

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
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The Fifth Congress of the C. I.

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV,
Chairman, Communist International.

The opening of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International has been fixed for the 5th of June, 1924. More than 18 months have passed since the Fourth Congress, and a number of questions are waiting for settlement.

Program. The Fifth Congress has to finally confirm the program of the Communist International. The first draft of the program was published at the time of the Fourth Congress. During the five years of its existence a number of documents of a fundamental character have accumulated in the archives of the Comintern, such as Lenin's thesis on dictatorship and democracy, the resolutions of the Second Congress and the role of the Communist Party in revolution, the resolution on the national and agrarian questions, etc., which represent the chief component parts of the program. We have, as it were, the bricks; the task ahead is to build a symmetrical structure out of these bricks.

To draw up a document like the program of the Comintern, especially now when our chief architect, Lenin, is no more, is a difficult task, but further postponement is impossible. The Fifth Congress must carry it out. The Congress will have to indorse the programs of the largest of the sections of the Comintern, who should hasten to finish their preparatory work.

The Further Tactics of the Comintern. This question will undoubtedly be discussed in close connection with another point on the agenda. **The World Economic Situation.** The Fifth Congress must sum up the application of the tactics of the United Front during the preceding years. It is quite clear now that these tactics will again be subject to considerable criticism. We must close our eyes to the fact that in the practical application of these tactics they have been more than once distorted in the direction of opportunism. Nevertheless, when the summary is made, the balance will be in our favor. The tactics of the united front remain the correct tactics for the whole epoch. It is necessary only that measures of precaution be taken to prevent their distortion and we must learn to give them the concrete form demanded by the conditions prevailing in any given country. Opportunist dangers to the right, as before, are the chief dangers that threaten the Comintern, but it will be possible to conduct these dangers only if we resolutely repel "Left Wing Infantism." The Comintern is living and acting in the trough of two waves of world proletarian revolution. One wave has passed; the other wave has not yet arisen. Countries like Germany are living thru a period between two revolutions. In such a period, Communists are inevitably called upon to fight simultaneously against liquidatorism from the right and "left" phrasemongering, which frequently is

tantamount to liquidatorism from the "left."

Important Controversial Problems in Various Sections. The most important of the work of the forthcoming Congress will be to investigate controversial questions and fundamental problems which at the present moment are engaging the various sections of the Comintern. In this the chief parties of the Comintern will become closely acquainted with each other, and in this way a single International Communist Party will be forged. There have been many sharp discussions and controversial questions among our principal parties in the interval between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses. Sometimes these questions have been regarded as a "crisis in the Comintern." As a matter of fact there has never been any crisis. Communist parties are built up with tremendous difficulties. One might say that the most powerful section of the Comintern—the Russian Communist Party—in the course of its 25 years of existence, has been in a state of one long continual crisis. As a matter of fact this "crisis" indicates the gradual hammering out of a real steel-like Communist Party. Who imagines that the building up of the Communist Party can proceed as easily as taking a drive along the broad asphalted streets of a European city? Any one who does so shows that he completely fails to understand what a Communist Party is. In the main, during this period the principal sec-

tions of the Comintern have become strengthened and now represent a more homogeneous vanguard of the proletariat than was the case at the time of the Fourth Congress. The Executive Committee of the Comintern is now putting forward seven sections to be dealt with: Russia, Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, England, United States and Japan.

Russia. The Congress will here report on the present economic position of the Soviet Union and will again summarize the experiences of NEP. The Congress will also deal with the results of the discussion within the Russian Communist Party and give its decisive opinion on it.

Germany. The Congress will give its estimation on the controversies within the German Communist Party connected with the October action of the German proletariat. The Congress will undoubtedly estimate the opportunist deviations of the German Communist Party as was given by the Executive Committee of the Comintern, and will also as resolutely oppose the ultra "left" wing in the party which, as a matter of fact, is of a non-Bolshevist tendency, and repel the tactical excesses from which the majority of the German Communist Party are by no means free.

Italy. The Congress will undoubtedly resolve in favor of the immediate fusion of the Communists with the Third Internationalists (Fusionists), and help the Italian Communist Party to commence a more determined fight against Fascism and Social-Democracy.

Bulgaria. The Congress will have to give its estimation of the great events with which the Bulgarian Communist Party has had to deal. The errors committed by the majority of the Bulgarian Communist Party in June, 1923, have now been admitted by that majority. The Congress will have to assist the Bulgarian Communist Party in making good its losses, and carry out the historical mission imposed upon it by the progress of revolutionary events as speedily as possible.

Great Britain. For the first time in the history of the British labor movement the conditions have been created for the establishment of a mass Communist Party in Great Britain. In this sense, what is taking place in the British labor movement at the present time, is of even greater importance than the events in Germany. The Congress will have to do all it can to help to realize the existing possibilities and to convert the present Communist Party of Great Britain into a real mass party.

United States. The American Workers Party is becoming a mass party. The question is confronting it now of its attitude towards the rising petty-bourgeois Third Party and its attitude towards the farmers. The Congress will give full attention to the new problems of the American labor movement, and help the American party to handle the great historical tasks which confront it.

Japan. The Japanese labor movement is only just coming to the front. The cruel persecution to which the Japanese Communists have been subjected hitherto has prevented them from forming a mass Communist Party in Japan. With the participation of the Japanese Communists, a mass workers' and peasants' party is being formed. The Congress will have to deal in detail with the question of the Japanese labor movement.

The question of the **Trade Unions** once again occupies an important place in the work of the Fifth Congress. The more the influence of the Communists in the trade union movement grows, the more furious do the

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SOVIET DELEGATES IN LONDON AT THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN PARLEY--BIGGEST OF YEAR



Delegates to the Anglo-Russian conference in front of the foreign office in London. Left to right (in front): Preobrozhensky, Tomsky, Rakovsky, Khidgr-Allieff, Koututoff and Radchinko, and, below, Mlle. Ostromova (left) and Mme. Malstoff.



Two Women In Delegation

The biggest treaty conference of the year was convened when representatives of Soviet Russia and of the English government met in London to negotiate a trade treaty, and in the words of Premier MacDonald of Britain, "to liquidate the past and

bring about peaceful relations in the future."

The delegates of Russia were Christian Rakovsky, charge d'affaires in London and chief negotiator; Preobrozhensky, assistant commissar of finance; Tomsky, chairman of the Soviet Trade Union; Khidgr-Allieff,

the Turkestan delegate, and Koututoff, of Textile Workers' Union, and Radchinko.

Women were in the Russian party, and two of them loaned valuable aid to the parley. They were Mlle. Ostromova and Mme. Malstoff, secretaries to the delegation.

A PICTURE OF TRADE UNIONISM

By Earl R. Browder

NOTE—The following article by comrade Browder was originally written and published as a preface to the English edition of a recent book by A. Losovsky.

THIS book is the stenographic report of a series of lectures, delivered by A. Losovsky, General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions, before the school of the Russian Communist Party in Moscow, during July and August, 1923. It was published in pamphlet form in the Russian language early this year, and is herewith presented in English.

PROBABLY the most important characteristic of Losovsky's lectures is that, for the first time, there is available a comprehensive picture of the trade union movement from the world viewpoint, which deals not so much with the statics (the unilluminating details of organization and the million variations of program and problems) but rather with the vital living influences at work within the labor movement, the tendencies, the relation of forces and, especially, with the tremendous struggle developing throughout the world since the war by the forces of revolutionary struggle, crystallized in the Red International of Labor Unions, against the class collaboration policies of the old bureaucracy, organized in the Amsterdam International (International Federation of Trade Unions).

It is this world-wide viewpoint upon which the lectures are based that gives the book its greatest value. Such a comprehensive outlook is especially needed in the American labor movement. The trade union movement in this country, originally among the most militant and international in its attitude, has for forty years been stifled by the narrow nationalism, as well as by the jealous craft spirit within the limits of the nation, of the reactionary officialdom headed by Samuel Gompers. To see and to understand that the fundamental problems of the trade unions throughout the world are essentially the same as our own, an understanding which a study of Losovsky's book will certainly give, is to lay the firmest possible foundation—the only possible one—for a broad and powerful revolutionary organization in America.

American Trade Unionism Before The War.

If we were to attempt an adequate review of developments within the American labor movement, as complete and comprehensive as that given by Losovsky for the International, it would require another book of almost equal dimensions. In this brief introduction it is the purpose only to suggest some of the main points of comparison.

In the pre-war period of American trade unionism, three main tendencies may be distinguished; they may be classified as trade unionism, syndicalism, and socialism. Each of these tendencies, although corresponding in a general way to their analogous forces in the European movement, varied in many respects from their counterparts in other countries.

Trade unionism, as a distinct philosophy of the labor movement which concerns itself exclusively with the immediate economic struggle, is adequately characterized by Losovsky in dealing with the world situation. In the International movement this tendency is largely represented by the British and American unions. One important difference in the pre-war development of the two Anglo-Saxon movements, however necessary to an understanding of many present problems, is that while in Britain the trade unions (and trade unionism as a system of ideas) had entered a period of change and development even before the war, in America this process had started much later and under different world conditions. Thus while the British labor movement, reformist to the core though it was, yet was developing independent political action in the British Labor Party and embarked upon projects of amalgamation that broke up the hard and fast concepts of craft unionism, in this same period the American Federation of Labor stood solidly against the slightest

deviation from its classical policies—collaboration in the capitalist parties and strict craft autonomy.

The syndicalist tendency in the world movement has its counterpart in America in the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.) Arising as a protest against the antiquated structure and class collaboration policies of the A. F. of L., on the one hand, and against the parliamentary cretinism of the Socialist Party on the other, this organization played a considerable role in the ideological development of American revolutionists, though a much smaller one in the class struggle itself. Dominated at its birth by a leadership imbued with Marxism, yet early it adopted the anti-political theories of syndicalism. Although the form of this syndicalist doctrine was largely molded by the syndicalist schools of Europe, it was actually based in the social and economic conditions of the western migratory worker of America, the only element of labor that has been permanently in the I. W. W. On its positive side the I. W. W. developed a complete theory of industrial unionism, an ideal plan for reorganizing the labor movement from top to bottom. It is this concept of industrial unionism, necessarily applying centralized organization, which is the chief difference between the I. W. W. and European syndicalism. During the pre-war period the I. W. W. undoubtedly represented the most mili-

conscription of the working class for war and industry, a vehicle for floating war loans among the workers, a machine for delivering rebellious workers to the Department of Justice—in short, to take its place as an open section of the ruling class—without losing its control over the masses, or creating any considerable organized opposition.

Upon the I. W. W., the war had a hattering effect. Permeated by militant rebels who actively fought against participation in the world slaughter, it brought down upon itself all the wrath of American capitalism. But because it was dominated by syndicalist prejudices it was completely unable to form such a well-knit body of men and ideas as could survive such a period of suppression and emerge stronger than ever on account of it. After hundreds of its leading militants had been sent to prison, the I. W. W. rapidly developed into a pacifist, non-resistant organization. It lost not only the bulk of its membership but, more important, it surrendered its position held up until the war, of the most militant section of the American working class.

When America was thrown into the war, the Socialist Party was again torn by its inner contradictions. The St. Louis convention in 1917 was dominated by the anti-war elements. But the right-wing was still in almost complete control of the Party, with the result that its practical activity

ers. This allowed some misunderstanding to occur, so that the confusionist leadership continued to dominate the organization. The result was that thousands of the best rank and file militants left the I. W. W. in disgust at its propaganda against Soviet Russia. The full effects of the favorable reaction towards the Russian revolution on the part of the I. W. W. membership thus failed to obtain expression in the organization as such.

Most profound was the effect upon the Socialist Party of the Bolshevik upheaval. The split which took place in 1919, the formation of the various Communist Parties and groups, and their later integration under the influence of the Communist International, brought a profound change into the left-wing conception of trade union strategy and tactics. At the same time this split eliminated the Socialist Party as even the shadow of an independent factor. Since 1919 the S. P. has steadily and consistently gone to the right, abandoned all pretense even of opposition to Gompersism, and today suffer silently from the insults which "the Grand Old Man" heaps upon them the while he orders them about.

The Birth of the American Left-Wing Movement.

Within the trade unions there had for years been a small group of revolutionists attempting to develop a revolutionary wing therein. In 1912 this group organized the Syndicalist League of North America, which expressed the general tendency of syndicalism but in flat opposition to dual organization, opposing thereto the idea of revolutionary nuclei in the mass unions. This movement after a short but active life, subsided, to appear again in 1916 as the International Trade Union Educational League, which, however, soon expired in the war atmosphere of the time. In 1920 the Trade Union Educational League was formed, marking time for the most part, while it endeavored to bring about unity of program among all the left-wing elements.

It was at this time that the full effects of the Russian revolution upon the American labor movement generally began to show themselves. Under the leadership of the Communist International and later also of the Red International of Labor Unions, the revolutionists of America were freeing themselves from the peculiarly American dogma of dual unionism which had rendered their efforts sterile for a generation. The result was the coming together in a great campaign of left-wing organization and the clarification of program, in the Trade Union Educational League. From the mass trade unions came hundreds of militants hitherto unattached to any revolutionary body on account of the old dual union notions. From the I. W. W. came a group of workers who embodied all the fine traditions of the best revolutionary days of that organization. From the Communist groups that split away from the Socialist Party and were later unified in the Workers Party of America, came the full current of American revolutionary experience and ideology. In the Trade Union Educational League all these elements, comprising every healthy American left-wing tendency, were fused together into the first effective left-wing trade union movement in this country, the American section of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The Red International in America.

In the brief years of its work the Trade Union Educational League has wrought a profound clarification in the entire labor movement. Starting out with a great campaign from coast to coast and in every labor union, for amalgamation and a labor party—slogans expressing the two deepest and most fundamental needs of the American labor movement—the T. U. E. L. has reached the minds of hundreds of thousands of trade unionists and influenced the decisions of at least 2,000,000. From the broad slogans that stir the masses, it has intensively developed the issue of revolutionary unionism until today it represents the

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PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOR IN RUSSIA DURING THE YEARS 1922-23

During 1922-23 productivity of labor has steadily grown from month to month, and while 1921-22 the growth of labor productivity lagged behind the increase in wages, during this year the situation was reversed.

Taking the daily productivity of one worker, for October 1922 as 100, its growth will be expressed as follows:

October, 1922	100
November, 1922	104.5
December, 1922	113
January, 1923	116.8
February, 1923	118.1
March, 1923	124
April, 1923	122.8
May, 1923	132.3
June, 1923	139.1

Thus during eight months the productivity of labor increased by 39 per cent.

tant and class conscious section of the American proletariat.

The Socialist Party as a force in the trade union movement, has played no dominating role in America. When it came upon the scene it found the trade unions already established, with a crystallized leadership that was hostile to Socialism. The impatience of the Socialist with this reactionary trade unionism led not only to the dual unionism which culminated in the I. W. W., but also divided the socialists themselves on the trade union field. The split which divided the Socialist Party from the Socialist Labor Party, one of the issues of which was the latter's policy of dual unionism, did not leave the Socialist Party free to develop as a power in the trade union movement. The socialist left-wing became militant advocates of the I. W. W., while the right-wing, which stood for working within the trade unions, was incapable of developing a real opposition to Gompersism. While the Socialist Party remained, "His Majesty's opposition" in the court of Samuel Gompers during the pre-war period, its opposition was at almost all times very ineffective, it had no trade union program, and was entirely incapable, even when its members gained control of large unions, of effecting the general course of American trade unionism.

Effects of the World War.

The entry of America into the world war brought profound changes in all these groups and tendencies in the American labor movement. The trade unions, during the war and the years immediately following, made great strides forward in membership. The officialdom was largely incorporated into the governmental machinery and occupied a semi-privileged status. "War prosperity" delivered an enormous power into their hands. The bureaucracy was able to become an instrument for the

brought the S. P. few of the benefits of a fighting anti-militarist stand. On the other hand, the St. Louis resolution, after causing the split away of an insignificant group of socialist jingoes, (Spargo, Walling, et al.), brought the S. P. up against the solid wall of Gompers' ironclad control of the trade unions. The socialist leaders in the labor movement quickly made their peace with Gompers. The ideological and organizational struggle within the S. P., between the rank and file militants who stood for active anti-militarism, and the right-wing leadership that wished to accommodate itself to "reality," prepared the ground for the later disintegration of the Socialist Party.

Effects of The Russian Revolution.

The Russian revolution crashed into this situation, upsetting all the old inertias and balances. The masses in the unions responded to it with the most widespread and effective forward movement yet seen. Great strike after strike shook the country. Hitherto-unorganized millions flooded into the unions. For the first time militant leadership upon a large scale was able to appear above the stifling Gompers bureaucracy, as in the steel strike. The masses in the trade unions had been profoundly stirred.

In the I. W. W. the Russian revolution had been greeted with great acclaim. With the development of civil war and the accompanying struggle against anarchist and Menshevik ideology in Russia, a division took place in the I. W. W. The anarcho-syndicalist tendency which, combined with a bastard pacifism, was in control, became definitely antagonistic to the revolution; at the same time a large number of the clearer elements definitely began to shed their anti-political dogmas and to assimilate the lessons of the Russian revolution. The development of this Communist wing in the I. W. W. was retarded by the imprisonment of many of its best lead-

The C. P. P. A. --- A Tower of Babel

By Tom O'Flaherty

MR. Warren S. Stone, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in an interview in the Christian Science Monitor on April 21, denied the authenticity of press reports that the four railroad brotherhoods would throw their support to Robert M. LaFollette, on a third party ticket. Mr. Stone denied giving out any statement on LaFollette and expressed doubts as to the possibility of any third party coalition. The Brotherhood, Mr. Stone declared, will back no candidate for the presidency until after the party nominations have been made.

WHILE Mr. Stone is speaking thusly, officials of the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor were more positive in their statements. They chuckled audibly on learning that the Brotherhood chief had disavowed his endorsement of the Wisconsin senator. "We had a disagreement with them inasmuch as they did not get behind Mr. McAdoo. We took the stand that Mr. McAdoo was the man we could all support. Mr. LaFollette appeared to be their choice. They doubted whether Mr. McAdoo could get the nomination. They had nothing against McAdoo but felt they owed something to Mr. LaFollette.

THE Railway Employees' Department has felt that McAdoo was the man and as far as any propaganda has gone out from individual unions it has been in support of Mr. McAdoo. None needed any prompting on that. We knew our position a long time ago."

THAT Mr. Stone's disavowal of his LaFollette endorsement cannot be taken any more seriously than the sickness of a diplomat nobody will doubt for a moment. Stone is for LaFollette. Should he get the Republican nomination, the Brotherhoods will support the Republican ticket regardless of what the C. P. P. A. decides on July 4. Should LaFollette head a third party ticket, Stone will also support him. Is LaFollette really willing to leave the pastures where he now browses comfortably to head a primitive expedition into the jungles against standpat Republicanism? That is the question. Stone appears to be in doubt.

THE big chief of the Locomotive Engineers changes his mind, but instead of admitting a change of mind he "disavows" his previous decision. Immediately prior to the St. Louis meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, Mr. Stone had decided that he would have no more to do with it. The DAILY WORKER was informed on excellent authority that the Brotherhood chief delivered himself as follows on the C. P. P. A.: "The C. P. P. A. has shot its bolt. I will have nothing more to do with it. It has reached the limit of its usefulness. One of the causes of its failure is the inability of William H. Johnston to prove himself heavy enough for the position of leader in the movement.

MR. Stone had decided that he would not attend the St. Louis conference and that his organization would not be represented. The DAILY WORKER published a news dispatch to that effect. But the Brotherhood was represented there. Why did Mr. Stone change his mind?

FOR one thing, the Doheny \$50,000 oil retainer hit William Gibbs McAdoo, the darling of the Johnston faction, squarely in the eyes immediately before the St. Louis meeting. His supporters in the C. P. P. A. could not very well endorse an oil can, so Stone saw a chance to put LaFollette over. Shortly after the conference however McAdoo supporters gathered from all parts of the country to de-oil Wilson's son-in-law, and among those present were seventeen officials of the 16 standard railroad labor organizations.

HERE is a regular political Tower of Babel. The railroad leaders are divided in their allegiance. They speak in divers' tongues. Two sets of capitalist politicians are bidding for their support. The McAdooites are determined to stand by their friend(?) He

allowed them to organize the railroad employes, during the war and even tho the unions are now shattered by the government, several labor banks' strong treasuries stand as mute testimony to the value of the McAdoo friendship. To parody the lines of a poem: "The banks are still there, tho the unions are gone."

THE labor fakers who dominate the C. P. P. A. are lined up in different camps. They have used the C. P. P. A. as a club over the heads of the capitalist parties. The club was the threat of a third party. But they have no intention of taking on any more political parties. Their historical mission is to be the labor lieutenants of capitalism for a price. The C. P. P. A. so far has enabled them to haggle successfully for a good bargain price for the labor vote. At this time, however, the masses thruout the country are not satisfied to play the role of voting cattle, for the glory and profit of capitalism as well as the profit of the labor fakers. They want a class party that will stand on its own feet and refuse to dicker with capitalist politicians whether labelled Republican, Democrat or Progressive.

THE July 4th conference of the Conference for Progressive Political Action is doomed beforehand. The strongest elements composing it are the railroad organizations and the United Mine Workers of America. The former are divided in their allegiance between LaFollette and McAdoo. The

latter, represented by their officials, are for the Republican Party and John L. Lewis aspires to be a running mate with Strikebreaker Coolidge. He does not care a fig for the C. P. P. A. The American Federation of Labor, officially thru the Gompers machine, will be for the Democratic Party right or wrong. Gompers has an equity in the Democrat Party. George L. Berry is the Gompers candidate for vice-president on the Democrat ticket. The officialdom of the American Federation of Labor is not crazy about a third party. They think as seriously about it as they would of starting a revolution. They are as well satisfied with the present two party system as the capitalists are.

WHEN the C. P. P. A. meets on July 4th, there will be many self-interested groups represented as there are political parties in Germany. Only radicals will be absent. If the dominating groups succeed in getting their demands—or even a small part of them—from the capitalist parties they will probably issue a bulletin on the condition of Mr. LaFollette's political health something like this: "Owing to the condition of Senator LaFollette's health he finds himself unavailable to head a third party movement. His political temperature is around 107. His condition is satisfactory."

THERE will be nothing left for Oswald Garrison Villard to do but go home and suck his pacifist thumb. The Socialist Party may unfurl its

yellow flag and go forth to collect all the votes that have not been cornered by the Ku Klux Klan. The Chicago (Loop) Farmer-Labor Party having nothing else to vote for, may vote for the Democratic candidate as, according to editor Buck of the New Majority only a Democrat has the slightest chance of getting elected this year, and good politicians never "throw away their votes." John Fitzpatrick will say: "It's a perfectly logical but unhappy situation."

THE Conference for Progressive Political Action instead of writing a declaration of independence for Labor on July 4, will probably write its own obituary. The workers of America will not weep over its bier. It has been a harlot on the cross-roads, offering its political charms to the capitalist parties since its foundation. The death of another prostitute will not be a Black Friday for American labor.

WHILE bedlam reigns in the ranks of the C. P. P. A., the great mass convention of the rank and file of the American workers and farmers to be held in St. Paul on June 17, assumes added importance every day. While the July 4 conference of the C. P. P. A. is practically ignored by the capitalist press, the St. Paul convention is given columns of space and the journalistic lackeys of Big Business are daily emptying the vials of their wrath on this menace to the "American constitution." The more our enemies attack it the better. The timid time servers and political trimmers who attend conferences to threaten the capitalist system with pillows will keep away, fearing their presence might put their names on the index expurgatoris of the American Defense Society. The workers and exploited farmers who are determined that labor shall sever all connection with the political parties of capitalism, will be in St. Paul on June 17th. They are convinced that the organization of a Farmer-Labor Party in the U. S. must be the work of the rank and file. The labor business men who sell the labor vote for a living will be in Cleveland on July 4th to add another chapter to their career of treason against the interests of the American workers. June 17th will prove a red letter day in the history of American labor.

Man Is Going Over the Earth

By OSCAR KANEHL.

Put chains on our hands.
Our mouth will sing.
Imprison us.
We shall be free.
Kill us.
We rise from the death.
Man is going over the Earth.
Before whom kings are fleeing.
Thrones are falling.
Motley uniforms and blank stars are getting bleached in masks.
Burgers are bursting.
Priests are stealing away from the pulpits.
Generals are shooting themselves.
Soldiers are throwing away their arms.
Tattlers become dumb. Boundary-posts fall down.
States are breaking.
Power is budging.
Man is going over the Earth.
Bare. Young.
Good. Loving. Embracing.
Sun rises. Blessing flourishes.
Follow him. Create with him. Joyous like him.
Work begins. Earth becomes fruitful. Sown with love.
All is ours. Without possession.
Divide with me,
Brother man.

Translated by Paul Acel.

Russia and Germany

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Scott Nearing on Party Policy

DEAR COMRADE FOSTER: You have asked me to state my position regarding the policies of the Trade Union Educational League, and I am very glad to have an opportunity to do so, because I am convinced that the tactics followed by the left wing of the American labor movement during the next few years will have an important effect on the future of the class struggle in the United States.

YOUR article in the November Liberator, entitled "The A. F. of L. Convention"; your article in the January Labor Herald, called "An Open Letter to John Fitzpatrick," and your "Industrial Report" to the Workers Party convention all are based on certain assumptions, which I would summarize as follows:

1. That the decision of the Portland convention to expel Dunne, and the refusal of the convention to indorse a labor party and to indorse Russian recognition represented the sentiment of the labor autocracy and not the sentiment of the rank and file;
2. That the rank and file would have acted differently had they had an opportunity to register their opinions on these issues;
3. That there is a revolutionary ferment among the masses of American workers.

ON the basis of these assumptions, how would you explain certain outstanding events in the American labor movement during the past few years? Such events as:

1. The presence of Tom Mooney in jail after it has been demonstrated and asserted by representatives of the Federal Government that he was convicted on faked testimony, and after the repeated protests of the more progressive groups in the American labor movement?
2. The presence of Sacco and Vanzetti in a Massachusetts jail under circumstances almost as disgraceful to American labor as those surrounding Mooney's continued imprisonment?
3. The indictment, prosecution and conviction of members of the Workers Party in western Pennsylvania; of members of the I. W. W. in California; of members of the U. M. W. of A. in West Virginia; of the Michigan Communists? The latest reports show 114 political prisoners in state prisons, "serving sentences solely for the expression of opinion or for membership in radical organizations."
4. The discrediting of Alex Howat in the national convention of the United Mine Workers; the overwhelming defeat of the T. U. E. L. policies in the conventions at Scranton and at Decatur, after the questions had been threshed out in the local unions?
5. The ease with which the Pressmen's Union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and other organizations have been able to throw out the left wing elements without any considerable protests from the membership at large?
6. The very heavy losses in the membership of such unions as the machinists, in which there had been no considerable internal friction?
7. The apathy and indifference with which the rank and file of American workers have regarded the "open shop" drive; their eagerness to be 100 per centers along with Judge Gary and John Rockefeller, and their unwillingness to make a stand against the exploitation and imperialism in which the American rulers are so deeply involved?

WHILE I do not for a moment pretend that I know the answers to all of these questions, I should like to present an explanation which I think fits many of them. My assumptions concerning the present situation in the United States are quite different from yours. Let me begin my answer to these questions by stating the situation in the United States as I see it.

1. There is no parallel anywhere in modern labor history to the present situation in the United States, because in no other country (with the possible exception of Germany during the war) was a large and important labor movement so completely

THE article on this page, containing a criticism of the policy and tactics of the Workers' (Communist) Party of America, made by Scott Nearing in a letter to William Z. Foster, is published so that party members and others interested may have a complete knowledge of the viewpoint of the tendency in the revolutionary movement of America represented by the writer of the letter.

IN the next issue of the magazine will be published the reply to Scott Nearing by William Z. Foster in which the arguments of Nearing are refuted and the official position of the party on the questions raised by Nearing set forth in detail.—Editor.

taken into camp by the opposition as the American labor movement has been taken into camp by the chambers of commerce.

- a. This has been done, first of all, by getting hold of the labor leaders—giving them tips on the stock market; offering them government jobs; "getting together" with them in various community activities; giving them important posts inside the political organizations of the two old parties.
- b. It has been done, in the second place, by lining up the rank and file throughout the most complete system of propaganda, lies, diversions, amusements, excitements and thrills that the world has ever produced. The whole machinery of education is in the hands of the business interests and they do not hesitate to use the newspaper or the movie to put their interpretation on events, to suppress information or to deliberately misrepresent the facts. Take Russia as an instance; or take the I. W. W. They have been shamelessly and deliberately lied about until the rank and file of the American workers and farmers have come to believe what they are told.
- c. It is for this reason that the rank and file of the A. F. of L. would have supported their representatives in the Portland convention. In fact, I am of the opinion that if there were any way to measure the situation exactly, Gompers would be found on the left, and not on the right of the A. F. L. rank and file. I am well aware that this is not the accepted opinion of the left, but I am basing the judgment on a very considerable contact with members of the organization.

d. If I am at all correct in this assumption, it will go far toward explaining the apparent apathy in the American labor movement—it is not apathy at all, but tacit consent. Remember that most American workers have gone to the public school; that they read the papers and magazines published almost exclusively by big business interests; that they quite generally belong to the churches, and that they almost universally vote the old party tickets. (In the last presidential election 96 percent of the total vote was cast for Harding and Cox, and 0 percent for Debs and Christianson).

e. According to this interpretation, not only the officials of the unions, but also the rank and file are committed to the present economic order. They believe in it, and in any crisis they will support it.

2. **D**OES this mean that there is no revolutionary sentiment in the United States? Not at all. It does mean, however, that it is not typically American. The native born American who believes in fundamental change is the exception and not the rule.

- a. American opinion is still founded on the life of the village and on the farm. Even those who have moved into the cities have hopes that some day they will be able to own a little place in the country and retire to it.
- b. The migratory workers have pretty well given up the idea, and they constitute the largest single revolutionary nucleus in the United States today. Unfortunately, however, the very nature of their work makes it treble difficult to organize them, and the 40,000 members reported by

the I. W. W. probably does not represent more than two or three percent of the total number of migratory workers.

c. The average skilled craftsman still looks forward to home ownership under the present system. He even believes that if he does not succeed in getting out of the ranks of labor, his son may, so he sends him off to college, and trains his daughter to teach school.

d. The revolutionary sentiment in the United States is strong among certain foreign-born workers—particularly among those of Slavic origin, who have been most emotionally aroused by events in Russia. The new immigration laws will be so adjusted, however, that the supply of these North Europeans will be heavily cut down, and those that are admitted will be watched with hawk-like care.

e. Revolutionary sentiment is strong in certain districts, such as Butte, Seattle, and in parts of New York and Chicago. In most of these cases, however, the strength is in the foreign-born districts, and the sons and daughters of such foreign-born revolutionists usually become ultra-respectable American patriots.

f. Revolutionary sentiment is strong in certain needle trades, railroads, machinists and miners' locals. Again, however, it centers in the Slavic and other foreign-born elements.

g. I am assuming, as you see, that there is no considerable revolutionary sentiment among the masses of American born workers and farmers. I realize that they are discontented, but they assume that "times will pick up" under the present system. There are, of course, many exceptions—readers and thinkers who have kept up with the world and who have not been fooled by the propaganda. But they are relatively few. In my judgment, whatever revolutionary sentiment there is in the country today cannot be described as in any sense "American mass-sentiment."

3. **T**HOSE of us who believe that there must be radical changes in the economic and social life of the United States therefore find ourselves in a position where the radical sentiment must be created. Hence our task involves first, education and second, organization, third activity. I believe the farmers of the United States are as much in need of economic education as were the workers and farmers of Russia when Lenin began his work with them around 1885.

THIS line of argument, as you see, places us in quite opposite camps when it comes to the tactics that should be pursued. Let us suppose, first of all, that you are right in your assumptions. In that case:

1. The sentiment is here. All that is needed is an organization that will take possession of it. The line of procedure is not from education, thru organization to action; but from organization, direct to action.

2. This organization can be spread very rapidly; can be mobilized quickly; and can strike, almost immediately, for specific results.

3. The American revolutionary movement should therefore extend its front with the idea of gaining immediate and practical successes, among which might be named the splitting of the old parties at the coming election (say by the nomination of LaFollette); the winning of the labor movement to a revolutionary program; and the establishment of a very large and effective political organization representing both the farmers and the workers.

4. It was on that assumption that you proceeded with the organization of the 1919 Steel Strike. What happened? You answer ("Labor Herald," Jan. 1924, Pg. 6) "We lost the big steel fight. This was a tremendous disaster; not only because it wrecked

(Continued on Page 5.)

"THE FLIVVER HAS SAVED THIS COUNTRY REAL TROUBLE."

President Vaclair of the Baldwin Locomotive Works. Reported in
The Daily Worker April 21, 1924
By ERNEST BRADY

The humble harmless little Ford,
The poor man's willing hoss
Is now a social favorite
For the service it gives the boss.

When a worker takes the country air
O'er many a road and river,
He's safe and sane as he can be
Within his jolly flivver.

Altho he drives with noise and crash
In a way to cause comment,
His trusty Ford protects him
From the sparks of discontent.

At summer picnics prone he lies.
His belly filled with grub,
The bosses watchdog by his side
Shepherding Henry Dubb.

Altho his little engine
Will play him many pranks,
His bumpers they will shield him
From Communist cranks.

When on the trail he stops to eat
And give his car a drink,
He stops for air, he stops for gas,
But never stops to think.

The boss he hopes with fervour
That's not to be despised
That soon the proletariat
Will all be flivverized.

'Tho Revolution stalks the earth
And rebels agitate,
The worker in his flivver
Is the bulwark of the State.

But when the worker wisdom gets
And seizes all machines,
'Tween you and me, his choice will be
Not Fords, but limousines.

EVERY PARTY MEMBER MUST DO HIS DUTY

By A. BIMBA.

EVERY member of the Workers Party should realize that the Communist movement of the United States is on the eve of great and important developments. We are in the midst of a campaign for a class Farmer-Labor Party. We hope that our energies in this great work will not be wasted and that the great Farmer-Labor convention of June 17th, will be the second great step forward in the formation of a class Farmer-Labor Party, the first step having been made at the convention of last July, at which the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was organized.

I met quite a few comrades who seem to be discouraged with the whole Farmer-Labor movement. They say: "Look here, haven't we been told last year that the July convention would create a real mass Labor Party? And now we have to work for another convention and hear the same phrases repeated again. Where will be the end of it? When will your prophesy come true?"

THESE comrades are disillusioned. And the reason is that they had started from an entirely wrong viewpoint; they failed to understand, at the very beginning, the real process of the social revolution in America. They thought that it will come about in a very simple way. This year we have a convention and organize a Labor Party and next year we will be busy setting up the soviets. But instead of that, we have to speak and prepare for another convention with the same view in our minds, that is, with the view of organizing a mass Farmer-Labor Party. Isn't that enough to be disillusioned?

IT is an absolutely mistaken idea to think that the Farmer-Labor Party will be organized in such an easy and simple way. It will be quite a long and painful process. It may take years of gradual development. The last July convention made the first step in this direction. The convention of June 17th, will be another great step toward the same goal. And we may be sure in advance that it will take a third and fourth convention till we will be able to say: "At last the workers and exploited farmers are organized politically as a class and are effectively resisting the onslaught of their masters on the political field."

THE process of the development of a mass Farmer-Labor Party in this country will be protracted also because of the fact that the enemies

of this movement are very strong and numerous. The employing class is directly and openly fighting it. It is natural and we cannot expect anything else from them. But this movement is also opposed by the trade union bureaucracy. Mr. Gompers and his gang manage to keep away the industrial workers from independent political action much more effectively than the master class itself. They hold the organized workers in their clutches and are keeping them there very tightly. None of the great international unions of the American Federation of Labor are as yet ready to get rid of Mr. Gompers' political policy and put their faith with the Farmer-Labor management for independent political action on the part of the working masses. The Railroad Brotherhoods are being kept in the tail of the capitalist parties thru the

so-called "Conference for Progressive Political Action," just as effectively as the internationals in the A. F. of L. So far, the Farmer-Labor Party movement is entirely a rank and file movement. The official leaders of the workers are fighting it tooth and nail. And if for no other reason, this fact alone is sufficient to prove the importance of the Communists in the movement. We are directly connected with the rank and file, nay, we are part and parcel of the rank and file. We are organized on a national scale. We are the most active element in the labor movement. We have certain influence among the masses. Therefore, we are in a good position to render the Farmer-Labor movement great service. Hence we have great responsibilities.

EVERY member of the Workers Party must realize that. He (or

she) must understand that the success or failure of the movement will, to a very great extent, depend upon our activities. Therefore, we must spare no energy or time in the campaign for the June 17th Convention, to make it a success.

NO comrade can remain indifferent to this campaign of our party and continue to call himself a Communist. The success of the Farmer-Labor Party movement means so much to the Communist movement and to the labor movement of the United States in general that no class-conscious worker can say that he is sincerely working for the emancipation of the working class if he, in one form or another, does not actively participate in the present campaign of the Workers' Party. Those comrades who are members of the trade unions or other workers' organizations, should energetically work there in order to get them behind the June convention. Even if we do not succeed in obtaining their formal approval of the Farmer-Labor movement, still we will have done our duty because we have raised the question at their meetings and defended the idea of a Farmer-Labor Party. Today we failed, tomorrow we will succeed. The conditions are working for our final success. They are pushing forward the working class.

Only a few weeks are left till June 17th. It will be a historical day for the labor movement of this country. The enemies of the working class are working day and night to make it a failure, we Communists and all class-conscious workers and exploited farmers must work with still greater enthusiasm for its success.

Wants Good Articles To Combat Religion

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

To the Daily Worker: Enclosed please find money order for 1 year's subscription.

I am glad that the editor of the paper, would like to get views of the readers of this great revolutionary labor paper. I would like to give my view. It seems to me that this paper does not, or fails possibly to expose religion which is the opium of the masses. I would like to read an article once in awhile, showing how religion was shattered by men like Ingersoll, etc.

Long live the First Workers' government.

ISRAEL JOSEPHSON.

International Acclamation Given Anatole France On 80th Birthday



Anatole France (left) with a friend at the public celebration of his birthday.

Public acclaim of proportions rarely accorded a living writer was given Anatole France, critic, novelist and satirist, who is recognized as one of the greatest literati of the age, on his eightieth birthday. Congratulatory messages poured in from all over the world, while in Paris befitting ceremonies in his honor were arranged with representatives of all nations participating. The dean of French writers was born Jacques Anatole Thibault and took the name of Anatole France after he began writing.

SCOTT NEARING ON PARTY POLICY

(Continued from Page 4.)

the steel unions, but, what was infinitely more important, it destroyed a much greater plan." That is exactly the point! An organization cannot stand too many defeats. Napoleon marched only once into Russia, but that once was enough to wreck his fortunes. The radical movement in the United States, following your policies, is marching toward its Moscow. When your front is sufficiently extended, and you are well cut off from your reserves, the enemy will annihilate you, as they annihilated your Steel Strike Organization five years ago.

NOW let us suppose that my assumptions concerning the American situation are correct. Then the revolutionary movement must:

1. Realize that its available clientele together is small, no thought of leadership of masses and highly localized, and rendered in part ineffective by its foreign admixtures.

2. Aim to hold this clientele together at all hazards; to preserve its morale and efficiency; to train it in effective and co-operative activities; to teach it to trust itself; to try it and discipline it until it becomes a really effective working force; and during all of this time to avoid decisive struggle which will almost surely wreck the organization.

3. Husband the resources of the organization carefully; admit members only after long probation and

after careful scrutiny; making each move with the idea that the struggle is being waged against immense odds, in a hostile territory, and against skilled generalship.

Take in Worker—Assail

4. Expand the organization and its work slowly; taking no step that will unnecessarily expose it to destruction; making no move that will enable the enemy to deal a crushing blow.

5. It is not "radical" to build rapidly. It is radical to build fundamentally, and it is fundamental building that the movement needs in the United States.

THE most serious blunder of the radical movement in the United States during recent years is that it has assumed a following that does not exist. Consequently, you have tried to do, in a few months, what it will take years, and perhaps decades to accomplish. The radical movement has taken on the nature of a mass meeting, when the times call for a careful course of elementary, high school, and university training. Rome was not built in a night.

JOHN Pepper writes in his labor party pamphlet, as though he had behind him a trained, disciplined body of militants, a hundred thousand strong. At a pinch, he might rally ten thousand, but I doubt whether he has five thousand that he can rely upon.

THE Theses published in the "Worker" of Dec. 1, 1923 would be sound

if the Workers Party had 250,000 militant and disciplined English-speaking American citizens upon whom it might depend to carry through the program. But the "Worker" for Jan. 12, 1924 reports the total membership of the Party as 15,233, of whom "at least 50 per cent is an English speaking membership." If all of these members could be counted upon—and of course they cannot—the total working strength behind the program would be somewhere between seven and eight thousand. On this basis, if the Workers Party enters the May 30th convention (now set for June 17th—Ed. Note), nominates a man like LaFollette, and campaigns for him, its position will be misunderstood by its own membership; its militance will be dissipated; its members will be discredited with the labor movement; its candidates will be crushingly defeated, and the Party will lose itself in the maze of American politics.

Our difficulty to balance our program so stated, viz., still compliment each other.

EVEN supposing that LaFollette should get a heavy vote, as Roosevelt did in 1912, with the aid of many good Socialists, who were out to split the old parties and to spread the "faith," the same thing would happen in 1928 that happened in 1916. The workers who broke away in 1912 were back voting for the old parties in 1916, because they were not intelligent voters but protest voters, who ceased to

protest as soon as their immediate cause of complaint was removed. The same result followed the heavy Hillquit vote of 1917 in New York City.

A HIGHLY intelligent and disciplined body of workers should be able to support a stalwart upholder of the established order like LaFollette and then come back to the Workers Party without having their faith and their enthusiasm shattered. Since you have no such body of workers at your disposal, by such tactics you would be simply squandering and dissipating the small group that you do now control.

WHERE a revolutionary movement faces a vast wall of ignorance and opposition like that which now exists in the United States, it must preserve stern integrity, strict discipline and live revolutionary ideals. Otherwise it will not last for a decade.

Isolation.

LET me sum the matter up in this way:

1. As a matter of economics, I agree with you and with Pepper.

2. I am just as anxious as you are to see a real left-wing movement develop in America.

3. As a matter of tactics, you and he are following a policy based on Russian experience, which is quite unfitted to cope with the situation you confront in the United States, and which will drive your party to ruin if you pursue it.

(Signed) SCOTT NEARING.

THE OFFENSIVE IS ON

By Alexander Bittelman

THE offensive against June 17th, is in full swing. All forces of reaction, every sworn enemy of labor and of the exploited farmers: capitalists, labor fakery and enemies of progress in general—everything is being mobilized and set at work to defeat the convention of June 17th. The reason? Simple enough. To prevent the organization of a class-party of workers and farmers.

THEY hate it. They fear the mere sign of it. They simply refuse to believe that such a "monstrosity" as a class-party of workers and farmers is at all possible. But at the same time, they take no chances. They are hard-boiled and practical. Experience to them is not a dead letter. They have learned from the past six or seven years that things seemingly impossible are of a sudden become a reality. Hence, the redoubled attacks, the enormous denunciations, and the whole renewed offensive against the June 17th convention—the event which promises to open a new chapter in the history of the class-struggle in America.

THE attack comes from three quarters. First, in the line of attack stand the reactionary officials of the trades unions. Secure in its black armor of trickery, wire-pulling and terrorism, Gompersism incarnate is stepping heavily along the warpath of reaction desperately trying to ward off the day of political liberation of the American working class. This gang of betrayers and double-crossers knows too well on which side its bread is buttered. They have realized none too soon what the success of a Farmer-Labor Party will mean for their domination in the American labor movement. Hence, their unbounded hatred, the unscrupulous and treacherous maneuvering of Gompers and his kind against anything and everything that may lead to independent political action by the workers and poor farmers.

NEXT comes the crowd of July 4th. It's a motley crowd, this C. P. P. A. Based upon one of the most powerful sections of the American labor movement, and driven to action by the crying needs of tens of thousands of workers organized in the railroad industry of the country, yet the policies and practices of the C. P. P. A. are being crested and shaped by a group of leaders which is as foreign and hostile to the class interests of labor as are the capitalists themselves.

AND really, here is a chance that may not repeat itself in years. The working masses are restless. The poor farmers, large numbers of them, are definitely opposed to the continued domination of capital in the governmental affairs of the country. The political parties controlled by the capitalists are discredited and demoralized to a very large extent. In addition to this, there is already on foot a strong movement to pull out of the two old parties and to make in the direction of a new party. There is also in existence—and this is the most gratifying and promising feature of the whole situation—a movement toward a class-party of workers and poor farmers.

AS if history had predetermined that this be the year of the great event, all objective forces that are operating within the framework of our social life at this moment, are bent in the direction of a class party of workers and farmers.

Under these conditions, what other duty have leaders of labor than to take firm hold of the situation and to push developments consciously and persistently in the direction of such a party? Clearly, this is the supreme duty of the hour. But the leaders of the C. P. P. A. think otherwise. Inasmuch as there is any common thought at all between them, they seem to be determined at all costs, to prevent or at least cripple the June 17th convention. Their official organ "Labor" has launched an attack against June 17th, which not even the capitalist press would be able to surpass. The call has been issued to ignore and boycott the June 17th convention. Why?

WELL, this brings us to the main-spring, fountain-head and real spiritual leadership of this renewed offensive against June 17th. We refer to the capitalists and their press. Need we say here again that the capitalists do not want a Farmer-Labor Party? Must we take new pains to prove it? Of course, they don't. Capitalism in America is quite well satisfied with the present two-party system. This show democracy of ours has been functioning pretty effectively as an organ of capitalist class oppression, partly because of this two-party system. If this is so, then why should our masters desire a change? And should a change become inevitable, least of all, will our masters then permit the formation of a class-party of workers and farmers. Not on your life, if they can prevent it.

HENCE, the renewed vigorous offensive against June 17th. And

what is the excuse? Well, the old thing, the Communists. At all the cross roads leading to the convention of June 17th, the capitalist press has put up the danger-signal: "Stop! Look! Listen! The Communists are out to dominate the convention of June 17th." The capitalist press knows better, of course. It knows very well that the large mass-movement of workers and farmers which is headed toward a class-party is by far not a Communist proposition. The kept press also knows that if this movement were now ripe for Communist "domination" (read: permeated with Communist spirit and ideology), its immediate aim might have been not a Farmer-Labor Party, but a workers' and farmers' government, or, still better, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

THE capitalists and their servants know all this very well. But the cry of "Communist domination" is being raised and propagated just the same in the hope that someone might take the thing seriously and keep away from the 17th. However, it does not look as if this trick is going to succeed. The June 17th convention has already captured the imagination of large masses of workers and poor farmers. These masses know that the Communists are in it and yet they don't get nervous over the fact. Most of them accept the Communists into the partnerships of political struggle against capital not because they already accept the Communist program and principles, sorry to say, but because the Communists are the most sincere and determined fighters for independent political action and for a close alliance between the workers and poor farmers, e. i., a Farmer-Labor Party. That's the main reason why the capitalist-Gompers-C. P. P. A. bunk about Communist domination will have no effect upon those whose very existence depends upon the successful consummation of June 17th.

MEANWHILE, the movement is proceeding ahead. Within the last few weeks steps have been taken in a number of states to bring about the formation of state Farmer-Labor parties, which will participate as such in the June 17th convention. Such parties are now in the process of organization in New York, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois. The existing state Farmer-Labor parties in the north-west and in the west have either already become part of the June 17th Convention thru representation on the Arrangements Committee or else have endorsed the call to the convention

and will send delegates to it. As far as the organized Farmer-Labor Party movement is concerned, the situation is as bright and hopeful as one could desire.

THE energies of those who favor June 17th, must now be concentrated on local unions, labor fraternal organizations and other organizations of workers and poor farmers. As we see it, the work of securing endorsement of and participation in the June 17th convention is primarily a job of political education, which means that success depends to a large extent, if not wholly, upon the way in which the issue is presented.

How should the issue be presented? Precisely as it has been shaped and presented to us by the actual development of the class-struggle in the United States up-to-date, that is, as June 17th versus July 4th.

JUNE 17th cannot be understood separate and apart from July 4th. Moreover, one's estimation of and attitude toward June 17th is contingent upon a proper analysis and understanding of July 4th. It is therefore, absolutely imperative that the campaign in favor of June 17th be conducted and fought out in this manner.

Independent political action. A working and fighting alliance between the workers and poor farmers. A class political party to fight the battles of the oppressed classes against the domination of capital. That's what June 17th stands for.

ON the other hand, July 4th. What does it stand for?

If the day is won by some of the presidents of the railroad unions, it will be McAdoo on the ticket of the Democratic party. If the decision goes to another section of the C. P. P. A., it may mean LaFollette as an independent or as the head of a middle-class liberal party. There is also the possibility of one part of the C. P. P. A. endorsing a regular republican. If the forces are divided more or less evenly, there may be no decision at all as far as the presidential elections are concerned, and locally the continuation of the old C. P. P. A. policy of supporting "good men" on the tickets of the capitalist parties. That's what the C. P. P. A. and July 4th stand for.

IF you happen to want and strive for a new day in the American labor movement, don't waste your energy on July 4th. You wouldn't get it there. Better turn your eyes, and mind, and devotion to June 17th, and by active participation in the movement help along in the struggle for a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

A PICTURE OF TRADE UNIONISM

(Continued from Page 2.)

organized struggle within the unions against every phase of capitalistic influence and bourgeois ideology. While it battles for the formation of an all-embracing farmer-labor party, to express the broad political struggle of the toiling masses at the present moment of development, it is at the same time rallying the smaller groups of conscious revolutionary workers to the more bitter and intense struggle against the subtler forms of class collaboration. It is no accident that the T. U. E. L. is at once a leading factor thruout the labor movement in the struggle for a labor party, in which millions are enlisted, and at the same time is organizing the resistance to the nefarious "B. & O." class collaboration scheme of the railroad union bureaucrats, to the poisonous effects of which the workers are only beginning to be aroused.

Of course the tremendous progress made by the Trade Union Educational League, in establishing the left-wing as a power in the trade unions, has not been unopposed. Long before the bureaucrats generally realized what menace the T. U. E. L. was to their comfortable swivelchair life, the old fox Gompers had sounded the alarm. As the left-wing campaigns shook the labor movement and registered success after success in almost every leg-

islative gathering of the working class, the officialdom took alarm and rallied every force of the union machinery, the capitalist press, and the State. The Federal Government was used in an attempt to railroad Foster to prison, along with 70 other trade union militants and Communists. The capitalist press has teemed with organized and inspired propaganda against the left-wing. The union journals have been full to overflowing with denunciation and provocation against the T. U. E. L. militants. And, direct from the Amsterdam International, headquarters of reaction in the world's labor movement, has been imported the policy of expulsions and splits against the left-wing.

Space will not permit even the briefest review of the development of the American left-wing movement in the trade unions. Those who have missed reading "The Labor Herald," monthly organ of the Trade Union Educational League since March, 1922, can find the rich experiences of these few years embodied therein. Back numbers and bound volumes can be obtained from the League office. Just as this book of Losovsky's is necessary to everyone who would understand the world's labor movement today, so is "The Labor Herald" necessary to every left-wing unionist who wishes to be an effective participant in the great revolutionary struggle now going on for the leadership of

the American labor movement.

Altho the American class struggle has so far developed the most primitive trade unionism, in ideology and organizational form, yet the struggle itself, in the direct clashes with the employing class, its private armed forces and the State, has been more bitter and violent than in perhaps any other country previous to the revolutionary period. The reactionary leadership and antiquated program and structure of the American labor movement could not prevent the giant forces generated by American capitalism from coming to expression in great struggles. It is enough to cite Homestead, Pullman, Ludlow, Mc-

Kees Rocks, Lawrence, Mesaba, the Steel Strike, Herrin, West Virginia, and the whole history of the coal miners, to understand that the American working class contains within itself the forces of proletarian revolution corresponding to the productive forces of American Capitalism, the greatest in the world. Delayed in coming to expression by the peculiar conditions of American social development, the forces of revolution in the American trade union movement will be all the more sweeping and rapid in their development, all the more decisive and relentless, when the chains of capitalist ideology, of reformism, of Gompersism, are finally broken.

"HAIL, HAIL THE GANG'S ALL HERE" BUT ELEPHANT DUCHESS IS DEAD

GREENWICH, Conn.—Masons and Knights of Columbus sat down together at a banquet in the Masonic Temple here and joined in singing "Hail, Hail, the Gang's All Here." The Knights were guests of the Masons.

Fred W. Upham, member of the Republican National Committee, was offered the remains of Duchess, Chicago elephant, who died suddenly. "The G. O. P. wants live elephants, not dead ones," Upham declared.

NEW YORK.—Working as a conductor on a suburban train here, Daniel Horton has travelled a distance equal to eighty trips around the world. His fellow workers announced today Horton has passed the two million mile mark.

On the Eve of the French Elections

By
Charles Rappoport

At present we are only at the beginning. The electoral exchange of compliments is to be continued in the same tone between the hostile brethren of the bourgeois block, who, at bottom, have the same ideas, the same hate of revolution and of Communism, but who possess divergent electoral appetites and interests.

For the Communist Party the task is not only to take note of these blows and to derive profit from them. It must, in the first place, unmask all the bourgeois parties and their conceptions, setting out with full details a faithful record of their stupidities and of their crimes.

First let us cast a general glance over the political chessboard and the large parties engaged in the fight. For the moment we will pass over the parties "standing outside" and all kinds of malcontents of the latest fashion, seeking for social position and parliamentary seats.

There then remain three large parties, representing three large social classes, striving with their utmost means to attain power.

1. The Party of the Bloc National, representing a nondescript coalition of capitalist greed and interests.

2. The Democratic Party (Radical-Socialists) represents the middle and petty bourgeoisie (non-socialist peasants, small annuitants, small shopkeepers, all kinds of brokers, and those members of the liberal professions who have not abandoned them-

selves to the reaction.) This middle and petty bourgeoisie is menaced with irreparable ruin. And during critical moments flies to the opposition in the full hope of re-establishing itself with the aid of parliamentary power and of credits.

3. The Party of the Working and Peasant Class. While waiting for the full development of class consciousness, we are—unfortunately—obliged to consider as one of the parties of the working class, the Socialist "Party" (S. F. I. O.), which still has in its ranks misled proletarians, credulous peasants and exasperated petty bourgeois. Tomorrow it will confound itself with the Radical-Socialist Party, which is neither radical nor Socialist. The day after tomorrow all the elements of the left will assume the Socialist label, omitting the prefix "radical," which, since it extends from Perchot to the editors of the "Lanterne" and of the "Rappel," has lost all serious significance. At such time, the Socialist Party, section of the "International of the Royal Ministers," as stated by the citizen Barthélemy Mayeras, one of the distinguished members of this same quasi-international, will lay all its cards on the table, will throw off its mask and proclaim itself a party of the counter-revolutionary order.

The situation will become clear and definite. The workers and peasants' class will be represented solely by the Communist Party, section of the Communist International.

The three parties (Bloc National, Radical Party, Socialist Party), whatever they may be saying and doing, have common features, common interests and even a common mentality.

First of all, they have a common foe: the Revolution, and its Party, Communism. Beginning with M. Poincaré, including M. Herriot, right up to Blum-Paul Faure, they have a horror of the revolution, not of the word, but of the thing itself. For these three parties, the revolution is an accomplished fact, or, according to the classic formula of reformism, is accomplishing itself every day by means of reforms. For these three parties the question is how to seize power by means of the parliamentary, of the legal method.

The Socialist Party, having once attained power in France, will repeat the same acts, the same gestures, as were performed by its "brother parties" of Germany with Ebert-Noske-Scheidemann, of Sweden with Branting, of Belgium with Vandervelde, of England with Ramsay MacDonald. This is not a hypothesis, a supposition, a polemical slogan. These are facts which strike the eye. The Hamburg Socialists have been governing, are governing and will be governing the capitalist society on behalf of and for the profit of the capitalist order.

The bourgeoisie, particularly the stupid, ignorant and terrified French bourgeoisie, will need a bit of time before it can grasp the fact that it is

to its interest to clear out the Bloc National, which is ruining and rendering ridiculous the capitalist regime in itself, and that the radical party in itself is without backbone. As instinct of self-preservation opens the eyes of the blindest, so even that great baby, the French bourgeoisie, will realize in time that its best game-keeper is the party which calls itself Socialist, which at one time played the role of poacher in the struggle between the propertied and non-propertied classes.

There is still another fact welding together these three parties and making of them a block of capitalist conservatism, in spite of temporary divisions. This is the so-called national interest, so-called national defense. Any one listening to Paul Boncour or Varenne when speaking on vital questions, would think he was hearing an oration by M. Poincaré. One must not give heed to Blum, or to Longuet, because these citizens, being the mouthpieces of another phraseology, will speak of other things, while voting in wartime for war credits.

Organized Communism must therefore fight to the bitter end against these three parties of different origin, but of identical counter-revolutionary import. This is not altered by the fact that each of these three parties has its own particular character, its political apparatus, its own methods.

We must thoroughly understand their real nature in order the better to fight against them.

The Fifth Congress of the C. I.

(Continued from Page 1.)

leaders of the social-democracy become in their efforts to hasten the split in the trade unions. The provocative tactics of the Social-Democratic leaders in certain places are very successful. Among the German left wing there is developing a wrong and extremely dangerous attitude towards the question of the future work in the reactionary trade unions. The Fifth Congress will have to speak with all its authority and determination against the policy of leaving the Social-Democratic unions, and at the same time it will have to find a practical solution to the problem of how to organize those workers whom the Social-Democratic leaders have succeeded in expelling from the trade unions.

As hitherto, the National Question will be discussed with extreme attention at the forthcoming Congress. The theoretical basis of the solution of this question are contained in the reports and resolutions introduced at previous congresses by Comrade Lenin. The task of the Fifth Congress will consist in working out more concretely the application of the national policy of the Comintern in various countries. And especially in the countries of the East and in the colonies, where the struggle for national independence is developing more and more into a revolutionary movement directed against the domination of international capitalism. The proper solution of the national question will help all parties to win over the masses to their side. It is the national and agrarian questions that most of all distinguish the Comintern from its predecessors, the Second International and even the First International, which, owing to historical conditions, raised these questions only in an abstract manner. Without solving the national and agrarian questions in the spirit of Leninism, the Comintern cannot win over the majority of the toilers and without doing the latter, we cannot enter the decisive battle.

The question of Relation to the Peasantry will be presented to the Fifth Congress in the form of a report from the Peasant International, which is in the process of being organized (conference in Moscow, 1923). The correct solution of the national question to a large extent implies also the correct solution of the peasant problem. The young organization which began to be organized in Moscow under the name of the Peasant International undoubtedly has a great

future. The European Communist Parties have not yet done one-hundredth part of what is necessary in order to win over to their side those sections of the peasantry which can be attracted to the working class. The Fifth Congress must exert all effort and determination to deal with this problem.

A new question is placed on the agenda of the Fifth Congress, viz: The Attitude of Communists towards the intelligentsia. The term intelligentsia is used in the broad sense of the word, and includes also the technical intelligentsia. In a number of countries, the intelligentsia as a consequence of the prevailing economic conditions are in more or less sharp opposition to the existing regime. In various parts of the world—Germany, Japan, Bulgaria, France, etc.—considerable sections of the intelligentsia, oppressed by poverty and feeling the effects of predatory imperialist policy, are now at the cross-roads and are not without sympathy towards the revolutionary labor movement. In this sphere the Comintern must take the initiative in its own hands. It must show in which way live, revolutionary Marxism differs from the ancient lifeless presentation of the question of the intelligentsia.

The Question of Organization will be raised at the Fifth Congress more concretely than hitherto, and on the basis of a greater accumulation of experience. The majority of the Communist parties of the West to this very day have failed to organize on the basis of the factory nucleus. To solve this problem, not merely on paper, but in actual practice, will signify a great step forward along the path towards real preparation for the proletarian revolution.

The Fifth Congress will also deal in great detail with questions of propaganda. It will give the required attention to the Youth Movement, which is developing so well and which has so great a future before it in the work of preparing for the world revolution. The Fifth Congress will also give proper attention to the Women's Movement, to the Cooperative Question, to the Red Relief, etc.

The agenda is long and varied. During the two months remaining, the parties must thoroughly prepare themselves for these questions.

The near future will give us the possibility of testing the strength of the Communists at the parliamentary elections in Italy, in Germany, in France. Communists, of course, do not attach vital importance to parliamentary elections, but as a means of

testing our influence among the masses, these elections are of no little importance. The recent elections in such a remote corner of Europe as Carpathian Ruthenia have shown that, when Communists take up a proper attitude towards the peasantry, the proletarian party may win over a considerable section of the peasantry to its side.

The events in Germany have acquired tremendous importance for the activities of the Comintern. In the Autumn of 1923, events in that country developed so stormily that everyone expected a stormy revolutionary rise and a decisive rebellion. Instead of that, we suffered defeat. The German working class has been flung back for some little time. However, the question of preparing for the proletarian revolution in Germany remains as hitherto one of the most important problems confronting the Comintern as a whole, and its most important section in Europe in particular.

To win over the Majority among the

most important sections of the working class—this is the legacy left to us by the founder of the Comintern, Lenin, as the task of tasks of the present period. That task has not yet been fulfilled. The Fifth Congress will have to devote its greatest attention to its fulfillment.

The slogan of the Fifth Congress will be "without Lenin in the spirit of Leninism." The great leader of the Comintern is dead, but his cause lives, above all in the Comintern. The Fifth Congress will undoubtedly solve all the questions that will confront it in the spirit of genuine Leninism. The teachings of Lenin will remain the guiding star for all the sections of the Comintern.

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Aid For the German Seamen

By GEORGE HARDY.

The recent strike of German seamen in the British Isles was a new attempt at striking. Its importance was the international aspect. But the end was a tragedy. The determination of the strikers was the only bright spot in the strike itself. And after the ships had got away with skeleton crews we got the announcement of 600 strikers being shipped to home ports, only to be arrested and severe sentences inflicted upon many of them.

We search for the causes of defeat, which are many. The treachery of the Deutsche Vohrkesbund (German Transport Union) was unsurpassed. Their members were about two-fifths of the organized strikers. The other three-fifths belong to the Deutsche Schiffarhtsbund (German Seamen's Union), affiliated to the R. I. L. U. Many were unorganized. The D. S. B. showed a willingness to fight on and would have co-operated whole heartedly, but the executives of the D. V. B. refused to endorse the strike, and as usual did what their Social-Democratic compatriots have been doing the world over, and particularly in Germany.

No United Action.

It mattered not that the struggle had a partial backing in Britain, and that the strike must be won to save the seamen from prison under the nautical law in Germany, or that the strikers chose Britain to escape the bullets of "Comrade" Hense, the Social-Democratic chief of police at Hamburg, and his colleagues at other German ports. They refused to aid in any way to achieve victory. They only discouraged and divided.

The division of the German sea-

men into two unions again helped to defeat them. Confusion thru lack of preparation was also a contributing cause. And even the lack of policy of the D. S. B. was to be regretted. Also arising out of the strike amalgamation of the two unions and the negotiations had progressed far, have received a severe setback due to the spineless conduct of the D. V. B. officials.

Notwithstanding the support of the Transport Workers at the Surrey and Commercial Docks, at London, the strikers were sent home defeated largely because the dockers discharged, loaded and bunkered ships. Thus allowing the skippers to ship and get away. It is said there was an arrangement that upon the call for assistance from Havelock Wilson the Transport Workers' Union officials would take strike action against the ships involved. Did Wilson call for help or was he more concerned with ulterior motives, both of aiding British shipping and making international publicity for himself with a view to resurrecting the defunct "International Seafarers' Federation"? He certainly did not encourage any outside help, nor was the necessary international publicity to the strike given publicly, which was calculated to win the strike by extending it to other countries.

Political Ambitions.

Failure to set up a joint strike committee composed of representatives of the two German unions involved, the Seamen's Union of Britain and the Transport Workers' Union, together with full co-operation of the seamen's section of the Revolutionary Transport Workers of the R. I. L. U. and the seamen's section of the International Transport Workers' Federation, led to defeat. The money of the

N. S. and F. U. was not enough. The whole weight of the British unions should have been behind the strike. A call for international action going out with the signatures of the R. I. L. U. and the I. T. F. attached would have proved "international" was not a mere word nor pretense. It would have stirred all port labor and seafarers' unions to declare themselves, and a victory might have been the result instead of defeat.

Now we must prepare. The German seamen will continue to strike in other countries. The enormous amount of seamen unorganized and unemployed adds to the difficulties to seamen striking successfully at home. Besides the ruthless suppression of a dictator, the D. S. B. is an illegal organization by the decrees of Von Seeckt. These features make it very hard for the German seamen to win at home.

If German seamen's wages are not to remain an influence for low wages in British ships then we must be up and doing. There is no question of the German seamen repudiating the officials who really betrayed them, and determining their own policy. Already last week at Barrow-in-Furness another crew struck. But the N. S. and F. U. refused aid.

As there is no common understanding as to what we will do if such trade unionists and transport workers strikes continue we propose to all in particular, both ashore and afloat, that we discuss helping the German seamen and declaring an international boycott against all German ships which do not pay the full demands of the German seamen. The German wage of £2 18s 0d is slavery and threatens every seaman's home with starvation. Compared with world prices, Germany is as high as any,

and the shipowners can pay equally as well as all other countries.

Action!—More Action!

If the German seamen can get the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and the Transport Union of Britain to agree to support them financially and declare a boycott against German ships, then the German seamen will make a definitely organized fight.

And with such machinery created as indicated above we could surely win. Between the two internationals over three million transport workers could be effectively used to support the German seamen. And by creating machinery as indicated above we could show for once what real international action means to the workers. Get your branches to demand action and remove the danger of low wages and destitution.

The following telegram was received from the German Seamen's Union by the secretary of the International Seamen's Section of the Red International Transport Workers:

"Wire at once Australian union to hold German ships until all claims granted by owners. Severe punishments inflicted on German seamen owing to strike in England. Wire answer whether this received. Letter follows."

We appeal to the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress to take this question up, and in conjunction with the Transport Workers, and in accordance with resolutions passed at the I. S. F. Congress, make a fight for international wage standards and conditions.

To send money to help the German trade union bureaucracy is impotent. Support the Germans who are struggling for their very existence.

Let's have international action!



Literature - - Music - - Drama



Foes of Conscription.

Federated Press Review.

While most people were opposed to conscription before the big business interests threw the shadow of world war across America, only 500 men of draft age carried the opposition to the extreme limit in the brave days

More Books Given Away

"Through the Russian Revolution"

By Albert Rhys Williams

"Industrial Revival in Soviet Russia"

By A. A. Heller

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These 500 war objectors and the 4,500 who went part of the way with them in defying the Wilson war machine, get their day in the court of the reading public thru Norman Thomas' book, "The Conscientious Objector in America."

The American is not a bad kicker, and he will therefore find much to interest him in the account of the government's troubles with these rebels against military authority. He will pass over the accounts of inhuman torture in American camps of some of the objectors, knowing that soldiers in battle suffered just as much and more, tho not perhaps in the name of liberty and justice, coldly administered by safety-first captains and colonels. He will linger a bit over the 57 varieties of religious objection and then will come down to the honest-to-god objector that every doughboy could understand.

This was the objector who handed it out to the officers as his view that it was a rich man's war and a poor man's fight. This objector had no objection to the army and to the fighting men as such. In fact, he rather favored a good scrap like the Russian revolution or the American revolution, and wouldn't mind putting on a uniform and shouldering a gun to fight against the Wall Street war profiteers and the bosses generally. The dollar-a-day Yank who has now been refused his cash bonus will appreciate such fighting doctrine.

Right here the more belligerent reader will conclude that the book falls down a bit. The author is evidently allied with the groups opposed to all war and develops a comprehen-

sive anarchist theory of the state. The good point about this is that he knocks those easy-going objectors who were willing to take noncombatant service. They were unwilling to feed the gun, but jumped at the chance to feed the gunner. Thomas shows them up.

The book has a foreword by LaFollette, who picturesquely points out that "a conscience against war brought objectors to prison! A lack of conscience against stealing brought profiteers to palaces."—C. H.

"The Conscientious Objector in

America," by Norman Thomas; B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York, \$2.

Labor Pamphlets.

"The Denial of Civil Liberties in the Coal Fields," by Winthrop Lane, has been published by George H. Doran for the L. I. P., the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations. It pictures the czarist rule of company managers and gunmen in company-owned towns. Besides the results of other investigations are given, including the official report of the federal coal commission.

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