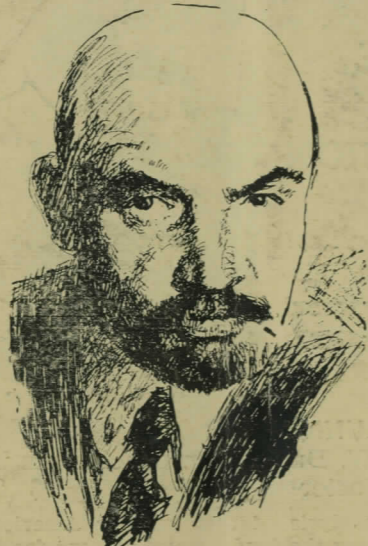


**FOR YOUR**

# **LENIN LIBRARY**



## **INFANTILE SICKNESS or "Leftism" in Communism**

By N. LENIN

A scientific treatment of a phase of revolutionary ideology, which has been responsible for many of the past mistakes made by revolutionists throughout the world. A logical argument against revolutionary impatience. A classic of the Communist movement. \$ .15

## **LENIN ON ORGANIZATION Volume 1 of the Lenin Library.**

A collection of writings of Lenin on the question of the organization of the revolutionary party, containing portions of the written polemics and articles by Lenin which were published during the course of the struggles within the Russian revolutionary movement during the last two or three decades. An invaluable book. Attractively cloth bound, 300 pages, Library Edition \$1.50

## **STATE AND REVOLUTION**

By N. LENIN

A Marxian analysis of the capitalist state. A theoretical discussion of its character and the necessity for the setting up of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. An indispensable book for the class conscious worker. A new edition in duroflex binding. \$ .25

## **PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION OR KAUTSKY THE RENEGADE**

By N. LENIN

Lenin led the fight of the revolutionists against the reformists and diluters of Marxism for 20 years. In this book he delivers an annihilating attack on Kautsky, the chief theoretician of the Mensheviks. Communists would do well to read and re-read this book. \$ .25

## **BOOKS ABOUT LENIN**

### **THEORY AND PRACTICE of LENINISM**

By I. STALIN

A book sure to remain a classic of Communist literature. An invaluable contribution to an understanding of Leninism—the development of Marxism in the present period of Capitalism and Imperialism. Written by a close co-worker of Lenin—the present secretary of the Russian Communist Party. \$ .35

### **LENIN, THE GREAT STRATEGIST**

By A. LOSOVSKY

A portrayal of Lenin in action as a Marxist, logician, revolutionary strategist and proletarian statesman. A pamphlet to be added to in every worker's library. \$ .15

### **LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEBURG**

By MAX SHACHTMAN

A biographical booklet of these outstanding leaders—their lives and the principles they fought for. The lives of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, German leaders, like that of Lenin, hold much to inspire every worker. \$ .15

### **LENINISM vs. TROTSKYISM**

A record of the discussion in the Russian Communist Party, by Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev. Very helpful for the understanding of the present debates in the Russian Party. \$ .20

Order from the

**DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.**

1113 W. Washington Blvd.

Chicago, Ill.

# **The WORKERS MONTHLY**



**JANUARY, 1927**

**25 CENTS**

*Hang this*

# RED Calendar



*in your*

Home and Meeting Hall

## A PICTURE OF LENIN

and a list of revolutionary dates on attractive red card-board with a calendar attached.

**25 Cents**

15 cents in lots of five or more.

**DAILYWORKER PUBLISHING CO**  
*The Source of All Communist Literature*  
1113 W. WASHINGTON BLD. CHICAGO, ILL.

## LENIN ON ORGANIZATION

The most important publication for workers issued in many years. Writings and speeches of a great leader on the fundamental question of organization. No worker's library can be complete without this invaluable work.

Cloth \$1.50



*The Favorite Restaurant of Radicals and Their Friends*

### "JOHN'S"

*Italian Dishes a Specialty*

302 E. 12th STREET, BROOKLYN BRANCH.  
NEW YORK CITY 7 Willoughby St.

Popular For Its Good Food, Reasonable Prices and Interesting Companionship

— Private Dining Room for Parties —  
John Pucciatti, Prop. Phone Stuyvesant 3816

## For the Youth of America

There is no better reading matter than the only working class youth paper

# YOUNG WORKER

**Subscribe Now**

\$1.00 a Year 50c Six Months

USE THIS BLANK:

THE YOUNG WORKER, 1113 Washington Blvd.  
CHICAGO, ILL.

Enclosed find \$..... for ..... months.  
Send The Young Worker to:

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....

# Fight This Poison!

"Every Little Counts When Your Purpose is Not to Improve the Workers' Condition But to Wage A Class War"---New York Times.

IT is impossible to conceive of a more insidious poison than the above lines. It would be hard to find a more treacherous attempt to mislead the workers. Yet this was the message of the New York Times to the thousands of cloakmakers after they had been waging a brave struggle for many months under the able leadership of the left wing. Three hundred and sixty thousand copies of this poisonous propaganda is spread throughout the country daily through the columns of the New York Times. Small wonder then that the "New Yorker" has very appropriately called the New York Times "an essential tool of the business man." Small wonder, indeed, that it meets the plaudits of those willing servants of the bosses, Sigman & Co.

The DAILY WORKER is establishing its base in New York, the stronghold of the left wing, TO FIGHT THIS POISON. The DAILY WORKER is moving to the center of the present struggle in the labor movement. There it will serve as a rallying force against the combined attacks of Sigman, Beckerman, Woll, Lewis, McMahan, the capitalist courts and the capitalist press. We ask you to help. We ask you to **give more power to the Daily Worker in this fight against reaction.**

**SECURE  
SUBSCRIBERS  
FOR THE  
DAILY WORKER**

DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.,  
1113 W. Washington Blvd.,  
Chicago, Ill.

Inclosed you will find my donation of ..... dollars  
.....cents to KEEP THE DAILY WORKER.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....



*В. Ильин (Мерку)*

# THE WORKERS MONTHLY

Official Organ WORKERS COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

MAX BEDACHT, Editor.

Single copies, twenty-five cents—yearly subscriptions, two dollars; foreign, two fifty. Published monthly by the Daily Worker Publishing Company, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Entered as Second Class Matter November 8, 1924, at the postoffice of Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. VI.

290

JANUARY, 1927

No. 1

## Towards Leninism

By Bertram D. Wolfe

THE United States is an advanced country of present-day capitalism. The United States has no rival either in the rapidity of the development of capitalism at the end of the 19th and commencement of the 20th century, nor in the extremely high stage of development it has already achieved. America is also unrivaled in the tremendous area over which its technique applies, . . . which takes into account the remarkable variety of natural-historical conditions."

So wrote Lenin of the United States in 1913 before the World War had further enormously swollen the wealth of the American financiers and before America had eclipsed in a decade the previous rapid development of over a quarter of a century. Since then America has risen from two billion (in 1910) to over ten billions with an additional ten billions of funded debts of various governments to the government of the U. S. If the present rate of expansion can be maintained, economists predict that "we" will have 25 billions of private capital invested in the industries of the rest of the world by 1935 without counting the unpaid debts of the various governments to the government of the United States which will still be near its present figure of 10 billions. The rate of expansion of investments is at present increasing and Stuart Chase reports (New York Times, Dec. 12, 1926), that in one fortnight a New York banking house received 100 letters from German firms asking for a total of a half billion in loans.

In the epoch of the frightfully destructive World War and the post-war crisis of capitalism, in the epoch of the zig-zag decay of capitalism, the United States presents to an envious and admiring bourgeois Europe the spectacle of a country whose master class grows fat and prosperous and ever more powerful. If "imitation is indeed the sincerest flattery," as newspaper advertisements assure us, then the whole capitalist world is bent upon flattering Uncle Shylock by the process of imitation.

### The "Americanization" of Europe.

The publishing houses of Europe have let out a veritable flood of books on "reasons for America's success" and everywhere one hears plans for Americanization, standardization, rationalization and Taylorization, while Henry Ford becomes the patron saint of the sick capitalism of Western Europe. As the eyes of the awakening proletariat and peasantry and the oppressed colonial peoples of the world are turned hopefully towards Moscow, so the eyes of decadent capitalism are turned enviously and yet hopefully towards New York. New York and Moscow have become the rival political centers, the two political poles of the globe. And even the trade union delegations to the Soviet Union and the pilgrimages of the leaders of oppressed peoples hoping for aid or guidance are paralleled and caricatured in a curious manner by the delegation of opportunistic leaders of Amsterdam, the "workers'" delegations of the Daily Mail, and the pilgrimages of queens and statesmen and industrialists and churchmen to America hoping for aid and guidance in this period of capitalist decay.

America, with its loans, its relief campaigns, plans (such as the Dawes plan), its investments and its financial experts, is the "stabilizer" of European capitalism. Our republican institutions become an ideal for social-democratic theoreticians in Europe. Our modes of exploitation, standardization, rationalization, Fordization, Taylor system, become the dream of the European capitalist. Our "worker-employee" relationships: "democracy in industry," the company union, trade union capitalism, labor banking, trade union co-operation in increasing productivity, expulsion of Communists and left-wingers, industrial arbitration and forms of class-collaboration—all these are being prayerfully studied by the capitalists of England and continental Europe, and by virtue of that objective identity of purpose which exists between them and the social-democratic leadership, are being

studiously imitated, idealized and parodied by the latter as well.

The courting of the American Federation of Labor by Amsterdam; of the American government by the World Court and the League of Nations; of Wall Street by needy industries and governments; the Washington Conference, the arms conference, the conferences on China and the like; the Bankers' Manifesto; the petty bourgeois slogan of the "United States of Europe," and the Communist slogan of the "United States of Socialist Europe,"—all these testify to the dominant role of America in international politics today.

#### Tasks of Leninism in America.

All these phenomena, all this looking to America, all this study of America, all this imitation of America, all this myth-making about America, and the financial and political role that America plays in the world today, place a mighty burden of responsibility upon the American working class and upon the American Communist Party. The European working class looks to us for analysis of class collaboration forms—how they work and how to fight them. They look to us for a Marxist-Leninist study of our political institutions and "democratic" forms so that they can combat with concrete knowledge the myths created by the petty bourgeois and social-democratic idealization of the American democratic-republic. They look to us for an analysis of standardization, of Fordism, of the Taylor system, of all the forms of efficiency and speed-up, for the strategy and tactics of combating them where (as everywhere outside of the Soviet Union) they are introduced at the expense of the working class.

The Communist International and the workers and oppressed peoples of the world whom it unites and leads look to us to build a mass Communist Party capable of coping with the complex problems of the class struggle in America, capable of solving them in a realistic manner, capable of organizing and leading the working class, capable of dividing the master class and rallying the intermediate classes in common struggles or at least robbing finance capital of their support; capable, in short, of conquering the most powerful capitalist class in the world, the mainstay and bulwark of imperialism and capitalism. They look to us to develop a theory and a practice equal to such tasks.

If Marx were alive today, I have no doubt but that he would be concentrating his attention upon America as once he did upon England, and for the same reason, namely, that today the U. S. presents the most advanced forms of technique and organization of industry (standardization, trustification, etc.) and of the economic and political development of capitalism and imperialism. One might ask: then why was Lenin so "un-Marxian" as to give first place to Germany and England in his study on "Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism?" Why did he not give first place to America? The answer is of course, to be found in the date on which the book was written. It was written in the pre-war period and although America was already then with "no rival in the rapidity of the development of capitalism" (Lenin), yet Germany and England and the conflict between them for

hegemony still dominated the world. Even so, Lenin had already perceived the "manifest destiny" of the United States and along about 1913 increasingly concerned himself with American problems. It was in that period (on the very eve of the World War) that Lenin wrote his study on "Capitalism and Agriculture in the U. S. A.," his study of "Result and Significance of the Presidential Election in the U. S. A.," his study of the incidence of taxation in the United States and other less extensive references to and analysis of American problems. The World War cut short this phase of his work but still we find such matters as his explanation of the stratification in the American working class,\* his repeated analysis of the resemblances between England and America, his answer to Kautsky on the possibility of peaceful revolution in the United States, etc. And in his letter to the American working class written shortly after the Russian revolution, he reminds us:

"The American revolutionary workers are called upon to play a particularly important role especially now as they are the irrenconcilable enemies of American imperialism, which is the newest and strongest. . ."

If Lenin were alive today, he would be working out for us and with us many of the problems of the American working class on whose solution in large measure, the fate of the world revolution depends. But Lenin is not alive nor is Marx either—they could have helped us but not have relieved us of the task—therefore, upon us devolves the task of applying the methods of Marx and Lenin to the problems of America and finding a Leninist solution such as the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world and our own working class have the right to expect of us.

Of this task, we have not even completed the preliminaries (although preliminaries and major efforts cannot be separated and have to be undertaken simultaneously). One preliminary, which is relatively easy, and should be undertaken at once, is the translation into English and the collection in available form of all the writings in which Marx and Lenin refer to America and analyze its conditions and problems. A very valuable beginning has been made for us in this respect by Heinz Neumann in his "Marx and Engels on Revolution in America" (Little Red Library No. 6, Daily Worker Publishing Company), which should be a required supplementary text in every course in "Fundamentals of Communism," or in "Marxism-Leninism," given in our party. Additional material is being supplied by A. Landy's translations of Marx's letters in the "Workers Monthly," under the heading, "With Marx and Engels." But this is only a beginning and the works of Marx and Lenin are replete with references to and studies of America and its problems. Even such fundamental works as Lenin's "Capitalism and Agriculture in the U. S. A.," are still untranslated as are the other works referred to by me above. It is to be hoped that

\*"In the United States emigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe are engaged in the worst paid jobs, whilst American workers supply the largest percentage of those promoted to be foremen and receiving the best paid jobs. Imperialism has the tendency to separate privileged categories among the workers and to cut them off from the wide masses of the proletariat" ("Imperialism" is full of such references to America.)

the Comintern Agitprop or the Marx-Engels and Lenin Institutes in conjunction with our party will facilitate the speedy publication of "Marx and Engels on America" and "Lenin on America"—compilations sorely needed both by the Comintern and its American section now that America has become "the metropolis of the capitalist world." (Neumann).

#### A Balance Sheet for Lenin Day.

The primary task before the Workers Communist Party is to become a mass party. It can only do that if it analyzes properly and solves correctly by its program and tactics the problems of the American working class. This we can do only on the basis of a thorough knowledge of "our" country, its institutions, its history, its ideology, its class structure and the dynamics of its development—particularly of its new developments. It would be well, on Lenin Day, to strike some sort of balance as to our assets and liabilities in this respect.

#### The Labor Party.

In the first place we can chalk up as an asset that our party has discovered the general form for the political organization of the American working class—namely, the Labor Party. This means that we have definitely left the stage when Marx and Engels found it necessary, in the words of Lenin, to "most firmly call up the Anglo-American Socialists to merge with the labor movement, and to drive out of their organization the narrow and shrivelled sectarian spirit" and we are seriously endeavoring to "adapt ourselves to the theoretically helpless but live, powerful labor mass movement which is in process around us."

Not only have we taken the general question of the role of the Labor Party in the political development of the American masses out of the realm of controversy but we have even developed some flexibility in adapting our general Labor Party line to the concrete conditions of ebb and flow in the political consciousness of the masses and have thus worked out special forms for specific periods, such as the United Labor Tickets, anti-injunction conferences, etc.

On the other hand we can chalk up as liabilities: a deep-going lack of interest in elections among our membership, a consequent inability to wage sufficiently intensive and energetic campaigns, an inadequate knowledge of the development of American political institutions (lack of expertness in the election laws, failure of our members and sympathizers to become citizens, to register, to vote, failure to sufficiently emphasize the growth of bureaucratic government, insufficient knowledge of the mechanics of the capitalist political machines, of the development of political parties in the United States, etc.); and failure up to now to sufficiently clarify for our own ranks and for the masses of the American working class our attitude toward the direct primary and toward the all-important Third Party question.

#### Our Tactics in the Unions.

In the unions we have some elementary successes to record. Dual unionism and sectarianism have been pretty definitely overcome. In the best districts (such as New York) as high as 70 per cent of the total mem-

bership of our party eligible for union membership is in the unions and most of it reasonably active as far as the handicaps of language permit. The un-Leninist division into "industrialists" and "politicals" in our party has been overcome and this is all the more remarkable since it was a heritage of long standing from the whole development of the labor movement in our country where a proletariat politically backwards and following capitalist political leadership and a formerly sectarian socialist movement were natural breeding ground for sectarianism on the one hand, and syndicalism and trade union ideology on the other.

Again, as in the case of the Labor Party for the political development of the American working class, we have discovered for the economic development of our class and made a part of our practical activities, the organization of the unskilled workers in the basic industries, with, and so far as possible through the general labor movement. In this bringing of the unskilled workers of the basic industries into the trade unions we are developing the forms that should lead to a "new unionism" in America similar to that which developed at the turn of the last century in England. (Although for the moment the objective conditions in America are not as favorable as they were then in England when Germany and the United States were undermining British imperialism. On the other hand this is offset by the fact that our imperialist hegemony is exercised in a period of incomplete and insecure stabilization which does not promise very long life). At the same time, amalgamation has passed from the stage of a mere slogan to the stage of a practical effort in the needle trades unions under our leadership.

#### Progressive Bloc and Left Wing.

In the various kinds of progressive and oppositional blocs we have discovered the specific forms of breaking down our isolation in the trade unions and of rallying broad united fronts for the preservation and strengthening of these unions as fighting instruments. In this tactic of the progressive bloc we are learning to display a Leninist flexibility and sense for the specific differences of each concrete situation which is causing us to develop a multitude of special forms in place of trying to rigidly apply a single mechanical cut-and-dried left wing organizational form and program to all of the unions at once.

On the other hand, we can chalk up under liabilities, the failure up till the present to connect these manifold left wing forms into a national left wing that will tackle the issues affecting the labor movement as a whole, without weakening, cramping or breaking down the progressive oppositional blocs and other types of left wing forms in the various individual unions.

#### Danger of Deviations.

Now a new problem is presented to us in connection with our work in the labor movement by the new general offensive undertaken against the Communists in the trade unions by the combined forces of the government, the bosses, the trade union bureaucrats and the socialists. Opening their offensive in the needle trades, they are spreading it rapidly to all sectors of the labor move-

ment and it promises to develop considerable power. Our party may soon find itself fighting for its life against isolation and, at the same time, called upon to fight equally hard for the preservation of the American labor movement, for the attack upon us is at the same time, an attack upon the American labor movement as a whole. If this developing attack results in the failure of the "Save-the-Union" campaign in the Miners' Union and the lifting of the charters of the needle trades unions, the A. F. of L. will lose its last really important mass base. (The Miners' Union is the mass backbone and only considerable organization of unskilled workers in a basic industry that the A. F. of L. contains). In the face of such developments, accompanied by expulsions of Communists and governmental raids upon them, there is the danger of new deviations cropping up within our party in the field of trade union work, deviations which it will need all our little store of Leninist understanding to avoid and combat. On the one hand there may grow up a somewhat romantic, ultraleftist sectarian tendency, which, impressed by the progress in bankruptcy of the A. F. of L., will be for abandoning it altogether because it no longer has any basic industries or unskilled workers organized in appreciable numbers (assuming the destruction of the miners' union). Such a tendency must be combatted even though new organizational forms for the unskilled and the basic industries may develop, for the A. F. of L. will still contain the skilled workers and it is a basic task of the Communists to find ways and means of preventing the complete separation of the unskilled from the skilled. On the other hand, the right wing tendencies in our party will strengthen in such an eventuality and since the slogan has been raised by the reaction: "No fractions in the unions; no politics; no political parties" there will grow up an "ultra-practical" tendency for the liquidation of our fractions in the interest of peace and "unity," which would mean the liquidation of the program of our party for the saving and strengthening of the trade unions. These dangers are by no means mere abstract speculations and as the offensive against us develops with its accompanying attempts at union-smashing, expulsions and raids, our "assets and liabilities" in the development of Leninist flexibility, capacity for analysis and struggle, and avoidance of sectarianism and opportunism, will be tested in the fire of combat.

#### Leninist Unification of the Party.

Turning to the question of party structure and ideology we can also record some advances toward Leninist organization and method. On the asset side we can chalk up, first of all the great progress made in the unification of our party. "Never has the party been less torn by factionalism than at the present time," was the universal verdict of our last Plenum. Few indeed are there in our party today who would sustain the un-Leninist theory of "freedom of factions and groupings," and, what is more important, the unification has been arrived at on the basis of political unity and clarity, on the basis of a common political line in all the moot questions that have agitated our party for so long.

On the asset side we can also chalk up the progress

in reorganization, the great strides taken towards welding our "eighteen parties" into one, the growth of some model nuclei in large shops with factory newspapers and manysided shop activities, which serve to show the superiority of the present form of organization and to give models for the rest of the nuclei to imitate. The voices of opposition to the shop nucleus system grow fainter and fainter. But there is still needed a vitalization of the work of most of the units, more "manysidedness" in their activity, a closer combination of organization and agitprop to accomplish this vitalization and more attention to the crystallization of organizational results in the winning of new members from our activities.

Here we can oppose two apparently contradictory Leninist slogans to each other. On the one hand comes Lenin's emphasis on "multiform activity," on the party's reacting to every event which occurs in the country and in the rest of the world, on the party's concerning itself with all forms of oppression and with all social classes. In this connection it must be admitted that too many things pass over our party without the party's reacting to them.

On the other hand, comes the no less correct Leninist motto of: "Better less and better," and here a contrary admission must be made, namely, that the party undertakes too many campaigns at once and therefore is not able to carry any one successfully to all sections of our class and the population in general before another and a third are started and we are often in danger of contracting an awful disease which may be christened, "manifestoitis"—that is to say, the starting of so many campaigns one after the other that few of them will ever get beyond the manifesto stage and an innumerable series of manifestoes will take the place of fewer carefully worked out campaigns which stir up every section of the working masses and their allies. For a party as small as our own, some balance must be struck by way of synthesis of these apparently contradictory slogans. Our Daily must react more systematically to every event occurring in our country and on an international scale, must speak the party's voice and express our ability to interpret all of the complexity of modern social and economic life to the proletariat and its allies. Our Daily must become more politically sensitive, be given a mass basis and a mass circulation and must become the "collective agitator, the collective propagandist, the collective organizer," and "an enormous pair of bellows, blowing every spark of the class struggle (and missing none—B. D. W.) and of popular discontent into a general conflagration" such as Lenin conceived a national Communist newspaper to be.

On the other hand, we must, in spite of the complexity of American life, hearken to the slogan, "better less and better," and select one at a time, the outstanding campaigns and run each of them to reach every layer of the working masses and their allies, actual and potential.

On the field of the ideological development of our party, we have made great strides, yet they are only first baby steps in comparison with the enormous dis-

tance to be traversed. Our party and our class start so backward through the lack of an accumulated working class tradition and through contempt for theory which seems to be the heritage of a "practical" pioneer country that had no models to study and therefore glorified empiricism, pragmatism, rule of thumb and eclectic "practicality" into a philosophical system; our class is so steeped in bourgeois ideology through the illusions promoted by the hitherto great possibilities of escape from the working class which ended only on the eve of the present generation and because "in these countries (England and America) the political arena, in view of the almost complete absence of bourgeois-democratic historic tasks, was completely filled up by the triumphant self-contented bourgeoisie who have no equal throughout the whole world in the art of deceiving, perverting and corrupting the workers." (Lenin: "Preface to the Correspondence of Sorge").

#### Americanization.

In accomplishing the tasks that this problem sets before us we are surrounded by handicaps. First, there is the elementary one of language. So many of the unskilled workers are foreign-born. So many of our party members are foreign-born. They lack not only a command of the English language so that they are impeded from interpreting life and the class struggle to their American brothers, but they lack also a knowledge of American institutions, history and traditions. They bring rich traditions of European revolutionary struggles which we must and can utilize but which must be fused with American traditions before they can be made available to the American working class.

But this constitutes only the most elementary phase of the "Americanization" our party must undertake. One of Lenin's early and basic studies was a study of the development of Russian capitalism. Our party has still to produce an adequate study (or even sketch) of the development of American capitalism. Even such an elementary piece of anti-Marxism as Saposs' "criticism" of Marx's theory of primitive accumulation as inapplicable to America (which makes a basic concept for Commons, "History of American Labor") has gone unchallenged for the lack of a study of primitive accumulation in America, in spite of the fact that all advanced workers go to Commons for their study of the history of the American labor movement.

There has been no real attempt at a materialist interpretation of American history and we depend upon the inadequate and often false interpretations of Beard, ONeal and Simons. We are without an adequate study of the influence of the frontier on American history, institutions and thoughts, although the influence of the frontier is an important part of the "specific particular and concrete" to which the generalizations of Marxism and Leninism must be applied in order that we may understand the special features of the development of our land, our class, its allies and its enemies, which make America "American." The outstanding feature of Leninist dialectics was just this insistence on perceiving the differences of development between country and

country, epoch and epoch, of knowing how to apply abstract generalizations to concrete specific circumstances (without which our theories become stiff dogmas in place of "guides to action" and beget the mechanical Marxism and "theorizing" of opportunism of a Kautsky—or to be American—of a Kingsley or O'Brien or Keracher or Boudin or Waton). "Marxian dialectics demands a concrete analysis of every special historical situation," writes Lenin. "There are not, and there cannot be any pure phenomena either in nature or in society." "It is too general and therefore, in relation to the given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or again he quotes approvingly from Hegel: "Every generalization includes only imperfectly specific things," and "each specific thing goes only imperfectly into each generalization." The unevenness of capitalist development in general and particularly its unevenness in the period of imperialism (something which should be particularly clear to us in the period when the United States has just made the jump from debtor to creditor nation with all that this implies) is basic to Lenin's thinking, and the opposition in Russia today are showing into what errors a failure to perceive this and take it into one's thinking can lead.

#### American Tradition.

In the field of the study of American ideology, we are still worse off. We are only now in the last couple of years beginning to study American working class history which is a prerequisite to the building of a cumulative working class tradition. In this connection our sesquicentennial campaign, in spite of its weakness, represents a gigantic step forward—the claiming of our revolutionary heritage. Lenin was more sensitive to it by far than our party was when he wrote in his "Letter to the American Working Class" in 1918:

"The best representatives of the American proletariat . . . are the expression of this revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of independence against the English in the 18th and the civil war in the 19th century. Industry and commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But where can you find an American so pedantic, so absolutely idiotic as to deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American civil war of 1860-1865."

I venture to answer that we can find a great many such Americans in our party even today.

In the same sense of not holding on to our revolutionary traditions we have let the knowledge of the American origin of May Day almost die out, have not been able to successfully ridicule the contention that "the general strike is un-American," know less about Haymarket than do the Latin workers, and let such outstanding events so rich in lessons and traditions as the Seattle General Strike (only five years ago) and the mutiny of the Detroit regiment in Archangel sink into immediate oblivion as soon as they are over.

#### American Ideology.

Our "Marxians" can give much information and Marxian interpretations of such religious movements as those of the Anabaptists, the Waldenses and Albigenses, primitive Christianity, the Protestant Reformation, Puritanism and perhaps Mohammedanism. We can explain why the North of Ireland is Protestant, why certain portions of

Switzerland are not Calvinistic but Catholic and so on; but none of us can give a Marxian interpretation of such religions as Mormonism, Christian Science, frontier revivalism, fundamentalism (something has been done on this) and other religious movements which bear the impress "Made in America" all over them. There is no history of American religious development as there is none of economic development, adequate to the needs of a Marxist-Leninist party. Or in philosophy we can give a Marxian analysis of Kant and Hegel (and a group of students in the Workers' School wanted to do the same with Spinoza) but we have nothing to say on empiricism and pragmatism, two specifically American philosophies.

The lack of space prevents any further discussion of the Americanization of our party. Suffice it to say that our requirements in this matter include such elementary tasks as teaching all our members to speak English and to regard the English language daily paper at their official organ and means of reaching the American working class; such tasks as Americanizing our language; starting with the ideology of the backward American workers around us and going up from their level; winning more American workers for the party; paying more attention to the basic industries; making our party an "American" in contrast to a "sectional" party by entering the South which today offers such favorable opportunities through its industrialization; such elementary tasks as these and such difficult and advanced ones as a Marxian-Leninist analysis of American institutions, ideology and development. However handicapped we may be, all these tasks must proceed simultaneously or the party cannot properly fulfill the historic mission which the working class and oppressed peoples of the world expect of it.

#### Leninism vs. Trotskyism.

The present opposition in Russia represents a fusion of earlier oppositional movements with a recent tendency which might be described as a "crisis of stabilization." Partial stabilization of capitalism has caused a strengthening of the pressure of petty-bourgeois ideology upon the working class and its leading party. This necessarily reflects itself in every party of the Communist International. In America, which is the "mother of stabilization," and the strongest link in the chain of world capitalism, the pessimism as to the possibility of revolution, of the construction of a powerful revolutionary party, as to the victory of that party over capitalism, may also be expected to manifest itself and indeed does so manifest itself. It takes many forms. It tends to crop up in the form of revisionism—the theory of a growth of the middle class (in the sense of small traders); in the form of an unconscious liquidationism—"the working class is too prosperous, there is no possibility of making any headway with them until their bellies are empty"; in the form of passivism—"you can't do anything in a period of prosperity"; in the form of skepticism and defeatism; in the desire to go back to the old form of organization—pure propaganda work because there is no opportunity for concrete activities in the present period; "no maneuvers till we first have a strong army" (this old Loreite concept was repeated in a general membership meeting

a few weeks ago); in the form of a false internationalism that does not interest itself sufficiently in the "little" problems before us in our own country and seeks inspiration and an object of interest only in what happens elsewhere; in an unconscious exaggeration of the degree of stability of the United States; in a mechanical and undialectical concept of the "American standard of living" and its effect upon the working class, and in many other such phenomena.

In the matter of the farmer, our party is still filled with the American form of "Trotskyism" which consists in the underestimation of the importance of the farmer and even ignorance of rural conditions and class divisions. Our party still has a tendency to speak of "the farmer" not concretely, but abstractly. For example: "The farmer is for a low tariff" (although the sheep farmer, sugar grower and fruit and cotton farmer differ from the grain farmer and the grain farmer from the dairy and truck farmer in many political and economic interests. Moreover, there is as yet no Marxian analysis of the conditions of American agriculture—only the untranslated work of Lenin's, the recent study of Ossinsky and a few scattered articles by Lovestone, Browder, Freedman, Knutson, etc., that barely scratch the surface of the question.

#### How Stable is America?

On the question of capitalist stabilization there are many illusions as to the degree of stability of American capitalism. Yet its stability is less permanent than was England's in the last century, for the United States has established its hegemony in a decadent capitalist world and is linked up by an ever-growing chain of investments and exports with the shaky capitalism of Europe, the growing nationalist unrest of Latin America and the Orient, and is faced with antagonism on many fronts—the challenge of England, the challenge of Japan, the challenge of the debtor nations (which challenge is lessened by their own mutual antagonisms) by the "jumpy" growth of backward nations like China, Canada, Australia, etc., and by the existence of the Soviet Union. In its very strength lies America's weakness as well. The mountain of investments and loans beget the problem of payments, which ultimately must be payments in goods. Such payments menace our own industry. And the countries that imitate what they understand to be American "rationalization" in order to cheapen and increase their production, compel American capital to imitate their "imitation" in order to successfully compete with them. The mountains of investments beget fresh antagonisms and sharpen imperialist contradictions and war dangers. The ripening and over-ripening of American imperialism begins to reveal and develop antagonisms within the big capitalist sections, between industrial and finance capital (on the tariff, on the world court, on foreign policy, etc.). This tends to cause even a breakdown of that great political safeguard—the two-party system. There is a growth of monopoly with its parasitic and decadent aspects, a great growth of bureau-

(Continued on page 697)

## Position and Opposition in the C. P. S. U.

By Max Bedacht

**I**N the Russian revolution the rebellious proletarian masses made the revolutionary theories of Marx and Lenin a historic force which transformed these theories into revolutionary realities. These realities became examples conveying a far better understanding of Marxism and Leninism than was possible heretofore. But these realities of the Russian revolution do more than that. **The experiences of the proletarian revolution in Russia turn into a school in which the great masses of workers of the world learn their first elementary revolutionary lessons.**

Social-Democrats and other enemies of revolution are very vociferous in their assertion that the lessons of the Russian revolution are really negligible. Even where they can find no fault with the policies and tactics of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, these opponents of a militant proletariat maintain that conditions in Russia differ so decisively from conditions in the more advanced capitalist countries, that the Russian experiences become inapplicable in these countries, and are therefore worthless. Only a minute's consideration is needed to perceive the utter incorrectness of this assertion. The comparative backwardness of Russia did not in the main, create unique problems confronting only the Russian revolution and not existing for the revolution

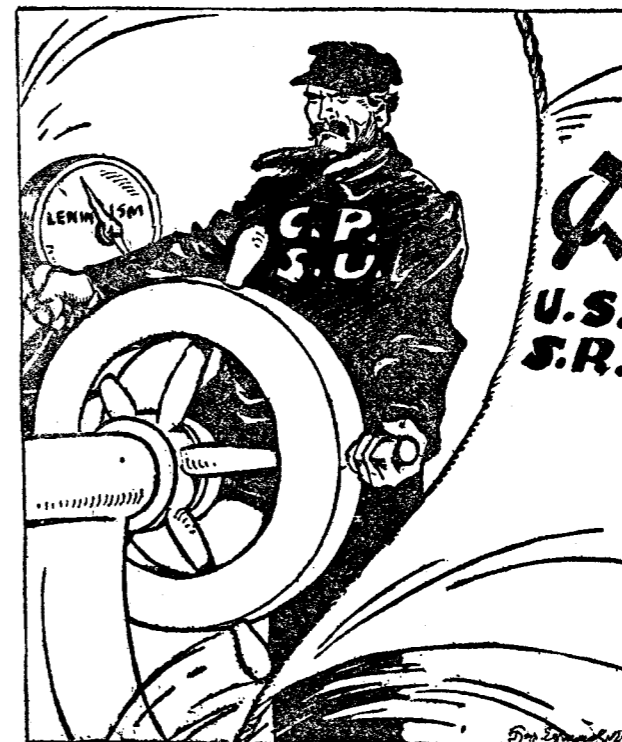
in other countries; it merely accentuated all of the problems of revolution for Russia. This accentuation is in itself an educational force. The outstanding intensity of many of these problems in Russia helped us revolutionists to perceive and understand the identical, though perhaps quantitatively less outstanding problem at home.

It is true that Marx had already taught us: "Only if we succeed in moving the peasant (farming) mass to a coalition with the proletariat will the proletarian revolu-

tion obtain the chorus without which its solo will become a swan song in all agricultural nations." But never did we grasp the full meaning of this wisdom until the practice of the Russian revolution drove home to us all of its implications. The economic backwardness and the resulting numerical preponderance of the peasantry accentuated this problem for Russia but did not create it exclusively for that country. And the accentuated form in which it arose for the Russian revolution helped considerably to open our eyes to the same problem at home.

Not less important for us are the problems of the proletarian dictatorship and of the socialist construction. The difficulties of these tasks are greatly multiplied by the backwardness of Russia. But the very multiplication of these difficulties in Russia helps us to understand and prevents us from underestimating the identical problems and difficulties at home. The need of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement is nowhere any less emphatic than in Russia, even though the difficulty of winning and maintaining this hegemony is nowhere greater than in Russia. The experiences of the Bolsheviks in Russia in achieving and maintaining this hegemony supplies the revolutionists of the world with a textbook on that science.

Understanding this we can readily see how important it is for us to have a clear knowledge of all the problems and difficulties of the Russian Revolution and of its leader, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We see how all of the problems of that party are our problems and how the successes or failures of that Party become the successes or failures of the international proletarian revolutionary movement. The importance of all of the problems and tasks of the Russian revolu-



Steering by the old and tried compass.

tion for the proletarian revolutionists of all the world is established even if we leave completely out of consideration the influence of the mere physical existence of the revolutionary proletarian government in Russia as a factor in the relation of forces between the capitalist class and the proletariat.

Because of this all-important relationship between events in the revolutionary Soviet Union and the revolutionary movement of the workers of the world, all of these events must be objects of deep concern for the Communists the world over. To understand all of these events and the problems underlying them or created by them is an indispensable prerequisite to understanding our own revolutionary problems. This understanding is also necessary so that we may do our duty as members of the Communist International in helping the C. P. S. U. in solving these problems.

#### The Problems of the Russian Revolution.

From this point of view, the recent developments within the C. P. S. U. are of great importance and command our attention. Two extremely important factors helped to make for these developments:

1. The difficulties of socialist construction in Russia.
2. The ebbing of the revolutionary tide on a world scale because of the relative and partial stabilization of capitalism.

The difficulties of socialist construction in Russia are naturally closely connected with the relative stabilization of capitalism in the rest of the world. This partial stabilization puts the whole burden of the socialist construction in Russia upon the shoulders of the Russian revolution itself. Immediate aid from an industrially highly developed revolutionary country cannot be expected. The building up of a socialist structure in Russia therefore depends on accumulation amassed by the Russian workers and peasants from their little developed and to a large degree even primitive machinery of production. The hardships resulting from this necessity create doubts in un-Leninist heads as to the outcome. The Leninist does not know these doubts. His revolutionary energy and resourcefulness increases with the multiplication of the difficulties of his task. He knows that victory and success belong to the revolutionary proletariat. He may have to say: "The difficulties and handicaps confronting us are tremendous; only the doubling of our activities can help us overcome them." But he will never say: "The difficulties are too great; we will not be able to overcome them."

Here we have the basis of the difference in the C. P. S. U. Leninist revolutionary self-confidence dominates one side; lack of faith in the revolutionary power of the proletariat the other. The one side is the spokesman for the revolutionary vanguard, for the Leninists, the Communists. They will lead the workers through all difficulties to victory. The other side is the spokesman of the non-revolutionary groups. They react to the ideology of those masses that do not create revolutionary enthusiasm in difficult times but merely swallow it, consume it in times of a great revolutionary upsurge, when there is an abundance of it. They speak for the groups who lose hope at the first serious obstacle on the road.

#### Difficulties of Reconstruction.

The task of the hour of the Russian revolution is that of socialist reconstruction. The problem of the last few years was not merely a reconstruction of the machinery of production of the country to the pre-war standard, but also an adaptation of this reconstruction to the construction of socialism. It was not only necessary to refit and rebuild and to set into motion again all the old factories, mines and workshops, but to fit their functioning into the new purpose established by the 1917 revolution, that of building socialism.

The problems arising from this task, and the differences of opinion developing in the C. P. S. U. on their solution, are so manifold and intricate that I must confine myself only to the basic ones.

The problem of socialist construction and reconstruction of production and distribution in Russia depends upon accumulation. Only the approximate difference between the total sum of production and that of consumption, that is, the surplus over the needs of consumption, is available for the industrialization of production. This surplus must be accumulated and turned into means of production (factory buildings, machinery, blast furnaces, smelters, power stations, railroads—roadbeds and rolling stock—bridges, etc.) **The means of socialist construction must be produced over and above the necessary means of consumption.**

Which economic group is to supply this surplus?

The problem of socialist reconstruction is not confined to industry but extends also to agriculture. The task of agricultural reconstruction is even more difficult than that of industrial; first, because agricultural production in Russia is on a much more primitive basis; second, because there socialist reconstruction has to struggle also against the ideological enemy of co-operation with individualism.

Because of the primitive stage of agricultural production the productivity of labor in agricultural production is far below that of labor in industries. Therefore, the possible surplus in production per capita is lower in agricultural production than it is in industrial production. The means for reconstruction must be taken by the Soviet government where they can be found. Consequently, the industrial proletariat carries a comparatively large share of the burden of reconstruction.

The opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union maintains that the main portion of this burden must be lifted from the shoulders of the industrial workers and placed upon the shoulders of the peasantry. It claims that the present policy of the party does not permit the withdrawal of a sufficient surplus from agricultural production to provide funds for industrialization. The opposition declares that this surplus from agricultural production instead of being used for public accumulation, is left to private accumulation by the peasantry. This enables the well-to-do peasants, the Kulaks, to accumulate wealth. This private accumulation leads to an ever-growing differential in the economic status among the agricultural masses. The Kulak is enriching himself at the expense of the industrial proletariat and the poor peasantry. The consequent growth of economic power of the Kulak, based on this enrichment, is

gradually replacing the political hegemony of the proletariat in the Soviets by the hegemony of the Kulak, in league with the N. E. P. bourgeoisie. This N. E. P. bourgeoisie, the opposition claims, is also a considerable beneficiary of surplus production so that it, too, has unjustifiable chances of private accumulation. This private accumulation, they say, must be made another source of public (state) accumulation by means of taxation.

This is the case of the opposition.

But all of these assertions are incorrect. The economic advantage of part of the peasantry over the industrial proletariat is not a fact, but a demagogic illusion created by the juggling of figures. The actual surplus of agricultural production, available for compensation of the labor applied and for accumulation, though higher in total than that of industrial production, is far lower per capita. And as far as the N. E. P. bourgeoisie is concerned it is certain that the figures of a positive growth of the economic strength of this class are not telling the true story. They do not show the relation of this growth to the growth of the state production. "We grow faster than private industry grows," says Comrade Bukharin, and proves it with an array of indisputable figures. These figures also prove beyond a doubt that the disproportion claimed to exist between the growth of industrial production and agricultural production to the detriment of the former, does not exist.

It is clear, therefore, that a considerably greater use of the surplus of agricultural production for industrial reconstruction is impossible. The possible—and actual—surplus per capita is so low that it does not permit a substantial withdrawal for purposes of industrialization. If such withdrawal would be made in spite of that it would result:

1. In withdrawal of funds from socialist reconstruction of agriculture which is a pressing issue in primarily agricultural Russia.

2. Since a large part of this agricultural reconstruction is the problem of replacing primitive by more modern implements, and since agricultural production is still to a large extent carried on on an individual basis, the withdrawal of a considerably large part of the surplus of agricultural production would seriously cripple the buying power of the peasants, would thus deteriorate the inner market for the products of industry, and would therefore dangerously retard not only agricultural but also industrial reconstruction.

3. It would create an estrangement of the peasantry from the Soviets and thus create the very thing which the opposition predicts by its Cassandra-calls about the threatened hegemony of the Kulak.

4. Since, at best, only a comparatively small part of the surplus could be withdrawn, the policy of letting the peasantry pay for industrial reconstruction would produce all the bad effects enumerated without supplying the funds really needed for industrial reconstruction.

#### "Immediate Interests" and Ultimate Aim.

Why, in the face of these irrefutable facts, does the opposition maintain its demand for this shift of the burden of reconstruction from the proletariat to the peasantry? The answer is clear and decisive: **Because**

its members have, in a large measure, lost hope for the success of the revolution.

The burden of reconstruction is a heavy one. The state of the productive machinery in Russia is so low and comparatively primitive that it is entirely insufficient for the socialist purpose of providing every useful member of society with all their needs at the lowest possible expenditure of energy. A comparatively very large portion of energy must be devoted to the production of means of production. Not only does this fact limit the proportion of energy applied to the production of means of consumption as compared with the total amount of energy spent, but the low stage of development of the means of production also extends the total sum of energy necessary in the production of the means of consumption and of production. This makes it clear that the need for accumulation to be applied to reconstruction makes necessary that the Russian worker contributes quite a large proportion of "unpaid labor," of surplus value.

I use this term, not because it is correct, but because it helps to make the problem clearer to the reader. The term "unpaid labor" (surplus value) is applicable only to the source of surplus which capitalism extracts from the workers for private profit. In the Soviet Union this surplus labor (over and above the labor necessary to produce and reproduce the labor-power) is not unpaid labor. However, it is not paid immediately, and to the individual worker who performs it. In the interest of the whole working class it is accumulated by the proletarian state. After a sufficient accumulation, this surplus labor will come back to the working class in the form of a tremendous reduction of the total sum of necessary labor.

As we see, there is no problem of unpaid labor in revolutionary Russia. Yet the absence of immediate benefits from all the labor performed is the final source of the present controversy.

Not all of the workers of revolutionary Russia are Communists. Not all understand the problem of socialist construction. For them the needs of the ultimate aim come into conflict with their immediate desires or alleged immediate interests. The question of substantial immediate improvements overshadows in their eyes the importance of speedy socialist reconstruction. They want to pick immediately all of the fruits from the tree of revolution even though they are not all ripe. And because they cannot do that, they develop doubts about the revolution. **The inability of the revolution to solve all its problems in a short time creates doubts as to its ability to solve them at all.**

The opposition in the C. P. S. U. makes itself the spokesman of these doubts. It develops a theory about them and systematizes them. It takes up the demands of the doubters and requests that these demands be satisfied at the expense of the ultimate aim.

The policy of the party follows the only possible and correct line in its program of industrialization. This is the practice of constant and systematic improvements of the conditions of the workers. But this improvement is not permitted to interfere with the progress of socialist construction. These improvements make for a higher

efficiency of labor without eating up the material means necessary for this reconstruction.

Of course, the opposition does not openly state that it wants to have the ultimate aim suffer by its proposed immediate and unwarranted concessions of the revolutionary state to short-sighted elements among the workers. On the contrary. They emphasize that the ultimate aim must not suffer. Therefore, they propose to shift the burden of socialist construction almost completely from the workers to the peasants. And because figures speak so loud that they cannot successfully disregard them and because these figures say with unmistakable clarity that this shifting means an abandonment of the tasks of socialist reconstruction, therefore the opposition finally lands in the camp of Trotsky: **It loses hope in the possibility of success, for the Russian revolution.** It accepts Trotsky's statement that: "Without direct state support of the European proletariat it is impossible for the working class of Russia to maintain its temporary power and to transform it into a permanent socialist dictatorship."

Thus, set into motion by the apparent contradiction between ultimate aim and immediate interest of the proletariat and lacking the balance of the stabilizing influence of Leninist theory and practice, the opposition slides into the morass of Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution," which its leader only recently denounced most bitterly. The theory of permanent revolution was a correct conclusion from revolutionary necessity under pre-imperialist capitalism. **Under imperialism the theory of permanent revolution became a theory of hopelessness.**

#### The Theory of Permanent Revolution.

Considering the conditions under which a proletarian revolution would have to exert itself, in those days, Engels wrote in 1847 in his "Principles of Communism" that the victory of the proletariat is impossible in one country alone. This statement of Engels has been remixed and rebaked by Trotsky and is presented now, in 1926—not 1847—as the theory of permanent revolution.

Under pre-imperialist capitalism the problem of proletarian revolution differed radically from the same problem today, under imperialism. The need and possibility of revolution then rested on two factors:

1. The economic ripeness of the country (capitalism).
2. The existence of the physical force of revolution (proletariat).

On this basis the conclusion was natural and correct that the highest developed countries will and must be

first in the revolution because only those countries possessed the two decisive factors in sufficient quantity. And only in those countries can the inner contradictions of capital have sufficient latitude to produce a revolutionary situation and a revolutionary ideology among the proletariat.

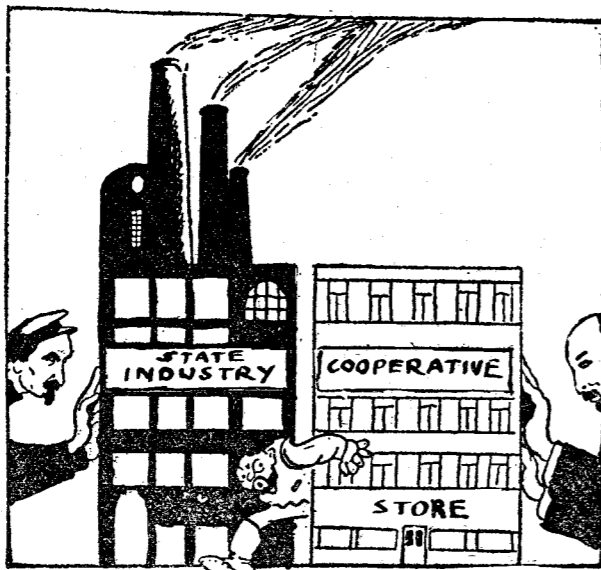
But capitalism has not stood still at the stage of 1847. It proceeded in its onward march into the stage of imperialism. Imperialism is the last stage of capitalism and the first stage of the proletarian revolution. But while imperialism has put the proletarian revolution on the order of the day, it has also changed the conditions of this proletarian revolution; in fact, it really produced them. Under imperialism it is not the strongest and furthest developed country which presents the first front attack to the revolution, but it is the weakest point in the international front of monopolist capitalism. This weakest point must not necessarily be the most backward country, but it may be that (and it was that

in the case of Russia). Under imperialism the inner contradictions of capitalism extend their play from the field of capitalism within certain countries to the field of international conditions and relations of capitalism. And when this play produces its catastrophe it is no longer the catastrophe of capitalism in one country, but of capitalism itself. And the pressure put upon capitalism by such a catastrophe makes possible the breaking of the chain of capitalist power and rule not at its strongest, but at its weakest

And when the chain of the imperialist front reaches the breaking point

because in the imperialist contradictions and struggles for control over the world one link of this chain is decisively weakened, then the hour of revolution has arrived for the country which presents this weakened link in the chain. And at this hour the proletariat of this country and its revolutionary leaders cannot push their revolutionary responsibility from them with the phrase: "Our country is not yet ripe for revolution." This ripeness is not attested to by mere economic statistics. Only the dynamic forces of revolution itself can produce and proclaim it.

Because of this the revolutionary proletariat everywhere must always be prepared for the revolution. It must make its preparations according to the conditions it lives in. Everywhere the revolutionary alliance of the proletariat with the non-proletarian classes against capitalist rule becomes as indispensable duty of revolutionary preparation. In some countries these allies supply a



*Squeezing out the NEP man.*

larger, in some a smaller, portion of the revolutionary forces. But in all countries the proletariat needs these allies—and in all countries the proletariat must maintain its hegemony over these allies in the revolutionary movement.

#### Leninism vs. Trotskyism.

This is Leninism. This is Marxism developed by Lenin to the revolutionary theoretical needs of imperialism. Considering the conditions under which a proletarian revolution will have to exert itself in the days of imperialism, Lenin wrote in 1905:

"The unevenness of the economic and political development is an unchangeable law of capitalism. Because of that it is clear that the victory of socialism is possible in the beginning in a few or even in one single capitalist country. The victorious proletariat of such a country would then, after it has expropriated the capitalists and has organized socialist production, rise against the rest of the capitalist world by winning over the exploited classes of those countries. These masses will then, themselves rise in insurrection against their capitalists. If necessary a victorious proletariat of one country can even proceed in support of such insurrections with military forces against exploiting classes and their countries."

It is clear that Leninism does not break the continuity of revolution. But the Leninist permanency of revolution is one of struggle and of socialist construction. It is a road to victory. Trotsky's permanent revolution, on the other hand, is one of hopelessness and despair.

Lenin's thesis is: Every further progress of our socialist construction increases our usefulness to the world revolution.

Trotsky's thesis is: Only the world revolution can save us.

Lenin's thesis is: "The victorious proletariat in one country will be of tremendous aid to the struggles of the proletarians of other countries in their rebellion against capitalism so that they, too, will achieve victory."

Trotsky's thesis is: "We can not be victorious until the victory of the proletariat of other countries or another country comes to our aid."

According to Lenin the victory of the proletariat of other countries will be aided by the first victorious proletariat. According to Trotsky, the victory of the proletariat of the first revolutionary country is impossible without the aid of successive revolutionary victories in other countries.

To put it into the concrete formulas of the controversy: Lenin declared that:

"Socialism for us is no longer a question of the far-away future—it is no longer an abstraction for us . . . We have introduced socialism into the everyday life and here we must know our way. This is the task of the hour; it is the task of the epoch. I am convinced that no matter how difficult this task may be, new as it may seem to us in comparison with our old tasks, no matter how many obstacles we may encounter, we all-together will accomplish this task, cost it what it may; not tomorrow will we accomplish it, but in some years, so that the Russia of the N. E. P. will be transformed into a socialist Russia."

Trotsky, on the other hand, declared, that:

"A real upbuilding of socialist economy in Russia is only possible after the victory of the proletariat of the most important countries of Russia."

The most important point in this connection is the difference between a revolutionary program and a revolutionary phrase. The bourgeoisie closes its eyes to this difference. It hails the revolutionary phrase of Trotsky as the "real thing" in the way of revolutions and labels the Leninism of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U.

as moderation. But its sympathies with Trotsky belie its efforts of interpretation. The bourgeoisie likes the revolutionary phrase of Trotsky for its hollowness, and hates the "moderation" of the C. P. S. U. for its revolutionary substance.

Karl Marx also formulated a theory of permanent revolution. This theory finds its living application in Russia. In his address to the German Communists he wrote:

"While the democratic petty-bourgeoisie desires to end the revolution at the quickest possible time by carrying out the greatest possible number of the demands enumerated above, it is our (The Communists') task to make the revolution a continuous one until all more or less owning classes are removed from power, until the proletariat has conquered state power, and until the association of the proletariat not only in one country but in all ruling countries of the world, will be developed so far, that competition between the proletariat of these countries ceases, and until at least the most important means of production are concentrated in the hands of the proletariat."

#### The Role of the Peasantry in the Revolution.

In this connection, the accompanying sin of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution must be brought to light: The lack of understanding of the role of the peasantry in the revolution. Since the revolutionary situation is produced by the contradictions and catastrophes of imperialism and since these contradictions and catastrophes do not accept Trotsky's theory but throw their destructive weight even on economically undeveloped countries, a revolutionary role of the peasantry is a necessary prerequisite for revolution. Trotskyism denies this role of the peasantry.

"To secure this victory, the proletarian advance guard must even in the first period of its rule, make serious attacks not only against the feudal, but also against bourgeois property. Doing this the proletariat will clash not only with all groups of the bourgeoisie—but also with the broad masses of the peasantry through whose support it succeeded to power." Trotsky wrote this in 1922. And today he with his oppositional allies, Zinoviev, Kamenev, etc., demands that this clash with the peasantry be precipitated. The peasantry, according to Trotsky, cannot be an ally of the proletariat during the whole of its revolution. Their alliance is possible only for a part of the time. The end of the period of direct struggle for power and the beginning of the period of socialist reconstruction necessarily turns the peasantry into an enemy of the revolution. In the struggle, with this enemy, the native forces of revolution alone cannot succeed. Outside help is required. Such outside help can only come from another proletarian state. The victory of the proletariat of Russia, therefore, depends on this support by another proletarian state. Consequently, the victory of other proletarian revolutions is necessary for the successful socialist construction in Russia. Until such victory revolutionary Russia cannot hope to succeed. This is Trotsky's thesis.

Here the inner connection of the theory of permanent revolution with the un-Leninist estimation of the role of the peasantry in the revolution becomes obvious. His conclusion becomes comprehensible only if it is Trotsky's opinion that the solution of the problems of the peasantry does not lie in the direction of the proletarian revolution and that all the steps of proletarian Russia in the direction of socialist construction of agricultural



production are in reality steps for the establishment and strengthening of the peasantry as a counter-revolutionary force. That is indeed the essence of Trotsky's charge against the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. But this is wrong. While the peasantry as a ruling class could not solve the economic problem of the proletariat on the basis of its private property and control over land—the proletariat as the ruling class can solve the problem of the peasantry on the basis of socialization of agricultural production.

The relation between the proletariat and the peasantry in Russia has, of course, undergone a tremendous change. Before the revolution proletariat and peasantry were brothers in misery. Arm in arm they could fight against the cause of this misery, against absolutism, against capitalism. After the taking over of power by the proletariat the latter became the ruling class. It would be folly to deny this fundamental change in relationship of these classes. But the decisive factor then as now is whether the interests of the peasantry lie in the same direction as those of the proletariat, that of a Communist transformation. The Leninists say, yes, and proceed with measures of solving the problems of agricultural and industrial reconstruction from that premise. Trotsky can come to his conclusion only if he rejects this premise.

But the rejection of this premise opens a crack in the structure of revolutionary theory through which Menshevism and social reformism can enter to poison and dilute both principles and strategy of the revolution.

#### Conclusions.

The opposition of the C. P. S. U. proceeds from two premises:

First, the burden of socialist construction must be

shifted from the proletariat to the peasantry.

Second, Socialist construction is impossible, except with outside help by another proletarian state.

Both of these premises exclude each other. But the logic of factional expediency seemed to have been stronger than the logic of political policies. The proponents of the first premise, Kamenev, Zinoviev, etc., have united with the proponent of the second premise, Trotsky. But after the logic of factional expediency had its day, the logic of political policies exerts itself. Kamenev and Zinoviev reject Trotsky's theory. But they do not reject Trotsky. And Trotsky accepts Kamenev and Zinoviev, though the latter reject his theory. He does that because Kamenev's and Zinoviev's practice fits into his theory. And the logic of it all makes Trotskyites out of Kamenev and Zinoviev—in spite of their protests.

A policy which proceeds from the first premise will automatically justify the second. It would retard and block socialist construction and, at the same time, would estrange the peasantry from the revolution. The revolution would then not be able to accomplish its task of socialist construction. It would then be defeated. And in its dying hour Trotsky could appear on the stage to speak the epilogue to the great drama of the Russian revolution: "History has justified my theory; our revolution could not succeed because of the absence of help from another proletarian state."

Fortunately, such an ending is not very likely. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our whole Communist International have spoken. With practical unanimity they have decided that the road toward the accomplishment of revolution as outlined by their greatest leader, Lenin has proved so successful that the siren songs of Trotskyite phrases cannot draw them from their path to victory.

# The Problems of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern

By John Pepper

**B**RIEFLY and concisely, the stages through which the great international sessions of the Comintern have passed can be designated as follows: The analysis of the Fifth World Congress in 1924 established the existence of a short-lived democratic-pacifist period and replied through the general large-scale utilization of the united front tactic all along the line. The analysis of the Fifth Enlarged Executive established the fact of relative stabilization and replied with the slogan of bolshevization. A picture of tottering stabilization was given in the analysis of the Sixth Enlarged Executive which at the same time put forward as the chief task of the Communist Parties the struggle for the majority of the working class.

The session of the Seventh Enlarged Executive that is just beginning must go a step further. It must delimit more precisely the existence as well as the relativity of the stabilization—quantitatively as well as qualitatively—and must investigate these phenomena in all their concreteness in the various countries. A step forward must also be taken in the elaboration of the tactics of the Communist Parties. It is not sufficient to lay down the general necessity of the application of the united front tactic if we put forward as our central task the winning of the working class. We must analyze more concretely than we have hitherto done the concrete tendencies in each country and we must work out the specific forms of the united front.

The great international session of Communists must investigate the Social-democratic theory of "ultra-imperialism," which announces the "harmonious" equalization of the contradictions of capital and the peaceful further development of imperialism. The Communist International must settle accounts with the strange distortions in the analysis and perspectives of the Russian Opposition according to which the stabilization is at an end in the whole bourgeois world and exists only in the land of the proletariat, in the land of socialist development (supremacy of private capitalist elements, kulakisation of agrarian economy, bourgeois degeneration of the proletarian government and of the proletarian party, etc.).

An uninterrupted stream of capital exports issuing from the United States of America and going to Latin America, Europe, etc., a large-scale rationalization and trustification of American and European industry and growing pressure on the working class—these are the chief elements of the present stabilization. The process of stabilization produces its own contradictions. The extension of capitalist production and the narrowing of the market, the flow of super-profits from the whole world to the United States, the offensive of capital against the workers' standard of living called forth by the process of rationalization, all this sharpens the contradictions of the imperialist powers among themselves, gives rise to a permanent danger of war and brings with it a growing sharpening of class contradictions. Mighty gaps are visible in the edifice of capitalist stabilization: the gigantic struggle of the British proletariat, the victorious advance of the Chinese revolution, the rise of the people of Indonesia, the advancing class contradictions in Germany in spite of the "quiet coalition" of the Social-democracy with "its" bourgeoisie on the basis of the new German imperialism, and, above all, the highly successful advance of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

A struggle against the danger of war, the removal of the pacifist infection from the minds of the working class, the development of the international solidarity for the Soviet Union, the concentrated support of the English miners' strike, the activization of the proletarian solidarity of the working class of Europe and America for the great Chinese revolution, the struggle against the consequences of capitalist rationalization thru the defense of the standard of living of the proletariat, thru the struggle against unemployment—these must be the central tasks of the Communist International.

Corresponding to the basic character of the present period as a period between two waves of the revolution, the working class also shows certain specific transition phenomena. Except in the U. S. A. where parallel with the monstrous development of imperialism there takes place a swing to the right in the labor movement, we notice in the most important countries a leftward movement of great masses of workers. This left movement manifests itself neither in the exodus of these leftward moving masses from the right-wing Social-democrats or Labor Parties nor in their acceptance of the Communist program. This leftward movement expresses itself many

times in great mass actions (the General Strike and the miners' strike in England, the Hamburg dock workers' strike in Germany, strike waves in France); often however, it is expressed in the various forms of the "minority movement," "left wing," "unity committees," "workers' delegations" which make their appearance in the most different forms and in the richest and most specific variations.

It is not enough to establish generally the tactics of the united front; it is necessary to find the transition forms of contact with the masses that correspond to the transition stage of the leftward movement of the masses. In their struggle to approach these masses and to win the confidence of the majority of the working class the Communists find three forms corresponding to the specific character of development and to the historical traditions of their countries. In most European countries the tactic of the united front is determined by the relations of the Communist Parties to the Social-democracy. In the countries of the "Anglo-Saxon" world (Great Britain, United States of America, Australia, Canada, etc.) the concrete forms of the Communist united front are determined thru the adherence of the Communists to the Labor Parties. In the gigantic colonial countries of Asia and Africa the concrete forms of the united front tactics of the Communist Parties must be elaborated in relation to the national revolutionary movement.

In all countries, however, the trade unions must, of course, be the basic organizations in the struggle of the Communists for the soul of the working class, the basis of the all-inclusive united front struggle for the international and national unity of the trade union movement.

The objective analysis of capitalism establishes the present period as a transition period between two waves of revolution and corresponding to this shows the picture of transition tendencies in the labor movement. The tactics of the Communists must therefore consist in the crystallization of these various transition forms, politically as well as organizationally. The struggle of the Communists for the dictatorship of the proletariat can be carried on with success only when we succeed in drawing the workers into the struggle for their daily demands on the basis of a concrete program of action.

The inner life of the Communist Parties must be considered and judged primarily from the viewpoint of this great political task. All inadequacies and mistakes that can diminish the ability to carry out this task must be rooted out. The Enlarged Executive will correct in a friendly and comradely spirit the errors that our English brother party has made in carrying out its generally correct line. It will have to condemn the right errors that have manifested themselves in certain groups in the French party as well as in the Polish and Norwegian Parties. It will have to combat in the sharpest terms the great faults of the Russian opposition as well as the anti-bolshevist, many times even openly counter-revolutionary sins of the Ultra-Lefts in Germany. A united and collective leadership of the Communist International, a merciless struggle against factionalism in the C. P. S. U. as well as in the other sections of the Communist International will conclude the work of the Enlarged Executive.

# The Struggle in the Needle Trades

By W. Z. Foster

THE sharpest point in the class struggle at the present time in the United States is in the needle trades. There the fight is intense. It is marked by unprecedented struggles of the masses under Left Wing leadership against the bosses and the treacherous right wing Socialist trade union officials. The center of the struggle now is the bitterly fought strike of the New York cloakmakers. This is only the latest phase of the long fight of the ideologically advanced clothing workers against the combined bosses and reactionary trade union leaders.

In brief, the situation in the clothing industry is this: The employers are trying to undermine the unions and to speed up the workers in production to an even more unbearable pace than exists at present. They are trying to company-unionize the needle trades unions, with the full support of the Socialist union leaders. The Left Wing is leading the struggle of the masses against this dangerous and destructive combination of employers and Socialist officials.

This is the heart of the great fight now going on all over the country in every branch of the needle trades, and which has manifested itself in many dramatic incidents, such as the Furriers' strike, the Joint Action Committee struggle in the I. L. G. W. U., etc. It is a struggle against the company unionization of the needle trades unions. In order fully to understand what is involved in this fight, however, it is necessary to trace briefly the growth of company unionism and company union tendencies both within and without the trade unions.

## The Growth of Company Unions.

Fifteen years ago, the policy of American employers, especially in basic and trustified industries, was one of a complete "open shop". That is, they prevented any kind of organization whatsoever among the workers. About 1912, however, they began to depart from this policy by organizing company unions, the first important one of which was established by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company upon the conclusion of the historic Colorado coal miners' strike. The company union made slow progress until the war, when a tremendous advance along this line took place. The big employers established company unions in hundreds of important plants. The movement represented a radical change in policy on the part of these employers. Where they previously permitted no organizations whatever among their workers, they now set up so-called unions entirely controlled by the companies.

Company unions are a product of the efficiency engineers. Their basic purpose is to increase profits for the employers and to lull the workers into passive subjection to the most intense capitalist exploitation. Their specific aims are: 1. To facilitate the speeding up of the workers in industry. 2. To prevent the growth of

class-consciousness among the workers by the systematic cultivation of class-collaboration ideas. 3. To check the formation of trade unions by giving the workers at least a pretense of organization.

## Company-Unionizing the Trade Unions.

Advancing towards their goal of establishing workers' organizations which facilitate the introduction of speed-up systems in industry and check the growth of class-consciousness and trade unionism, the employers are pursuing the policy not only of establishing company unions outright, but also of systematically degenerating the trade unions in the direction of company unionism. In the latter course they are assisted by the surrender policy adopted by the reactionary trade union bureaucracy especially since the heavy defeats suffered in the last few years by the trade unions.

The bureaucrats, with only their own group interests in mind, are perfectly willing to sacrifice the interests of the masses by hamstringing the unions. They hope thereby that the employers will permit them to have at least some form of organization to collect dues from. In return, they will do fascist service for the employers and try to force the workers to accept the most intense exploitation.

Immediately after the war, the employers delivered a series of heavy attacks against the trade unions in practically every industry, steel, shoe, clothing, textile, building, meat packing, printing, coal, etc. In every instance the unions were either badly beaten or seriously weakened. The whole movement constituted the greatest defeat ever suffered by the labor movement in this country. The climax of this struggle was the national strike of the railroad shopmen in 1922. Because of the treachery of the railroad union leaders, this historic strike resulted in an overwhelming defeat for the unions. It broke the backbone of railroad unionism.

The reactionary trade union leaders of the whole movement, who had no taste for these great struggles, collapsed altogether after the shopmen's defeat. Then they began to introduce into the unions a whole series of new institutions and tendencies leading in the general direction of degenerating the trade unions into company unions. The process of company-unionizing the trade unions proceeded ever faster.

Its first important phase was the development of the B. & O. plan, which is an arrangement whereby the unions co-operate with the employers in speeding up production. This in itself was a long step in the direction of company unionism. The B. & O. plan, originated on the railroads, has since become in principle the official policy of the American Federation of Labor. It is the basis of the invitations recently issued by Matthew Woll to the employers of the United States to join hands with

the trade union leaders for increased efficiency in industry.

Hard upon the heels of the B. & O. plan, came the growth of trade union capitalism, the rejection of all forms of independent political action by the bureaucrats, and their complete surrender to the two old parties, the bitter war against the Left Wing and every semblance of progressiveism in the unions. The whole movement to company-unionize the trade unions has been recently summed up, so to speak, in the Watson-Parker railroad law, which was supported both by the railroad companies and the union leaders. This law legalizes company unionism on the railroads, outlaws strikes, virtually establishes compulsory arbitration, gives the Federal courts the right to pass upon industrial disputes, and sets up a close and poisonous collaboration between the railroad officials and the leaders of the railroad unions.

## Company-Unionizing the Needle Trades Unions.

The movement of the employers to company-unionize the trade unions extends to the needle trades as well as to the general labor movement. The needle trades employers are proceeding along the three general lines characteristic of company unionism and company union tendencies. They are speeding up the workers, smothering class consciousness and undermining the trades unions proper. In this program, they have the active support of the Socialist trade union bureaucracy.

The combined employers and bureaucrats are putting the speed-up system into effect in various ways. Hillman was the outstanding champion of it in the needle trades bureaucracy, with his notorious "standards of production," a system which is permeating the entire needle trades. Beckerman, Hillman's New York tool, is introducing the piece-work system, and Sigman, by adopting the "reorganization" plan of the employers, has opened the door wide to the speed-up among the cloakmakers. Everywhere and under every guise that the employers undertake to put into effect the basic principle of company unionism, the speed-up of production, they have the active assistance of the Socialist bureaucrats.

Company unionism puts forward class collaboration as a substitute for class struggle. The bureaucrats in the needle industry are fully in harmony with this. They have abandoned every semblance of radicalism, not to speak of revolutionary sentiments and policies. They are the leaders in the struggle against the left wing, being the first officials in the labor movement of this country to introduce an expulsion policy. Their program has become almost indistinguishable from that of the old Gompers bureaucracy. They have become bitter haters of Soviet Russia. They are saturated with corruption. They are ready tools in the employers' program of preventing the growth of class consciousness amongst the workers.

In the movement for the company-unionization of the trade unions there is no room for a fighting workers' policy. Hence, the labor bureaucracy everywhere bitterly resists all tendencies to build up the unions and to develop them into real fighting organizations. Turning tail on their many years' advocacy of industrial unionism, the Socialist needle trades bureaucrats,

are now rabid opponents of amalgamation. They have dropped the strike weapon. They believe the employers are too strong to be defeated. Their policy is one of conciliation and arbitration. They accept whatever terms the employers present to them. They are in full harmony with the leaders of the American Federated of Labor to strip the unions of their fighting qualities, and to turn them into spiritless organizations, closely akin to company unions, to co-operate with the employers in exploiting the workers.

Like the rest of the reactionary bureaucrats, the Socialist needle trades union leaders are coming to look upon themselves merely as agents of the employers. When the unions revolt against their treacherous policies, they undertake to rule them by the abolition of democracy, the carrying thru of fascist gangster methods, and the application of the black list in co-operation with the employers.

## The New York Cloakmakers' Strike.

The central issue of the strike of the 35,000 New York cloakmakers, which has kept that industry tied up for the last six months, is the demand of the employers for the right to a 10 per cent per year reorganization of their shops. Under this plan of reorganization the employers would have the right to discharge 10 per cent of their workers each year. The strike is the mass resistance to this arbitrary demand.

The reorganization plan of the employers is entirely in line with the general tendency to devitalize the trade unions. When they secure the right to fire 10 per cent of their workers for no specified reasons, they hold a tremendous weapon against the union. By means of it they can terrorize the workers in various ways. They can speed them up, with the implied threat that all those workers who do not work fast enough will be discharged when the reorganization takes place. They can also intimidate the more militant-minded workers on the same basis. They can systematically undermine the union and weaken it. For the employers the reorganization plan opens the door wide to the company-unionization of the cloakmakers' union. The fact that the union has the right to review discharge cases where discrimination because of militancy is charged will not protect the union from the working-out of the reorganization as here outlined.

As is the case in every industry when the employers come forward with their program to devitalize the trade unions, the right wing leadership strongly supported the infamous reorganization program of the cloak bosses. The left wing, on the other hand, met it with the most determined resistance, mobilizing the workers for struggle against it. The right wing leaders joined forces with the employers to put the reorganization into effect in spite of the opposition of the left wing and the broad masses.

The efforts of the cloak bosses and the right wing bureaucrats to force reorganization upon the New York cloakmakers, is one of the most shameful episodes in the history of the American labor movement. From the beginning it has been a strike-breaking enterprise. When the governor's commission recommended that the reorganization be put into effect in the cloak industry, the

right wing officialdom, led by Sigman, immediately accepted this report, although they knew that the workers were determined to strike against it. From that time on their policy has been to break the strike by open and secret treachery and to force the workers to accept reorganization as laid down by the governor's commission, whose award was merely a statement of the policy of the employers in the situation.

The strike-breaking activities of the Sigman administration, which have never been surpassed by the notorious Berry, have assumed a variety of forms. When Governor Smith, trying to make the report of his commission stand up, endeavored to force arbitration upon the striking cloakmakers, which would have meant the breaking of the strike and the establishment of the reorganization plan, Sigman, backed by the Jewish Daily Forward and the right wing bureaucracy in all the other needle unions, proposed a surrender to Governor Smith's demand. But the left wing was able to defeat this completely.

Throughout the strike the right wing systematically spread defeatism among the workers, declaring that the strike was hopeless and unnecessary. Wherever they held any posts in the strike machinery they used these positions to carry on an organized sabotage of the strike. In Philadelphia and other garment centers the Sigman administration permitted and openly encouraged the making of scab garments for the New York market. Everywhere the right wing openly sabotaged the collection of strike funds. When the general strike committee announced the floating of a loan among the rank and file of the needle trades workers, the Socialist reactionaries immediately attacked the whole proposition.

Beckerman, head of the New York joint board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, even went so far in his opposition to the strike as to drive from the shops workers who ventured to raise funds in support of the cloakmakers. When meetings were called to organize strike collections, attempts were made to break them up by the use of professional gangsters. The notorious union strikebreaker, Berry, may well look with envy upon his new strikebreaking rival, Sigman.

The general result of this right wing policy was to greatly weaken the union in its fight against the bosses. When the settlement was finally made with the Industrial Council, the organization of the inside manufacturers, an important branch of the trade, the union was compelled to accept the reorganization plan with certain modifications, although the left wing leadership did succeed in establishing the 40-hour 5-day week, substantial increases in wages, and other concessions. The strikebreaking policy of Sigman was all too successful.

Then came negotiations with the American Association, the organization of the contractors. The Sigman administration entered into an alliance with these bosses against the New York joint board, which conducted the strike, stimulating them to make the most outrageous demands upon the workers. The union stood firm against these demands, and the American Association,

closely advised by and depending upon the support of Sigman and his group, attempted to lock out 15,000 workers. This has been aptly called "Sigman's lockout" by the workers. It failed completely. The union shattered this offensive, to the consternation of Sigman and his employer-allies.

As I write this, the strike is continuing in full vigor, but Sigman and his right wing general executive board are developing fresh attempts to destroy it. They have outlawed the New York joint board and the striking local unions, arbitrarily and illegally removing their officials from office and taking over the official leadership of the strike. They are preparing a treacherous settlement of the strike, probably by arbitration as the employers dictate. They have mustered all the professional gangsters employed by the various unions under their control and hope to succeed with these in ramming these arbitrary measures down the throats of the rebellious membership.

#### Sigman's Fascist Program.

Sigman's program is now fascist. He hopes to be able to terrorize the cloakmakers into submission. In this reactionary attempt he has the support of the whole right wing bureaucracy, not only in the needle industry, but also in the unions generally. Alarmed at the progress of the left wing in the needle, mining, metal and other industries, these reactionaries have raised the cry of "Clean out the Communists from the unions," and are attempting to put the movement into a frenzy on this issue. The illegal seizure of the strike and the suspension of the New York joint board is the first big move in the general campaign against the left wing.

The strength of the left wing leadership, in the needle trades as well as in the unions generally, is its militant defense of the workers' interests. In the I. L. G. W. U., as in the victorious furriers' strike, the overwhelming mass of the workers stand with the left wing and against the reactionary officialdom. They support the left wing strike policy. They endorse the left wing program of amalgamating all the needle trades craft unions into one powerful industrial union. They realize that the left wing is the only element in the union that has anything whatever of a progressive character for the workers.

In the wholesale attack that is now being delivered by the right wing, in combination with the employers, against the left wing and the big body of cloakmakers, the problem is to maintain a solid connection between the rebellious masses and the left wing leaders, to prevent the masses from becoming demoralized by the terroristic tactics of the right wing, which constitute an American brand of fascism. This is the price of victory in the needle industry and the left wing leadership, profiting from past mistakes, must and will learn to accomplish it. The present bitter struggle in the cloak industry is only one incident in the long struggle against the reactionaries which must culminate in the near future by the combination of all the needle trades unions into one industrial organization under left wing leadership.

# "Peasantry or Power"

By J. Louis Engdahl

THE title of this article is not original. It was used very recently by one of the speakers, Prof. Macy Campbell, head of the department of rural education, Iowa State Teachers' College, as the subject of his address before the Eighth Annual Meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation in Chicago. It shows more clearly than anything else could the lines along which the American farmer is thinking. Especially in view of the fact that the Iowa farmers are the richest per capita in the nation.

"Peasantry" to the American farmer means mortgage foreclosures, tenantry, crop farming, the low state of the tiller of the soil when he can take all his belongings, including his family, in his rickety Ford flivver and wander seeking the service of a serf that is in the gift of some rapacious landlord.

The word "peasantry" has not long been on the tongue of the American farmer. It is only since the war that this word has crept into his vocabulary, with every indication, however, that it is going to stay there. The farmers' problem, especially in the corn and cotton belts, is the biggest issue before the present session of congress. It may speak the decisive word in the presidential election in November, 1928. As the farmer plunges toward peasantry, his problem challenges the common attention of all, more and more, and especially of the city worker who should be the natural ally of the toiler on the land.

#### The Changing Order.

The whole continent, for three centuries, has stretched westward before the American farmer. There has been plenty of rich free land sought out by the hardest elements of the American population, the pioneer moving toward the setting sun. The world's most intricate network of railroads has been laid down and placed at his disposal for the transportation of his products. Half the railroad mileage on all the continents is to be found in the United States. The latest types of agricultural implements have been invented and manufactured for him. Nowhere on earth is the tractor so universally used as in this country. A vast system of farm education with pretentious agricultural colleges in nearly every state, has been established. The estimated farm population on January 1, 1925, was 31,134,000, a slight drop from the previous year. Of these approximately 10,000,000 are gainfully employed, a mighty army producing greater staple crops of corn, wheat, hay, cotton, rice, potatoes, flaxseed and rye than any other country. The total value of all farm crops in 1919 was \$14,755,364,894 nearly trebling that of ten years before in 1909, of \$5,231,850,683. In 1920, there were 6,448,343 farms covering 905,883,715 acres.

#### But the Farmer Grows Poorer.

In spite of these vast advantages and the colossal sums measuring the total value of wealth produced, the fact remains that the farmer grows steadily poorer. He is the victim of the capitalist social order under which he lives and which takes its toll of profiteering on every hand. Strive as he may, often forcing his whole family including little children into the harness of production, the necessities of life won by the farmer grow ever more meager.

Great masses of farmers own neither land, cattle, nor farm implements necessary to till the soil. Railroads, grain elevator systems, packing houses, banks, ships that ply the waterways, all are in the hands of the private profiteer, with very few exceptions. These are all placed at his disposal, to be sure, but at what heavy toll is being revealed daily in new agonies imposed on the nation's farming population. Producers and consumers co-operatives offer little help.

Great trusts in transportation, farm implement manufacturing, control of the collection and selling of the products of the fields, and above all, in money, hold the farmers helpless in their grip. The farmer on the land, like the wage worker in industry, becomes merely the human element in production for profit, victim of all the super-tortures that capitalism inflicts.

#### Millions Seek an Escape.

Millions seek an escape thru flight to the cities, where they arrive, bankrupt and penniless, to become the competitors in industry of the city workers. The very fact that crops are large after an abundant harvest, of itself forces prices down below the cost of production, resulting in the inevitable bankruptcy, or the mortgage that leads as a first step toward the same goal.

Scott Nearing, the economist, following a tour to the Pacific coast declares that, "In the southwestern states the radical tenant farmers are not even picking their cotton. If they did the landlords would get it all. Instead, they hire out to pick the cotton for the landlords on adjoining farms. In this way the farmer at least gets wages." But he also falls from his more favored position of tenant farmer into that of farm worker, or merely another "hired hand".

#### Percentage of Landless Grows.

According to the United States census, each passing decade has seen an increase in the percentage of landless tenant farmers. In 1889 it was 26 per cent; in 1900 it was 35 per cent; in 1920 it was 38 per cent. Seven states have almost reached the 50 per cent mark and in two, more than 50 per cent of the farmers are now landless.

Less than two generations ago any young man could secure a good farm by homesteading, or by purchase of new land at a few dollars per acre. Not one generation ago, the young farmer secured his land by first working as a hired man, then as tenant for a time, then presently he bought a farm at a reasonable price per acre and gradually paid for it. He did this out of what was considered a "fair profit" in farming at that time. Now the margin of profit is so small and the price of land so high that many an anxious and ambitious young farmer is forced to face life as a landless tenant. Thus "land hunger" constantly increases. At the present time nearly 3,000,000 of farmers are tenants, and there are nearly two millions of mortgaged farmers, with four millions of farm workers, and the rest well-to-do farm owners.

#### Mortgage Route is Crowded.

The mortgage route is perhaps the most crowded thoroughfare along which the prospective landless make their way. In 1890, 28 per cent of the farms were already encumbered with mortgages. By 1920, 40 per cent were thus burdened. The mortgaged indebtedness is now more than seven billions of dollars. The farmers' equity in these mortgaged farms is steadily decreasing; in 1910 it was 72.7 per cent; in 1920, 70.9 per cent, and in 1925 it was estimated to be 60 per cent. With the average interest rate on farm mortgages standing at six per cent and the average income on farm land at about three per cent, there is no hope of ever paying off that seven billion dollar indebtedness.

Secretary of Agriculture William M. Jardine reported to President Coolidge on Nov. 14, 1925, that the movement from the farms to the cities, towns and villages in 1924, was estimated to 2,075,000. At the same time the counter-drift from the cities to the land, of those who were trying to escape the exactions of the shop and the factory, the mine and the mill, totalled 1,396,000. The situation was saved a little more by the large excess of births over deaths on the farms, the births totalling 763,000 and deaths 266,000. Nevertheless, the loss in farm population for the year reached 182,000 or 0.6 per cent.

#### Corn and Cotton Belts Hit.

This year sees the corn and cotton belts hit hardest of all. The wheat belt is not suffering as much altho in the wheat raising state of Minnesota, the small country banks are crumpling up almost as fast as in the corn state of Iowa. Last year in spite of a large world wheat crop, the United States had little more than enough to meet domestic requirements. The winter wheat yield was the lowest since 1904. The total wheat crop of 697,000,000 bushels in 1925 was the smallest since 1917, and in proportion to population the smallest wheat crop since 1890. This assured good prices for the crop that came on the market, but of course, was little aid to the wheat farmer who had little to sell.

The 1925 corn crop on the other hand, of some 3,013,000,000 bushels was nearly one-fourth larger than that of the previous year. This year finds another huge crop with corn so cheap that the farmers are again burning it for fuel.

#### Big Crops But Bankruptcy Prices.

The 1925 cotton crop went up to 15,386,000 bales, ranking with the huge crops of 1911 and 1914, as one of the three largest crops on record up to that time. But the 1926 crop will surpass them all according to estimates of the crop reporting board of the department of agriculture based on reports up to December 1, reaching a total of 18,618,000 bales of 500 pounds gross weight each. This record crop has shattered prices. Income nowhere touches the cost of production with the result that much cotton is left in the fields to rot, while the hitherto exclusive South in a panic seeks an alliance with the similarly desperate corn growing West in order to get relief. This is the most significant development of the times, attacked by some sections of the capitalist press as a return to the "Greenbackism" incidental to the turbulent times following the Civil War, and the display of power by the Populists during the closing years of the last century. Satisfactory beginnings toward cotton-corn unity were made, it is claimed, at a gathering held during the fall at St. Louis, Missouri, while the compact was cemented, it is said, at the annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation in Chicago in December, attended by 3,000 farmers, speaking for 1,000,000 families in 45 different states.

It is claimed that the movement is non-political, but it breathes politics at every pore. Last year and again this year all eyes are turned toward Washington for relief from the impending disaster.

This movement is conservative altho it has often been labelled as the "farmers' revolt." The fact that the American Farm Bureau Federation in 1925 invited President Coolidge as its chief speaker is typical. It cringes before the powers-that-be. Yet Coolidge's attitude, repeated in his message to the present congress, last month, was so brazenly reactionary that even this cross section of the farm population stood aghast. It has been fighting Coolidge more bitterly ever since.

Coolidge in his message to congress stamps all farm statistics under foot, and exudes high praise for his administration on its record of aid to agriculture. Thus he claims that "While some localities and some particular crops furnish exceptions, in general agriculture is continuing to make progress in recovering from the depression of 1921 and 1922." This was being written not long after Coolidge's department of agriculture was pointing out that the farmer was facing a drop in the purchasing power of his products to the lowest level since December, 1924, the month after Coolidge was elected president in his own right.

In industry Coolidge supports wage cuts, especially in the textile industry dominated in large part by his "Bosom Friend" Senator Butler, of Massachusetts. Thus Coolidge tells the industrial workers, don't eat so much, wear cheaper clothes and live in cheaper homes, a distinct lowering of the standard of living that met with valiant resistance by the Passaic textile strikers. To the farmers on the other hand, Coolidge says, again quoting from his message:

#### Coolidge Offers His Remedy.

"No method of meeting the situation would be adequate, which does not contemplate a reduction of about one-third in the acreage for the coming year. The responsibility for making the plan effective lies with those who own and finance cotton and cotton lands."

Coolidge takes the same attitude toward other crops. Thus instead of urging increased wages, which means an increased purchasing power for the wage workers, to buy the products of the farms, Coolidge demands a decreased purchasing power for the city workers, and decreased production by the land workers to overcome the resulting problem of over-production. Decrease in farm production means more farmers must quit the land and join the jobless army in the cities.

#### The McNary Bill Reply.

The reply of the farmers who seek a voice through the old parties is the McNary farm relief bill introduced in the present short session of congress. It is sponsored by Senator Charles McNary (republican) chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture. Representative Haugen, head of the house committee on agriculture, seems to have been dropped and a companion bill in the lower branch of congress has been introduced by Representative Fulmer (democrat) of South Carolina, thus uniting the South and West through both old parties. Here is a display of the bi-partisanship, not non-partisanship, of the confused farmer masses that are still trying to effect a cure for their problem through the aid of the capitalist tyranny at Washington. Here is a concrete instance of the lack of class consciousness on the part of the farmers. To be sure, there are many class differentiations among the farmers. As long as farmers generally, however, abide by the rule of capitalism, as is the case with the supporters generally of the American Farm Bureau Federation, the Farmers' Union, what is left of the Nonpartisan League, the various farmers' elevator systems, creamery, store, or other economic organizations, no issue is raised as to whether they are well-to-do farmers, tenant or mortgage farmers, retired farmers or even farm workers. They are all chop-sueyed into the same political and economic mass movement, as if their class interests were identical.

That is the kind of backing that will be mustered in aid of the democratic-republican McNary farm relief bill that will be the basis for the most intense struggle in this congressional session.

#### The Effort at Compromise.

The McNary measure appears in congress shorn of many of the objectionable features of the McNary-Haugen bill rejected in the last session. It even contains some of the features of the Fess bill introduced in the last congress by Senator Fess, of Ohio, as a compromise between radical and conservative relief measures, and as such receiving the blessing of the Coolidge administration. This led Representative Haugen to declare that it was not radical enough, that it was without "teeth." But compromises even won him over finally.

The much fought over equalization fee, that was opposed by the southern cotton growers, remains, but it is assessed against "each marketed unit" instead of against

all producers. The compromise was reached through the withdrawal by the western "farm bloc" of its opposition to the private operation of the Muscle Shoals project, with its fertilizer sideline, so necessary to the impoverished soil of the South. The "tariff yardstick" and the "fair and reasonable" price standards of the original McNary-Haugen bill have disappeared. The new bill contains no reference to price standards. It is proposed that there be an appropriation of \$250,000,000 for a revolving fund from which loans may be made to commodity stabilization funds in anticipation of the collection of the equalization fees. It is urged that loans be also made directly to co-operatives for handling the surplus. The five basic commodities to be benefitted are cotton, wheat, corn, rice, and hogs. Cattle and butter have been eliminated and rice appears for the first time.

#### Plan to Trustify Agriculture.

The tendency of this legislation, in fact, the object sought is to set up an agricultural monopoly or trust. The deflated farmers have looked with jealous eyes on the huge post-war profits taken by trustified and tariff-protected industry, with wide and increasing sections of agriculture at the same time continually on the brink of bankruptcy. Thus agriculture demands a higher tariff on the things it has to sell and a lowering of the tariff on what it must buy. This serves two purposes (1) maintaining the home market exclusively for domestic products at high prices and (2) thus enabling American agriculture to compete more successfully by underbidding with its surplus against the cheaper products in foreign markets. Corn wants its "Schedule K" as well as textiles. Cotton, wheat, and rice want "protection" as well as steel and the products of other favored industries.

It was this plan that Andrew Mellon, Coolidge's secretary of the treasury, who has piled up his many millions in the highly protected industries of the Pittsburgh district, declared to be "economically unsound" in its application to agriculture. So says Coolidge also.

It may be, however, that in the old party political game of "give and take," every effort will be made to log-roll this relief measure to victory in some form, with both republican and democratic support, and through the present congressional session. A study of Coolidge's message, however, and a re-examination of the Coolidge-Mellon attitude toward the farm problem, indicates that little can be expected from the White House. The administration may introduce its own relief bill. There are indications of this from some sources. The McNary plan forces sense this, and, if defeat stares them in the face, they may not press for a decision in this congressional session. Instead they may force a special session of the next congress, for some time after March 4, in which the "farm bloc" holds a more favored, treasured "balance of power" or they may wait and carry their fight into the presidential nominating conventions of the two old parties in 1928, and on into the elections.

#### Lowden to the Rescue!

The cotton-corn combination has already picked its favorite son. He is Frank O. Lowden, former governor

of Illinois and perennial seeker after the republican presidential nomination. Lowden is the beneficiary through marriage of the Pullman millions. He has set aside some of his riches to establish himself as a corn grower in Illinois and as a cotton-raiser in Arkansas. He was the hero of the December meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation, just as he pushes himself forward at every other farm gathering in the Mississippi valley. The farmers think he has a program that will lead them out of this valley of woe. It is essentially the McNary proposition, in fact, Lowden endorsed the McNary-Haugen bill in the last congress. In the republican party, therefore, it is Lowden against Coolidge. Lowden, the "old guardist" republican exploiting the misery of the farmers to win political prominence against "Silent Cal," loyal office boy of the moneyed interests of the east. Capitalism will be equally safe with either. The south proclaims Lowden a "good democrat," but just how this solid democratic south is going to give Lowden any support in a presidential campaign is a mystery. The southern delegates to the republican nominating convention would be of some help. Some of these same farmers look with favor even on Charles G. (Hell an' Maria) Dawes, the Chicago banker. Senator Arthur Capper, the standpat Kansas editor, is also mentioned.

The south is also in rebellion against the democratic party leadership that is offered by Tammany Hall and its favorite son, "Al" Smith, governor of New York. The conservative democratic south threatens an alliance with the radical democratic west, the latter being led around by William G. McAdoo. But here other issues also arise. "Al" Smith is wet and Catholic. The south and west are dry and protestant, strongly tainted with Ku Klux Klanism. But the farm problem may well take prior position tearing at the vitals of both capitalist political parties. In this connection former secretary of agriculture, Edwin T. Meredith, of Iowa, is mentioned as "the farmers' saviour."

#### Shy at Class Political Action.

Little is said among the members of the farm organizations supporting this "last hope" relief legislation concerning independent political action. Mention of it is strictly taboo. Voice is found occasionally, however, for a threat to organize "a third party." That is all.

In spite of these efforts to steer shy of farmer-labor unity in the political struggle, it is highly significant that in the same week that the McNary bill was introduced in congress, pleading for favors from the capitalist state that would at best merely give some aid to the well-to-do farmers, and landlords, the bankers and grain speculators, leaving the working farmers as badly off as ever, there gathered in Minneapolis, Minn., the first conference of the Progressive Farmers of America that declared:

#### Farmers in the Class Struggle.

"The producers of wealth and the great combinations of capital have no interests that are identical. The struggle between these two classes will intensify until the toiling masses become organized so that they will

take over the machinery of production, distribution and exchange to the end that these agencies may be operated in the interests of the many instead of for the benefit of the few."

Thus the "Progressive Farmers" that began its fight in the state of Washington, on the Pacific Coast, plants its standards as a national organization at the headwaters of the Mississippi.

It represents the nucleus of class struggle in such farm areas as Washington, Montana, North Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin where it has already been successful in securing an organizational foothold.

The breaking away of agriculture from the domination of the two capitalist parties is also seen in the development of the farmer-labor movement. In Minnesota, the farmer-labor party, with a mass following, has wiped out the democratic party and faces the republican party as its only real contender. This was shown conclusively in the fall elections.

The same election campaign also shows that in North Dakota, where the non-partisan league still retains a foothold, there was sufficient virility in the drive for independent political action to place a farmer-labor ticket in the field opposed to the Frazier-Nye-Sorlie treason that would betray the farmers to the republican party.

In Washington, Montana, South Dakota and Oklahoma the farmers are also rallying with the city workers in support of the farmer-labor party movement. In Texas, where the Renters' Union was powerful before the war, the organizations of the farmers are developing an ever clearer class outlook.

#### The March Toward Power.

The actual dirt farmers and farm workers gradually realize, in increasing numbers, that "relief" legislation is not for them, that their only escape is through the abolition of the capitalist social order.

In Oklahoma alone, at this writing, 200,000 men, women and children are on the move, breaking off their past residence and farm relations and seeking new farms to cultivate as tenants. This annual movement of tenant farmers in Oklahoma alone includes more human beings than make up the entire population of Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Muskogee, Ponca City and Okmulgee, five of the state's largest cities. Here are 200,000 serfs seeking new masters.

The American farmer is not only being driven toward peasantry. Large masses in different sections of the country have already arrived at this lowly condition. But in the grip of peasantry, the American farmer will learn the road to power. He will join in the class struggle with the workers in industry. The brutalizing conditions being imposed by the capitalist overlords on millions of landless tenants throughout the fields of corn, wheat, cotton, rice and the lesser staple farm products, will help enlist new and growing numbers of adherents for the developing struggle for "A Labor Party in the 1928 Elections" and the ultimate abolition of capitalism. That is the call of the Workers (Communist) Party. American city and land labor must build its mass power separate from and opposed to the capitalist class to win its way from "Peasantry to Power."

# THE FIVE DAY WEEK

By EARL R. BROWDER

"Six days shalt thou labor and do all they work." So reads the fifth of the great commandments and for sixty centuries it has been accepted as the divinely prescribed standard of economic effort. It is the perfectly fixed basis of human achievement and social contentment. So I regard the five-day week as an unworthy ideal. It is better not to trifle or tamper with God's laws. They cannot be improved upon."

THIS statement on an outstanding issue in American industry today was not spoken by a Church Bishop. It is by the President of the National Association of Manufacturers, John E. Edgerton. It expresses the social, political and economic program of the main body of American employers on the question of the position of the workers.

Another view is that of Henry Ford. At the close of September this year Ford announces that the 200,000 workers in his automobile factories would hereafter work but five days per week. Mr. Ford said that production is increasing so fast that soon the five days will produce as many automobiles as formerly in six; as the market cannot continue to expand, it was necessary to reduce the working force or their working time. Ford has figured out that it is more profitable to reduce the time. This is another point of view, largely confined to Ford, who operates under exceptional circumstances because his factories are far ahead of all others in the technique of mass production.

There is, further, the attitude of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Green, its President, fell into line behind the "open shopper," Henry Ford, in these words:

"America is now known as the land of high wages and industrial efficiency. It should also be known as the land of short hours, for short hours and efficiency go together wherever the right adjustment has been made. The American labor movement is strongly in favor of the five-day week wherever it is possible. We will work for progressive reduction of hours wherever this may be accomplished without retarding industrial progress."

A step farther than the A. F. of L. is taken by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, an independent union which at its national convention last May instructed its officials to prepare to struggle for the five-day week.

And what has been effective in bringing this issue so sharply to the forefront in America?

A very simple fact: the Fur Workers' Union in New York City last January, having just come under the leadership of Communists, launched a strike in which one of the demands was for the five-day 40-hour week. After 18 weeks of struggle they were victorious.

All at once a great change took place. All the reformist wiseacres who had been cursing the "impractical and utopian" Communist demand for the five-day week suddenly began to hunt for "explanations." Mr. Green, who had tried to break the strike and to force the fur workers to settle for 44 hours per week, stepped up to claim the victory as his own and as a proof that class collaboration is good. The circulation of "The Ford Worker," a Communist factory paper, jumped up to 19,000 copies, and soon after Mr. Ford saw the light and made his sensational announcement.

So we see that the beginning of this five-day week movement, so revolutionary and "unrespectable," has led to its being accepted (with modifications) by both the A. F. of L. and by Ford. And it has aroused the masses to such an extent that Judge Gary of the Steel Trust and John Edgerton of the manufacturers' Association are terrified, and call God to their assistance to stem this new tide. "Don't tamper with God's laws," they cry.

The officialdom of the American trade unions is so corrupted that it never raises any issues for the betterment of the workers unless these demands are forced upon them by pressure from below. It is quite sure that the five-day week would never have been mentioned at the A. F. of L. convention but for the "inconvenient" fact that the Communists had led a victorious fight for it in New York. This is true beyond all question. But of course the militancy, and foresight of the Communist leadership was not alone sufficient. If militancy alone could win such victories, why should the British miners be suffering after six months of heroic struggle? The truth is that economic conditions in America are extremely favorable for an advance of new working-class economic demands.

The economic basis of this new issue is the unexampled increase in the rate of productivity in industry. In a study of this question (Social Economic Bulletin, No. 2, Profintern) I estimated that from 1920 to 1925 the general average of productivity of all industries had increased by 50 per cent. An inquiry by the National Industrial Conference Board (an employers' organization), published recently and noted in the N. Y. Times of Oct. 17, placed the rate of increase in productivity, from 1919 to 1923 alone, at 43 per cent. When it is remembered that even in 1919 production in the U. S. led the world in rate and volume, the enormous consequences of this expansion of forces may be dimly apprehended.

One of the most important effects was to put a stop to the expansion in numbers of the working class. Hitherto the growth of volume of production (pre-war 7 per cent to 14 per cent annually) was accompanied regularly

by an increase of the number of workers in industry (3 per cent to 8 per cent annually). But since 1920 while volume of production has expanded, the number of workers has actually decreased. This has had a weakening effect upon the trade unions, because it has tended to bring into existence a permanent body of unemployed workers already trained in industry.

A further weakening of the trade unions resulted upon their defeat at the hands of the "open shop" employers (steel strike, coal strike, "outlaw" movement, 1919). The "company unions" came into being, and soon had taken a million members from the trade unions. Panic stricken, the trade union officials plunged headlong into the new schemes of class collaboration which soon had transformed the trade unions into duplicates of the "company unions" in so many respects that they are now acceptable to many employers. This enormous weakening of the trade unions and the strengthening of the employers prevented any gains from being made by the trade unions during the "prosperity period of 1922-1925."

**This is the first time in trade union history in America that a period of economic expansion has not been accompanied by a growth in trade unionism.**

Events have proved, however, that the halt of the labor movement could not be made permanent. Soon, both employers and trade union officials found, to their dismay, that in order to keep the masses from following Communist leadership it was necessary to give them concessions and improvements. Even Judge Gary and the Steel Trust recognized this and, altho they had destroyed the unions in 1920, found it necessary in 1923 to grant the main demand of the strikers of 1920, namely the eight-hour day. In 1925, when the militant employers in the coal and textile industries were cutting wages and calling upon the Steel Corporation to join a national campaign to "deflate labor" generally, the Communists issued the slogan: "Strike against all wage cuts." Organized and unorganized workers responded in such fashion that the wage cutting move was halted. Speaking of the situation resulting, the Magazine of Wall St. said:

"It is understood by keen observers that the United States Steel Corporation would like to reduce wages but dare not.

"A major conflict is going on within the unions between the 'yellow' and 'red' factions. Although he has repeatedly failed to make a dent in the American Federation of Labor the figure of William Z. Foster, the Communist leader, still casts a sinister shadow. The solidification of the trade unions against revolutionists 'boring from within' has been a result of trade union supremacy and consequent contentment. A labor deflation, especially if accompanied by rising costs of living, would play into the hands of Foster and his following. They fear that Foster might succeed in doing in 1926 what he almost accomplished in 1919—the unionization of the industry. Until that industrial pace-setter, the U. S. Steel Corporation, disregarding the possibility, deflates wages, the tendency towards wage cutting will not have received its full impetus." (September 26, 1925, page 977).

The struggle against wage cuts in 1925 was the direct precursor to the movement for the five-day week in 1926. In the garment trades of New York, especially furriers and dressmakers, the reactionary officialdom had stood firm in alliance with the employers against any improvements in wages, hours, or union control. The

result, after a long and bitter struggle which took on some of the aspects of civil war, was that the left wing gained leadership over these two unions. Then came the great furriers' victory for the five-day week, followed by the capmakers' strike and the 40,000 cloakmakers' strike for the five-day week. After a five-months' struggle the majority of the cloakmakers won the 40-hour, 5-day week.

But what, it is asked, compelled Henry Ford to grant without a struggle the five-day week to his 200,000 workers? There is no union in Ford's factories.

First, it must be made clear that while the fur workers gained wage increases which make the week's earnings as much or more in five days as formerly in six; Ford, on the contrary, requires that production must first equal that of six days before wages become the same. Therefore, Ford has not given his workers what was won by the furriers, but only something that sounds like it.

Second, Ford had for six months already found it necessary to curtail production, which exceeded the possibility of the market. He experimented with the five-day week and found that, under conditions of mass production, this was the most profitable way to restrict production.

Third, Ford expects to again intensify production under the five-day plan, so that it will take care of any expansion in the market, or if the market remains stationary, the force can be reduced.

Fourth, while production has even been cheapened, Ford has "voluntarily" granted shorter hours than the A. F. of L. had previously demanded in its highly organized sections, and has thus taken away a powerful slogan from the unions in the attempts to organize the automobile workers.

Fifth, there is no doubt that Ford expects this measure to help eliminate the agitation of the Communists from his factories, where the shop paper, "The Ford Worker", has been circulating in editions of 10,000 to 19,000. Since the Communists led the Passaic textile workers into a nine-month strike, they are feared even where there is no union at all.

Finally, the sensitiveness of Ford to all threats of unionization and to the Communist agitation within his plants is a reflex of the new danger arising out of the mass production process, in which a disturbance in one part throws the entire machinery out of order. The smooth working of the Ford process requires the complete elimination of labor disturbance of every kind.

The material conditions for a shorter work-week have been created generally in America. And in spite of the miserable leadership of the trade unions the shortening of hours goes on. It is extremely symptomatic of how the process works that the five-day week should come in the manner above described—first, under the leadership of Communists, after bitter struggle with the employers; second, in non-union industry such as Ford, as a "concession" to prevent agitation and strikes; and only after these developments is the slogan taken up, in a

half-hearted manner, by the A. F. of L. leadership.

It is also important to note that, in the case of Ford the five-day week comes in a highly "rationalized" industry as (among other factors) a means of fighting the trade unions. In sharp contrast, in the garment trades a process of "de-rationalization" is going on, (breaking up of large shops into small ones, moving from big cities into small villages, etc.), in order to escape the powerful trade unions which are forcing the five-day week.

It is of interest to note the general movement of hours of labor in the past, as the background of the new developments.

When labor unions first began, the working day was 12 to 15 hours. One of the first strikes in America was that of ship builders in New York, 1806, for the 10-hour day. Only after 1840 did the ten-hour day become the standard, while 12 hours continued in many places (as in the steel industry) even down to 1923. In 1886-1890 the movement for an 8-hour day become general, and was established painfully, step by step, much as the five-day week is now entering industry. By 1909, only 8 per cent of the factory workers had a 48-hour week, while almost 85 per cent were working 54 hours or more per week.

The manufacturing census of 1923 shows, however, 46 per cent working 48 hours or less per week; 31 per cent worked 48 to 54 hours; while 23 per cent only worked more than 54 hours.

In a survey of 25 industries for the beginning of 1926 made by the National Industrial Conference Board, the average work-week was 49½ hours.

It is therefore clear that a long hard struggle is ahead of the American working class before the five-day, forty-hour week, becomes general. Even the 48 hour week is not fully established yet. In spite of the tremendous wealth and productiveness of American industry, the workers must labor longer hours in the United States than do the workers of "poverty stricken" and industrially undeveloped Soviet Russia.

What can be expected of the A. F. of L. in the way of active struggle for the five-day week?

Very little indeed! It is not merely a coincidence that when the fur workers were on strike for the five-day week and victory was in the balance, William Green, president of the A. F. of L., intervened in the strike over the heads of its leaders and attempted to negotiate a surrender. And now that the furriers' victory and Ford's move force Green's hand, the slogan of the five-day week is carefully fitted into the "new wage policy" and the whole class-collaborationist orientation. This is clearly understood by the capitalist press. The New York Times explains it thus:

"These new labor theories are an elaboration of the stand taken a year ago, when the A. F. of L. accepted joint responsibility for production and officially announced it was willing to co-operate with the employers for greater output in return for a share in the accrued profits."

But if the officialdom of the A. F. of L. has no desire or intention to struggle for the five-day week, the feeling among the masses is otherwise. It is symptomatic

how rapidly the victory of the furriers led to the strike and victory of the capmakers, and to the strike, still going on, of the cloakmakers, for the five-day week. The issue has stirred the masses. It will be pressed by the left wing under the leadership of the Communists and will rally mass support which will force the unions into struggle. The issue of the 40-hour week is destined to become a storm center in the American labor movement.

## Towards Leninism

(Continued from page 680)

cracy and taxes—and so the contradictions multiply. And a Leninist party will know how to utilize these growing contradictions, the opportunities they offer, the allies they provide and the divisions they create. That our party will prove equal to the grandeur of its tasks is already suggested by our skill in Passaic in using the petty bourgeoisie (small shop-keepers) against the textile barons and utilizing the differences within the big capitalist class by playing the low tariff democrats and progressive republicans against the high tariff textile barons (the bringing of Borah, Untermyer, Davis, Walsh, etc., into Passaic, the congressional investigation, the use of the capitalist press reporters and photographers, etc.).

It is true that our party is weak in numbers, limited in influence to certain sections of the country, ill-equipped with the necessary body of knowledge, young and inexperienced and poorly organized. It is true also that our class is so backward that "the elementary and fundamental task of the party is to accelerate the class formation of the American working class . . . (aid the working class) to break from the capitalist political parties" and organize a class industrially that is perhaps 85 per cent unorganized. It is true also that American capitalism is the most powerful in the world. But our party is offered a revolutionary method which is at once science and guide to action in Marxism-Leninism; a guide in the Communist International; an inspiration in the Soviet Union, and allies in all the internal and external victims of the oppression of American finance capital. Already, in the light of the little progress our party has made and in its increased sensitivity to specifically American problems and its increased practical activity in the unions among the unorganized workers, in connection with the Labor Party, in the beginnings of its attempts to find allies among the farmers, the non-proletarian Negroes, the colonial peoples, etc., we are justified in echoing the sober and yet confident judgment of Lenin after weighing the perspectives of the American labor movement and the difficulties facing it:

"The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will be with us for the civil war against the bourgeoisie. In this conviction I am supported by the entire history of the world and the American Labor movement."

This Lenin wrote in 1918. And if he had written in 1926 he would no doubt have added: "And by the development of the young Communist Party of America."

# The Youth and The Labor Movement

By L. Plott

THE youth question is certainly one of the most important and popular questions of the day. The position of the youth movement on questions of politics or economics is carefully weighed and considered by society as a whole and by the ruling class in particular. "He who has the youth has victory." It is the recognition of this fact that forces the ruling classes to strive for the confidence and support of the youth as a means of maintaining their power.

Each class has its own means of winning the confidence of the proletarian youth. Today the bourgeoisie has the control and influence over the American youth. It is the only class that really understands the importance of the toiling youth and so it easily succeeds in winning its support. No other class at present challenges on a large scale the hegemony of the bourgeoisie over the proletarian youth or attempts to attract it on such a large scale. That is why the Y. M. C. A., the Boy Scouts, the various boys' clubs and other organizations can mobilize tens and hundreds of thousands of young workers and proletarian children. But it is not only by offering them something that the bourgeoisie succeeds in maintaining the loyalty of the youth. The bourgeoisie instills in the minds of the American youth a "classless" ideology. It succeeds in deceiving and intoxicating them with patriotism and in diverting them from their class interests.

The proletariat will win the support of its youth only when it realizes the latter's importance and when it presents definite measures of counteracting the influence of the bourgeois organizations.

The role of the youth in our society is well known—to the bourgeoisie. Unfortunately, however, it is not so well realized by the working class. The actual facts on the youth question are widely scattered. It is really impossible for the average worker to acquire a clear understanding of the question for himself. It is significant that it was the bourgeois organizations that took steps to study the conditions and problems of the youth. It was none other than the Boy Scouts of America that demanded of the federal government an appropriation to study and collect information on the youth. And the knowledge thus gained has been utilized by them to the fullest advantage.

Further on we will show that the working youth of today is not necessarily a passive element, that it can become a fighting section of the class to which it belongs. The young workers are struggling for existence, as is the whole working class, against the ruling bourgeoisie. A conscious struggle is now beginning on the part of the awakened youth for the recognition of themselves as an important section of the working class and as an influential factor in social life.

## I. The Position of the Working Youth in Production.

FIRST we will deal with the position occupied by the working youth in production and on that basis we will attempt to determine its social role in the present as well as in the past.

### The Apprenticeship System.

Before machine production took possession of industry youth entered production thru apprenticeship. In return for his upkeep, food, clothing and "training," the young worker would labor for his master in a small shop with no machinery, electricity or steam power. Sometimes the master himself was a workman who personally supervised what was being done.

In addition to learning his trade the young worker would perform other duties for his master, such as personal services, etc.

Since the apprentices were exclusively youths or children, apprenticeship may be regarded as the form of child labor of that period.

Apprenticeship as a means of cheap production and as a source of profits was always recognized by the bourgeoisie.

"In 1828 a hat manufacturer was asked how he could sell hats at such a low price. He answered: 'By using apprentices.'" (Mechanics Free Press, 1828. Quoted by P. H. Douglass, American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education. Columbus University Studies in Industry, Public Law and Economics, p. 61.)

What was the attitude of organized labor of that time towards the young workers? The adult workers saw the number of apprentices increasing and the industries being flooded with semi-skilled workers or with those who had only recently completed their apprenticeship. They also observed that the owners were beginning to employ more apprentices to take the place of skilled workers, throwing the latter out of employment.

In order not to allow the unorganized young workers to be used by the employers as a tool in lowering the standard of living of the adult workers, organized labor did the following:

1. It insisted that a young worker should serve as an apprentice for a period of three to five years.
2. It limited the number of apprentices in each industry.

For example, in the printing industry one apprentice to every five printers. In the iron industry one apprentice to every three journeymen. In the woodworking industry, one apprentice to every six carpenters. And so on in many other industries.

The young worker after serving for a few years as an apprentice was to be considered a skilled workman and to be taken into the union.

To be certain that the young worker would serve his master as an apprentice for the stated period "the trade unions themselves insisted on the indenturing of the apprentice, by a binding agreement of three to five years." (P. H. Douglass, pp. 63-75.)

What such regulations meant for the young workers can be readily understood. It is not necessary to repeat here how harmful this action on the part of the labor unions was. It enslaved the apprentice even more successfully than the employers themselves could do.

The labor leaders did not at all understand the situation of the youth. Unconsciously they furthered the exploitation of youth labor. Instead of raising the standard of the young workers they lowered it. Instead of solidarity they sowed hatred between the young and adult workers.

But the apprenticeship system indirectly helped the labor movement a great deal. The threat of the replacement of skilled workers by apprentices forced the former to organize into trade unions.

"The desire to regulate apprenticeship was one of the prime causes for the creation and growth of our trade unions." (P. H. Douglass, p. 62.)

In 1850 the International Typographical Union declared that the regulation of apprenticeship was one of its important aims. (Tenth Census of the U. S., Vol. 20, Report on Trade Societies, p. 11.)

The National Association of Finishers, organized in 1854, has as its basic purpose the limitation of apprentices. (Tenth Census of the U. S., Report on Trade Societies, p. 6.)

The organization of the Iron Moulders' Union of North America was directly caused by the excess of apprentices. (P. H. Douglass, p. 63.)

Instead of organizing the working youth, the labor leaders and the trade unions of the last century drew away and left them to the mercy of the employers. But after all, the purposes of these short-sighted trade unionists were not accomplished. Industry did not remain static. The forces of production developed, apprentices increased, and green hands flooded the labor market. The further development of our industries made possible, and the economic conditions demanded the employment of female and child labor. The regulations of the trade unions helped their members very little. Year by year they met more and more competitors in selling their labor power.

### The Decline of Apprenticeship.

Apprenticeship begins to decline when machinery ushers in modern capitalist production. There was no longer any need of such a large number of skilled workers in the industry as formerly, because of the introduction of highly developed machinery and the "up to the minute" division of labor within the factory.

The relation between the employer and the young worker thereupon underwent a change. Under the earlier system when the employer was himself in the workshop he could instruct his apprentice from time to time. But under the conditions in industry today this is impossible. Increased mass production has made

of the master workman of the past a big capitalist. This has broken all intimate connections between the master, his journeyman and apprentices. No longer being the owner of a small enterprise, but instead the head of a big firm makes it impossible for the "master" to give personal attention to new young workers. The instruction and the breaking in of a new man today is done by a foreman of a given department. But the foreman is interested not so much in teaching the young worker the trade as in increasing the production of his department. As P. H. Douglass states: "Skill is a matter of time and modern production is in a hurry."

### Youth in Present Day Industry.

It is not hard to understand why youth enters the industries in such great numbers. The mechanization and the specialization of industry makes it possible for the youth to participate in production while the economic conditions of the young workers today forces them to do so. Children of the age of 13 to 16 become wage earners. The reason why these children enter gainful occupations is found in the federal investigation of the conditions of child wage earners.

### REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL.

(Senate Document No. 645, 61st Congress, 2nd session, pp. 233-45.)

	Per Cent.
1. Earnings necessary for family support.....	29
2. Child's help desired tho not necessary.....	28.4
3. Child's dissatisfaction with school.....	26.4
4. Child's preference to work.....	9.9
5. Other causes.....	5.8

From the above we see that 53.7 per cent of all children leaving school do so because of economic necessity. The young workers of the age of 18, 19 and over are today considered as regular workmen who must sell their labor power, their only means of existence, to the mills, factories and mines. In no other civilized and industrially developed country is child labor so dominant as in the United States. Table I illustrates this. (See also article by H. Zam, Child Labor in America, in "The Workers Child," No. 1.)

The total number of young workers of both sexes of the age of 10 to 24 engaged in gainful occupations reaches eleven millions (10,950,976). This means that 25 per cent of all gainfully employed, or 42 per cent of all wage earners are young workers. (By gainfully employed we mean every one earning a living. This includes members of corporations, employers, self-employed, foremen, managers and workers. By wage earners we mean those who work for wages, but not those in employing, managerial, or supervisory positions. The young workers can safely be compared with the wage earners, because we do not expect to find employers or managers among them. With the exception of the agricultural and animal husbandry industry young workers are actual wage workers.) It is important to examine the number of young workers employed in individual industries as shown in Table II.

What do these facts teach us? The masses of the American working class youth are found in industry; only a small percentage do not work or attend school. The young worker today is no longer an apprentice, but a regular worker. In the majority of cases he can do

the same work with the help of a machine as an adult worker.

The day has passed when only one apprentice was employed to every three or five skilled workers. Today it is just the reverse. Few engineers and all around mechanics are employed in plants where thousands of young workers toil. The heavy industries, such as mineral extraction, steel mills and others, employ a great number of young workers. This is to an extent due to the closing of immigration. In the past the hundreds of thousands of immigrant workers were employed in the heavy industries. At that time they were

the chief source of cheap labor. The employment of American young workers was then comparatively unprofitable. But this no longer prevails today. Immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, who for the last two decades made up the unskilled, are not allowed to enter any longer. Their place is taken by the American young workers. Today, the young workers are considered the main source of cheap labor for the industries where previously foreign labor was employed.

And so it is apparent that the working youth of today is an important section of the proletariat and occupies an important place in our production.

TABLE I.

Persons engaged in gainful occupation by sex and age—1920.  
(1920 Census)

FEMALE—10 YEARS AND OVER				MALE—10 YEARS AND OVER			
Census Year and Age Period	Total No.	Number	Per Cent	Total No.	Number	Per Cent	
10 years and over	42,289,969	33,064,737	78.2	40,449,346	8,549,511	21.1	
10 to 13 years	4,336,009	258,259	6.0	4,258,863	119,804	2.8	
14 to 15 years	1,958,976	455,989	23.3	1,948,734	226,806	11.6	
16 to 17 years	1,920,867	1,103,456	58.0	1,925,264	609,192	33.1	
18 to 19 years	1,845,246	1,443,968	78.3	1,895,734	802,235	42.3	
20 to 24 years	4,527,045	4,121,392	91.0	4,749,976	1,809,075	38.1	
25 to 44 years	16,028,920	15,579,586	97.2	15,249,602	3,417,373	22.4	
45 to 64 years	9,114,960	8,552,175	93.8	7,915,205	1,352,479	17.1	
65 years and over	2,483,071	1,492,837	60.1	3,450,144	196,900	8.0	
Age unknown	92,875	57,075	61.5	55,824	15,647	28.0	

TABLE II.

Number engaged in each general division of occupation by sex and age—1920.  
(1920 Census)

Class of Occupation	AGE GROUPS							Tot. 1920
	10-13 Yrs.	14-15 Yrs.	16-17 Yrs.	18-19 Yrs.	20-24 Yrs.	25-44 Yrs.	45 & over	
All occupations	258,259	455,989	1,103,456	1,443,968	4,121,392	15,579,586	10,045,012	33,064,737
Male								10 Yrs-Over
Agricul. for'try & animal hus.	221,405	237,829	396,484	457,588	1,134,649	3,966,116	3,445,564	9,869,030
Extraction minerals	598	6,447	42,906	54,024	143,920	577,472	258,493	1,087,359
Mfg. and mechan. industries	6,737	97,598	366,215	475,401	1,395,784	5,461,425	3,064,181	10,888,183
Transportation	1,682	13,935	60,989	120,285	404,352	1,503,895	737,950	2,850,528
Trade	16,369	32,865	79,620	104,222	372,471	1,799,041	1,164,998	3,575,187
Pub. serv. (not elsewhere clas.)	136	949	10,833	50,993	114,931	306,491	261,571	748,666
Professional service	325	1,654	5,774	17,792	106,632	605,682	387,507	1,127,391
Domestic & personal service	4,880	11,202	24,388	32,940	112,716	603,619	424,534	1,217,968
Clerical occupation	6,123	53,510	116,247	130,723	335,937	755,845	300,214	1,700,425
Female								
All occupations	119,804	226,806	609,192	802,235	1,809,075	3,417,373	1,549,379	8,549,511
Agricul. fores'ry & animal hus.	107,549	80,522	81,427	71,497	130,790	337,087	274,158	1,084,128
Extraction minerals	49	97	304	299	510	1,125	471	2,864
Mfg. and mechan. industries	2,736	78,266	221,298	214,340	382,765	730,250	298,033	1,930,341
Transportation	217	3,076	27,396	39,966	70,702	63,266	8,207	213,054
Trade	844	13,290	55,042	67,744	138,915	290,658	99,133	667,792
Pub. serv. (not elsewhere clas.)	17	28	94	547	2,929	12,096	6,025	21,794
Professional service	296	1,190	11,449	69,450	298,827	490,894	141,476	1,016,498
Domestic & personal service	7,292	30,632	88,148	118,729	302,226	972,489	661,583	2,186,924
Clerical occupation	804	19,703	124,034	219,663	481,411	518,508	60,293	1,426,116

(Concluded next month.)

# The Soviet Economy on the Ninth Anniversary

## Agricultural Economy.

WHOLESALE production of agricultural economy at pre-war prices:

In 1923-24.....	8,858,000,000 roubles
In 1924-25.....	9,535,000,000 "
In 1925-26.....	11,306,000,000 "

## Industry.

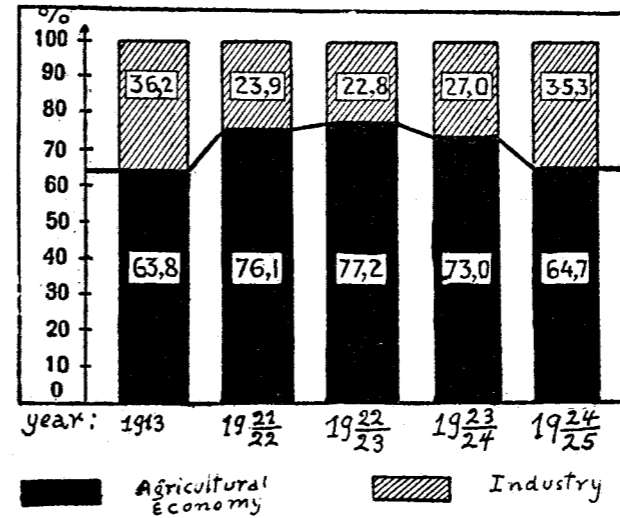
Wholesale production of the entire industry of the U. S. S. R. at pre-war prices:

In 1923-24.....	3,414,000,000 roubles
In 1924-25.....	5,039,000,000 "
In 1925-26.....	6,923,000,000 "

## Tempo of Development of National Economy.

The above tables show that industry develops at a much faster rate than agricultural economy: The increase of agricultural economy in the last two years amounts to 26.2%, whereas the increase of industry amounts to 102.9%.

Thanks to such rapid growth of the industry, its relative weight in the whole system of national economy of the Soviet Union was considerably raised, reaching, already at the beginning of the 1925-26 economic year, almost pre-war conditions.

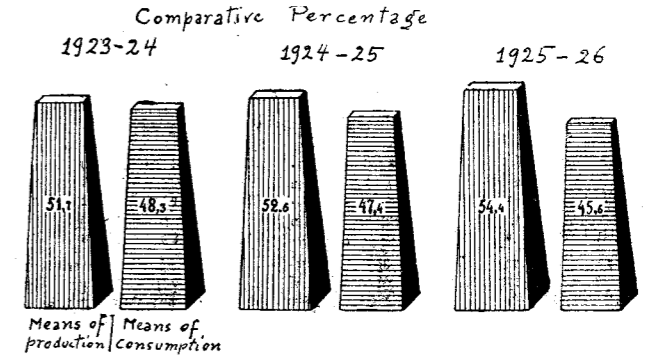


Correlation of Wholesale Production of Industry and Agriculture.

At the end of the current year the relative importance of industry in the whole production of the country grew to 39%, thus being already above the pre-war level.

## Production of Means of Production and Articles of Consumption.

The steady growth of production of the means of production from year to year can be illustrated by the following diagram:

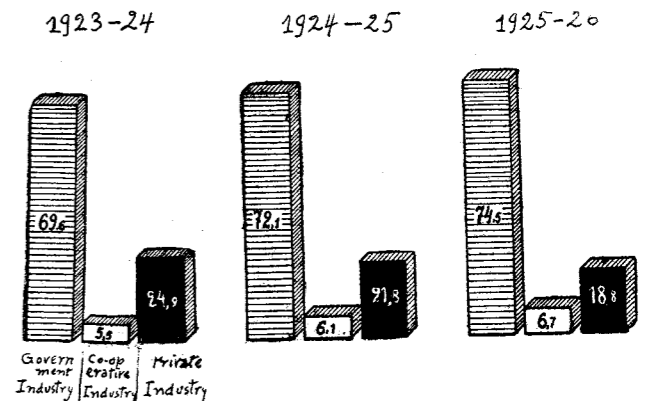


## The Role of Private Capital in Industry.

The following figures show the role of government, cooperative and private (including also concession) sectors in industry, generally in the U. S. S. R.:

	1924-25	1925-26	% Growth during one year
Heavy Government Industry .....	3,760	5,333	42
Coop. Industry.....	233	338	45
Private Industry ..	1,046	1,252	20

The sector of private industries includes the entire petty-handicraft industry. The production of private industry recorded in 1925-26 amounts to 241 million roubles, which is about 4%. But even with the petty private handicraft industry, the following percentage correlation of wholesale production in the government, cooperative and private industries is obtained:





As can be seen from the diagram, along with the steady growth of big government industries, the relative importance of private capital in the production of the U. S. S. R. drops from year to year. In 1925-26 the government and cooperative industries already furnished above 81% of the entire production placed on the market. That of private capital, including also the production of hundreds of thousands of petty handicraft workers, amounted only to 18.9%.

It should be noted here that in the general total of capital funds of industry the proportion of private capital is still smaller. This is because in the largest majority of enterprises of private industry (to this belong enterprises employing from 15 workers and having one motor, or from 30 workers without a motor) the entrepreneurs are not the owners. These are government enterprises which were rented to them on definite terms for a definite limited period.

#### Commodity Turnover.

The participation of the government, cooperative and private sectors in the trade turnover in the whole of the U. S. S. R. is expressed in the following figures:

	Government	Coop.	Private	Total
In 1923-24.....	3,025	2,750	3,976	9,751
In 1924-25.....	4,855	5,137	3,700	13,692
In 1925-26.....	6,954	8,654	4,860	20,468

## Ultra-Left Menshevism

By Heinz Neumann

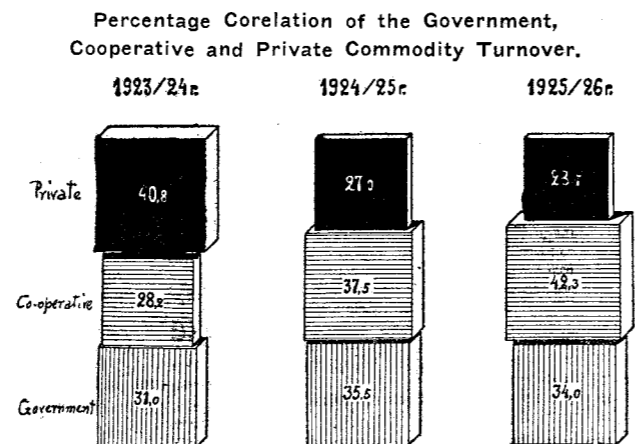
(Continued from last month.)

### III. The Objective Role of the Ultra Lefts.

THERE are three sections of the Comintern in which the Ultra-Left has developed in what might be called classical form. It achieved the greatest influence within and, for a period of greater or lesser extent, even the leadership of the German, Polish, and Italian parties. Today, however, it has been completely demolished in all of these; it has lost its proletarian following and forms now no more than a hopeless minority altho it is precisely at this time that it makes the most noise and presents a definite danger thru its international connections.

This "geographical" distribution of the Ultra-Left is in no sense an accident; on the contrary it has very significant political causes. In what way do Germany, Poland and Italy differ from the other capitalist countries? Germany, Poland and Italy—in spite of certain great differences among themselves—manifest certain political peculiarities which are common to them and which do not apply to other states.

1. All three countries adopt a special attitude to international politics. In spite of the fact that Italy and Poland are formally among the "victorious" states and that pre-war Germany was a great and leading power,



As is seen from the given tables of 1923-24, government and cooperative trade amounted only to 59% of the entire commodity turnover. In 1924-25, this percentage grew to 73%, and in 1925-26, to 77%; whereas the percentage of private capital correspondingly dropped from 40.8% to 23.7%.

Here one must bear in mind that this percentage includes also the entire private petty-trade. As regards the retail commodity turnover, notwithstanding its 2.2% growth in recent years, the relative importance of the government and its cooperative division increased from 78.2% to 90.6%; while the relative importance of private trade dropped from 21.8% to 9.4%.

all three are victims of the imperialist war. All three are great powers with imperialist ambitions. But they are great powers of second rank. Their development comes into conflict with the iron ring of the great powers of the first rank: America, England, and France. Economically these "great powers of second rank" are held bound and plundered by Anglo-American finance-capital (Dawes Plan, war debts, loans). Politically, they are subject to the arbitrary dictates of the real victors, in spite of the brave words of their ministers and occasional militaristic raids (with the approval of the creditor states). The bourgeoisie of Germany, Poland and Italy throws the cloak of nationalist phrases over the selling out of its national independence to the foreign banks. The ruined petty bourgeois masses take these phrases seriously and become inflated with a patriotic ideology.

2. Thru the peculiarity of their international situation all three countries are driven into a contradictory external policy. As aspirants for a new independent imperialist career they stand for the free rule of finance capital in world politics and therefore participate in the League of Nations, the fighting organization of British imperialism. As the objects and the victims of foreign finance capital they strive to free themselves of its dic-

tatorship, to offer resistance to the League of Nations, and to form friendly relations with the Soviet Union. The foreign policy of Germany and Italy and to a lesser extent of Poland also is a continuous oscillation between the Western and Eastern orientation. The victorious finance-capital, which has the last word in all these vacillations, attempts in every way to win the broad masses of the people for the Western orientation and for an unfriendly attitude towards the Soviet Union. Nowhere upon the European continent is the British agitation against the U. S. S. R. so strong as in Germany and in Poland.

3. In all of the three countries the class struggle has developed to the highest point. The bourgeoisie has at its disposal a powerful counter-revolutionary organization. The Social-democrats possess well experienced leaders ready for any dirty work. The proletariat possesses an old tradition of struggle. The Communist Parties have been hardened in serious and many-sided struggles.

4. All three countries have passed thru a real proletarian revolution. The workers either actually held power for a time (Germany), or else stood very close to seizing it (Poland 1918-1919, Italy, Sept., 1921). The proletarian revolution came to a bloody defeat in each of these three countries as a consequence of the treason of the Social-democratic Parties. Broad strata of those who went along with the proletarian revolution fell into pessimism and passivity.

5. In all three countries millions of the urban petty bourgeoisie were thrown out of their accustomed life as a consequence of the war and were driven to economic collapse, were expropriated thru the inflation, were completely ruined thru the capitalist "stabilization" ("Sanierung") and were thrown with elemental force upon the field of the political struggle. In this respect Germany, Poland and Italy form the typical arena for the sudden entrance of the petty bourgeoisie into the class struggle and for all the effects of this special process.

The totality of these phenomena forms the specific character of the class struggle in these three countries. The activity of the urban petty bourgeoisie, above all of the intelligentzia, is incomparably greater than in America, England or even France. At the time of the revolutionary upsurge these middle strata joined the proletariat and for a time stood at its extreme left wing. After the defeat of the revolution the blackest disappointment reigned among them. The political power of the most advanced petty bourgeois elements was broken. To the greatest extent they returned to complete indifference. A considerable part fell into every sort of reactionary, monarchist, bonapartist, fascist, nationalistic, anti-bolshevik movements. Another part again placed its hopes on the Social-democracy and was again deceived. Vanishingly small sections remained—at least formally—at the left wing of the proletariat but withdrew quickly from the influence of the Communist Parties and continued to lead an impotent, narrow and harmless existence in various half-anarchistic groups and sects (German K. A. P., Italian Anarcho-Syndicalists, etc.)

This is the brief commonplace story of the petty bourgeoisie during the first proletarian revolution in Ger-

many, Poland, and Italy. The zig-zag line of its policy adapts itself to the general conditions of the transition period and the special relations of the individual countries. Its ideas fall in with the dominating tendencies. These ideas are formed on the one hand by the momentary interests of the national bourgeoisie and on the other hand by the pressure of the proletarian class struggle. In the mind of the petty bourgeois the policy of the "great power of the second rank" produces chauvinism, the tendency towards the League of Nations, Anti-Moscowism; the defeat of the revolution produces pessimism; the new advance of the proletariat produces the revolutionary phrase. In his extremities, in his "Communist" appearance, the petty bourgeois who has become miserable and savage believes himself more revolutionary than the revolutionary working class itself. He separates the revolution from its only defender, the proletariat, and transforms the real revolution into a mere abstract truth, contrasts this truth and himself over against the working class, raises this truth as the banner and himself as the standard bearer of the radical opposition against the Communist Party and in this way becomes, without realizing it, the radical standard bearer of the liquidation of the class struggle. His ideological arsenal consists in left-communist formulas, nationalist feelings, feelings of hatred against "Russian Bolshevism" and a deep katzenjammer of capitalist stabilization. Just as the monarchistic petty bourgeois are more monarchist than the king and the clerical petty bourgeois are more loyal to the papacy than the pope himself, so does the Ultra-Left petty bourgeois insist at any price on being more "left" than the Communists. Because the working masses will not listen to his truths, he despises them and openly refuses to take the class standpoint and to recognize class discipline, which indeed he never possessed.

The petty bourgeois revolutionary writes Marx in the Eighteenth Brumaire, "since he represents the interests of the petty bourgeoisie, that is, a transition class, wherein the interests of both classes are likewise dulled, believes that he is elevated above the class struggle in general." And the Ultra-Left petty bourgeois of our time, we can add, never dream that they are working in the direction of dulling and disorganizing the proletarian class struggle thru revolutionary slogans carried to a phantastic and ridiculous "extreme." The terrified petty bourgeois attached himself to the proletarian revolution in 1919 and 1920 because he hoped thereby to reach relief from his unbearable conditions over night. Since the revolution began to slow up the same petty bourgeois became its impatient opponent, its mad critic and ended in 1926 as the tool of the very patient counter-revolution.

This is precisely the function that the extreme Ultra-Lefts play at the present time. In those places where they are most active, Germany, Poland, and Italy, they are today serving as aids to bourgeois politics. As independent and determined enemies of the Comintern they contribute their modest share to the struggle of the international bourgeoisie against the Comintern. As eager disorganizers of the Communist Parties they contribute useful service to the reactionaries of all shadings. As specialists in slander and calumny against the Sov-

iet Union they are invaluable for imperialist policy.

Certainly remarkable is the precision with which the agitation of the Ultra-Left petty bourgeoisie in every Communist Party adapts itself to the momentary chief aim of the bourgeoisie of that country. In Germany, where the chief question is that of the Eastern or Western orientation, the Ultra-Lefts from Korsch to Urbahns place the anti-Russian, anti-Moscow slogans at the center of their activity. In Poland where the suppression of the national minorities assumes the sharpest forms the Ultra-Lefts under Donski's leadership distinguished themselves thru a particular partiality for the Great Polish chauvinism. In Italy, where the consolidation of the proletariat and the extension of the Communist influence over the broad toiling masses is the chief danger to Fascism, the Bordiga faction obstinately fights for every sort of sectarianism, for the strictest isolation of the Communist Party from the millions of the workers.

The incapacity of the Ultra-Lefts to find the most important link in every step of the proletarian class struggle shows itself as completely as the assurance with which they strike the chief link in the policy of "their" national bourgeoisie and place it in the foreground of their oppositional struggle. Subjectively they prove themselves representatives of petty bourgeois disintegration; objectively as the real instruments of bourgeois influence on the proletariat.

Having examined the social significance and the political content of the Ultra-Left tendency in the Comintern we must now examine more closely the ideologic bases of their policy.

#### IV. The Ideologic Foundations of the Ultra-Left Policy.

##### 1. Defeatism.

THE point of departure of all the contradictions between Ultra-Leftism and Leninism is the inability of Ultra-Leftism to understand the essence of the revolutionary epoch. The West European petty bourgeois is an unhistorical element in the modern class struggle. He possesses no experiences of his own in the struggle of emancipation of the proletariat. The revolution of 1918-1919 was a completed fact for him and confronted him as a sudden and decisive turn in the course of world history. His political and economic interests never were nor are they those of the proletariat. The aim of the working class is emancipation from exploitation, the removal of the capitalist relations of production, the building up of socialism. The aim of the petty bourgeois is to be saved from starvation, in no matter what way, no matter under what relations of production, in no matter what social order. When the emptiness of his bread box proves to him the hopelessness of his condition in capitalist society, the quiet petty bourgeois becomes the savage petty bourgeois. He is ready to go along with the mortal enemies of capitalism and it becomes the strategic task of the proletariat to ally itself with the toiling middle strata against the capitalists and Junkers, to revolutionize them, to educate them, and to lead them. Does this mutual relation mean that the petty bourgeois understands the essence of the revolutionary epoch, the basic problems of the proletarian revolution? Not at all. As a social category the petty bourgeois understands neither the motive forces nor the content nor the course

nor the tasks of the proletarian revolution. He does not understand the proletarian revolution as a passage and struggle between two social orders, as a political struggle between two classes, as a united international process, as a unified historical process that develops out of various links in the chain, out of various contradictions and transitions. The petty bourgeois replaces his lack of understanding of the problem by magniloquent phrases on the "character" and the "philosophy" of the epoch. But he is lost at every serious difficulty. At every transition of the struggle from one stage to another he loses his orientation. He founders at every turn in the revolutionary course. The peculiarity of the petty bourgeois theoretician consists in that he never can grasp the specific character of a situation. The peculiarity of the petty bourgeois politician consists in that he never can find or recognize the specific slogans corresponding to the rise of a new situation in the transition between two stages. The Leninist theory is the guiding line for the action of the proletariat, for the foundation of its concrete slogans of struggle. The theory of the wild petty bourgeois is his misery abstract, the transformation of his passivity into general revolutionary concepts. It is clear that these ideologic tendencies stand in the sharpest and most impassable contradiction to each other.

The present controversy in the Comintern is the expression of this contradiction. The inability of the Ultra-Lefts to grasp the proletarian revolution as a totality manifests itself most clearly in their attitude to capitalist stabilization. The transition from the period of the immediately revolutionary storm of post-war times to a period of relative equilibrium among the struggling classes, to a period of partial stabilization, is inconceivable to them. Capitalism, however, tries to stabilize itself not only thru the limitless exploitation of the proletariat but also thru the robbery and destruction of the petty bourgeoisie. For the radical petty bourgeois the proletarian revolution represents above all the escape from misery—immediately and at one blow. Hence, the simultaneous existence of a stabilization of capital and an advance of the revolution is inconceivable for him. He argues: either one or the other. Either the stabilization—and in that case the proletarian revolution is buried for years. Or a revolutionary advance—then the stabilization is completely buried. The left petty bourgeois, like any other petty bourgeois, believes only what he sees and sees only what's before his eyes. With some revolutionary event, such as the British general strike before his eyes he will not believe in stabilization for any money in the world and brands anyone who says to the contrary as an opportunist. With the hard facts of stabilization staring him in the eyes—i. e., the success of American imperialism, the recovery of German valuta, the difficulties of the Chinese revolution—then he cannot believe in revolution and declares any one with a different opinion as a conscious distorter. The left tendencies transform every big event into a special and "new" theory. Since the events on the class struggle in this real world are contradictory, all such theories stand in complete contradiction to each other and the tactics based on them contradict themselves, mislead the proletariat and confuse the Communist Party. On

the contrary, Leninism as a revolutionary-dialectic theory grasps the various contradictory events thru a concrete analysis and realizes a uniform, consistent, all-sided policy of the working class.

Unable to understand the essence of the revolutionary period in general and the dual character of capitalist stabilization in particular, the Ultra-Lefts change their political perspective every month. They are either optimists or pessimists—never realists. Their optimism is however, a short-lived rush to revolutionary holidays; pessimism is their normal condition in the grey everyday life of the stabilization. The brave adventurist gesture that they assume in the moment of crisis merely hides the basic characteristic of their policy: defeatism, lack of faith in the power of the revolution and in the victory of socialism, the propaganda of collapse. The disappointment of the petty bourgeois in the delay of the revolution is transformed into disbelief in the revolution coming at all, into contempt for the laboring masses, into first an underestimation, then abuse and finally an attack upon the Communist Parties. The "left" Communist Maslov offers a fine example of this. In his speech of defense before the German court—a speech that was no more than a shameful and cowardly capitulation—this "revolutionary" explained:

"A series of articles of mine are cited to show that even after the October defeat I supported and prepared treasonable enterprises. This, however, altogether contradicts opinions of mine made public many times that say DIRECTLY TO THE CONTRARY (!), namely: THE PERSPECTIVE IS BAD, it does not appear that these things will be repeated." (Information Material of the C. C. of the C. P. G. on the Maslov Trial, p. 20).

Maslov, who is accusing the Comintern of opportunism, seeks to escape the court of the counter-revolution—by appealing to his "left" pessimism.

Especially gross is the lack of faith of the Ultra-Lefts in the Communist Party. The same Maslov who broke down before the state's attorney has the nerve to talk about the "unavoidable return of the Communist Party to Social-democracy." Ruth Fischer maintains that the German Communists "do not consider themselves bearers of the future but as men of tradition who are what they are because it is respectable," "that there is a hidden liquidationism even in the masses," that "the masses flee from every-day life," etc. Whenever there is any difficulty or any defeat these heroes proclaim in tears the collapse of the party and of the Comintern. A failure in the struggle, some inner party disturbance and they are ready to sacrifice all the gains the party made with such difficulty.

Because the West European parties develop towards Bolshevization so slowly and thru such struggles Ruth Fischer writes: "The dream of Bolshevization is dissipated." And at the VI Enlarged Executive Bordiga explained:

"We must draw the balance of Bolshevization and see what it has been. I maintain that this balance is unfavorable from many points of view. The problem that should have been solved has not been solved. No (!) progress has been made in the application of the means of Bolshevization to all parties."

And Medvedyev, who draws the most extreme menshevik conclusions from an Ultra-Left policy says to the Baku Communists:

"The basis for the nourishment of the Comintern—the European workers is ABSOLUTELY HOPELESS."

"Absolutely hopeless"—that is the last piece of wisdom of the left petty bourgeois who gives up the proletarian revolution because he cannot understand it.

##### 2.—Sectarianism.

Because the Ultra-Lefts are unable to understand the revolution as a total process, as the unity of contradictions, they naturally lose their heads at stabilization. Because they are sunk in defeatism they underestimate and deny the revolutionary role of the proletariat. The struggle of the masses, in which these people do not believe, they attempt to replace by ringing "extreme" slogans in which the masses do not believe. Their policy is not Leninist, issuing from the immediate needs and the real experiences of the working masses; it is a "maximalist" policy. While they are ready to make every maneuver and every compromise in their petty fight against the Communist Party, they absolutely refuse to carry thru any strategic or tactical maneuvers in the great struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie; they refuse to make compromises with proletarian or petty bourgeois elements. When the Italian Communists participated in the counter-parliament of the Italian democrats in order to expose it from within, Bordiga answered: No, this is opportunism. You must work in Mussolini's parliament only. When the German Communists mobilized fifteen million toilers for the expropriation of the princes, several Ultra-Lefts replied: No, this is opportunism. Now and henceforth you must demand not the expropriation of the princes but the "expropriation without compensation of the whole of capitalism." When the trade unions of the Soviet Union remained in the Anglo-Russian Committee after the General Strike in order to retain a tribune from which to speak directly to the British workers, the leaders of the international lefts answer: No, this opportunism. You must dissolve the Anglo-Russian Committee in a demonstrative manner; you must destroy the bridges, you must sever the ties connecting you with the British proletariat.

The rejection of partial demands, the replacement of such demands by newly discovered, childish left slogans robs Communism of every possibility of tearing the working masses away from the influence of the Social-democrats and of winning them for the revolution.

The left sectarians fear every broad and determined forward movement of the millions of the workers who are strange and unfamiliar to them. At a certain stage of development the fear of the petty bourgeois of the masses is transformed into a withdrawal form all proletarian mass organizations. They preach withdrawal from the trade unions, withdrawal from the organs of the proletarian united front. They elevate sectarianism into a tactical principle and an organizational statute.

Lenin defines the relation of the party to the class as

"mutual confidence between the vanguard of the working class and the working masses." (Speech on the trade unions). To the Communist Party he puts the task of binding itself unbreakably with the entire life of its class and thereby maintaining contact with the entire mass of the exploited, of inspiring the fullest confidence in its class and in the masses" (Theses on the basic tasks of the II Congress of the C. I.) Lenin demands that the Party "examine and influence the sentiments of the masses." (Infantile Sickness of Leftism). The mark of a Bolshevik policy is not merely the general "correctness of its political strategy and tactics" but also the fulfillment "of the condition that the broadest masses be convinced of this correctness thru their own experience" (Infantile Sickness).

The Ultra-Left policy is in manifest contradiction to these fundamentals of Leninism. The wild petty bourgeois has no "trust in the laboring masses." He considers it the worst opportunism "to bind himself unbreakably with the entire life of the working class," he does not want to consider the sentiments of the masses and is therefore not in the situation to influence them. In line with his own confused experiences he considers it a reformist mistake "to convince the masses thru their experiences."

Thus the Ultra-Left petty bourgeois finally arrives at complete separation from the working class, to a rejection of a revolutionary mass policy and finally to the split of the Communist Party. The sectarianism that the Ultra-Lefts vainly try to force on the Party thru "left" fractions, takes the form of a separate independent sect: the KAPD (Communist Labor Party of Germany) and the Korsch group in Germany. But even this left sect is not the final stage of development of the petty bourgeois fleeing before the revolution. Sectarianism as a movement has its historical justification only in the first period of proletarian history, at the time that the proletariat was not yet sufficiently developed to act as a class. In the period of imperialism, of the world revolution, and of the proletarian dictatorship, the left sect is an historical contradiction, a caricature of itself. It ends up either in speedy disintegration or in a passage to counter-revolution. In the circular of the General Council of the First International issued in 1872 Marx already described the second road:

"Individual thinkers undertake the critique of social contradictions and want to remove them thru phantastic solutions that it is up to the masses of the workers to accept, to spread, and to carry into life. It is in the nature of the sects that grow up around such trail-blazers that they close themselves up and keep away from any real activity, from politics, from strikes, from the trade unions, in a word, from every mass movement. The masses of the proletariat remain indifferent to their propaganda or even hostile . . . Altho in their origin these sects are forces of development of the movement, yet as soon as the movement reaches and overtakes them, they become obstacles to it. Then they become reactionary."

The extreme wing of the international Ultra-Left has already taken the step toward reaction. It is the task of the Comintern to confirm the indifference and the hostility of the proletariat to all tendencies of the left petty bourgeoisie.

### 3. Liquidation.

The Ultra-Lefts condemn the united front tactic of the Comintern—either openly and on the basis of principle or else they come out against every practical step necessary to carry it out. This is one of the basic pillars of the opposition. Their struggle against the united front tactic has two roots: One of them we have already mentioned: **sectarianism**, fear of the masses. The connection here is fairly clear but it does not exhaust the whole explanation. The Ultra-Lefts base their resistance against the Comintern on the statement that they must protect "the role of the Party," that they must defend the independence of the Party in face of the danger of its becoming simply a tail end to the Social-democracy. Arguing in this way, they reject all transactions with the Social-democracy, all offers to the right trade union bureaucracy, all propositions for common action made to the reformist leaders. They call the line of the Comintern reformist and play at being the saviors of Communism.

In reality it is just the reverse. The historical task of the Leninists, the role of the Party, of which the Ultra-Lefts **speak** without end, does not consist in the announcement of empty principles and abstract demands but in winning the confidence of the masses in leading the working class, in directing the struggles of the proletariat. Without this connection with the masses the "role of the Party" is only a theatrical role. The Party uses various tactical methods to win the leadership in the working class. It tests and develops all forms of struggle from the highest (civil war, armed uprising) to the lowest (participation in elections, utilization of parliament, work in the Amsterdam trade unions). The Communists aim at isolating the chief enemy within the working class, the Social-democratic leaders, and to push them out of all positions. This, however, is possible only when the working masses convince themselves thru their own experience that the reformists carry on a bourgeois policy and betray the proletariat. For this reason, in order to convince the masses, and to win their confidence, to prove to them from their own experiences the treason of the reformists, the Communists step forward with definite propositions to the Social-democratic leaders. The Ultra-Lefts reject this tactic as "opportunistic." They want to further the revolution not thru political activity but thru loud noise and empty propaganda of final slogans. "The chief characteristic of programmatic and tactical revisionism is the tactic of the united front," writes Domski ("Some Tactical Problems," Nowy Przegląd, 1923, p. 421). The rejection of the united front tactic signifies not only the fear of the masses but also the limitation of the role of the Communist Party, the diminution of its influence on the proletariat. The "left" mode of argument hides precisely the second and most important root of the opposition; its inability to understand and to realize the leading role of the Communist Party within the working class.

Domski tells the Communists that: "The only correct tactic is the old tactic of the Bolsheviks (?), the tactic of Cato, that hammers into the minds of the masses that there can be no emancipation as long as the Carthage

of capitalism is not destroyed" (as above). Their last piece of wisdom these "impatient revolutionaries" find not in Marx or Lenin but in the dead rhetoric of classical antiquity. They confuse the hammer of action with the "hammering" preacher and elevate the phrase to "the only correct tactic."

The Ultra-Lefts are the liquidators of the struggle for the leadership of the masses. In the logic of the struggle they become liquidators of the Communist Party. Thus the external contradiction between sectarianism and liquidationism disappears. That which appears as sectarianism in connection with the laboring masses becomes liquidationism as against the revolutionary Party.

The theory that sees in the Communist Party of England an "apparatus for restraining the revolution" already contains the seed of liquidationism. Its ripest fruit is the demand of Medvedyeff to liquidate all sections of the Comintern in the capitalist countries.

Here we see more clearly the point of contact between petty bourgeois radicalism and Menshevism. Here the Ultra-Lefts fulfill their function most effectively of restraining the left movement of the European laboring masses, extending the process of their transition from the Social-democracy to the Communist Parties.

(Concluded next month.)

## Civilization—An Historical Category

By Emanuel Kanter

MARXIAN ideologists have paid too little attention to the question of civilization. They have failed to point out that civilization is a historical category, as is savagery and barbarism. Since these latter phases are ancient history, at least in so far as the ancestors of the Indo-Europeans, the Chinese, etc., are concerned, we have admitted that they were only passing phases in the evolution of the human race from the savage ape-man to the modern civilized man under capitalism. At this point, however, we Marxians become confused, fearing to condemn civilization and abstaining from the assertion that it, like barbarism and savagery, is a historical category, that it will vanish from the historic scene and be superseded by Communism. This confusion is a consequence of our inability to completely emancipate ourselves from the tyranny of bourgeois ideology.

In Marxian literature generally we find the words, CIVILIZED, CIVILIZATION, etc., used in quotation marks. The implication is that these terms are representative of the most idealistic and the most respectable actions and institutions imaginable. For example, Israel Amter, in the December number of the *Workers Monthly*, after describing the vile conditions under which the rubber workers are compelled to labor, says, "Such slavery could exist only in the 'civilized' United States." This putting the word CIVILIZED into quotation marks, which implies that such conditions are not part and parcel of civilization, is a grave theoretical error. Engels (*The Family*, p. 216) has pointed out and rightly, that the exploitation of one class by another is the basis of civilization. In other words, civilization, be it slave, feudal or capitalist, is identical with exploitation, and, as a corollary thereto, the destruction of exploitation, of class society, means the destruction of civilization. To put the word in quotation marks is to misunder-

stand it, and this misunderstanding will ultimately prove harmful to the Communist movement.

The bourgeois scholars and the Marxians are in agreement on one vital point, namely, in their respect for civilization. The former believe that since civilization is eternal, capitalism, which is its highest phase, is eternal likewise. Expressed in metaphysical terms, capitalist civilization is the ABSOLUTE. The Marxian, on the other hand, rejects capitalism but accepts civilization. In this respect the bourgeois ideologist is more logical than his antagonist, the Marxian. For since civilization has three phases—slave, feudal and capitalist—and since the first two phases have already passed into the limbo of history, then civilization in its capitalist phase only remains, and to accept civilization is to accept capitalism. This pitfall must in the future be avoided by the Marxians. They fell into it because they accepted the bourgeois definition of civilization, which identifies it with all that is best for man and for his evolution into a more perfect being. Engels, however, was not deceived. To him civilization was the society of exploitation and little else.

Sound Marxian doctrine declares that human society has passed through three phases of evolution—savagery, barbarism and civilization. Each of these phases may be further subdivided, as L. H. Morgan has done with regard to the first two. Marx, Engels and Lenin have emphasized the fact that civilization is a historical category divisible into three phases: slave, feudal and capitalist. The first first two phases have already vanished, that is, the various slave civilizations of antiquity (Egypt, Greece, Rome etc.) and feudal civilization have been destroyed by the wars and revolutions of the past. The Marxians are now engaged in the task of destroying capitalism, the final phase of civilization. And yet, strange as it may seem, these very Marxians believe in

civilization, and confuse that historical category with what is totally different and distinct from it, namely, CULTURE

Every phase of society has a culture, peculiar to it, and based on the material conditions prevalent at the time. The culture of any society is mostly the superstructure that it develops, the arts, the religion, the philosophy, etc. All, or some of these cultural elements are present in every society. There is savage culture, barbarian culture and civilized culture; but not savage civilization, barbarian civilization and civilized civilization. The last term, "civilized civilization," clearly shows the fallacy in substituting a historical category, civilization, for what is common to all societies, namely, culture. From another angle it is very easy to make this substitution because it is in civilization that most culture is developed, and also the term itself. The philology of these two words is a unique commentary on the confusion that reigns in the realms of historical science.

Marx warned us some time ago against an analogous confusion. I refer to that made by the vulgar economists in identifying the capitalist mode of production with production itself. This mode of production, peculiar to a definite historical society, was equated to production in general, because it had to utilize the two elements of any and all forms of production—man and nature. The particular conditions under which the capitalist mode of production functions, the property relations pertaining thereto, the existence for the first time of a free (free to sell his labor power on the market) working class, etc., minus which capitalism is impossible, all these historical facts were overlooked in order to identify capitalist production with production itself and thereby make it natural and true for all time. To such luminaries capitalist production is a natural fact and not an economic category. The vulgar anthropologists likewise declare that the monogamic family is a natural fact and not a sociologic category. Westermarck, Lang, Boas, and the rest, refuse to see any difference between our civilized monogamic family and the so-called savage monogamic family, as found among, say, the aborigines of Australia. Among the Dieri and the Urabunna tribes the so-called monogamic family exists alongside of, and is an encroachment on, actual group marriage (A. W. Howitt). Among the Arunta the marriage customs practiced, where even the exogamic rules are broken—an infraction of which is punished with death under other circumstances—allowing almost promiscuous intercourse with the female initiate, point to a time when there was group marriage and even marriage between brothers and sisters in the classificatory sense of the term. The Marxians have avoided the pitfalls that vulgar political economy and vulgar anthropology have dug for them. And for that they must thank Marx, Engels, Lenin, Morgan, Kohler, etc. But they have fallen into one of the most dangerous of pitfalls—the one that identifies civilization with culture. This is the last temptation that the devil of capitalism could offer to the unsuspecting Communist. And the reason why we have succumbed to this devil's wile is that no Marxian has adequately exposed the fallacy in substituting civilization for culture. This is the fault of the disciples of Marx and

Engels; the latter recognized the need for a thorough criticism of civilization, but did not have sufficient time to accomplish the task. How important it is to unmask and debunk civilization may be gleaned from the probability that in the next war the slogan of the capitalists of the world will be, "Save Civilization," or "Communism vs. Civilization." To unmask capitalism is not sufficient because the capitalists will not urge the workers to fight for capitalism but for civilization. And who does not love that old fogey? And who is not ready to die for him (or is it her?).

The Utopian, Fourier, was among the first to damn civilization. It was he who clearly understood and emphasized the fact that civilization, the society of discord, the society of maniacs, to use his own words, must be destroyed. Besides, it is high time that we ceased to ridicule the Utopians, for they can teach us much. Marx and Engels, although critical of their work, respected them and learned much from them. Engels (The Family, etc., p. 216, footnote) says: "I first intended to place the brilliant critique of civilization, scattered through the works of Fourier, by the side of Morgan's and of my own. Unluckily I can not spare the time. I only wish to remark that Fourier already considers monogamy and private property the main characteristics of civilization, and that he calls them a war of the rich against the poor. We also find with him the deep perception that the individual families (les familles incoherentes) are the economic units of all faulty societies divided by opposing interests." On page 215 of the same work, Engels says that "barefaced covetousness was the moving spirit of civilization from its first dawn to the present day; wealth, and again wealth, and for the third time wealth; wealth, not of society, but of the puny individual, was its only and final aim. If nevertheless the advanced development of science, and at repeated times the highest flower of art, fell into its lap, this was only due to the fact that without them the highest emoluments of modern wealth would have been missing." Morgan also understood that civilization and culture are not identical, and that the former must pass away some time or other. He calls civilization the society of private property par excellence; and to his mind "a mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind." He predicts the destruction of civilization and presages a society which "will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes." Fourier, however, remains the deadliest enemy of civilization. "Death to civilization"—that was his one desire. Turn to his works for the bitterest and truest indictment of civilization ever penned by the hand of man.

Civilization, then, divided into slave, feudal and capitalist, should be kept distinct from culture. To confuse them, as do the bourgeois scholars and most Marxians, is intellectually criminal, for it is a very subtle and devilish way of asserting that capitalism is eternal. How is that—one may ask again. And the answer is as follows: If civilization is substituted for culture, and culture is a part of all societies, and is therefore eternal in so far as humanity is concerned, then civilization is eternal. But, since the first two phases of civiliza-

tion have perished, then the last phase, capitalism, in which we are now living, is eternal. Thus we see that to confuse culture and civilization, to forget that the latter is a historical category is another form of the confusion of capitalist production with production in general. Both are an attempt to save capitalism, to undermine historical materialism, to weaken Marxism. To believe in the survival of civilization after the proletarian dictatorship has destroyed capitalism is a symptom of pseudo-Marxism. It is a deviation in favor of bourgeois ideology. And those who persist in this course will ultimately be frightened into the bourgeois camp when they raise the cry that the Communists of Russia and the Chinese of Asia are out to destroy civilization. It is high time that we Marxians wrote "BEWARE! over the gateway that leads to civilization, for Communism is the deadliest enemy of civilization as civilization is, and was, the deadliest enemy of Communism.

Now a few words on a modern confusionist—Oswald Spengler. His work, *The Decline of the West*, full of confused learning and metaphysical claptrap, is fundamentally in error in that therein he confuses civilization and culture in a rather novel way. To his befuddled mind a society is in its civilized phase when it is degenerating, when the money spirit is rampant, when the arts are declining, when the farmers are deserting their farms and flocking to the cities, etc.; and a society is in the phase of culture when the arts and the sciences are developing, when the farmers are still strong and healthy as a class, when the cities are small, when re-

ligion is in the ascendant, when the money spirit is only poorly developed, etc. The fact is that he is simply identifying culture with the developing and ascending phase of a society and civilization with the degenerating and declining phase of a society. That there is no basis for this nonsensical classification is clearly shown by the fact that every phase of social evolution, be it savage, barbarian or civilized, has an ascending and descending stage. To identify the ascending phase of evolution of, say, the Bushmen of Africa with culture and their descending phase (they are rapidly becoming extinct due to the pressure of the whites and the barbarian Bantus) with civilization is ridiculous. Applying his terms to this case we shall be compelled to say that now the Bushmen are in a condition of civilized savagery. Civilized because they are on the decline and savage because they are still in the early bow and arrow (Ganwanian) stage. And this reductio ad absurdum philosopher is trumpeted abroad by the bourgeois intelligentsia as a man of great wisdom and insight!

The confusion of a historical category, like civilization, with a term such as culture which is common to all societies and is therefore non-categorical is a grievous error. In practice, I repeat again, it may work the direst hurt to the Communist movement. The Communists must prepare the minds of the workers to hate civilization, as a prelude to its destruction. "DEATH TO CIVILIZATION," "DEATH TO CAPITALISM," "DEATH TO CAPITALIST CIVILIZATION," are the slogans that should be utilized more often.

## (EDITORS NOTE)

WHILE the question dealt with in the article by E. Kanter has more than merely academic significance, yet we cannot share the writer's calamitous fears.

We must always separate our own concepts from agitational phrases. It is a perfectly correct method of agitation to point to certain manifestations of capitalism and then exclaim: Does that conform with civilization! After all, the slogan "DEATH TO CIVILIZATION," if used at this moment, would be so abstract that it would act as a boomerang against the Communists. A slogan which needs explanation and defense as far as even advanced masses are concerned, may be theoretically correct, but is practically no good. If the revolutionary workers succeed in convincing the proletariat that civilization and capitalism are synonymous while civilization and culture are not, there will be very little danger that a proletariat in rebellion against the capitalist class and against capitalism will rally for the defense of capitalism as soon as the latter issues the slogan: "DEFEND CIVILIZATION." What must be done is to show to the workers that civilization is no abstract high point of cultural achievements to be attained by mankind but that it is capitalist civilization which lives and dies with

capitalism and shares all the characteristics of capitalism. This aim cannot be accomplished by mere condemnatory slogans against civilization but must be accomplished by identifying it with all the ills of capitalism.

Lenin has not only used the word civilization agitational in such connections; he has even used "civilization" and "culture" interchangeably. In his article "Our Revolution" written against Suchanow, Lenin says of the Social-democrats:

"How infinitely stereotyped, for instance, is their conclusion, learnt by rote during the development of West European Social-democracy, that we are not yet ripe for Socialism, that we—to use the terminology employed by the 'learned' gentlemen among them—have not yet arrived at a stage in which the economic premises of Socialism exist. And it never occurs to anyone to ask himself, could a people, plunged into a revolutionary situation, a situation such as that brought about by the first imperialist war, could not be induced by the hopelessness of its position to plunge into a struggle which at least offered it some prospect of obtaining some not quite customary preliminary conditions for the further development of civilization? . . .

"If a special level of culture is required before Socialism can be realized (even the nobody is in a position to

state the nature of this definite "level of culture), why should we not begin with the conquest of the prerequisites for this definite level, and then stride forward to catch up the civilization of the other peoples, with the facilities afforded by the workers' and peasants' government, and the Soviet organization? . . .

"You say that civilization is necessary for the establishment of Socialism. Very good. Now why cannot we first create among us such prerequisites to civilization as the abolition of the large landowners and of the Russian capitalists, after which we can proceed to Socialism? In what books have you read that such changes are impermissible or impossible in an ordinary historical period?"

It is clear that while Lenin did not theoretically synonimize civilization and culture, yet he did not see any danger in the practice of interchangeable use of these terms.

Why could Lenin do that without doing violence even to the meaning of the word "civilization?" Because aside from the exact meaning of the term in social science the word has also acquired a popular and current meaning, denoting a certain level of cultural achievements.

It is useless to argue with the millions who use the term in this current meaning, that their use of the word is completely wrong. Lenin argues with them that this cultural level, called civilization (not synonymous with the same scientific term), can also be achieved under proletarian rule.

We find, therefore, that Comrade Kanter conceived his article in a too academic manner. Yet the question has sufficient theoretical importance to justify the publication of the article. No matter how we may use the word "civilization," we must never be misled about the meaning of it. Only correct understanding of this meaning can enable us to subordinate any use of the word to the aim not of glorifying present day civilization, but of identifying it with capitalism itself. It will then be also possible to identify Communism with a higher form of social structure. Although this higher form will destroy civilization, yet it will not do that by reverting society to barbarism, but by replacing it with an infinitely higher cultural level than civilization could ever attain under the handicaps of capitalism.



## With Marx and Engels

### A REVIEW

FOR this issue of our Workers Monthly the editor has reserved this space for a discussion of some noteworthy new editions of works by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The International Publishers in New York have brought out a new edition of Karl Marx's "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" and of Frederick Engels' "The Peasant War in Germany." As far as we know, this Engels book is the first American edition of the work ever printed.

Marx, his life and his work, is the embodiment of Marxism. Marx, though a thorough scientist, was never interested in abstract science. He did not come to political conclusions by way of scientific research. He was primarily a political leader. As editor of the "Rheinische Zeitung" he ran up against political problems which he could not understand—or hope to solve—except by study and research in the field of economic science. Science was a weapon to him; and in forging this weapon which enabled him to be the most effective political leader of the working class, he at the same time forged an indispensable weapon for the political emancipation of the working class itself. Marxism is this weapon. Marxism is not an analytical method for the closet philosopher who detaches science from life and glories in his success in constructing, dissecting, and reassembling his alchemistic homunuculus which he exhibits as a true reproduction of life. It may look like life; but, unfortunately, it is not life itself. Marxism is not identical with this sort of science. It does not waste any energy in merely picturing life, it is busy in constructing and reconstructing it. Marxism is a guide to action or it is not Marxism.

In none of the works of Karl Marx is that breath of real life more noticeable and more life-creating than in his historical writings. And among those historical writings, it is the "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" which outranks any picture ever drawn by a historian about any historic event.

The event described in this book is a very intricate one. France had a revolutionary tradition. But it also had a Napoleonic tradition. It had a republican, but also a monarchist tradition. It had a Bourbon but also an Orleanist tradition. It had a February but it had also a June of 1848. Under the pen of Marx all these conflicting traditions and interests are dissolved into their original elements. And out of these elements Marx constructs a living history of France from February, 1848

to December 2, 1852. In this sketch every event carries with it a penetrating understanding of its own cause.

The triumph of the republic over the monarchy in February, 1848; the triumph of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat in June, 1848; the complete triumph of the big bourgeoisie over the petty bourgeoisie in June, 1849; and, finally, the political self-emasculation of the big bourgeoisie in favor of "law and order" which found its crowning climax on the second of December, 1852 in the coup d'etat of the adventurer Louis Bonaparte and his "Society of the Tenth of December."

The book is not merely a description of history but it is living, onward flowing history itself. It conveys, more than any other Marxian treatise, an understanding of all the currents and cross-currents of the different economic groups in society. It solves the apparent conflict of traditions of republicanism versus monarchism, Bourbonism versus Orleanism, by connecting each of these tendencies with its economic base and its economic meaning.

The character of a revolutionary bourgeoisie and its relation to the proletariat, which was a bone of contention between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in the Russian Revolution of February, 1917, finds an excellent description in Marx's conclusions from events in June, 1848. Says Marx: "Thus the republican-bourgeois group, which had long regarded itself as legitimate heir of the July monarchy, had been successful beyond its wildest dreams; and yet it had risen to power, not as in the days of Louis Philippe it had fancied would be the case, through a liberal revolt of the bourgeoisie against the throne, but thanks to the successful suppression (by grape-shot) of a rising of the proletariat against Capital. The event which was to have been ultra-revolutionary proved to be the most counter-revolutionary occurrence in the world. The fruit had fallen into the lap of those waiting for it, but it had fallen from the Tree of Knowledge, not from the Tree of Life."

The petty bourgeoisie which even then paraded under the guise of social democracy is excellently characterized by Marx. "The essential characteristic of social-democracy is as follows: Democratic republican institutions are demanded as a means, not for the abolition of the two extremes, Capital and Wage Labor, but for the mitigation of their opposition, and for the transformation of their discord into a harmony. Various ways of attaining this harmony may be advocated, and the different

proposals may be adorned with a more or less revolutionary trimming, but the substance is always the same. The substantial aim of social democracy is to transform society by the democratic method, the transformation being always kept within the petty-bourgeois orbit. Do not run away with the idea that the deliberate purpose of the petty-bourgeois class is to enforce its own selfish class interest. The petty-bourgeois believe that the special conditions requisite for their own liberation are likewise the general conditions requisite for the salvation of modern society."

The petty-bourgeoisie has not made one step forward since then in its political development. Now as then it parades under the guise of social-democracy; and now as then it tries to play the savior of society by avoiding the class struggle. Because it thus paralyzes the fighting strength and capacity of the proletariat, social-democracy is as great an enemy of the proletariat as is the big bourgeoisie itself. And when history itself demands the participation of this petty-bourgeoisie in the class struggle, it participates invariably on the side of the big bourgeoisie.

The "Eighteenth Brumaire" is not written for scientists. It is a mass book in the best sense. Every revolutionary worker can read it with pleasure and with advantage. With pleasure because its picturesque presentation of events is entertaining; and with advantage because the book is not only an application of Marxian science, but also a text book of it.

The International Publishers issued the book in good binding, good makeup, and an excellent new translation by Eden and Cedar Paul. The translation preserves the original beauty of Marx's style without in the least interfering with the clarity of the rendition.

Simultaneously with this new edition of the Brumaire the International Publishers brought out the first English translation of Engels' work on the "Peasant War in Germany." The commendable translation was rendered by M. Olgin.

Engels' work on "The Peasant War" is of the same order as the Brumaire by Marx. It is an application of historic materialism to the revolutionary uprising of the peasants in Germany at the end of the medieval epoch

in 1525. This heroic struggle of the exploited and oppressed peasantry against feudalism had for centuries been described only by enemies of these rebels. Engels' "Peasant War" raises a monument of understanding and sympathy for them. The book raised for the first time in Marxian literature the question of the role of the peasantry in revolutionary struggles.

The "Peasant War" is of great importance to the Marxian because it shows first the causes and conditions of the revolutionary struggles against feudalism; second, because it shows the agricultural masses in revolutionary struggles; and, third, it gives a clear understanding of the economic position of the peasant masses in the social structure. Also the beginnings of the proletariat as the most advanced and most truly revolutionary force, under the leadership of Thomas Muenzer finds its appreciation in the book.

The "Peasant War" by Engels also conveys a better understanding of the epoch of reformation. It pictures the forces which gradually undermined the ideological world power of the Pope in Rome so that the lightning of his interdicts lost all of its former horrors. It also shows the exploitation of the growing revolt of the masses by the princes and thus explains the turning of Martin Luther from a supporter into a bitter and treacherous enemy of the mass revolt.

Both the "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" by Karl Marx and the "Peasant War in Germany" by Frederick Engels can be obtained at the price of \$1.50 each either from the International Publishers direct or from the Daily Worker Publishing Company. The distribution of these two works among the revolutionary workers is so important that the literature agent of every party unit should solicit orders for these books from every party member. The study of such books makes Marxians, makes revolutionists. Only on the solid foundation of a revolutionary theory can there be built an active revolutionary movement. The character of both of these books is a guarantee that the student of its pages will not lose himself in abstractions but will find a better understanding of the problems of revolution and will learn a better method of solving these problems.

# More About the First American Revolution

By Jay Lovestone

LETTERS ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1774-1776, by Margaret W. Wheeler, Houghton Mifflin Co., New York—Boston.

THIS is another book which everyone interested in class struggles in the United States should not fail to examine very carefully.

In this series of select letters on the American Revolution 1774-1776 we have vivid pictures of the how and why of the preliminaries and actualities of the first revolutionary struggles in America. The letters are chosen from all sections of the population—workers, soldiers, farmers, merchants, "gentlemen," and government officials. In many instances the letters appeared in the leading British press of the day as an indispensable part of the news service.

Then such sources of information were extremely valuable from the news viewpoint. The wireless, the cable, the ocean greyhound as transmitters of news were not yet at our disposal. But at present these letters are important to us only in so far as they shed much of the welcome light which has recently been turned on some of the economic bases, the social phases of the First American Revolution.

Let us recite briefly some of the many important facts brought home in these letters.

## Sympathy for Colonials in England.

First of all, on the eve and at the time of the first American revolution, there was much adverse criticism at home, in the mother country, of the government's policy towards the Thirteen Colonies. This sympathy with the colonies came primarily from the poorer, the working sections of the population in England. Much criticism of some of the government's measures also came from some of the merchants who had sold on credit to the colonies and who feared loss of payment for their goods if the relations between the mother country and the colonists reached the point of complete rupture—of armed hostilities.

The period covered by the collection of letters is from the first continental congress to the taking of New York by the British. In a sense, Wheeler is to be congratulated on the choice. It affords us an opportunity to see clearly certain phases of the first American revolution, since it was in these very days that "there was the freest expression of opinion on all sides."

We are treated to a mighty enlightening picture of the development and activities of the committees of safety of the revolution.

The letters written by the colonial partisans indicate very clearly that there was anything but unanimity in the colonies over the various issues of the day. But as the

struggle went on these committees of safety checked practically all expression of opinion by the pro-government or Tory forces. Almost invariably the mails were searched before they were placed aboard ship for England.

## No Peaceful Pipe-Dream.

And the talk about force and violence in the class struggles of 1776! Tarring and feathering of pro-government forces were a common method of argument and persuasion even before the outbreak of the open, armed revolution. Then we are told about the setting fire to government ships and treating the government's property in a manner which if it were advocated by anti-capitalist-government forces of today would bring such proponents behind the bars with extreme despatch. One "Gentlemen" writing to London thus summed up events in 1774:

"It is dangerous to offer an argument in favor of the administration unless you are ambitious of wearing a suit of tar and feathers."

Every man who would not drink "destruction to his king," was Tory and liable to tar and feathers.

## Role of the Workers.

As one reads many of these letters he is bound to be inspired with hope for the coming class struggles in the United States. An officer in the government's army writes from Boston on November 22, 1775:

"The workmen at Boston were so mulish that the general was obliged to send to Nova Scotia for carpenters and bricklayers to fit us barracks for our accommodations."

Such behavior by the workers of those days is all the more significant for us since they had not yet attained the slightest degree of unionization at the time.

Here is another tribute to the role of the workers in our first American revolutionary struggle. We read in a letter written by a pro-government man in the morning "Chronicle and London Advertiser" of February 25, 1775:

"A Scotch shoemaker was the head of all our mobs during the time of the Stamp Act, which pulled down the Stamp Office, demolished the lieutenant-governor's house, and broke into the secretary's, and forced him to Liberty Tree, where they swore him out of office. This person whose name is Mackintosh, has ever since continued a leading man among us."

This was in Boston.

The smaller farmers especially were likewise awake to the needs of the moment. Whenever there was to be selected any committee of inspection, the farmers laid

aside all other duties and participated to insure the election of genuine, trustworthy revolutionaries.

Particularly in the first stages of the revolution did the working and farming masses play a decisive role. Though it was plainly an open act of treason, the colonists exercised their own, the anti-government, militia every fair day. In the beginning the militia officers were elected directly by the militiamen serving under them. In some instances the government's military officers deserted to the anti-government forces and served as teachers of the revolutionary militia. In one of General Gage's regiments more than forty deserted and took with them their muskets and bayonets. There were also instances where government seamen mutinied.

#### Role of the Merchants.

And why did many of the colonial merchants enter the non-importation agreements against the government? Said a Philadelphia merchant in 1774:

"You cannot blame us for entering into this agreement—we are already head over ears in debt, and from the restrictions laid on our trade we have no prospect of being able to pay you.

". . . Our province still groans under a burden of debt contracted during the late war, which, though a successful one, produced advantages in which we were by no means the most considerable sharers."

The late war referred to above is the Seven Years' War. Too many of our American historians have overlooked the relations between the economic consequences of that war and the subsequent First American Revolution.

But a letter from a wealthy New Yorker, written about the same time shows that—especially in the early stages of the struggle—the men of property were very timid and feared the possible development of a revolutionary upheaval.

"Most sensible people here, people of property, whom I should suppose interested as much in the matter, are of this opinion, and say that one master is better than a thousand, and that they would rather be oppressed by a king than by a rascally mob. 'Tis not only reducing everybody to a level, but it is entirely reversing the matter, and making the mob their masters."

Another pro-government letter declares:

"All their leaders are poor miscreants, who could not live in affluence but in times of commotion; having nothing to lose by the disturbance, they exert themselves to keep up and increase them. . . I do not know one man of real property who is in earnest in this rebellious cause."

#### True Character of the Revolution.

Familiar prattle, eh? How often have we in recent days heard such gems of wisdom from the defenders of the existing ruling class?

Soon the Loyalists began to form their own associations, as for example, under General Ruggles, to combat the revolutionary committees.

Let no one be mistaken. The first American revolution was not a proletarian revolution. It was a revolution

removing certain economic barriers to and laying the political basis for the development of a native, American national bourgeoisie.

On the whole, those property owners in the colonies whose economic interests depended on the maintenance of British government powers lined up with the government. These merchants burdened with debts, the early American manufacturers, the native shipping men competing with British under the handicap of increasing adverse laws and government regulations, on the whole, were with the revolution and against the government.

It is precisely this latter class of supporters of the revolution who soon wrested all leadership from the masses in the revolution. It is this class that imprinted an indelible aristocratic stamp on the first American revolution—who very soon perpetrated the counter-revolution—who immediately thereafter organized themselves into the Federalist Party and established a centralized government to cheat and defraud the working and farming masses who fought the battles and suffered untold miseries in the field on all fronts of the revolution.

The mass insurrections against this new government following on the heels of the struggle against the old government were only the last efforts of workers and impoverished farmers to retain some of the advantages they won in the first period of the revolutionary class war against their British exploiters and oppressors.

Yet, in these very days when we celebrate the tenth year of the victorious proletarian revolution of our Russian brothers—in these very days when American imperialism appears so invulnerable in the eyes of the superficial—when our working class is on the whole so politically under-developed, it is rather appropriate to draw and living, inspiring picture of a real American revolution—made in America.

"Gentlemen" writing to his friend in England on May 1, 1775, tells us:

"The news of the attack at Boston reached New York on Sunday the 23rd., and that very day the populace seized the city arms, and unloaded two provision vessels bounded for the troops at Boston. In the course of the week they formed themselves into companies under officers of their own choosing, distributed the arms, called a provincial congress, demanded the keys of the custom house, and shut up the port, trained their men publicly, convened the citizens by beat of drum, drew the cannon into the interior country and formed an association of defense in perfect league with the rest of the continent, which is signing by all ranks, professions and orders."

This on the streets of New York! Not in Berlin. Not in Moscow. But in our own proud and patriotic New York when it was far nearer being one hundred per cent American, fully native, than it has been ever since, is today, or will be in a very long time to come!

Such a picture of the first American revolution in action is a timely reminder of our present-day American ruling class—the bourgeoisie. It is simultaneously a source of light and inspiration to the American workers

who are still in the dark as to the true nature of the present government and its role in the class war of today.

#### A Stimulating Book.

Margaret Wheeler has done really well a very necessary job. Her collection of letters is of permanent value to the historian in many ways. But for the American working class this book is exceptionally worth while in two special respects.

1. The book tends to imbue the American workers with the idea that they, like the French, the German, the Russian, the English and other workers also have some revolutionary traditions and know how to fight as revolutionists—for revolutionary objectives, decisively and victoriously against exploiters and oppressors.

2. This fortunate collection of letters deals a telling blow to a fallacious and promiscuous theory new being peddled amongst our workers by reactionary labor leaders, social democrats, bourgeois professors, statesmen

## REVIEWS

**NAPOLEON'S CAMPAIGN OF 1812 AND THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW.** By Hilaire Belloc. Harper and Brothers, New York.

HERE is a vivid popular story of the campaign which wiped out the Grand Army and crippled Napoleon's military career. The army, 430,000 strong, with 150,000 horses, crossed the Niemen on June 23, 1812. The advance had been delayed to give time for the grass to grow to feed the horses. It must be remembered that all food, supplies and ammunition depended on the teams. The Grand Army was half French; the rest were Poles, Italians, Germans, Swiss and Dutch. The weather was hostile from the first. There were three days of soaking rain which turned the country tracks into swamps—and the hardships killed the horses in thousands. This broke up the supply columns and caused much suffering and hunger. The two Russian armies, about half as strong as Napoleon's forces, retreated before him for 650 miles, a nine-weeks' trek. There was more heavy rain early in September, and on the 7th the Russians turned at bay at Borodino. Each side had 130,000 men and 600 guns. After 15 hours' struggle in which the Russians lost 42,000, the French 31,000, the Russians retreated in good order and on September 15, Napoleon occupied Moscow. The city was empty and the next night was set on fire. Napoleon kidded himself that the Czar would make peace now that his capital was taken. The Russians made no hostile move and the French fancied they were safe. The French discipline was wholly relaxed—they looted and loafed. They were 720 miles from the border, and tho they had furs and silks, wine and bonbons in plenty, they lacked bread, shoes, clothing, ammunition and horses. On October 19 they marched out, already disorganized.

It is necessary to grasp the fact that on any long march, with good weather and supplies, there will be wastage—the sick, lame and lazy fall out and the army

and other capitalist hangers-on. We are referring to the "theory" so feverishly propagated in our social-democratic academies, in our bourgeois universities and in our black labor journals that "gradualism," strictly peaceful methods, absolutely within the framework of the ossified bourgeois legal structure, are an innate feature of social movements, of class struggles waged among Anglo-Saxons.

These "theoreticians" would have us believe that the American workers fighting in the class struggle are immune from the laws of class warfare.

Of course, our bourgeoisie already know otherwise and better. Our workers are more and more learning that such non-existent Anglo-Saxon virtues are just that much and more balderdash palmed off as the absolute, abstract truth to serve as a sort of a devastating boll-weevil to destroy the growing class consciousness of the American proletariat—the menacing challenge to our presently dominant capitalist class.

marches on. On the march to Moscow, Napoleon's center started with 301,000 men, made two twelve-day halts—yet in the eight weeks' march to Smolensk 105,000 men were missing, not counting battle casualties. The Russian army that chased the French home started 120,000 strong and seven weeks later numbered 30,000. This fact explains the disappearance of the Grand Army.

The French started disorganized, hungry, short of supplies and horses. They were headed off from Kaluga, where were depots which would have victualled them. The weather was fine and warm, and tho they were pestered by swarms of irregular cavalry, Cossacks, the main Russian army was twenty miles behind, too far away to hurt. On November 5 came the cold. It was such cold as Americans know well—zero weather and below. Such cold is easy to bear for a few hours, if a man has enough food and a warm place to sleep. Workers who have hoboed in winter remember how the cold wakes one about midnight and how he shivers in bitter pain until after sunrise next day. The French, after such nights, had to drag themselves ten or twelve miles thru a howling blizzard, with empty stomachs—and then shiver thru another night. This hell lasted 38 days. They died in thousands of hunger and cold or fell out and were lanced by the Cossacks. On November 26 some 20,000 French reached the Beresina River. They were followed by an equal number of unarmed stragglers, who had thrown away their guns and fallen out. This rabble was, of course, a useless burden. Three Russian armies outnumbering the French five to one surrounded them—one army being squarely across their path. The French eluded them and struggled on another 200 miles. On December 13 about 20,000 all told crossed the Niemen for the second time to safety.

Belloc has written a very readable book and included excellent maps and sketches. He served as a conscript in the French artillery forty years ago and he

believes in the geographical conception of warfare. This book is inferior to his "Warfare in England" in which he wrote vividly of the hills, rivers and marshes of England and their effect on strategy from the Roman times to the Civil War. Geographically it is very important, but there are equally important factors, which the military author should cover—morale, technique, training, the proportion of the different arms.

We advise the imperialists to study this campaign well. The Russian climate has not improved in the past century and the military and social situation has vastly change. The needs of a modern army are extremely complex. The absolute minimum for the Grand Army was grain for the men and grass for the horses. Powder and clothing were necessary but did not need many wagons. A modern army in the field requires railway transportation and numberless trucks to haul shells, complex and easily damaged modern weapons, supplies not only for the combat troops but also for the hordes of supply and auxiliary men. Airplanes, artillery and gas units, tanks, telephone and medical units, all must be hauled up and furnished constantly with tons and tons of material. This line of communication hundreds of miles long is at the mercy of the Russian peasants, trained by years of civil war in the gentle art of sniping and wrecking. To patrol it fully would need tens of thousands of soldiers. Besides all this, stuff must be manufactured in the first place by workers, by men who for nine years have regarded the Russian workers as their trusty allies and now are asked to help kill them and scab on their organization. To get the stuff is nearly as difficult a problem as to deliver it. And who can say what the soldiers, recruited from the working class, will do? The French sailors in the Black Sea, the American infantry in Archangel, both mutinied. In Siberia, the English, French, Czechs, Japs and Americans bickered and squabbled.

Intervention in Russia would prove no picnic.

—K. M.

**A STUDY OF NATIO-RACIAL MENTAL DIFFERENCES**, by Nathaniel D. M. Hirsch, *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, Vol. 1., Nos. 3 and 4, Worcester, Mass., Clark University Press, 1926.

THIS book indicates in a somewhat gross way the fate that has overtaken modern "social science" since it became refined bourgeois apologetics. At first glance—nothing but uncritical assumptions, inconsequent reasoning, fantastic conclusions; but look a little closer—and you see the method in the madness.

Briefly, Mr. Hirsch's thesis is: that the various "natio-races" ("peoples" in ordinary terminology) are characterized by inborn differences in intelligence which are a part of their biologic make-up and which can be modified by biologic means only, such as selection, mixture, etc. This inborn difference in intelligence is only "one of the several psychological differences in innate constitution that help to decide the fate of nations" (p. 356). "The differences in peoples that are important in world affairs, the vital distinctions that cause one nation to rise and prosper and another to fall and finally to disappear are psychological differences" (p. 356). "Upon the natio-racial hypothesis each distinctive nation may be regard-

ed as a psycho-biological species which constitutes and fabricates a social milieu that is congenial to and is an expression of its innate psychic structure" (p. 374).

It is really astonishing to see Mr. Hirsch speak with such confidence of stable "racial" or "national" traits in the face of the investigations of men like Boas (and Fishberg) who have shown that in the case of the children of the European immigrants to America "there is . . . a far-reaching change of type—a change which cannot be ascribed to selection or mixture but which can only be explained as due directly to the influence of the environment. . . . These results are so definite that. . . all the evidence is now in favor of a great plasticity of human types, the permanence of types under new surroundings appears rather as the exception than as the rule." (Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants, Final Report, Senate Document No. 208, 1911). This is now so well understood that, as Professor Barnes says: "Racial interpretations of politics (have) been utterly discredited and can in the future be the refuge alone of the uninformed or the advocate" (Sociology and Political Theory). This about puts Mr. Hirsch where he belongs; he is uninformed and he is an advocate—of the current bourgeois prejudices.

To his interesting theories on the motive power in world history, Mr. Hirsch adds similar conclusions on class relations at home. In his chapter on "Vocation and Intelligence" (Chap. VI.) he "proves" the existence of "a high correlation between intelligence on the one hand and economic and social status on the other; indeed, intelligence is related to social status as ground to consequence or as cause to effect"—in other words, the "upper classes," the rich, the bourgeoisie are more intelligent than the "lower classes," the poor, the proletariat—and they are richer and socially more powerful because of their superior mental equipment. "The occupation of a person, as his family life and social status, is largely determined by his innate intelligence, his inherited temperament, and his peculiar specific abilities or talents" (p. 328).

And how does Mr. Hirsch support conclusions so conveniently in line with the manifest interests of imperialism and capitalism? Oh, nothing easier—thru the "intelligence tests!" And the conclusions are worthy of the means!

There is probably nothing that shows more strikingly the low estate to which science has fallen under the blighting touch of the reactionary bourgeoisie than the rank development, in recent times, of the pseudo-science of "intelligence testing" with all its assumptions, reasonings and conclusions. Official science stands in awe and uncritically, even eagerly, swallows its monstrous quackeries—with only an unheard voice here and there raised in protest.

The basic dogmas of the "intelligence test" cult are: that the human "intelligence" (no two "intelligence testers" will agree as to exactly what this "intelligence" is) develops in the individual in a vacuum, so to speak, uninfluenced by his physical, cultural, or social environment, to a level determined by his inborn constitution—so that the level of intelligence is an inborn trait, a part of the specific biological heritage. Thru certain methods

—"intelligence tests" (questions to be answered, operations to be performed)—it is maintained that it is possible to determine the relative intelligence not only of two individuals, but even of different peoples or of different "races"—it is possible, in other words, to establish a graduated scale applicable alike to all human beings and against which all can be measured.

The results of such comparisons have uniformly been very convenient for the masters of modern society, "proving" every prejudice to which their interests have given rise. Thus, the Negro and the "foreigner" (especially the revolutionary foreigner) have been "shown" to be pronouncedly inferior in intelligence to the real 100% American and we have just seen that the worker must really admit the superior intelligence of his boss. How very convenient!

It so happens, however, that the basic assumptions, the methods of reasoning and the most favorite conclusions of the pseudo-science of "intelligence testing" are equally wrong at bottom. As a matter of fact, everything seems to have been turned upside down. "Mind does not develop in vacuum. It develops in a world in which organism acts on environment and environment on organism. In developing it takes something of the complexion of the environment. . ." (W. D. Wallis, *Culture and Race*, *The Scientific Monthly*, Oct., 1926). Intelligence, like any other mental function or quality, does not develop independently, uninfluenced by the outside world. It is molded and formed by the social forces that mold the individual's life as a whole. It is a product of the social environment and not, as the perverse theory of Mr. Hirsch has it, the determiner of the environment. Thus, there is no such thing as "intelligence" in general, in the sense of an "intelligence" that differs only quantitatively in different individuals, groups or peoples. There are various types of intelligence corresponding to the major types of social relations and these types of intelligence are in many cases incommensurable. Only when the social milieu is the same for two individuals or groups can there be any common basis of comparison. It is the social milieu that is the determining factor in the development of intelligence.

Concretely: the intelligence tests in use in this country are uniformly contrived on the basis of the specific intelligence of the typical man in American bourgeois society—the American bourgeois—and express his modes of thought, his judgments and his standards. What the intelligence tests primarily show, therefore, is how the individual or group tested measures up to the standard of the ideal American business man. Is it any wonder then that the "foreigners," the Negroes, the working men make a rather poor showing—their intellectual qualities are not those that distinguish the business executive. With the pertinent modifications we may quote Prof. Wallis' words: "Devise tests which suit the intelligence, interest and training of the native Zulu and he will do better than the average white man. The relative standing depends considerably on who devises the tests and upon the criteria imposed. The traditions, aims, ambitions, hopes which pervade one group are different from those which pervade the other" (as above).

This view of the validity and significance of the "intelligence tests" is substantiated by the material gathered on the basis of these tests themselves. Particularly striking is the evidence of the army tests as to the relative intelligence of the Negro and the white. An analysis of the data shows very clearly that "the difference between Negroes and whites is to be credited to social heritage rather than to race" (Wallis, as above).

But if this is true the whole system of the "intelligence testers" collapses. The tests indeed show that differences between "natio-races" and classes exist, but these differences are not inborn; they are merely products of different social milieus and are indicative of the attempt to measure one group by a scale standardized according to another.

Mr. Hirsch—who seems to be more reckless because he is more ignorant than even the general run of "intelligence testers"—should not be taken seriously in his crude fantasies on world politics and sociology. But there is system to his vagaries; he turns things upside down. Instead of the "national character" fabricating "a social milieu that is congenial to it and that is expressive of its innate psychic structure"—it is the social milieu that fabricates the "national character" and the "psychic structure" (not innate!). So far is "intelligence" from being the determiner of class position that it is precisely the social class that determines and forms the specific type of intelligence. Mr. Hirsch has merely turned things upside down—naturally since the truth is inconvenient to Mr. Hirsch's patron—the American business executive.

Only thru reading the book and reading it carefully can one appreciate the assurance with which Mr. Hirsch presents one absurdity after another as the most manifest fact. The most curious ideas as to "national character"—which of course is innate and biological, it taking "eight or ten generations of free intermarriage" to produce a new "natio-race" (p. 378, note)—rub shoulders with equally extraordinary ideas on psychology and sociology. The reader frequently has to rub his eyes and wonder if the whole thing is not a deeply contrived travesty.

But Mr. Hirsch is merely a horrible example of the whole crew of "intelligence testers" whose intellectual equipment consists in a facile skill in manipulating the tests, in a dense ignorance of everything else, and in a measureless and somewhat patronizing assurance in solving every problem confronting the human race on the basis of their particular pseudo-science.

And this book is not just an ordinary popular work where the demands of science are naturally not always fulfilled; it is one of a series of *Genetic Psychology Monographs* whose editors include some of the most famous names in the field of psychology on two continents. Is there any hope for science in the foul atmosphere of bourgeois reaction?

A final word: Could anything be more fitting and proper than that this—one of the worst books ever published—should have been inspired—as the author assures us more than once—by the well-known Prof. Wm. McDougall of "Is America Safe for Democracy?" fame?

—Apex.



IOWA INTERIORS, by Ruth Suckow. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

THE ODYSSEY OF A NICE GIRL, by Ruth Suckow. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

IOWA INTERIORS is a collection of short stories about the farmers and struggling little shop-keepers in the small towns of Iowa. Capitalist reviewers, praising this book, have called it charming, delightful, have stressed the "sweet heroism" of many of the characters. The book is an excellent piece of work, but I find in it nothing either charming or delightful. Miss Suckow's graphic descriptions of the bitter struggle for existence to which most of the farmers and laborers of these small towns are condemned, her accurate portrayal of the narrow, fruitless lives which even the petty-bourgeois element must lead, are to me only another count against the system which is satisfied that these things shall be. That a young girl should spend thirty or more years of her life shut up in a house with an invalid mother—and this is the situation around which one of these stories is built—is to me neither sweet nor heroic—it is terrible, it is a shameful waste of human life. A decent system will make some provision for the sick which will not involve the sacrifice of another person's entire life as well. The book is so relentlessly accurate in its stories of wrecked and embittered and caged lives that it makes almost painful reading.

"The Odyssey of a Nice Girl" is the story of a young girl in one of these same Iowa towns, somewhat better off financially than the renters and small farmers—her father is the town undertaker. Marjorie has enough brains to realize that such a life as she is expected to lead—"speaking pieces" at Sunday school entertainments and helping on church committees—is both dishonest and uninteresting; but she has no idea of what else she can do. A common enough tragedy.

Oh, well! The revolutionary workers, with their tremendous job in the class struggle, have little time for sympathy with the petty-bourgeois girls—and young men—who have gotten a glimpse of a world outside of their own surroundings, but whose personal feeling for parents or friends, whose fear of parting with such physical comforts as they have, keeps them from breaking away. But these fruitless individual struggles are rather interesting side-lights on the more fruitful and potent struggles of the working class. —P. H.

EVOLUTION IN MODERN ART, A Study of Modern Painting, 1870-1925, by Frank Rutter, 166 pp. New York, Lincoln Macveagh, The Dial Press, 1926.

THIS is one of the most interesting books on the subject we have ever read and one of the best. Mr. Rutter's descriptions of the various phases of modern art are not simply the dry "life and work" accounts of the manual—nor the effusive obscurantist "appreciations" one ordinarily meets in "art-writing."

It is a charmingly written and effectively illustrated account of the chief tendencies and movements in modern painting since 1870. It not only describes these tendencies and movements, but it also analyzes them; it not only analyzes them but it tries to envisage them as of the complete whole of the stream of human culture.

In achieving this broad aspect it naturally forsakes the narrow "professional" viewpoint and sees art as a form of expression of the totality of social consciousness. It is therefore obliged to refer art back to those powerful forces that shape the social destiny of mankind—ultimately to the economic organization of society and to the economic forces at play within it.

Mr. Rutter does not recoil in horror from this conclusion as do so many artists. He sees the fact and welcomes it. He even understands it. He entirely rejects the usual "individualistic" theory of art; he regards art as a social form intimately bound up with the entire cast of social thought of the period. "Each art expresses the dominant thought and philosophy of its own historic period" (p. 47). It is the reflection in the artist of the "conditions and ideas of the time."

Thus, Mr. Rutter traces the relations of Impressionism to the civilization of nineteenth century Europe (p. 46); he also finds that "the Post-Impressionist painters of the last twenty years are a complete index of the (social) psychology of Europe during one of the most momentous periods of her history" (p. 118). Most interesting, however, in this direction, are his remarks on the influence of the intense electric war-laden atmosphere of pre-war Europe on the work of the painters. "A sinister violence and subterranean unrest became manifest in European painting long before it exploded in European politics" (p. 120). "Is it not profoundly significant that paintings based on war, and nothing but war, were being painted all over Europe early in the spring of 1914?" (p. 115).

We are also given a glimpse into the mechanism by which the artist is made to reflect the spirit of his times.

"Often and often in the history of painting the value of a work has not been what the artist did consciously, but what he did unconsciously." (p. 117).

"A great artist, passionately interested in life, is curiously sensitive to ideas which circulate in the mental atmosphere; these ideas he is often unable to put into words, and their social or economic significance often escapes him. But in his own way he feels them, pictorially or plastically, and . . . he gives them appropriate expression." (p. 126.)

Such is the stuff of inspiration. . .

Mr. Rutter is effective when he points out—the not in so many words—how Post-Impressionism may be regarded as reaction to the fundamental social contradictions and class antagonisms of capitalism that tear society apart before the very eyes of the artist.

"The violence of Post-Impressionism may be construed as an expression of the political hatred and the industrial unrest which agitated Europe during the first decade of the twentieth century and culminated in the War and the Russian Revolution." (p. 115.)

But he is at his best in his analysis and description of the origin of Cubism, of Futurism and Expressionism (Chaps. IV, V, VI). He shows very clearly that Cubism and the movements it gave rise to and influenced are to be understood basically as the reflection, in the mind

of the petty-bourgeois anarchist-artist, of the age of great machine industrialism. The artist may stand aghast in horror at the sight of the brute machine—or he may yield his understanding admiration for its cold grandeur. "Attracted and influenced by machinery," many of the Cubists and their followers believe "that if we live in a mechanical age (note the tone of vain regret!—Apex.) it is not inappropriate that mechanism should play a part in our painting." (p. 103.) The very method and technique of Cubism—"with its repetition and sharp distinctions of planes"—is the method springing from the overbalancing power of the giant Machine.

The war threw individual man into huge masses mechanically manipulated as part of a machine process; it therefore gave a splendid field for the technique of the Cubists and the Vorticists. It is interesting to note that, with the war over, only those artists who turned to the industrial worker as an element in the machine process maintained their style, for "industrialism, like war, treats man as part of a great machine. . . Unless we are afflicted with another war, it is in industrialism and in industrialism alone, that the Cubist will find his right material." (p. 128.)

But Cubism and its varieties—the art of the machine—is no proletarian art. It does not spring from the conditions and the life of the proletariat. The Cubist is no industrial proletarian and his aspect of the world of the machine is not that of the worker. The Cubist is the petty-bourgeois individualist-artist who has suddenly awakened to the great fact that the world has found a new master, the Machine. He neither understands nor dominates the machine. He is overwhelmed by it. It is the petty bourgeois reacting to the machine. As to proletarian art—that is another story. . .

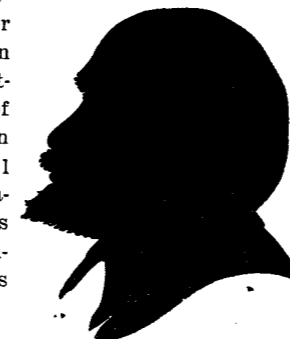
We have touched but few of the thought-provoking points raised by Mr. Rutter. The book is well worth reading and studying. It will reward the reader with a better appreciation and understanding of art as an expression of the universal life-process of man.

—Apex.

## LENIN ON ORGANIZATION

The most important publication for workers issued in many years. Writings and speeches of a great leader on the fundamental question of organization. No worker's library can be complete without this invaluable work.

Cloth \$1.50



## To Make Working Class Children Happier and Better Little Rebels



A Special Price is Made to Enable More Children to Own

## FAIRY TALES FOR WORKERS CHILDREN



BY HERMINIA ZUR MUHLEN  
TRANSLATED BY IDA DAILES

Color Plates by Lydia Gibson  
Formerly 75 Cents

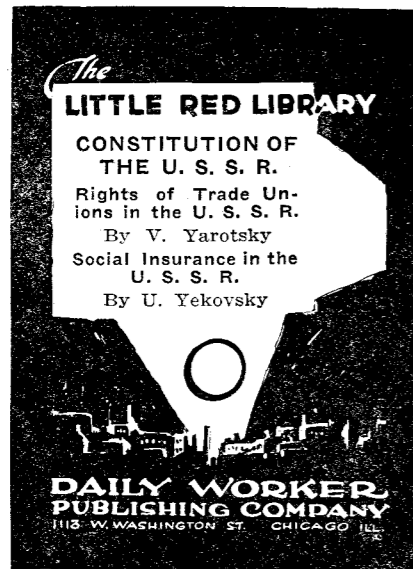
Now 50 Cents

Offer Good for One Month Only

A book of beautiful stories that are sure to be liked by both grownups and children. Thousands of copies were sold immediately on its publication. Over twenty black and white illustrations and four full-page color plates illustrate these splendid stories that breed the fighting spirit of revolt.

THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.,  
1113 W. Washington Blvd. Chicago, Ill.

TWO NEW BOOKS



Number 10

The latest number in the LITTLE RED LIBRARY brings indispensable information to every worker. A splendid reference on labor laws and social legislation as they are today in the First Workers' Republic.

10 Cents

A NEW BIOGRAPHY  
**LENIN**

*His Life and Works*  
By E. Yaroslavsky



LENIN

For the first time an adequate, complete biography of our great leader is now made available. His eventful life, his historic accomplishments, the principles he fought for, are splendidly presented.

25 Cents

*Other Good Books  
For Workers*

- ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION  
By A. Berdnikof and A. Svetlof  
Duroflex \$1.00 Cloth \$1.50
- THE AWAKENING OF CHINA  
By Jas. A. Dolsen \$1.00
- PASSAIC  
By Albert Weisbord \$.15
- THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.  
1113 W. Washington Blvd.,  
CHICAGO, ILL.



*Communist*

PUBLICATIONS

- THE WORKERS MONTHLY  
\$2.00 a Year—\$1.25 Six Months
- COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL  
\$2.50 a Year—\$1.25 Six Months
- THE INPRECOR (International  
Press Correspondence)  
\$6.00 a Year—\$3.50 Six Months
- THE SUNDAY WORKER  
\$1.00 a Year—\$.50 Six Months
- THE DAILY WORKER  
Outside of Chicago In Chicago  
Per year .....\$6.00 Per year .....\$8.00  
Six months ..... 3.50 Six months ..... 4.50  
Three months.. 2.00 Three months.. 2.50



**CUT THE PAGE!**  
Mark a cross (x) in  
box adjoining publi-  
cation wanted.

I enclose \$..... for ..... months subscrip-  
tions to publications marked above.

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State .....

**LEFT WING vs. RIGHT WING**



**CLASS STRUGGLE  
vs.  
CLASS COLLABORATION**



What is the meaning of this conflict? What lies behind it? What is its history? These questions are answered in the following timely publications:

**CLASS COLLABORATION—  
HOW IT WORKS**

By Bertram D. Wolfe \$ .10

A brilliant study of the various methods by which the capitalist class attempts to corrupt the labor movement and bribe its most important sections. Specific illustrations are given from the history of the American labor movement. The pamphlet is readable and valuable thruout.

**CLASS STRUGGLE vs.  
CLASS COLLABORATION**

By Earl R. Browder \$ .10

A keen analysis of modern class collaboration schemes such as the B. & O. Plan, Labor Banking and Workers' Education. An indispensable book for anyone who is interested in the modern developments in the labor movement.

**PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION or  
KAUTSKY THE RENEGADE**

By N. Lenin \$ .25

Lenin led the fight of the revolutionists against the reformists and diluters of Marxism for 20 years. In this book he delivers an annihilating attack on Kautsky, the chief theoretician of the Mensheviks. Communists would do well to read and re-read this book.

**COMPANY UNIONS**

By Robert W. Dunn, with conclusions by Wm. Z. Foster \$ .25

A careful analysis of this peculiar American institution giving the fundamental reasons for its adoption by many of the leading employers of this country. The pamphlet is the result of extensive investigation by an expert student of the subject.

**THE GENERAL STRIKE AND THE  
GENERAL BETRAYAL**

By John Pepper \$ .25

An exposure of the class collaboration policy at work in the great struggle of the British proletariat against the ruling class of England.

**MARX AND ENGELS ON  
REVOLUTION IN AMERICA**

By Heinz Neuman \$ .10

The great leaders who first clearly formulated Communist principles also foresaw the role of America and its working class. This splendid little pamphlet should be read by every American worker.

**WHITHER ENGLAND?**

By Leon Trotsky Cloth bound \$1.75

A strong argument against the theory of gradualism and class peace as expressed by the reformists of the British labor movement.

Order from the

**DAILY WORKER  
PUBLISHING COMPANY**

1113 W. WASHINGTON BLVD. Chicago - ILL.

~ The Source of All Communist Literature ~