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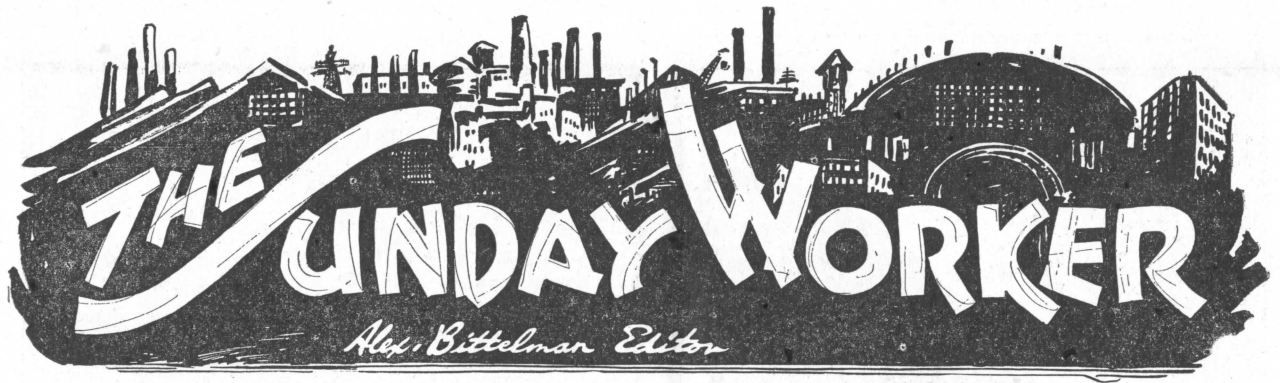
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1920

LENIN

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, 713 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. V.

290

NOVEMBER, 1926

No. 13.

What is the Election About?

By C. E. Ruthenberg

WE will elect this year the whole membership of the House of Representatives, one-third of the Senate, and the governors and state legislatures of a large number of states. With the one exception of the State of Minnesota the election will decide whether the candidates of the Republican Party or those of the Democratic Party shall be elected to office and hold the political power which goes with these offices.

Fifty million voters will be asked to go to the ballot boxes and cast their votes. To induce them to give their support to candidates of one or the other of the two major parties thousands of speeches will be made, tens of thousands of newspaper articles will be written, millions of leaflets and pamphlets will be distributed, and tens of millions of dollars will be expended.

With such an expenditure of vocal power, paper and dollars one would expect to find a burning issue, or issues, upon which the Republican and Democratic Party are divided and which the voters will decide by electing the candidates of one or the other party. Are there such issues which divide the two old parties? Are there two programs, respectively supported by the Republican and Democratic Party?

The Issue of "Prosperity."

President Coolidge and his spokesmen have announced that the big issue is "prosperity." "Prosperity" is a generalization which has been used before in our elections, particularly as a bait for the workers. It gets us down to the economic basis of politics—that is, that in the elections are involved struggles for political power

and that the control of political power is a mighty weapon in advancing the class or group interests of the various economic groupings in our country.

In order to make a case for the Republican Party as the beneficent creator of "prosperity," not for one class or group, but for the country as a whole, it would be essential that the Republican Party present the program of economic measures through which this "prosperity" was

brought into existence and is being maintained. No such program is being presented to the voters for their support. Neither does the Democratic Party present such a program. With the exception of slight differences of viewpoint as to how high the tariff should be on certain goods imported into this country, which difference has not assumed such importance in this election that it can be said that this is the issue on which the battle is being fought, there are no opposing programs of economic policy before the electors.

We know, too, that the question of general "prosperity"—that is an economic situation in which the machinery of production is working somewhere near to capacity and the workers, with the exception of the few million who are unem-

ployed even in the best times, have the opportunity to work and earn such a living as capitalism grants them, is not dependent upon whether the Republican or Democratic Party is in power and upon their respective economic policies. The worst economic crisis of the last decade, with its "hard times" for the workers, took place in 1921, under the Republican Harding administration. The depression of 1914, which threw millions



—McCutcheon in the Chicago Tribune

Harold. In New York state James W. Wadsworth, the candidate for United States Senate, voted for entry into the World Court, as did Senator Butler, the candidate for U. S. Senate in Massachusetts. In New York state the Robert W. Wagner, the Democratic candidate for United States Senate, together with Governor "Al" Smith, are for the World Court, while in Illinois the Democratic candidate for the United States Senate, George E. Brennan, is opposed to our entry into the World Court. The same division runs through the twenty-eight states which will elect United States Senators this year. There are Republican and Democratic candidates on both sides of the question.

The struggle over our entry into the World Court is a fight between finance capital as represented by the international banking houses and industrial capital. The international bankers want the United States in the World Court as an instrument to protect their international investments. The capitalists who are primarily interested in industrial production here are opposed to the World Court. Their interests are not involved and hence they are opposed to "European entanglements."

The fact that the Republican and Democratic Party can and Democratic Party question in this election is the clearest sort of evidence that both parties are dominated by the capitalists and that there are representatives of both groups of capitalists involved in this fight in each of these parties.

Farm Relief and Prohibition

If we turn to the question of relief for the farmers, or prohibition, both of which are major issues of the election campaign, we find the same anomalous situation. There are states where the Republican candidates are for farm relief as represented by the McNary-Haugen bill, notably Brookhart in Iowa, and other states where the Republicans are opposed. The Democrats are similarly divided. We have Republican "dry" candidates and Republican "wet" candidates, and Democrat "dry" candidates and Democratic "wet" candidates.

The McNary-Haugen bill, while supported by the masses of exploited farmers seeking relief from unbearable conditions, is essentially a petty bourgeoisie attack upon big capital. The 18th amendment and Volstead Act, had behind them the big capitalists who wanted more efficient workers. Unquestionably there are among the supporters of these measures earnest opponents of the use of alcohol because of the evils resulting therefrom, who believe that these evils can be eliminated by prohibition, but the main driving force came from the

Take the question of international politics as involved in the attitude toward the war debts and the World Court. The votes on these questions in the Congress cut across party lines. There was a majority in the Senate made up of Republican and Democrats who voted for our entry into the World Court; and a minority made up of Republicans and Democrats who voted against. The ratification of the various agreements for the payment of the war debts had majority and minority similarly made up for and against.

In the election campaign we find the Republican candidate for Senator in Illinois, Frank L. Smith, determinedly opposing affiliation with the World Court, as is the Republican candidate for Senator in Oklahoma, J. W.

The World Court Issue.

lines on these issues.

raised, we will find that there is no division along party



The question whether production goes on at a normal pace or the factories are working part time or are closed is determined by more fundamental economic factors that the programs of the Republican or Democratic Party. The policies enacted into law by these parties does determine whether one group within the capitalist class or another shall be in a more favorable position to make profits in time of "prosperity" or during "hard times," but not the question whether a particular period shall be a period of "prosperity" or of "hard times." That is determined by deeper economic factors within the capitalist system within this country and in the world at large.

Therefore, President Coolidge and the Republican Party's effort to make "prosperity" the issue must be considered as an attempt to capitalize something which the Republican Party can no more claim as its achievement than the Democratic Party could claim the wartime prosperity as something which it created.

If we reject "prosperity" as the possible basic issue on which the election fight is being carried on by the Republican and Democratic Party, because neither offers an economic program which can be considered as a decisive factor in determining whether industry shall operate at capacity or near capacity or shall be reduced to fifty or sixty per cent of capacity, and turn to the other questions which are being raised, we will find that there is no division along party

Akron, the capital of the rubber industry, reveals the following figures for 1925:

Number of establishments.....	11
Wage earners	43,391
Unit of wages.....	\$1,531.44
Cost of materials.....	\$282,464,965
Value of products.....	\$480,330,347

In 11 establishments, an average of 3,945 workers were employed in each—or nearly five times as many as in the entire country, contributing 52 per cent of the tire output. In two establishments, the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, and the Goodrich Tire and Rubber Company, 30,000 workers are employed, or nearly 70 per cent of the total in the city of Akron, 36.7 per cent in the entire industry. With this fact, Akron becomes the rubber center of the country and of the world—and these two establishments are the determining factor in the international rubber tire industry. The remainder of the production is distributed in New Jersey, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts and practically in every part of the country.

Out of the 335,873 tons of crude rubber, the tons of reclaimed rubber and of guayule rubber, 58,784,073 and 77,387,836 inner tubes were manufactured in 1925. The big companies have branches in other countries, and small establishments in different parts of the United States. Millions of casings, inner tubes as well as rubber boots, shoes, heels and millions of pounds of rubber belting, hose, water bottles, electrical hard-rubber goods, etc., as well as scrap rubber, are exported to every part of the world.

The companies maintain a large force of salesmen, elaborate laboratories, efficiency experts, they have training schools and all the machinery in order to extract the last ounce of value from the labor of the workers.

The rubber tire industry is second to none in its "modernity," and every week or month witnesses an innovation. The rubber companies have their own fabric plants, their own mines, some of them their own plantations—the rubber industry had few if any heritages to divest itself of. It sprang into the world—a modern industrial giant, developing ever more power.

As such, it must not be presumed that the companies are independent. The stock of these rubber companies is on the market, and the bankers of New York, recognizing the profitableness of the industry, have not hesitated to invest in them and hold control over them. Thus, the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company is controlled by Dillon, Reed Company, the bankers of New York, whose investment in and control over the Dodge Motor Car Company, whose buying of stock in German steel and coal concerns, and effecting of loans to German municipalities and industrial establishments, have fixed the name of this banking house in the history of modern financial control.

Hundreds of millions of dollars are invested in the rubber tire industry of Akron and the rest of the country, turning out a billion dollars' worth of products and earning scores of millions of dollars in profits every year. This is an infant prodigy—this rubber industry—and most lucrative for the investors.



They even try to practice what they preach. By abstaining from political action, they attempt to leave it alone. But unfortunately it does not leave them alone. It haunts them. It oppresses them. It suppresses them. It forces them to take notice of it—but all of no avail. These anti-political actionists never seem to learn.

We do not question that the state is an instrument of oppression and suppression and that it is bad. On the contrary. We deal with it just because it oppresses us and fights us. It is not "bad in principle." A society which is divided into classes with irreconcilable interests needs a state power. It is this necessity that produced the state. The state is the power which maintains the interests of one class as predominant against the interests of all other classes in society. Otherwise organized society would be impossible and instead chaos would reign as long as class divisions exist in society.

At present the interests of the capitalist class are predominant in society. The state is a **capitalist state**.

If we workers want to make the interests of our class predominant we must get possession of this state. Only by this conquest can we transform ourselves from the oppressed into the ruling, yes, the oppressing class. The state is only bad for us as long as it is against us, as long as it remains the **capitalist state**. The state will be good for us the minute we make out of it a **workers' state**.

Even the perturbed conscience of the "opponents in principle" to the state can find consolation. In the revolution they may close their eyes to the awful presence when the terrible workers' state will suppress the "poor" capitalists, and look with hope into the future, in which the capitalist class is completely abolished. With the classes disappearing the hitherto indispensable instrument of suppression, the state, will have nothing left to suppress. Then our shivering "opponents in principle" to the state may open their eyes and rejoice, because by then the objectionable state will have removed itself from their eyes.

But our objectors must beware. "The state" has no tendency to commit suicide. Only the **proletarian state** has. The capitalist state will never commit suicide. On the contrary, its tendency is to perpetuate itself. It must be removed against its will. And the "objection in principle" stands in the way of its removal. So instead of getting rid of the state, the "objectors" merely help to preserve it. Unlike Mephisto our "objectors" become part of that force which desires only the good but always accomplishes the bad.

But all that is leading us too far away from our non-political free speech fights. These free speech fights, our anarcho-syndicalist opponents maintain, are not political action because "We are merely fighting to get our message before the workers." There is nothing abstract about it, they assure us. But neither is there the least abstract in our fight for state power. It is abstract to fight **the state** in principle because "the state" is an abstraction. Free from all abstraction, however, is every fight against **the capitalist state**. The capitalist state is far from being an abstraction. Any police club in a free speech fight or a strike, can convince our anarcho-syndicalist opponents of that.

When the workers fight the capitalists and the state power is continually hitting the workers over their heads with all of the very formidable weapons at its command it will not help the workers the least bit to be opposed to the state power in principle. What is needed is to fight back. The workers either recognize the state as a belligerent power on the side of the capitalist in the class war and organize to conquer this power, or it will conquer the workers for its ally and master, the capitalist class.

The only instrument of the workers to conquer the state is political action under the leadership of a revolutionary political party. We submit this to our anarcho-syndicalist opponents for consideration. And meanwhile we wait, and cogitate: "Can they ever learn?"



Fern, or the chrome deposits of Cuba? These are precisely the battlefields of British and American capital and to talk of an "understanding," even temporary and insecure, in the present international situation, is absurd. Imperialism permits of no understandings; imperialism means bitter competitive struggle, and war is but the continuation of the same struggle with other weapons.

The Proletarian Revolution.

The basic contradiction of imperialism can only be solved thru the destruction of imperialism, thru the supplanting of capitalist anarchy by a consciously planned and rational economy on a world scale, thru the proletarian revolution. Then and then only will it be possible to integrate the undeveloped regions of the earth into the unified system of world economy without the destruction of productive forces without the exploitation and oppression of the masses, without the butchery of millions. Then only will a really unified world economy be possible. This is the moral of the story of the steel-making minerals.

5. BACK INTO THE TRADE UNIONS! IN DEFENSE OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEMANDS OF THE WORKING CLASS!

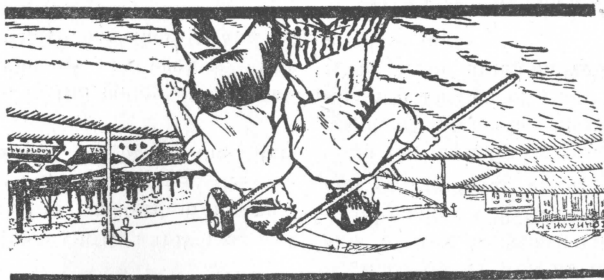
In the trade unions—bitter struggle against any distortion of their class character.

Only by following in the glorious tradition of the First International whose teachings have already lead to the victory of the Russian proletariat and will lead to the triumph of the world proletariat when will the international trade union movement realize these slogans.

The Steel-Making Minerals

(Continued from page 595)

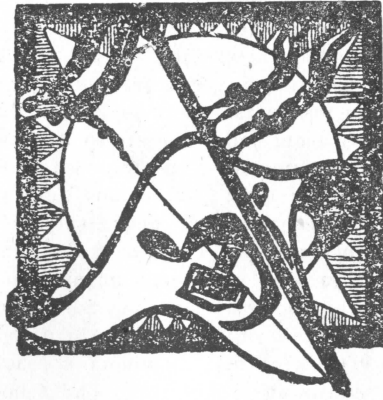
imperialist powers and for the exploitation and oppression of the toiling masses of the "backward" countries. But even this limited "Anglo-American understanding" is too preposterous for words. The rubber situation ought to show Mr. Spurr the possibilities of such an "understanding." What will the understanding be about? About the control of the nickel resources of Canada, tungsten resources of China, the vanadium supply of



of the working class is at the same time the fruit of its fear of it and its proof of servility to the big bourgeoisie. Its political position is no position at all. It is for and against certain questions at the same time, just as the particular interests or even groundless sentiments of the different sections of the party may react to such a question. It is a twentieth century replica of that social-democracy, of which Marx wrote in his *Eighteenth Brumaire*: "The essential characteristic of social-democracy is as follows: Democratic republican institutions are demanded as a means, not for the abolition of two extremes, capital and wage labor, but for the mitigation of their opposition, and for the transformation of their discord into 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. . . . They think that in no other way can society be saved and the class war averted."

When Marx wrote these lines he had not only in mind the Ledru-Rollins of France of 1848, but he foresaw the Abe Cahans, the Victor Bergers and Morris Hillquits of America in 1926.

There is only one immovable and solid rock island in the midst of the unfathomable swamp of the lack of principle of the Socialist Party of America—hated for the proletariat, fear of the bourgeoisie, both synthesized into abject servility to capitalism.



The Socialist Party of America has lost every claim to being a Marxian party. Its theoretical foundation is the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie. Like this latter it hates the proletariat and fears the big bourgeoisie. To curry favor with the big bourgeoisie it tries to deliver the reactionary leadership of American labor, attack and malign the working class of the Soviet Union, their whole working class. Why, then, does Mr. Hillquit and the other leaders of his party, together with the rest of the working class must support Soviet Russia. An attack upon the Soviet Union means an attack upon the Marx to Lenin, page 106).

"A whole-hearted support of Soviet Russia by the advanced workers everywhere is dictated not only by their natural sentimental attachment for the first Socialist republic, but also by their direct class interests." (From

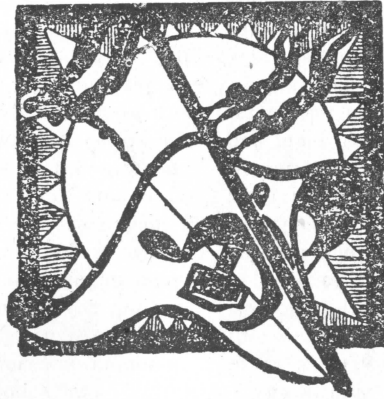
"The Socialist Party long ago pledged its support to the Soviet government. In one of its manifestos of long ago it states: "We, the organized Socialist Party of America, pledge our support to the revolutionary workers of Russia in the maintenance of their Soviet government." Hillquit had the following to say: "It is abundantly clear that a proletarian regime must at all times maintain an efficient and adequate organization to protect its conquests and that it must be particularly alert and determined in the early period of its existence, when counter-revolutionary capitalist attacks are likely to be the most frequent and dangerous.

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"A whole-hearted support of Soviet Russia by the advanced workers everywhere is dictated not only by their natural sentimental attachment for the first Socialist republic, but also by their direct class interests." (From Marx to Lenin, page 106).

The working class must support Soviet Russia. An attack upon the Soviet Union means an attack upon the whole working class. Why, then, does Mr. Hilquit and the other leaders of his party, together with the rest of the reactionary leadership of American labor, attack and malign the working class of the Soviet Union, their government and their leadership?

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Mr. Fitzpatrick is rather impressionistic than analytical in his pages. He does not deal with the exploits and strategy of the over-estimated military campaigns of the first American revolution. He does not chew over the moth-eaten grammar school causes of the first American Revolution. Mr. Fitzpatrick deals with the minutest details of the mechanism and the technique of the Revolution and its fighting forces.

But precisely because the author works with such "small," professorially speaking insignificant details, as Washington's expenses at Valley Forge, the bands of the Continental Army, the why and how of the first American postoffice, the bread and clothes of the revolutionary soldiers, and the Committees of Correspondence and Safety of the Revolutionary War, that one is enabled to see clearly the powerful social forces, the dynamic class interests as the real motivators of this great historical drama known as the first American Revolution.

A New Interest in American History.

The Sesqui-Centennial celebration has been the occasion for the beginning of a new literature dealing with the first American revolution. We are now learning something more about the social milieu, the class relationships, struggles, and basis of the period of the first American Revolution. Books which treated the American revolution in such a serious manner were in the past largely reserved for shelf-habitation. Now, such books are on the move and growingly popular. Mr. Fitzpatrick's book is really a contribution to the "human interest" side of the American Revolution. We would recommend it not so much for its viewpoint or its keen social analysis. We would rather endorse it, despite some shortcomings in this respect, as a book which can only inspire a more active interest in the why and wherefore of our great class struggles of 1776 and thenabout.

Mr. Fitzpatrick has brought to more popular light some very interesting and instructive "petty details and little things," which are keys to some of the largest phases and most important lessons of the first American revolutionary struggles. To the worker who reads the history of yesterday in the light of the great events of today, Fitzpatrick's "The Spirit of the Revolution" is most readable and stimulating.

REVIEWS

"THE STORY OF THE WESTERN RAILROADS," By Robert Edgar Rigel. Published by Macmillan Company, New York. 345 pp.

THE story of the American railroads is a story of capitalist spoilation. It is the best example of primitive accumulation of capital a student of capitalism can possibly find. When the Huntingtons and Hills rose overnight from comparatively have-nothings to the riches of millionaires it is clear that they could not possibly have "earned" their wealth no matter what liberal interpretation one may put on the word earning. Fraud, bribery and corruption was the source of this sudden richness. Thus the story of the Western Railroads, too, is primarily a story of fraud, bribery and corruption perpetrated by the promoters.

Even if one does not want to attack capitalism it is quite a feat to write this story without calling down upon the heads of these spoilers the wrath of the present generation. The author of this book, however, makes a conscientious effort to accomplish this feat. And, as far as accomplishments in this direction are possible, he succeeds.

He is by no means ignorant of the facts or blind to them. He includes many of them in his book. But he does not want the reader to draw any conclusions from these facts that might be inimical to capitalism. The worst he would say is: "There was little doubt in most people's minds that at least a portion of the state aid had been put to improper use." Or, in another place: "The activities of the company in securing this additional aid were not wholly above question."

One of the worst manipulators played the game so shamelessly that even a United States House of Representatives, steeped though it was itself in railroad graft, had to pass a public censure on him. Of this model capitalist the author says: "Up to the time of his death, shortly after the house vote of censure, he was unable to understand wherein he had erred." And of the practices of this gentleman the author declares: "There was no question but what the Credit Mobilier had been used to evade the letter of the law. . . . Such evasion might well have come from the purest of motives." What were these manipulations and what were the motives? The government made tremendous grants on the basis of a contract that the promoters and prospective stockholders invest 100 cents for every dollar of stock issued. The promoters swindled the government into fulfilling its obligations under the contract, though they evaded theirs. They organized a construction company. As the controlling power of the railroad company they voted the construction contracts to themselves, although their prices were from two hundred to four hundred per cent higher than actual cost. Then they accepted stock at



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tionably esthetic and not scientific. We do not wish to be understood as implying that history or biography can have no esthetic values—quite the contrary. But in this case we are dealing, not with an artistically written biography, but with a piece of literature that has considerable biographical and historical value. The dominant theme is esthetic . . .

So—read the book, but not as biography or history. Read it as a brilliant and accurate historical novel. You will enjoy it . . . and learn. —Apex.

STATEMENT

of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the act of Congress of August 24, 1912.

Of The Workers Monthly published monthly at Chicago, Ill., for October 1, 1926.

State of Illinois, County of Cook, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Moritz J. Loeb, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Workers Monthly and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher Daily Worker Publishing Co., 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill Editor, Max Bedacht. Managing Editor, None. Business Manager, Moritz J. Loeb.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) J. P. Cannon, 19 S. Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill. C. E. Ruthenberg, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Jay Lovestone, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are non, so state.) There are none.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is _____ (This information is required from daily publications only.)

MORITZ J. LOEB.

Sworn to and subscribed before this 1st day of October, 1926.

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(My commissison expires May 22, 1928.)

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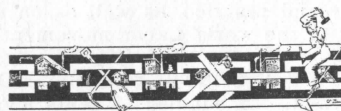
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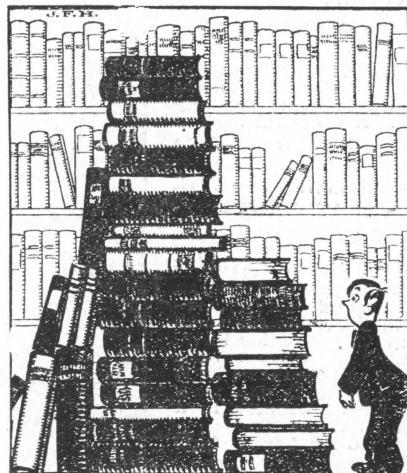
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