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LENIN AND A GROUP OF COMRADES

Lenin is seen above with a group of delegates to the IXth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (1920). Among the comrades are: Lower row, left to right: Semashko (Commissar of Public Health); Schmidt (Commissar of Labor); Zorin (the famous propagandist). Middle row, in the center, Lenin; to the left, Stalin; to the right, Kalinin. Top row, above Stalin, Tomski; above Lenin, Joffe (the Soviet diplomat); above Kalinin, Riazanov (the famous Marxian scholar).

of food. Can there be anything more hypocritical than such accusations from people who greeted and supported the imperialistic war and made common cause with Kerensky when he continued the war? Is not this imperialistic war the cause of all our misfortune? The revolution that was born by the war must necessarily go on through the terrible difficulties and sufferings that war created, through this heritage of destruction and reactionary mass murder. To accuse us of "destruction" of industries and "terror" is hypocrisy or clumsy pedantry, and shows an incapability of understanding the most elemental fundamentals of the raging dynamic force of the class struggle called revolution.

In words our accusers "recognize" this kind of class struggle, in deeds they revert again and again to the middle-class utopia of "class-harmony" and the mutual "interdependence" of classes upon one another. In reality the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably taken on the form of civil war, and civil war is unthinkable without terror and limitations of the form of democracy in the interests of the war. One must be a sickly sentimentalist not to be able to see, to understand and appreciate this necessity. Only the Chekov type of the lifeless "Man in the Box" can denounce the revolution for this reason instead of throwing himself into the fight with the whole vehemence and decision of his soul at a moment when history demands that the highest

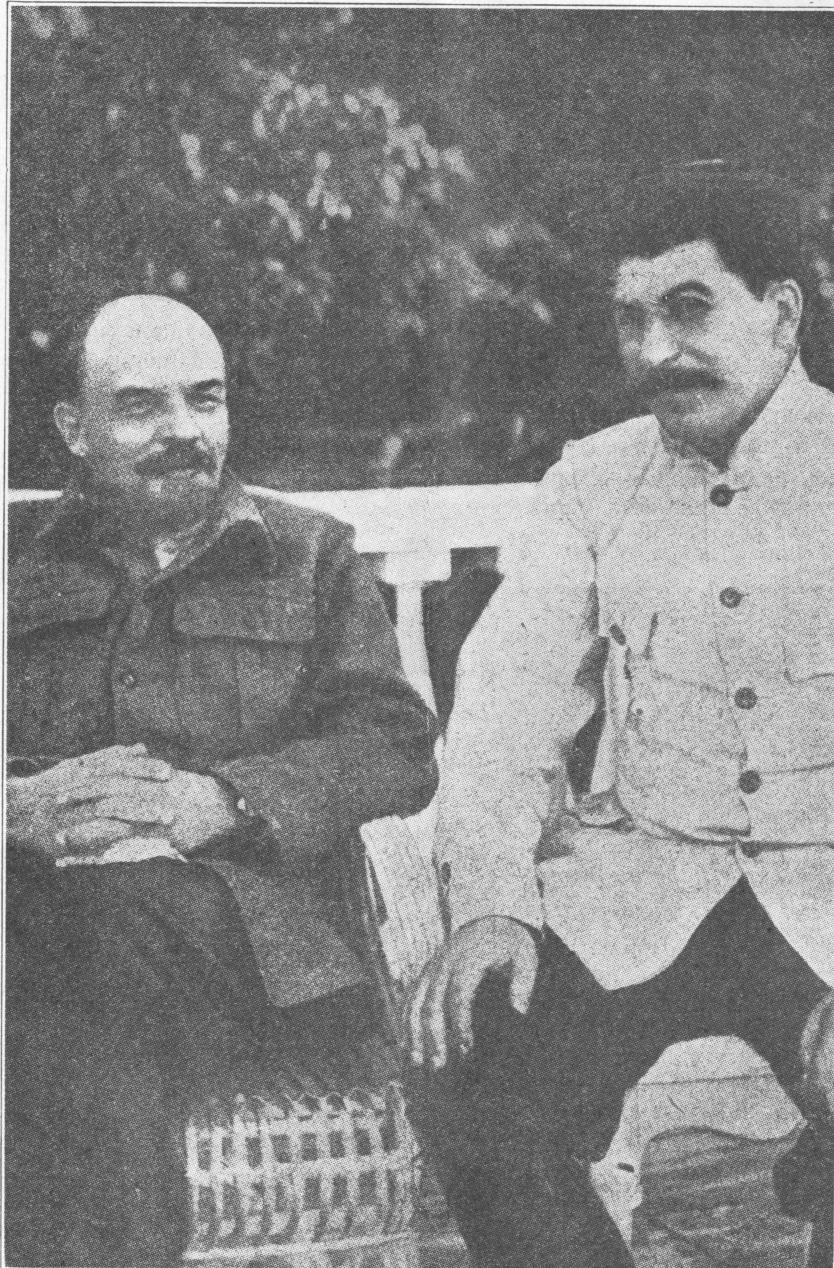
problems of humanity be solved by struggle and war.

The best representatives of the American proletariat—those representatives who have repeatedly given expression of their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviki—are the expression of this revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the Eighteenth and the civil war in the Nineteenth Century. Industry and commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But where can you find an American so pedantic, so absolutely idiotic as to deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American

civil war of 1860-1865?

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand very well that the overthrow of slavery was well worth the three years of civil war, the depth of destruction, devastation and terror that were its accompaniment. But these same gentlemen and the reform socialists who have allowed themselves to be cowed by the bourgeoisie and tremble at the thought of a revolution, cannot, nay, will not, see the necessity and righteousness of a civil war in Russia, though it is facing a far greater task, the work of abolishing capitalist wage-slavery and overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The American working-class will not follow the lead of its bourgeoisie. It will go with us against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of



LENIN AND STALIN.

but it is to be found behind the fine-sounding phrases of the president's message to congress.

The Farmer.

For the farmer, the capitalist program contains one proposal—that is, that he shall continue to submit to the unbearable conditions which have existed in the agricultural field for some years back. The president's message indicates that the capitalists are aware of the danger for them which exists in the agricultural situation of this country, but are unwilling to make any sacrifices to meet it. "Agriculture is a very complex industry," boasts the president in the message, but all that the president has to offer to solve the complex problems of this industry are fair words.

The fundamental problems of agriculture, that is the backwardness, mechanically and technically, of the agricultural production as compared with the highly developed machine production in other fields does not come within the scope of the capitalists' program for the United States. Nor does the program even go so far as willingness to make some sacrifices in the exploitation of the farmer thru the banks, railroads, grain elevators, and implement production corporations.

The capitalist program for the farmer is to continue to take from him for the benefit of the capitalists all that he will give up without actually revolting.

This analysis of the capitalist program as presented by President Coolidge shows how completely



LOCARNO.

the American government is the agency for the capitalist class of the United States. It is the best evidence that government under the capitalist system exists in order to exert the state power in support of the ruling economic class and that "government for the people" is an illusion fostered by American capitalism to hide the real rule of the capitalists.

What the president has presented to congress is a program for the strengthening of the American capitalist class in the struggle against other national groups of capitalists and also for the strengthening of the American capitalist class in the struggle against the workers and farmers whom this class exploits.

The Song of the Daily Bread

Translated from the German of Bruno Schönlänk
by A. Ainsworth.

This is the song of daily bread,
Those who bake—scarcely fed,
Those who weave—without dress,
Those who build—homeless.

This is the song of a past generation,
For rulers, land—a servile nation:
The hewers of coal—without hearth,
The makers of wealth—without worth.

This is the song of hellish fame,
For the rich, bread—for the poor, shame.
For the poor, night and bitter stress,
For wealth, light and gluttoness mess.

This is the song when the fury breaks,
When past disgrace leaves now no aches.
This is the song when none is spared,
For action! Starvelings! be prepared!

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

MAX BEDACHT, Editor.

Official Organ
The Workers Communist
Party

Published by
The Daily Worker Society
1113 W. Washington Blvd.
Chicago, Ill.

25 Cents a Copy
\$2.00 a Year—\$1.25 Six Months

Business Manager,
Moritz J. Loeb

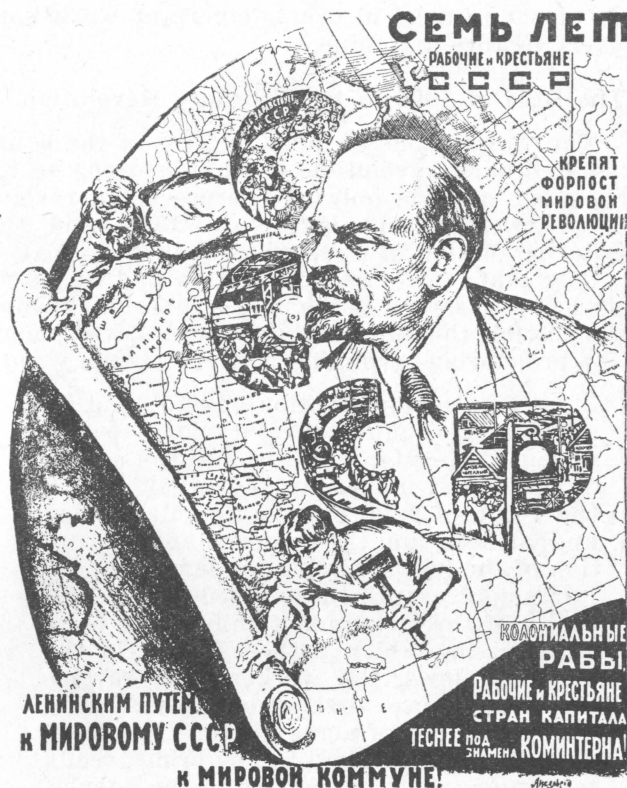
another link of the capitalist chain had to break. That the chain broke at its weakest link was surprising to—those who have not learned the lessons of Marxian analysis.

The war had proceeded only six months when the inadequacy of tsarist Russia to conduct the struggle began to be apparent. The inadequacy of Russia's factory system to keep 12,000,000 soldiers supplied with the modern equipment of war was shown by many things, as, for instance, the sending of hundreds of thousands of soldiers to the front unarmed, where they were expected to drill with sticks of wood until enough of the armed soldiers were killed off to enable them to arm themselves with the dead comrades' weapons. The bureaucratic government and military machinery was notoriously corrupt—with army officers peddling the plans of battle in advance to the German staff. Defeat piled upon defeat. Morale sank to the lowest ebb.

The first series of defeats of the army caused the Russian bourgeoisie to make frantic efforts to patch up the deficiencies. The millionaire industrialist Ryabushinsky spoke for his class in raising the slogan "Every workshop, every factory must be used to break the enemy's force!" Rapidly the mobilization of all class elements to win the war was attempted. It could not be successfully accomplished. On the one hand the landlord-bureaucracy was not of the stuff that was needed. The central government did not have the direct representative relation to the capitalist system necessary for its function as the head of a modern capitalist-imperialist war. Autocratic power in the hands of a weak-witted tsar, with his court the scene, not of the quickly executed commands of captains of industry (as was, for instance, the American white house), nor a place for the automatic rubber-stamping by a nominal monarch of the plans of an astute bourgeoisie (as was the "royal" institution of Great Britain). In the palace of the tsar, where supreme authority was placed, the influence of a hysterical woman of the lowest degeneracy—her imperial majesty, the tsarina—could outweigh the shrewdest advice of an industrial king; the influence of a crazy priest turned into dust the slogans for the mobilization of industry for the production of rifles and munitions.

The Russian Proletariat and Its Party.

The lack of a long-established control of society by the capitalist class meant the lack of that social machinery for the control of the labor movement by the bourgeoisie, relatively speaking. Not that the Russian bourgeoisie did not have its agents among the working class. Plekhanov and other ex-Marxian leaders, representing the corruption of Marxian theory and practice, did their best to hold the working class under the control of the bourgeoisie. But the corruption of the working class by the bourgeoisie did not have the deep social roots such as it has in this country as the result of



Lenin, Leader of the Workers, Peasants and Oppressed Colonial Peoples!

long decades of bourgeois rule, of the stamping of a whole society with bourgeois ideology, and of a "labor aristocracy" of the highest skilled workers firmly implanted as the first rank of the labor movement and enjoying a relatively high standard of living. The jealously guarded rule of the landlords and nobles had given the capitalist class an opportunity to establish this condition only to a comparatively slight degree.

On the contrary, Russia had a very small, but at the same time ideologically the most highly developed revolutionary working class. The Russian workers had been disillusioned and hardened by the experience of 1905. Russia was but poorly developed industrially—it is true—but much of the existing industry was concentrated in enormous establishments under the stimulation of foreign capital. This concentration of large groups of industrial workers tended to balance against the fact of general lack of modern capitalist development throughout Russia as a whole.

Russia had been presented by history with the conditions for the building of the best revolutionary working class party in the world, and under the leadership of Lenin such a party—the Bolshevik Party—had been hammered together in twenty years of struggle against tsarism and opportunism.

And this revolutionary party of the workers, this Bolshevik Party, was firmly implanted in the

under the dissolving influence of discontent and indifference."

The Intrigues of Franco-British Capital.

The dismay of the Russian big bourgeoisie was heightened when in the bedlam of the tsar's court it became apparent that the monarchy was on the verge of closing a separate peace of Russia with Germany. This would mean a colossal disaster for the bourgeois ambitions in imperialism. British and French diplomats helped and even directed a plan for a "coup d'etat" for the overthrow of the tsar.

It was not intended that the monarchy should be done away with—but that Nicholas II should be removed through a "palace revolution" (such as had happened more than once before in Russian history), and that another tsar, under the influence of Franco-British finance capital, should be put in his place.

The Masses Rise Against Tsarism.

While the British Ambassador, Buchanan, was plotting with the representatives of Russian capital, the workers and the city population generally proceeded on their own line.

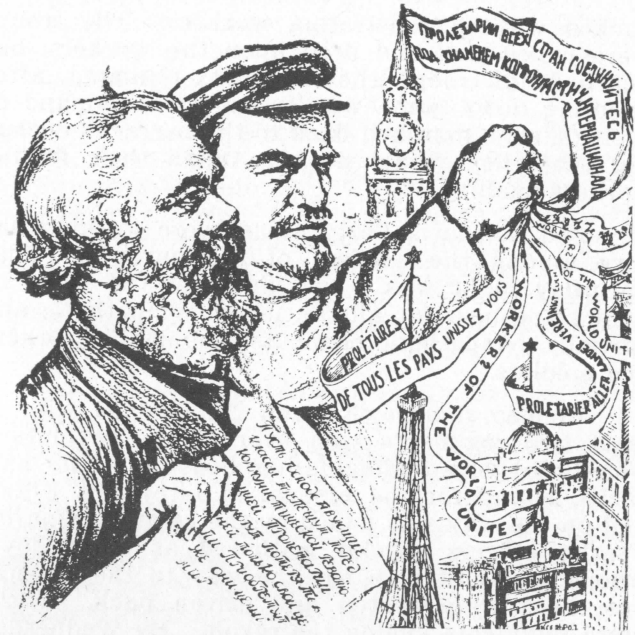
Lenin described it:

"A fortunate coincidence of favorable conditions in 1917 enabled different social forces opposing tsarism to co-operate in one general action for power. These forces are:

"1—Anglo-French financial capital, that rules and exploits the whole world through investments and Imperialism. In 1905 it was opposed to the revolution, and helped tsarism crush the revolution by means of the big loan of 1906 (largely engineered by French capital against the despairing protest of the revolutionary democracy). But now Anglo-French finance took an active part in the revolution by organizing the **coup d'etat** of the Guchkovs and Milyukovs, the bourgeois interests and the leading military groups for the overthrow of the tsar. From the standpoint of world-politics, the Provisional Government of Milyukov-Guchkov is simply the clerk of the banking firm England, France & Co., and a means of prolonging the imperialistic war.

"2—The defeats in the war waged by the government of the tsar. These resulted in clearing out the old guard in control of the army and created a new and young bourgeois group of officers.

"3—The Russian bourgeoisie in its different groups. The bourgeoisie organized itself rapidly between 1905 and 1917, and has united with the nobility in the struggle against the corrupt government



Lenin, Leader of the World Revolution.

of the tsar with the intention of enriching itself by exploiting Armenia, Constantinople and Galicia.

"4—The further power, which combined with the bourgeois, imperialistic forces, and the most important of all, was a strong proletarian movement, the organized and revolutionary workers. The proletariat made the Revolution by demanding peace, bread and liberty. It had nothing in common with the imperialistic government, and it secured the support of the majority of the army, consisting of workers and peasants.

"Without the three years, 1905-1907, of tremendous class conflicts and revolutionary energy of the Russian proletariat, this second revolution could not possibly have had the rapid progress indicated in the fact that its first phase, the overthrow of tsarism, is accomplished in a few days. The Revolution of 1905 ploughed the ground deeply and wiped out the prejudices of centuries; it awakened to political life and struggle millions of workers and tens of millions of peasants. . . ."

The Soldiers Join the Workers in Revolt.

On the 8th of March, 1917, workers began to riot on the streets of Petrograd in protest against the bread shortage. On the next day the streets became torrents of marching, singing, shouting workers. On the 10th of March, a Saturday, the police began shooting workers on the street. Sunday morning found the city still more densely

altogether. With the political death of the intellectual youth began the political life of the proletarian youth.

"The revolutionary student with whom Lenin had dealt in the first stages of the revolutionary movement represented to him an offspring of a foreign class, a temporary ally it is true, but whose time was up. The proletarian youth—this was the real **MAKER OF HISTORY**, a fellow-worker in the 'real history of mankind'." (Kamenev).

Lenin and the Proletarian Youth.

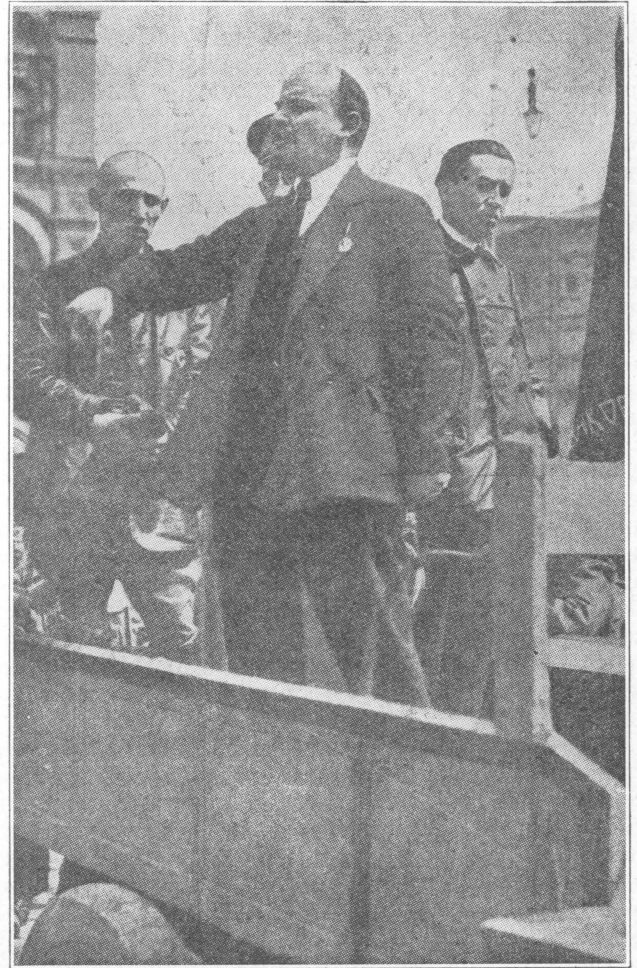
Lenin's attitude to the proletarian youth as a factor in the revolutionary movement is worthy of the closest study of every revolutionist, young and old. It was to the proletarian youth that Lenin looked to take up the struggle against the deep corruption of Marxism and the open degeneration of the European social-democracy thru the poison of opportunism. It was to the youth that Lenin looked to smash the rotten social reformism and raise aloft the banner of revolutionary Marxism.

The Role of the Proletarian Youth as the Fighters for the Line of Marxism.

Lenin did not place such an estimation on the proletarian youth out of sentiment or for love of the youth. This was the precise opposite of Lenin's procedure. For Lenin had analyzed and exposed the sources of the growing opportunist plague in the working class movement and had seen that the youth was largely untouched by it. Opportunism and social reformism he discovered as the by-product of imperialism—as the reflex in the working class movement of the corruption of sections of the working class—the "aristocracy of labor"—thru a small share of the super-profits of imperialist finance-capital. But the unskilled proletarian youth forms no part of the aristocracy of labor, the youth is least of all affected by imperialist corruption. Reformism, therefore, cannot in the very nature of things find lodgement in the proletarian youth. Nor must we forget in this connection that the voteless youth is not so easy a prey to the parliamentary illusions as the adult workers.

Secondly, it is the youth that in every country of the world forms the most bitterly exploited, the most oppressed section of the toiling masses. It is the youth, too, it must not be forgotten in the third place, that bears the brunt of capitalist militarism, that is the first and most severe sufferer in the imperialist maneuvers of modern finance-capital. Nor must, finally, the psychologic peculiarities of the youth be lost from sight. The rousing spirit and flaming enthusiasm of youth as yet uncrushed by the brutalities of capitalism more than once drew Lenin's sincere admiration.

Lenin saw all this and based his calculations thereon. Upon the proletarian youth he looked as one of the main factors in the struggle for the line of orthodox Marxism against the reformists. "Upon



LENIN SPEAKS!

the socialist youth organizations," Lenin wrote in 1916, "falls the gigantic and grateful, but therefore difficult task of struggling for revolutionary internationalism, for true socialism, and against the dominant opportunism that has gone over to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie." (Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 2, Dec. 2, 1926).

Lenin and the Mistakes of the Youth.

Of course, the passionate struggle of the proletarian youth for the line of true Marxism did not prevent its youth and inexperience from leading it into many errors, some quite serious. The attitude of Lenin to these errors—Lenin, the orthodox Marxist, Lenin the "dogmatist," Lenin, the uncompromising theoretician—speaks volumes. Did Lenin, who went to what many considered almost "impossible extremes" in attacking the slightest deviation from the strict line of Marxism—did Lenin have any bitterness or even "strictness" for the gross errors of the youth? Let us see! Here he is criticizing some of the more serious errors in the first few issues of the "Jugend-Internationale" the organ of the Socialist Youth International that had refused

The Great Importance of the I. L. G. W. U. Convention.

Of the two conventions that of the I. L. G. W. U. was by far the most important for several reasons:

1. Size of the Union.

First, because of the size of the union—it exceeded in this respect, according to A. F. of L. figures for 1924, only by the United Mine Workers of America, the unions of Carpenters, Painters, Street Railwaymen, Railway Carmen and Electrical Workers. It paid per capita to the A. F. of L. in that year for 91,000 members. The figures for the Electrical Workers and Railway Carmen are padded for convention purposes so that the I. L. G. W. U. even with the decrease in membership caused by the Sigman policy, is actually one of the five largest unions in the A. F. of L.

The Fur Workers have approximately 10,000 members.

2. Strength of the Left Wing.

Second, because of the numerical strength of the left wing and its defeat of the Sigman machine in the pre-convention struggle in New York—the largest center of the ladies' garment industry. In

the convention the left cast 110 votes representing two-thirds of the membership against 154 for the machine.

3. Character of the I. L. G. W. U. Bureaucracy.

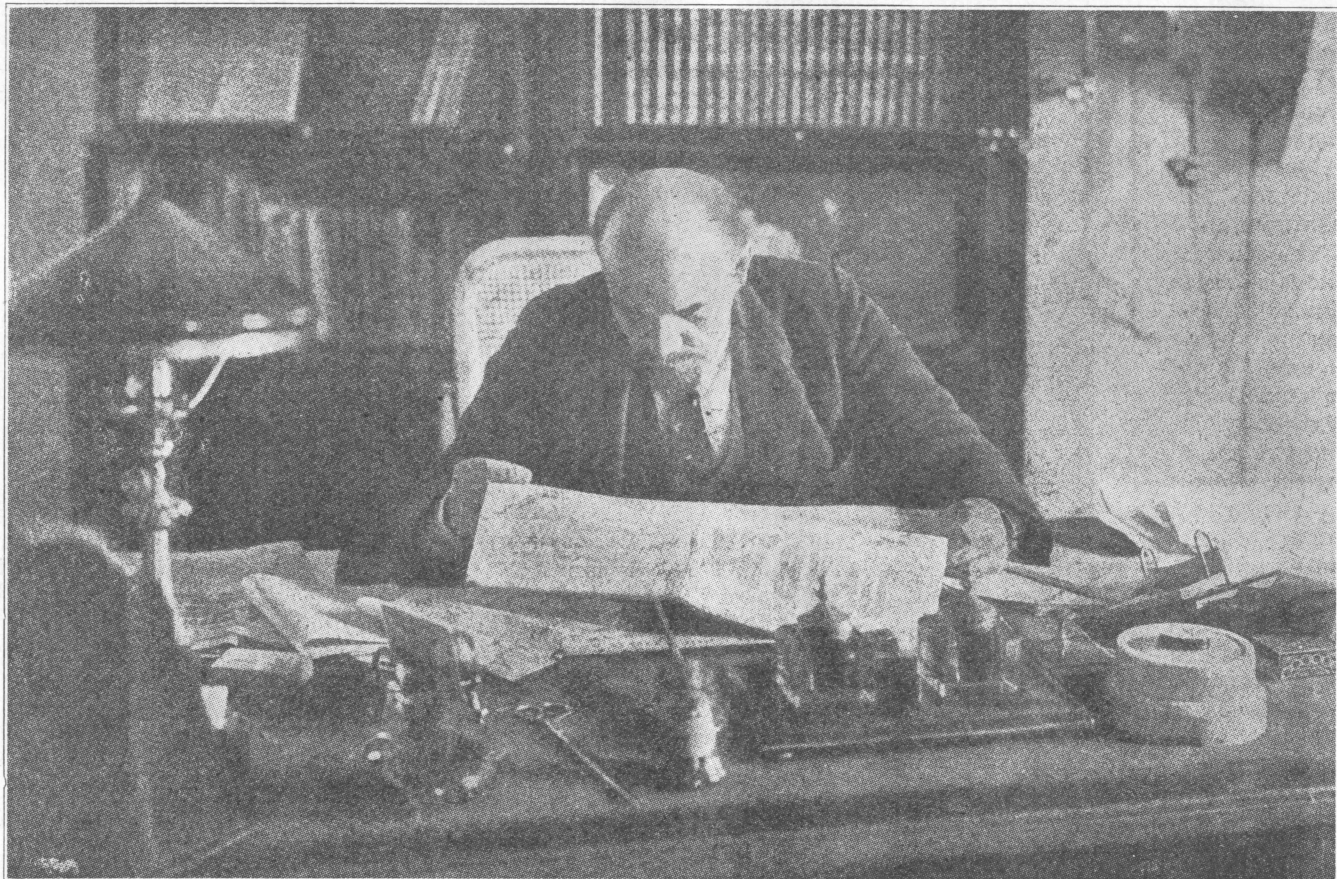
Third, because of the social-democratic character of the I. L. G. W. U. bureaucracy, its previous training in the class struggle school enabling it to fight and maneuver far more skilfully against the left wing than the cruder bureaucrats of the other A. F. of L. unions.

Sigman's Maneuvers in the Gitlow Case.

As an instance of this let us take the action of the Sigman bureaucracy in the case of Benjamin Gitlow.

On the first day of the convention a machine delegate moved that a protest against the imprisonment of Gitlow be sent to the authorities. The motion was carried unanimously. Then the "impartial chairman" of the governor's commission for regulating wages and working conditions in the ladies' garment industry in New York proceeded to Albany, where he conferred with Governor Smith. By long distance telephone he informed President Sigman that Gitlow's pardon had been obtained.

Sigman, who hates Gitlow and the Communist



LENIN AT WORK.

2. The boll weevil plague in the cotton plantations.

3. The general agrarian crisis which forced the tenants in the South, as well as in the northern states, to look for work in the cities.

4. The deepgoing dissatisfaction among the Negroes in the South, especially after the world war.

5. The intense development of industry in the northern states, as a consequence of the world war, coupled with the immigration ban, as a result of which the demand for unskilled labor power grew tremendously.

1. Living and Working Conditions of the Southern Negroes.

Most of the labor power in cotton production in the South has been Negro. In the period from 1880-1920, the percentage of plantation owners in the cotton belt sank from 62% to 49.8%. Seventy to ninety per cent of the cultivated land in the cotton districts of Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi are rented by Negro tenants. In Mississippi 60% of all cotton farms are worked by Negroes, of whom 85% are tenants.

The tenants have not the slightest prospect of ever acquiring the possession of the land on which they work—a prospect that is still in the realms of possibility for the white farmer in the northeastern states, altho even here such prospects are now under ever growing difficulties. For the Negroes, the

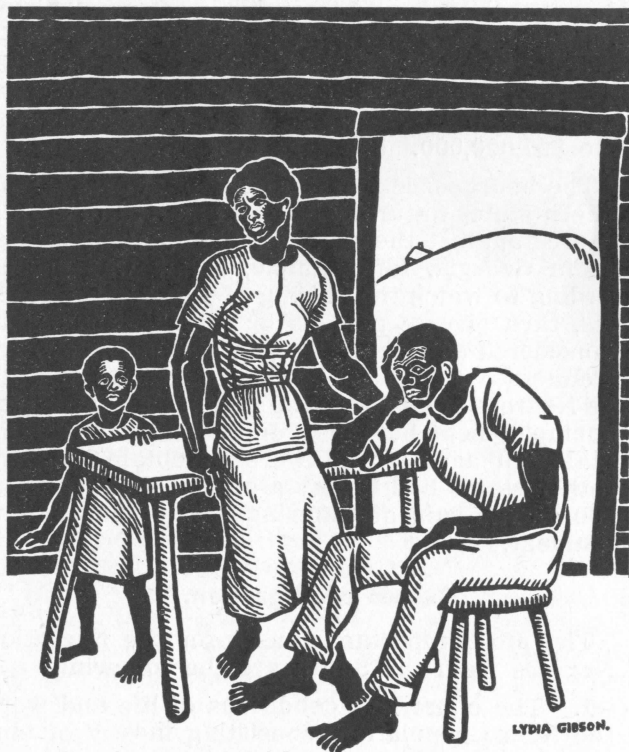
status of tenant is unchangeable. Leading a miserable existence, the Negro tenant is in the rarest cases able to provide his children with an elementary education. Thus, in 1923 in the state of Georgia, the appropriations for the schools for Negroes who at that time composed 45% of the population reached the total of \$15,000 as opposed to the appropriation of \$735,000 for the whites. We must add to this the usurious credit system which still more diminishes the scanty earnings of the tenant. The prices of the commodities bought by Negro tenants on credit are on the average seventy per cent higher but in Texas it is 81% and in Arkansas 90%.

As a rule, the Negro tenant has a claim to only a half of the product of the labor of his relatives or others whose help he can obtain. Of this, the owners are legally empowered to deduct for supposed allowances and services by the land barons for means of life, clothing, medical help, etc. Many landowners are at the same time also merchants. Since written agreements are entirely unusual, the Negro is thus further uniformly swindled in the most shameless way.

The Negro masses are exploited so intensely that they are often more miserable than under chattel slavery. The status of the Negroes, their working conditions, and their sufferings, are illustrated in the following quotation from a report of the National Association of Manufacturers, of October 7, 1920: "The bad economic exploitation in these cases indicates a slavery many times worse than the former real slavery. Thousands of Negroes who have been working all their lives uninterruptedly are not able to show the value of ten dollars, and are not able to buy the most necessary clothing at the close of the season. They live in the most wretched condition... and are lucky to get hold of a worn out pair of boots or some old clothing..."

Judge S. O. Bratton who was able to obtain in Little Rock, Arkansas, an accurate picture of the relations between the whites and the blacks, writes as follows: "The conditions today are worse than before the American Civil War... The system of exploitation is carried to such a point that most Negroes can hardly keep themselves alive upon their earnings. The plantation owners maintain so-called 'commission businesses' in which the prices of commodities are fixed at the order of the plantation inspectors. The Negroes are prevented in every possible way from keeping an account of the wares taken by them."

Another big source of misery is to be found in the "lynch law" and the terror of the Ku Klux Klan. In the January 1924 issue of the North American Review we have an illuminating report of Howard Snyder who spent many years in the plantation districts of Mississippi. Mr. Snyder says: "... If we add the cruel lynch law which is respons-



SHARE-CROPPERS

ible for the murder of many Negroes burned alive, of whom we never hear in our great newspapers, and if we keep in mind that the Negroes working on the plantations are helpless and defenseless beings who are thrown into panic at the very mention of the Ku Klux Klan, then we will be able to understand the other causes of the mass migration. Nowhere in the world is there among the civilized peoples a human being so cruelly persecuted as the Negro in the South. Almost every day we read that some Negro was baited to death with dogs or whipped to death, or burned alive amidst the howls of huge crowds. How they could ever cherish the hope in the South that these people would suffer all this without protest when twenty dollars, the price of a railway ticket, can be sufficient to free them from this hell, passes my understanding."

2. The Boll Weevil Plague and the Agricultural Crisis.

The boll weevil plague which recently visited the cotton plantations, has been a tremendous factor in changing the South. According to the approximate evaluation, the damages wrought by this pest in the years 1917-22 amounted from \$1,600,000,000 to \$1,900,000,000. As a consequence of this, cotton-cultivated land grew markedly smaller. Thus many black workers and tenants were forced to go to the North.

3. The World War and the Negro.

This wretched system existed prior to the world war. The Negroes were dissatisfied even before the world war. Yet it was the world war with its consequent fundamental economic changes and the Negro migration as a result of the rapid industrialization in the North and East that gave special impetus and created favorable opportunities for a wave of intense dissatisfaction among the Negro tenants and agricultural workers.

We must not underestimate the deep going change in the ideology of the Negro masses called forth by the world war. Whole generations were, so to speak, tied down like slaves to the soil. To them, their village was the world. And now, suddenly, hundreds of thousands of them (376,710) were drawn into military service. Over 200,000 were sent across and returned with new concepts, with new hopes, with a new belief in their people. Their political and social sphere of ideas broadened. Their former hesitancy and lack of decision was now leaving them. The Negroes were stirred en masse and set out to carry thru their aspirations, left their miserable shacks and went to look for better working and living conditions.

Simultaneously, the immigration of European workers into America was practically ended by the world war. In the post-war period, strict legal measures were taken for the same end. In this way, one of the best sources of the stream of unskilled labor was dried up. Thru the world war, however, the development of American industry



LYDIA GIBSON.

NEW-COMERS

made mighty steps forward and with this the demand for labor power rose. The industrial reserve army had to be filled up and the bourgeoisie of the North turned to the Southern states. In the Negro masses they saw a fitting reservoir to supply their gigantic factories of the northern and eastern states.

To illustrate how the capitalists looked upon the Negro problem in this phase of development, we have the following quotations of Blanton Fortson in a recent number of the Forum: "Disregarding his low stage of development, the undesirable immigrant is characterized by all those traits which are foreign to the Negro. He is permeated with Bolshevism. He understands neither the American language nor the American employers, contracts marriage with American women, multiplies very fast, so that finally, if the door is not closed to the stream of people of his kind, the real native workers will be suppressed by them.

"In normal times, there always exists in the industrial centers a demand for unskilled labor. Where can the North find this? To import unskilled workers from eastern and southern Europe means to increase the number of inferior people in America (To this apologist of capitalism, the 'people permeated with Bolshevism' are inferior. J. L.) If, however, we make use of the Negroes for this purpose, then we will simply redistribute the people of a lower race already existing in the United States and not increase them; in fact, diminish them."

does it follow from this that the Bolsheviks were wrong? No. The Bolsheviks had set no exact date, although they did believe, it must be admitted, that matters would progress very much more rapidly, nor did they foresee that a whole decade would pass by until the triumph of the working class. But, as you know, in the matter of setting a time all have erred, even Marx, who more than once predicted that the world revolution was near. It is quite understandable, that every sincere revolutionist inclines toward fixing the date rather earlier than later. At any rate, our prognosis was in general correct: the revolution was not at an end, its fundamental demands had not been objectively fulfilled, the proletariat and the peasantry had not been satisfied, a new struggle was inevitable, and for us there could be no question of following a Prussian path, but only a Russian, which would lead us to a great social overturn. These predictions of ours were proved to be correct. All this became clear—and fairly soon, too.

The Stockholm Congress fell at the same time as the amazing victory of the Cadets—the party of the liberal bourgeoisie—in the elections for the first Duma. They gained a large number of seats in the Duma, and, together with these, political leadership in the first Russian parliament, getting in the celebrated Morozov as chairman. The Cadet party occupied the leading position in the Duma, and its leaders, Nabokov and others, were the principal parliamentary orators. In the final analysis, the First Duma represented a great victory for the Russian bourgeois-liberal party, which called itself the Constitutional-Democratic Party. (C. D.—whence the name “Cadets”). The latter constituted a very serious political factor, confronting the workers’ party with the problem of what attitude to adopt toward it.

The Responsible (Cadet) Ministry.

The Menshevik Central Committee, which was at that time directing the party, was in transports of delight over the victory of the Cadets. It believed that a new era had opened in Russia and that the victory of the Constitutional-Democratic Party which subscribed to its own views, would help the country to a peaceful solution of the agrarian and many other basic problems. And in this connection the Mensheviks advanced the slogan: a Cadet, or—as it was expressed at the time—responsible ministry, i. e., a ministry which should be responsible not to the czar, but to the Duma. This, in general, is the classical formula of all bourgeois parliaments. In reality, however, the ministry that is meant to be responsible to the parliament, is, in actual fact, responsible to a handful of bankers. Hardly had Menshevik social-democracy put forward the above slogan, than its supporters began a frenzied agitation in the workers’ quarters for the support of the idea of the “responsible ministry.” As you can see, the behaviour of the Mensheviks was logical and ran true to form. Here too, they sought a suitable formula for the support of their beloved bourgeoisie.



LENIN POINTS THE WAY!

But at this point matters began to go awry: this slogan of theirs spelt ruin for the Mensheviks, and aided us in winning a majority in Petersburg. I remember that the Viborg district, where there were many factories, was hundred per cent Menshevik. To us, erring Bolsheviks, the workers of that section would scarcely listen. But as soon as the slogan was brought forward,—for a responsible Cadet ministry—and it became plain as the palm of your hand that the Menshevik tactics were leading to support of the bourgeois ministry, the picture began to change. From this moment on the Mensheviks began to lose one factory after another in the Viborg section. Next the Petersburg City Conference also took its stand against the Menshevik slogan. This conference was held in Finland, which was at that time comparatively free. I remember how, on a Saturday, under fire of the glances of a whole band of spies in the Finland Station we took our seats in the train for Terioki. The conference lasted all Sunday, and at times it almost came to blows between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. Finally despite the pressure exercised by the Menshevik Central Committee, we succeeded for a time in gaining the majority first in Petersburg, and then in a whole series of other cities. This was already half a victory on the all-Russian general staff, since Petersburg was the political center of the country. The Menshevik Central Committee was powerless in the face of the Bolshevik Petersburg Committee, and the bourgeois



The "Economic Foundations." Two Ch's That Are Stable! Two F's That Are Toppling!

press was fond of making the joke that the little Bol-

shevik (majority) Petersburg Committee had beaten the big Menshevik (minority) Central Committee.

The Dissolution of the First Duma.

In view of the fact that the Cadets held political leadership in it, the First Duma had to pay tribute to the revolutionary, and especially to the peasant movement, which was continually broadening out, and was compelled to place the land question on the order of the day, albeit in a sufficiently hesitant fashion. On this ground a conflict between the Duma and the czarist government arose. The First Duma was dissolved. The Cadet party in the heat of the moment hastened to Finland, to an illegal conference of its own, and there issued the famous Viborg Manifesto, which at the time was dubbed the "Viborg Cake." This document called to the population to refuse to pay their taxes, and was in reality only a repetition of that gesture which the moderate liberals indulged in during the revolution of 1848, when they shook their fists—in secret—at the monarchy. They did not really mean to seriously support the revolutionary struggle, and knew beforehand that none would pay any attention to their call not to pay taxes. The czarist monarchy of course did not take "the Viborg Cake" seriously, and condemned its bakers to only three months in prison,—a trifling enough sentence.

The dissolution of the First Duma was only a little falling out of czarism with the liberal bourgeoisie. It was speedily forgotten and in the Second Duma a nice neighborly relation existed between the two sides, a part of the liberal bourgeois openly singing the praises of Stolypin.

Reviews

A Revolutionary Epic

A REVIEW BY JOSEPH FREEMAN.

CHAINS: By Henri Barbusse. Translated from the French by Stephen Haden Guest. Two volumes. 589 pp. New York: International Publishers, \$4.

A THOUSAND YEARS passed before Europe began to mould an art based on the concepts of Christianity. When those concepts had sunk into the blood and bones of the western world so that people no longer thought them, but felt them deep in their unconscious, the madonna, the holy infant, and the saints became universal subjects for painters and poets.

It is only seventy-five years since Marx discovered the law which has revolutionized the modern world. A comparatively small section of humanity has been, for this brief period, familiar with the concept of the class-struggle. A new fundamental concept shapes ideas and action first, imagination only afterward. Thus thousands of economic and historical books,

pamphlets, articles, and speeches have sprung directly out of Marx's concept; the life of one-sixth of the globe is directed under its guiding light; but the arts have only recently begun to grope toward its expression in aesthetic form.

Henri Barbusse—turned inside out and recreated by the war, finding intellectual salvation within Communist ranks, and dedicating his gifted pen to the workers' cause—has just attempted to write an epic around the class struggle. That is the central, hence the greatest theme of our time. The Communist Manifesto will be, in a way, for many new writers what the Bible was for so many writers of a dead day. Milton and a thousand others sang of "man's first disobedience and the fruit"; Barbusse and a thousand with him and after him will sing of the oppression of the many by the few, the curse of slavery, the glory of revolt.

These platitudes are invoked in recognition of the greatness of Barbusse's attempt in *Chains*. He has tried "to attack directly the whole tremendous drama