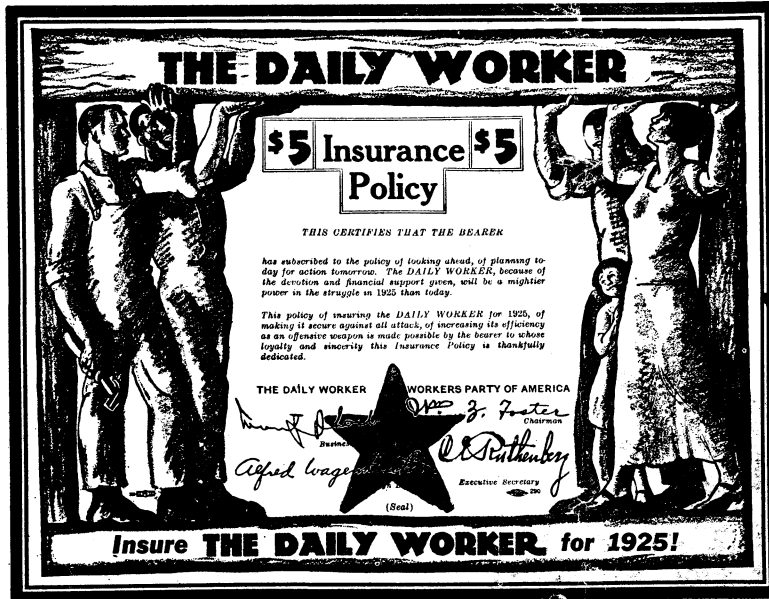


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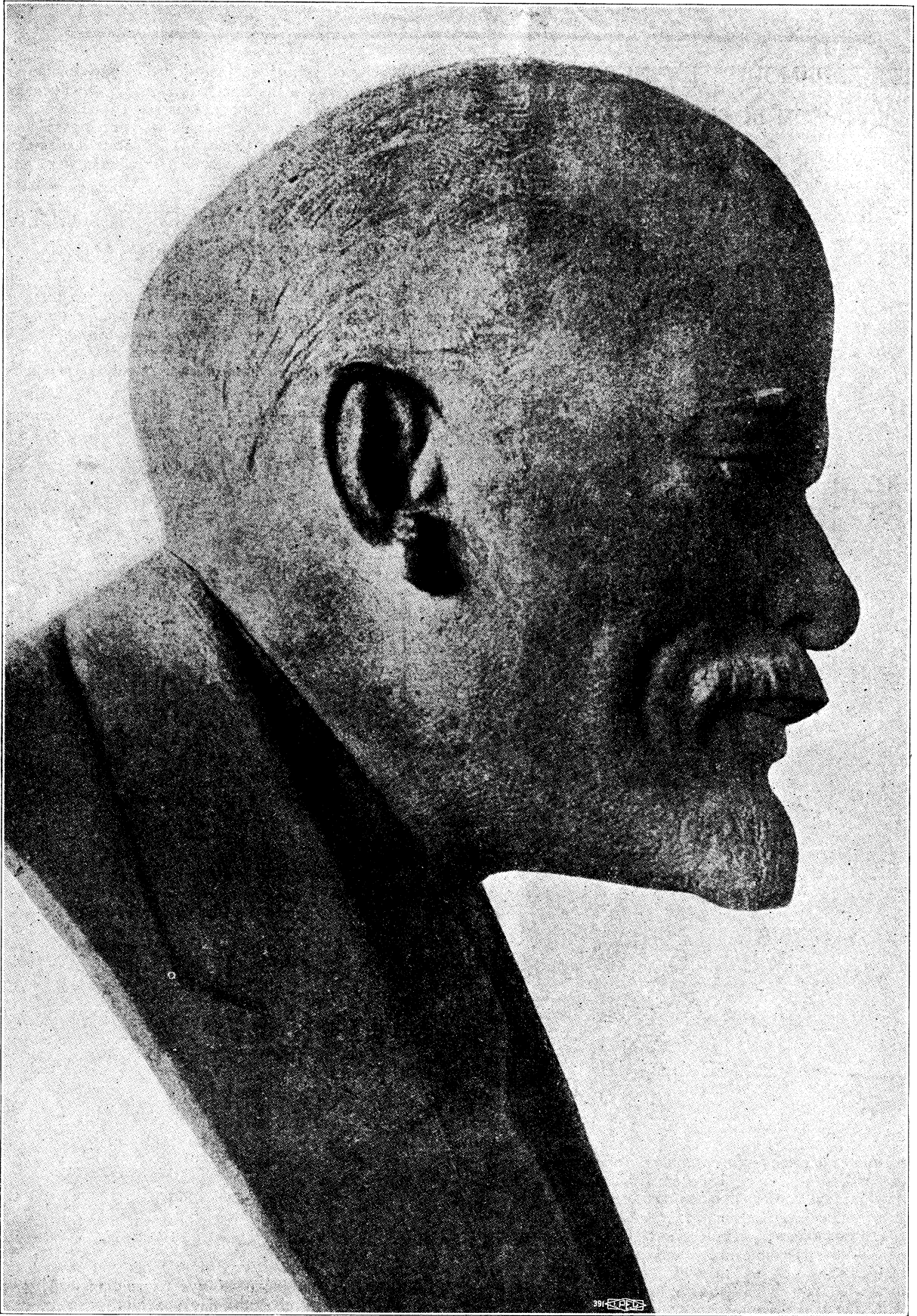
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overshadow all *the concrete and definite stages* through which the struggle would have to pass in order to complete the process and reach the stage of socialist revolution. While Lenin, visualizing more fully than anyone else the continuity of the revolutionary process and its permanency, at the same time he never for a moment lost sense or sight of the role of the peasantry at each particular period in the process of the revolution.

The difference between Lenin's and Trotzky's conception of the Russian Revolution was in a sense the difference between Hegel's conception of history and Marx's. For Hegel history was the development of an idea; that is, first comes the idea which, being the dynamic force in social life, sets in motion events and struggles, and in these struggles the idea finds its realization. In other words, history is the realization of an idea.

Marx took this Hegelian method of explaining history and turned it upside down, with the result that the "idea" assumed its proper place. It was no longer able to parade as the prime mover of social events, but had to satisfy itself with the more humble role of a *product and result* of economic and other material forces which were more basic to the life of society.

With Trotzky, who has a weakness for grand ideas, the "permanent revolution" became something of an Hegelian idea with all the magnetic powers of generating life. While with Lenin the idea of the revolution was merely the generalization of a process of a whole series of concrete struggles each with its own peculiarities, each demanding special strategy and tactics, each to be treated not alone as part of a grand scheme but on the basis of the peculiar economic and political conditions of that respective period.

The greatest revolutionist of all times was the greatest enemy of the revolutionary phrase.

The American party may pride itself on the fact that it occupied a great deal of Lenin's attention. Lenin, I believe, was the first one in the Communist International to appreciate fully the great importance of the American labor movement for the success of the world revolution. He was undoubtedly the first one to express these views in public.

Lenin liked America, the great concentration of its industries, its magnificent power of organization, and the grand scale upon which things are being done in the United States. Practical business efficiency, coupled with scientific methods of organization, was to Lenin a basic prerequisite for the success of the proletarian class struggle.

It goes without saying, of course, that Lenin had very little sympathy with the empty contempt for what some people call "theory" which is so prevailing in the American labor movement. Lenin used to say that this contempt for revolutionary theory means in practice submission to the theory of the bourgeoisie.



STILL HE DIRECTS THE STRUGGLE!

The truth of this statement we in the United States should know better than anybody else.

His famous struggles against the "economists" and so-called "practical workers" in the Russian movement was the most fruitful ideological struggle from the point of view of building the Communist Party. In this struggle (1890-1903) Lenin had established once and for all the role of revolutionary theory in the class struggle and the leading role of a Communist Party.

As Stalin says, the success of the social revolution depends upon the combination of two characteristics, the revolutionary sweep of the Russian and the ability to do things of the American. Lenin therefore knew that the moment the American labor movement becomes imbued and impregnated with revolutionary theory and spirit it will become the most powerful factor in the world struggle for proletarian power.

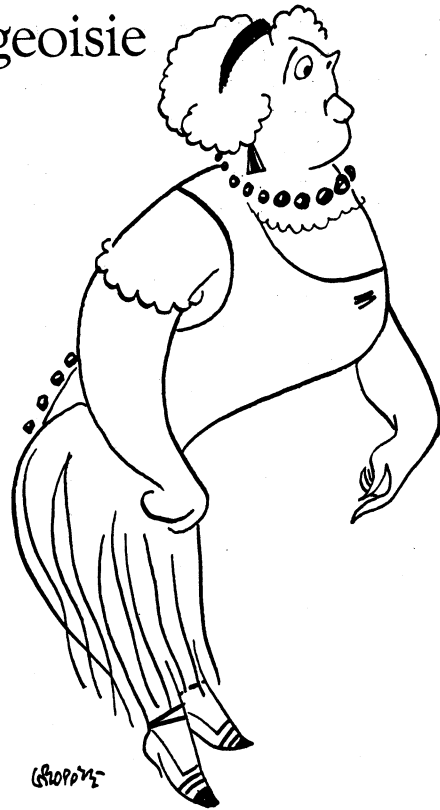
Lenin is right. And in commemorating the first year of his death, we can do nothing better than to dedicate ourselves once more to the great task of Bolshevikizing our own party and of bringing the message of Leninism to the entire working class of America.

Our Bourgeoisie



Art Young

A "CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY"



W. Gropper
"TOOTSIE, IF YOU DON'T COME HERE THIS MINUTE, MAMA SPANK."



W. Gropper



Adolph Dehn

DISCUSSING THE VICES OF THE WORKING CLASS AND PLANNING TO CURE THEM BY INCREASING THE HOURS OF LABOR.

is a Gompers messenger boy. Although a convention delegate for ten years, he has never been known to take the floor. He is an official of the United Garment Workers and is used by that organization when it has particularly contemptible strike-breaking to do, as in the case of Michael Stern in Rochester.

A striking end to these three conventions was the death of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. He died of a complication of diseases, which were brought to a crisis by the high altitude of Mexico City. He was hurried at the point of death from Mexico to the United States, dying shortly after crossing the American border. The capitalist press mourns his death. Gompers was 74 years of age and connected with the labor movement for almost 60 years. He was a Jew, and born in London, England. He participated in the formation of the A. F. of L. in Pittsburgh in 1881, and has been an officer of that organization ever since. He was elected president in 1886 and has served continuously in that office, except in 1894 when he was defeated by John McBride. He was a member of the Cigarmakers' union.

The outstanding feature of the El Paso Convention was the powerful movement developed for the still further extension of the already complicated network of schemes of class collaboration. The meaning of this is clear. The policies of the reactionaries have failed utterly to maintain the trade unions in any semblance of militancy. The weak craft unions have proved unable to withstand the ferocious attacks of the well organized employers, and the political policy of the Gompers machine has been equally futile. The labor movement is in retreat before victorious capitalism. The growth of the class collaboration movement is the bureaucracy's recognition of that fact.

The bureaucrats see quite clearly that the old policy of the unions is obsolete. But they refuse to adopt the left-wing remedy for the situation, amalgamation, independent class political action, and a general policy of class struggle. In the crisis they adopt a policy of surrender. They aim to turn the unions into company unions, into mere adjuncts of the capitalist organizations—all they are interested in is to maintain some sort of an organization which will furnish them revenue enough to pay their fat salaries. Hence, the widespread development of class collaboration, as noted above in this article. The extension of the labor banks, the B. & O. Plan, and now the inauguration of the insurance scheme, as well as the long term agreement of the Miners, and many other similar developments all point in the same direction. The bureaucrats in the unions are unwilling to fight the employers, they want to subordinate the unions to them altogether.

In this crisis the duty of the left wing is clear and imperative. The revolutionaries in the Trade Union Educational League must renew the fight for the adoption of militant policies and leadership by the unions. The Gompersian leaders are hopelessly reactionary, nothing constructive can come from them. They are allowing the unions to be torn to pieces, and are helping the employers to do the job. The Socialists and the so-called Progressives are in the same boat. They have no ideals, no program, no militancy. The only quarter from which leadership can come is from the left-wing. The fate of the labor movement depends upon the growth and development of the revolutionary forces in the unions. We must realize this fact and redouble our efforts for the extension and establishment of the Trade Union Educational League in every phase and stage of the trade union movement.



the Socialist-Revolutionaries immediately turned their front against the workers and against the proletarian revolution.

The Struggle Between the Proletarian Revolutionists and the Bourgeois Revolutionists.

The whole first period in the history of our party is nothing more than at first a half-conscious and then a fully-conscious struggle of the proletarian revolutionists against the bourgeois revolutionists. I repeat:

As long as the issue was a struggle against Czarism, we had a united front. But as soon as the proletarian revolutionists began a struggle for winning over the masses to the ideas of the proletarian revolution, our ways parted. From that moment on, the struggle between the proletarian revolutionists and the bourgeois revolutionists determined the main line of development of our Party and of our country.

End of First Lecture.

(Continued in the February Issue)

Fable

SOBERLY the speckled cow
sniffs at the dung of yesterday,
swishes her tail in wonder
at the permanency of all things,
and ponderous,
turns to stare at the hills.

Meanwhile a flock of sparrows descending
suddenly out of nowhere,
fall to bickering shrilly
over the choice morsels.

Fact, fact, fact,
quacks the goose
waddling through the filth
of the barnyard. . . .

Edwin Seaver.

At the Waning of the Moon

POOR little old moon,
Cringing so soon
After stalking up the night
To your full height,
Now you are dark again,
Like men,
Who wane so soon
And cannot be themselves again and new
Like you . . .
But no,
I had rather be a man and really go,
Old moon.

Witter Bynner.

Suspension Bridge

UP, up!
Astounded!
Strand after strand caught to the night,
Perplexity of planes,
Dissonances of direction,
Sluices of moist light,
Pendants of little, clinking lights;
Layer on layer of darkness woven
With a complexity of cables and raiillery of rails
Thicker than an elephant's trunk!
A herd of massive mammoths mightily upholds the bridge
As we walk out of darkness into darkness
Above an onyx of changing facets
Though a dark maze of metal . . .

Where the spider that has spun this web?
Labor, builder of all things built,
Entangled in a web of its own weaving,
Confused by its own creations,
Inexplicably patient, inextricably involved.

Lithe and exquisite—
Two dancers in a ballet of bridges—
Clasp hands above a mother-of-pearl river
As we watch the sun rise.

—E. Ralph Cheyney.



THE BOURGEOISIE

A. Dehn

3. A relentless drive against Communists in all labor organizations.

That the right wing of Amsterdam will agree to these conditions with the same enthusiasm that it has advocated submission to American capital as in Germany is obvious. It needs the financial support of the American Federation of Labor, a support that will be of a substantial nature in view of the subsidy that will be forthcoming to the American labor bureaucrats in the event of the successful consummation of the gigantic scheme of betrayal of the world's working class—a subsidy that the House of Morgan will charge to "operating expense."

This maneuver of the labor wing of American imperialism is the best proof that the Profintern drive for unity has shaken the trade union tools of reaction as nothing else has. They see that they cannot combat a unity slogan merely with propaganda so they become outright advocates of imperialism in all its blackest forms of suppression and in this they play directly into the hands of the Red Labor International and the Communist International.

When the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy makes the capture of the Amsterdam International the central point of its policy we can see that the unity program has made great inroads among the masses.

The unity of the imperialist powers against labor in spite of their endless rivalries in other fields, is becoming more apparent to the masses every day. So widespread is this offensive of imperialism, that even the capitalist press is forced to record its aggressions.

In Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Bulgaria, Finland, Estonia and England, wherever the House of Morgan and the Bank of England have investments the struggle of the workers becomes more and more a struggle against international capital. The mass murders of Communists and sympathizing workers by the capitalist governments are recorded gleefully by the capitalist press of all the world.

Germany and France in particular are investment areas of the House of Morgan and the fact that the German Social Democracy hails the recent elections as "a victory for the Dawes Plan" is not lost upon the masses of workers and poor farmers.

In a word, the pressure of world capitalism brings home to the workers as never before the necessity for world unity of the organs of struggle of the workers—the trade unions. There is no argument that can be raised against it and these lackeys of imperialism—the Amsterdam leaders and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats—will attempt to foist upon the workers who want unity, an imperialist substitute—the unity of the reactionary A. F. of L. and the imperialist lackeys of the Amsterdam right wing.

What effect will this unity of the Gompers clique with the Grassmans, Hendersons, Thomases, Dittmans and Jouhaux have on the Red Labor International drive for unity of the organized masses?

First of all, we believe that even this unity of enemies of unity will work to the advantages of the revolutionary elements. There is something about a slogan of unity of all workers against the bosses that captures the imagination of the masses and it is so apparent that the unity of the right wing is unity for the bosses that it will rebound to the credit of the left wing and its slogan of struggle.

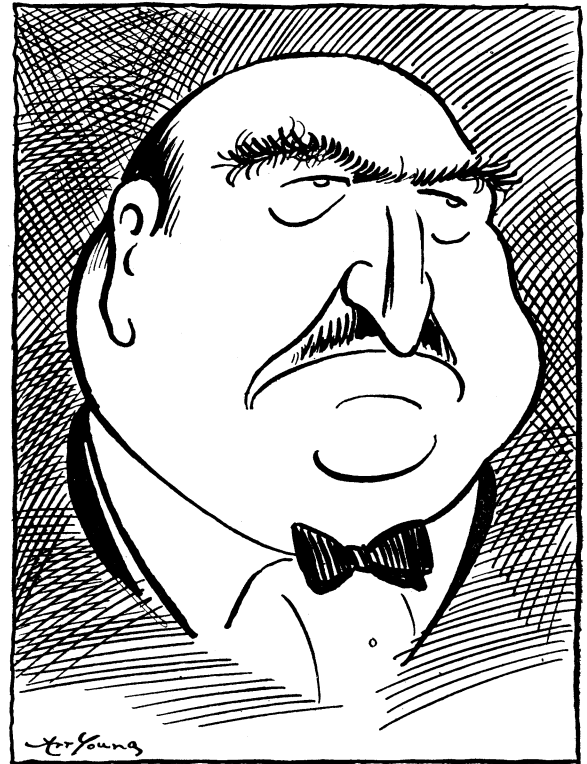
In America the exposure of the Gompers clique as the

labor instrument of American imperialism attracts ever wider masses to the Trade Union Educational League. Imperialism lives by violent suppression as well by propaganda and very soon the A. F. of L. bureaucrats must appear as the open advocates of military suppression of the masses they have already betrayed. In Europe, the support of the Dawes Plan by the right wing of Amsterdam furnishes the best ammunition against it.

The "unity" program of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the right wing of Amsterdam is really a spitting policy—a continuation of the policy of war on the left wing, the expulsions of its adherents from the trade unions and the consequent weakening of the labor movement. In the United States there is a united front of the yellow socialists, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the capitalists against the Communist-led—left wing.

This war on the left wing has weakened the American trade union movement to an extent that is little understood outside of America. At the El Paso convention, after a three year boom in industry, the Gompers clique had again to record, as it recorded in Portland, a decrease in membership. Class collaboration has disgusted hundreds of thousands of workers who, not very well informed as to the class nature of the struggle, are nevertheless in accord with a militant program and as a consequence of this there appears in industry a new group—workers who were once organized

ONE WHO MOURNS GOMPERS



It may be difficult to find some one as good and there is always the danger of getting some one more radical.—David R. Forgan, vice chairman National Bank of the Republic, Chicago, Dec. 13, 1924.

but who have left the unions—who refuse to pay dues to the bureaucrats.

The policy of class collaboration in industry has ended logically in the endorsement of the imperialist schemes of the House of Morgan and the United States government. Side by side with this betrayal and opposing it militantly is a new revival of fighting spirit in the unions.

In the machinists, the carpenters, the steel workers, the left wing slates and programs have received large votes, in some instances a majority altho the candidates were counted out by the machine. In the United Mine Workers of America, under Communist leadrship, there is a nationwide revolt expressing itself in strikes of thousands of miners because of violations of agreements and constant treacheries of the bureaucrats.

At the convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor (a paper organization consisting of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, the traitorous officials of the Mexican labor movement, Guatemala and Santo Domingo—there was opposition from these two oppressed nations) the following manifesto was issued and consternation among the bureaucrats was paralleled by the enthusiasm of the masses of workers who are instinctively against American imperialism:
TO THE DELEGATES:

Gompers is the instrument of Yankee imperialism in the labor movement.

He sabotaged the protest of the Third Congress against the occupation of Santo Domingo.

He sanctioned the occupation of Haiti (See the American Federationist for March, 1924.)

He proposed to the United States government that it pay less wages by 25 or 35 per cent, to the Latin-Americans in the Panama Canal zone, than to the workers from the United States.

In spite of the repeated resolutions of the Pan-American Federation, Gompers has done nothing for the Mexican immigrants, inhumanly exploited in the United States.

He opposes any fight whatsoever against Yankee imperialism, a fight that must be the object of continental solidarity and of the Pan-American Federation.

He opposes socialism, and he says so frankly.

He opposes the yearly protest of the First of May, because it is "revolutionary."

He breaks strikes declared in solidarity, and in general he breaks them because they endanger capitalism.

He sabotages strikes in the great industries (steel, railways, etc.) for the same reason.

He opposes the entrance of the workers of North America into politics as a class, not because he is an anarchist, but because he wants them to remain within the capitalist parties.

In the congress, the Mexican delegates, now under his control, as proved by the convention at the city of Juarez, say that Gompers is the friend of the working class of Mexico, by having "helped Calles and Obregon against De La Huerta." Do not be deceived. Always Gompers follows in Mexico the policy of the United States government. He did not help De La Huerta because the National City Bank, Morgan, Rockefeller and Hughes (his masters) helped Obregon.

Yankee imperialists helped Obregon because British capital helped De La Huerta; because Obregon had conceded the



J. de Miskey

THE MESSIAH

nullification of Article 27 of the constitution by "recognizing" that it was not retroactive, having signed the Lamont-De La Huerta treaty and made other concessions. In Mexico, as in all Latin-America, Gompers does as Morgan dictates.

Gompers must not be re-elected president of the Pan-American Federation.

'The Pan-American Federation must convert itself into an instrument of struggle against Yankee imperialism.

The workers of Latin-America and those of the United States demand it.

The Mexican Committee of the Red International,
The Trade Union Educational League of the U. S. A.
The Pan-American Anti-Imperialist League.

The closest possible ties unite the revolutionary trade union movements of Mexico and the United States. The manifesto of the Communists and revolutionary unionists has had the widest circulation in the Latin-American countries. There is a real resistance to American imperialism in process of organization and the fact that the offensive against the Communists was the major activity of all three conventions is proof of the strength of the movement.

The program of the American section of the R. I. L. U. provides for war against reaction in every avenue of its activity. The bureaucrats have quit fighting for even the daily needs of the workers and their open espousal of the imperialist aims of the ruling class, coupled with the work of the revolutionists, divorces more and more of the masses

from them. The shop council program of the left wing is gaining supporters every day in the basic industries.

The El Paso convention was the last thing needed to complete the left-wing indictment of the Gompers clique and it will be utilized to the utmost. The betrayal of the Mexican labor movement, the preparation for the enforcement of the Dawes Plan, the endorsement of the domestic military policies of the American imperialism, the rejection of independent workingclass political action, coupled with the hostility to the Japanese workingclass in line with the rivalry of American and Japanese imperialism, shows the A. F. of L. bureaucracy as the foremost defender of world reaction.

To sum up:

The A. F. of L. will re-enter the international labor movement because American finance-capital has become the slave master of the European workingclass.

The A. F. of L. forces its counter-revolutionary policy upon the colonial labor movements whose governments and economies are in the field of American exploitation.

The American Federation of Labor will insist that every labor movement which it absorbs—including the Amsterdam International—shall wage war on the Communists and prevent the consummation of the unity of the world trade un-

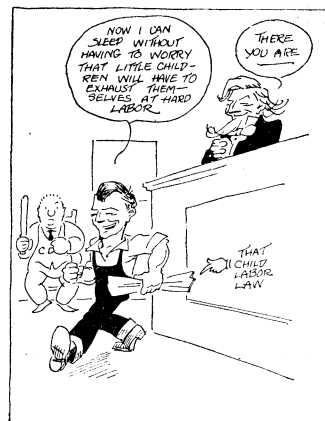
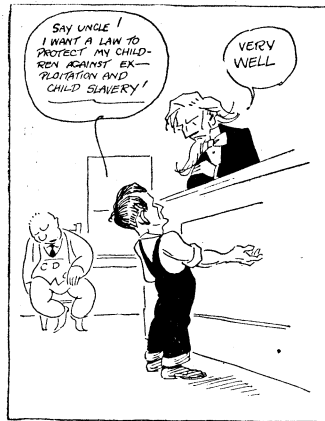
ion movement except under the black auspices of American imperialism. The American Federation of Labor will insist that every labor movement over which it establishes its hegemony as the labor outpost of American imperialism, shall wage war on Soviet Russia.

The death of Gompers will make the task of imperialistic domination of the colonial and European labor movements more difficult but his successors will attempt to carry out his policy.

Those skeptics who doubted the wisdom and practicality of the unity drive of the Red Labor International now admit that it has brought a clear alignment of forces in the labor movement and that the reactionaries have, in their submission to the A. F. of L. and the Dawes Plan, furnished living proof of the charge preferred by the R. I. L. U.—the charge that Gompers, Grassman, Jouhaux, Henderson and Thomas are cut from the same piece of cloth—the imperialist weave with which world capitalism tries to strangle the world revolution.

The A. F. of L. bureaucracy thus appears as the leader of a counter-revolutionary “unity” drive.

Against the unity from below of the organized masses with the left-wing—the program of the Red International of Labor Unions—the A. F. of L. raises the slogan of unity of the right wing—unity for and under the auspices of American imperialism.



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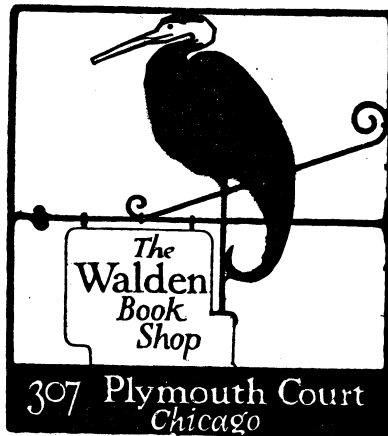
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are the democratic-pacifist illusions.

The Labor Government of England showed its hand and the English workers are beginning to realize that in their daily struggles against the capitalists they can expect as little of the Labor Party as of the Liberal Party.

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