

No disinterested ultimate consumer stopped consuming sheets and pillow-cases to go down on the picket lines at six o'clock of a frosty morning. Few of them stopped consuming anything sufficiently to send a dollar or two to the lockout resistance fund. Of the \$1,500,000 raised by the union, less than \$100,000 came from outside its own ranks, and most of that was donated by other labor organizations. The battle was fought and won by the organized might and ability of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers themselves.

That they were able to win in the teeth of all obstacles, after a slack spell nearly as long as the lockout had drained their resources and their energies, is one of the outstanding miracles of the reconstruction period. But like most miracles—that are true—it has a human source. That source is the spirit generated in a mass of men and women by the

consciousness of intelligent progress toward a supreme goal.

The Amalgamated is not a group of ignorant, listless victims of the present system, whose highest thought is to shelter themselves in makeshift fashion against its worst abuses, and let the rest of the world go hang. It is a band of stalwarts who know the reason of their present subjugation, who have achieved a knowledge of their rights and powers as workers, and whose faces are set resolutely toward a new social order. The Amalgamated victory is a victory for sound and steady education for a purpose big enough to stir the sympathies and enlist the idealism of the mass. "The industry is ours" may not be literally true for the clothing workers today. But the Amalgamated won against every odds because it is consistently and ably building toward the day when it shall be.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

### Polish Social Patriots Support Upper Silesian Adventure

The Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) of Cracow held a demonstration in favor of the insurrection in Upper Silesia and called upon the government to give open military assistance to the Polish insurgents. The Warsaw section of the same "Socialist" party even issued an appeal to the workers of the Entente countries to support the Korfanty adventure in the name of "self-determination" of the Polish people in Upper Silesia.

The P. P. S. was always a nationalist party, but since the establishment of Poland as an outpost of Allied imperialism, it has sanctioned all the persecutions of the revolutionary labor organizations in Poland and has blessed the Polish troops under the leadership of General Pilsudski, an "honored" member of the party, in their raids upon Soviet Russia. It is interesting to note that the Cracow organization was quite insistent that the party withdraw from the defunct Second International and affiliate with the "reconstructed" 2½ Vienna International. The International presided over by MacDonald, Vandervelde, Troelstra, Renaudel and Thomas was not considered sufficiently revolutionary even by this jingo and Jew-baiting Socialist organization. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

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### Jewish "Bund" Merges with Russian Communist Party

The Jewish Social-Democratic organization in Russia, better known under the name of *Bund*, has ceased to exist as an independent national party. A national conference of the organization decided by a vote of 47 to 23 to merge with the Russian Communist party. The minority which believed there was still need for the Bund to continue its independent existence announced that it would abide by the decision of the majority.

The Bund was founded prior to the organization of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, the forerunner of the present Communist Party. As an integral part of the Russian Socialist movement it was at the forefront of the revolution for a generation. It has called the Jewish workers to revolutionary deeds and has instilled in them the spirit of class-consciousness and internationalism. Although it realized the presence of certain problems with which Jewish workers had to deal as Jews, the Bund taught their workers to consider themselves as a part of the working class of Russia and called upon them to struggle for their rights as an oppressed nationality and as workers together with the workers of other nationalities in Russia. Thus, besides training the Jewish workers for revolutionary activity, it devoted a great deal of energy to combat the influence of the various nationalist groups whether they were bourgeois Zionists, or Territorialists, Poalei-Zionists, etc., with Socialist leanings.

When the glorious history of the Socialist and Labor movement of Russia will be written, the achievements of the Bund will be accorded a place of honor in the annals of the Russian Revolution.

### Echoes of the Paul Levi Incident

The expulsion of Paul Levi from the German United Communist Party for the publication of the now famous pamphlet in which the central committee of the party was accused as the instigator of the abortive March uprising, has created a lively discussion in the Communist parties of other countries. The central committees of the Austrian, Swiss and Checho-Slovak (German) Communist parties expressed their solidarity with the action of the central committee of the German party, and editor Strasser of the Vienna *Rote Fahne* and the editor of the Checho-Slovak Communist organ were removed from their positions for approving Levi's stand. The executive committee of the Third International has agreed with the German party that Levi's action was a gross breach of party discipline. The matter will be taken up at the present congress of the International in connection with the general Italian and German problems which the executive committee has placed on the agenda of the congress.

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### Red Trade Union International Gains Adherents

As the first congress called by the International Council of Socialist trade and industrial unions draws nearer, large labor bodies are deciding to send delegates and to affiliate with the new international labor federation. The congress of the South African Federation of Labor has recently decided to join the new body and to be represented at the congress which opens July first at Moscow. Similar action was taken by the federation of the *Luxemburg* trade unions and the *Scottish* Trade Union Congress held April 22 voted 55 to 50 to join Moscow. The Scottish congress represented 560,000 organized workers who are considered the radical wing in the British labor movement.

On May 7 a conference of British labor unions was held in London with 354 delegates in attendance. Tom Mann, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, which includes all organized workers in the metal and machine trades, presided, and it was voted to urge upon the British labor movement to affiliate with the Labor International formed at Moscow.

In France the matter of affiliation with the new International is becoming an important issue. The future of the Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.) depends upon the action which various sections of the labor movement are taking on this question. The resignation of Leon Jouhaux, the Gompers of France, as secretary of the Federation is predicted in the radical labor press. The Paris central federation of trade unions voted to send delegates to Moscow by a vote of 128 to 4 of the delegates present, with 12 abstentions. Labor federations of other departments are taking similar action. The National Union of Postal and Telegraph Workers voted at a convention by 11,712 against 1,116 and the Railway Workers by a vote of 55,140 to 53,667 to join the new Labor International. The National Metal Workers' Union, it is reported, has also voted in favor of leaving the conservative Amsterdam Trade Union International.

## Program Suggestions for the Socialist Party Convention

By BENJAMIN GLASSBERG

The revolutionary movement in the United States is not only weaker than that of any other country, but it is also more hopelessly divided. A confusing number of groups appeal for the support of the comparatively few workers in America who are at all class conscious.

There is first the Socialist Labor Party, small but ever persistent. The possibilities of its becoming an important factor in the revolutionary movement are indeed remote. At the same time it refuses to acknowledge its willingness to join with all the revolutionary forces under one single banner, that of the Third International because it has not adopted in toto the S. L. P. attitude towards trade unionism, the I. W. W. and political action.

The various Communist parties in America after spending two years trying to unite have finally succeeded in doing so. In the meantime they have been more occupied in internal squabbles than in the effort to reach the American people. While this has undoubtedly militated against their success, it is extremely doubtful whether there are any present prospects of their being able to reach wide masses of the American workers, due to their underground form of organization and their extreme military discipline. A movement cannot, at present, enlist the support of the American working class unless it does so in the open.

The Socialist Party as a result of its recent policies stands discredited in the eyes of the workers. The membership has again and again expressed its desire to align itself with the revolutionary elements in the International Socialist movement but the officials in the party have consistently prevented the party from joining the Third International. The surrender of Socialist principles at Albany, and at the May 1920 convention definitely unfitted it for leadership. Only a thorough overhauling, only a complete scrapping of both leaders and program, can regain for the Socialist Party the position it held in the United States before the war.

Two years ago there were 110,000 members in the Socialist Party. There are probably less than 25,000 members in the Socialist and Communist parties combined. While a great many have left the Socialist Party because of utter dissatisfaction with its position, the loss of membership in the ranks of the Communists has also been very heavy. There are undoubtedly many thousands of comrades throughout the country, old as well as new, who are anxious to align themselves with the parties in the ranks of the Third International; who are anxious to join an organization which will propagate the principles of revolutionary socialism but who do not feel that the newly united Communist Party, any more than the Socialist Party, is the medium through which they can work, or is the agency, which is fitted because of program and leadership to form the advance guard of the working class.

In view of the existing conditions, the following suggestions are submitted for the consideration of the

members of the Socialist Party as a basis for a program. Only such a program can save the party from complete disintegration and at the same time form the basis upon which all the revolutionary elements of the country would be able to combine:

1. The Socialist Party must join the Third International and take its place with the rest of the revolutionary Socialist and Communist parties of the world.

There is no valid reason for a party, claiming to be revolutionary, to refuse to join the only International which is working for the actual establishment of Communism. All parties which are sincerely working for such an aim, for the creation of a League of Soviet republics, will not stay outside of the ranks because of minor differences as to tactics or form of organization within the International.

There can be no real International unless power and authority is vested in the hands of its executive committee. There can be no real International which allows each national group to pursue any tactics it chooses. Matters of policy and tactics must be coordinated. Each national group will naturally be called upon to carry out such policies in the light of the prevailing historic and social conditions. It is this which the Third International is attempting to do.

2. The form of organization must provide for the concentration of power and authority within the party in the hands of the executive committee, subject to control by the membership. The form of organization should likewise provide for any possible emergencies which may arise through imperialist wars or class struggles which may either threaten the existence of the party or interfere with its functioning.

3. The party executive should have complete control of the press and the activities of all elected officials, with the power of expelling officials who fail in their duty to the party and the workers.

4. The party must completely revise its program and principles in the spirit of the decisions of the Third International.

It should make clear to the workers the nature of the existing Bourgeois Dictatorship as contained in the American Constitution and as practised by the Government in every industrial struggle when the armed forces are used to crush the workers. It should point out, for example, the unlimited power placed in the hands of the Supreme Court and in the hands of the President, and how it has been used to crush the independence of small nations, as in Santa Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua. It should expose the false notion that there can be any such thing as free speech, or free press, or any liberty or democracy or freedom so long as the wealth and industries of the country as well as the schools, the press, the meeting places, the churches, etc. are in the hands of the capitalist forces. It should emphasize the fact that political power without economic power is meaningless and fundamentally of little value.

It should explain the necessity of establishing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, that is the concentration of power in the hands of the workers during the period of the inevitable breakdown of capitalism, which faces every nation. It should point out that only the working class, of all the social classes at such a