form of capitalistic enterprise. We must propose investment of these funds in the industries of the Soviet Union.

The reactionaries who organized the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, knowing the stand of the left wing against trade union capitalism and hoping to forestall the rank and file opposition to their present autocratic control, argue in their literature and speeches that any other form than a capitalistic stock company is impossible at the present. But they say: "When successfully established, the company may easily be converted into a mutual form of organization." But the workers will do well not to be deceived by such hypocrisy. Once this life insurance company is established on the present basis, the reactionaries who control it completely will never let it go. The time to make the fight for democratic control, that is, real co-operative organization, is now. We must fight against the establishment of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company. Trade union capitalism is the very worst way of meeting the problem of organizing the workers' savings. It must be nipped in the bud or it will bear fruit that will poison the whole body of organized labor.

Review Oil

A Review by H. M. WICKS.

OIL IMPERIALISM: By Louis Fischer. One volume. 256 pp. New York. International Publishers, \$2.00.

MOST writers dealing with the subject of oil and imperialist policy dismiss those regions nationalized by the Soviet Union as belonging to another world and therefore, outside the pale of the conflict that admittedly rages over oil in every other part of the globe known to contain this desirable substance.

Louis Fischer, in his book just off the press, proves that even the nationalized oil fields of Baku, Grosni, Emba and Maikop, have been the object of many of the most titanic diplomatic conflicts of recent years.

Utilizing a narrative style, that holds the interest of the reader throughout the entire book, the author traces the history of the conspiracies of the two great rivals in the oil world—Standard Oil and the British Royal Dutch Shell, with their numerous allies and subsidiaries—against the Bolshevik government of Russia and against each other.

Particularly commendable is his analysis of the policy of the United States government toward recognition of the Soviets. That sartorially immaculate statesman and former secretary of state, Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, whose towering moral indignation against the Bolsheviks was one of the outstanding world phenomena in the realm of diplomacy during the administration of the late Harding has his hypocritical baptist whiskers removed and we see the oiliferous visage of a puppet of the Rockefeller monopoly.

Standard Oil became particularly incensed at the Bolsheviks because they would not recognize its claim to nationalized oil land that it had purchased from the concern of Nobel Brothers (Russian citizens under the old regime). The Rockefeller interests entered into the deal on the gamble that the Soviet government would fall. When the government of the Bolsheviks did not expire, according to the expectations of the agents of the American oil trust, then the government was induced to adopt an extreme anti-Soviet policy.

While Standard Oil was vainly trying to secure property purchased from a concern that did not own it, the British Royal Dutch Shell began to maneuver, in the years of famine in Russia, to get a monopoly on Baku oil. The story of this conflict is dramatic. Fischer relates how Standard Oil entered into a conspiracy with Franco-Belgian interests at the Genoa conference to seize nationalized Russian property; how in 1923 Standard Oil outmaneuvered the Royal Dutch Shell in an international oil conference and forced it, against its will, to take the lead in an attempted blockade of Russia, how the rivalries of the two giant combines prevented its realization and how, finally, the British concern violated the pact and eventually forced the other oil groups to accept its policy.

At the time of its direst need, when industry was at its lowest level, when grim famine stalked the land, the rapacious imperialist powers refused to extend any aid to the Soviet Union.

In spite of its weak position economically, the Soviet diplomats remained true to Communist principles and refused to yield and open the door for a return of imperialist plunderers even in the Caucasus.

Against almost insurmountable obstacles the economic life of Russia began to ascend. While the fight between the imperialist giants was raging the Soviet Union set about the task of building its own productive

forces until today the value of the Baku and Grosni fields has increased far beyond the expectations of all the oil experts of the world.

The liberal terms that were offered the oil combines a few short years ago cannot be expected. Not only is oil being produced in sufficient quantities to supply the needs of Russia but many of the European nations are depending exclusively upon oil from the nationalized fields and it is doubtful if Baku and Grosni will ever be utilized for concessions to foreign groups.

With Emba, where production has not yet begun, it is different, but even there no such terms as were offered in 1922 will be granted to foreign capital. Says Fischer on page 237:

"Exhausted by famine, civil war and blockade, the Soviets were ready, in 1922, to conclude almost any bargain that would give them immediate relief even though it might ultimately redound to the detriment of the nation. Now these compelling circumstances are 'gone forever'."

Most interesting to American readers is the changed attitude of Standard Oil, that force of circumstances, the result of the amazing economic recovery of Russia under a Communist government, brought about. Of late Standard Oil has "seen the light," has abandoned its foolish attempt to claim ownership of fields purchased from people who did not own them, and is diligently advocating recognition of Russia in order that it may have at least an equal chance with the Royal Dutch Shell in concessions that are still available.

The author publishes correspondence between Ivy L. Lee—publicity agent and "adviser on public relations" to the Standard Oil—and many statesmen and business men urging recognition of the Soviets. His correspondence still retains the hypocritical mask of capitalism and he pretends to favor recognition on moral grounds in order to bring Russia "back into the family of nations," but "the odor of petroleum clings heavily about the stationery on which it is written."

Another most interesting chapter for revolutionists is the one that relates the manner in which the British Royal Dutch Shell subsidized the mensheviks (yellow socialists) and incited uprisings against the Soviets in Georgia in order to pave the way for that oil combine. This also explains why Mr. Phillip Snowden, his wife Ethel, and that forlorn philistine bigot, J. Ramsay MacDonald, shed crocodile tears over the crushing of these imperialist hirelings by the Soviets.

The only point in the book that will not meet with approval of Marxians is the concluding paragraph where he speaks of the new "Oil Age."

Oil plays an important role today because it has become indispensable to industry—but it is only as an auxiliary, a fuel that it is important. To interpret this as the Oil Age is to indulge in metaphysics and abandon dialectics. Imperialism today is based upon the colonies and the imperialist rivalry between Britain and the United States would continue if all the oil wells in the world suddenly became dry. Furthermore, the introduction of new and less expensive fuels (a remote possibility) would liquidate the struggle for oil, but would leave imperialism intact. The conflict over oil is one phase of the general conflict of rival imperialisms and the history of the next generation will be read in the light of the increasing antagonism between the great powers and the accompanying class struggle on the part of the workers in the home countries and the oppressed colonials against all forms of imperialism.

All in all, the book stands alone among the works on the conflict over oil and we cannot too highly recommend it to our readers.



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