

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

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
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NOVEMBER 1, 1924.

On the Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

By N. Lenin

(A speech delivered by Lenin in Moscow on the Fourth Anniversary of the November revolution.)

We are approaching the fourth anniversary of the November revolution.

The farther we go from this great day, the clearer do we grasp the significance of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and the deeper do we appreciate the experiences of the general struggle. These could be stated in very brief form as follows:

The immediate and direct task of the revolution in Russia, was of a bourgeois democratic nature—that is, to overthrow the remnants of the middle ages, to clear Russia of this barbarism, disgraceful and greatest obstacle to any kind of progressive development in our country.

We have all grounds to be proud of the fact that we in Russia have carried out the abolition of feudalism in a much more radical, determined and sweeping way than has been done by the great French revolution over one hundred and twenty-five years ago.

The anarchists and petty-bourgeois democrats (that is, the menshheviks and socialist-revolutionaries, as the Russian representatives of this international social type) have been saying and continue to say all kinds of things about the relations between a bourgeois democratic revolution and a socialist proletarian revolution. The past four years of the Russian revolution have proved the correctness of our understanding of Marxism with regard to this point. We have completed the bourgeois democratic revolution to its very end. At this moment we continue to move ahead, determinedly and energetically to the socialist revolution, realizing at the same time that there is no Chinese wall between the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, and that only in the process of actual struggle will it be determined, how far we shall succeed in moving ahead, what portion of our great task we shall succeed in accomplishing, and how much of it we shall be able to retain. We shall live and see. But even now, we already find, that we have accomplished gigantic changes—changes to the better for our ruined and backward country on the road to the up-building of a socialist order of society.

Marxians should have no difficulty in understanding the significance of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. For further illustration, we should take a few concrete examples. To carry thru a bourgeois-democratic revolution means to clear the social relations of a country from institutions of the middle ages, from chattel slavery and feudalism. Now, what were the main characteristics of these remnants of feudalism in Russia in 1917? The answer is: The monarchy, the then existing system of land ownership, the social position of women, the official status of religion and the position of the oppressed nationalities. Take any of these manifestations of feudalism, which, by the way, can be found in a goodly measure in any of the bourgeois democratic countries which had their revolutions a hundred and twenty-five and more years ago, and you will find that our revolution had cleared these manifestations completely out of existence. In the course of about ten weeks, from November 7, 1917, to January 5, 1918, we have done in this respect a thousand times more than have the petty-bourgeois democrats and liberals during the eight months that they have been in power.

These cowards, empty phrase-mongers, these little stage-Hamlets, armed

with paper swords, failed even to abolish the monarchy, while we, as soon as we got our chance, cleared Russia of the monarchistic impurities as was never done before in any country in the world. We have left no stone unturned in the old structure of czaristic oppression. We have removed the very foundations of the old system of feudalism, chattel-slavery and land ownership.

Of course, one could discuss without end (and there are plenty of journalists, cadets, menshheviks, and socialist-revolutionists who indulge in this sort of debate) as to what will be the final result of the agricultural changes produced by the November revolution. As to ourselves, we have neither the time nor the desire to indulge now in such discussion. However, there is one fact which cannot be denied, and that is, that the petty-bourgeois democrats have been in power for eight long months without abolishing a single institution of the old feudal order, while we have completely swept feudalism off the face of the Russian earth in the course of only a few weeks' time.

Or take, for example, the official status of religion, or the inferior position in society of the Russian women, or the oppression and persecution of the non-Russian nationalities. All these are problems of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. But what happened? Our petty-bourgeois democrats spent eight months in mouthing phrases, without producing a single fundamental change in the old social and political relations of Russia. Even in the most advanced bourgeois countries in the world, these bourgeois-democratic problems, have not been completely solved as yet. And in Russia the November revolution—only the November revolution—succeeded in completing the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Our struggles against religion are real struggles. Our November revolution has granted the non-Russian nationalities their own republics and autonomous provinces. We in Russia no longer tolerate the disgrace of oppressing women, which, though it is a remnant of feudalism, still persists in somewhat modern form in every bourgeois country in the world.



November, 1917

All this properly belongs to a bourgeois democratic revolution. One hundred and fifty and two hundred years ago, the leaders of the bourgeois revolutions had promised to liberate humanity from the oppression of feudalism, to do away with the inequality of women, to destroy the privileges of the dominating church and to establish the equality of na-

tionalities. These promises were never realized. The leaders of the bourgeois revolutions in Europe could not very well complete their own task because of their inherent respect for the "sacred institution of private property." Our proletarian revolution was hampered by no such respect for the institutions of feudalism and for the "sacredness of private property."

But here is what must be kept in mind. In order to insure and retain the victories of the Russian masses in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, we had to continue the revolution further than its bourgeois-democratic aims. This we did. While we were moving ahead towards our main objective which was the proletarian revolution, we kept on abolishing and destroying every remnant of feudalism and czarism. We were acting in accord with our old theories, that social reforms are only a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle. We have proved the correctness of our old saying—that bourgeois-democratic reforms come as a by-product of the proletarian socialist revolution. A very simple truth—is it not? And yet, none of the heroes of the "two-and-a-half" Marxists, such as Kautsky, Hilferding, Martov, Chernov, Hillquit,



Longuet, MacDonald, Turrati, etc., could understand this kind of correlation between a bourgeois democratic revolution and a proletarian socialist revolution. They failed to understand that the bourgeois-democratic revolution if it is to be completed, must naturally, pass over and become a proletarian socialist revolution. The latter in its development, solves the problems and reinforces the victories of the former. The measure in which a bourgeois-democratic revolution succeeds in developing into a proletarian revolution is determined only by actual struggle.

The Soviet system offers the best proof of this. This Soviet system embodies the maximum of democracy for the workers and peasants, while at the same time it is a complete departure from bourgeois democracy and marks the beginning of a new type of democracy—namely, proletarian democracy, or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Let the dogs and swine of the dying bourgeoisie continue their work of damnation and ridicule of our failures and mistakes in the building of our Soviet system. We never forget, not even for a minute, that we have really committed many mistakes. Who could avoid making them, while carrying out the greatest revolution in history, and building a new type of government? There is one thing cer-

tain—that we will continually correct our mistakes always looking after the best and most efficient solution of our problem. But in spite of all our mistakes, we have every reason to be proud of our accomplishments, and particularly of the fact that it was we who started the greatest revolution in human history, which marks the epoch of the coming into power of a new class, whose struggles and victories will eventually relieve humanity of the disgraceful rule of capitalism and imperialism.

Since 1914, the question of imperialist war and of its main driving force, finance capital, which is imposing its rule of robbery, plunder, and oppression upon the weak and backward nations—this question has become the central point in the political life of the entire world. It is a question of life and death for tens of millions of people. It is a question of whether we shall again have to pass thru an imperialist war (which capitalism is preparing right now before the eyes of the whole world) which will again destroy tens of millions of human lives and in this question also, our November revolution opened up a new era in human history.

The servants of the bourgeoisie, such as the menshheviks, the socialist-revolutionaries and the "socialist-democracy of the whole world, have been ridiculing our slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war. And what do we find? That this slogan has proved the only truth in the world of lies spread by the chauvinists and social patriots. These lies are being exposed now. Every day brings new revelations to the masses as to the meaning of capitalist peace and capitalist war. The masses are gradually coming to the realization of the truth of our old slogan—that there is no other way of abolishing the imperialist war except by bolshevik struggles and bolshevik revolutions.

Let the bourgeoisie and the pacifists and all pious Christians and knights of the Second and Second-and-a-Half Internationals keep on condemning the bolshevik revolution. It will not help them. No amount of condemnation and lies will be able to do away with the great historical fact that it was for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years that the oppressed slaves have risen in their anger and have declared that they are not going to fight the battles of their masters. It was for the first time in thousands of years that the vague and blind instincts of the masses found their expression in a clear-cut political program in an organized struggle of millions of oppressed under the leadership of the proletariat, which resulted in the first victory of the working class and the victory of the Russian revolution.

This first victory is not yet the final victory! The Russian masses have paid an immense price for what they have already achieved. We have committed mistakes which we are not afraid to admit. We shall continue to study our experiences soberly and impartially, in order to improve our program of struggle against world capitalism. We know that we have only made a beginning. The triumphant end is yet to come. And although we cannot say precisely when and in what country the proletariat will make the next decisive step, there is one thing we do know—and that is, that the ice is broken, the way has been shown to the workers of the world, how to fight capitalism and establish the rule of the working class.

NOTE.

This speech by Lenin is part of the Workers Party branch program appearing on Page 2 of Magazine Section.

It has been decided that all Workers Party branches that have not taken part in mass demonstrations in celebration of the Seventh Anniversary of the Russian Revolution must turn their next regular branch meeting into such a celebration.

PROGRAM

For Your Branch Celebration
of the Anniversary of the Seventh Victorious Year of the Russian Proletariat

There is one event which every party member and every party organization must celebrate. This event is the anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

The Communist International and the Workers Party by decision of the Central Executive Committee has called upon every party unit to commemorate this SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VICTORY OF THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT.

In the seventy largest cities in the United States our party organizations will hold big mass demonstrations in celebration of the seven triumphant years of Soviet Russia.

But the Workers Party has branches in hundreds of cities. The decision made by the Central Executive Committee instructs every branch that has not made itself a vital part of these 70 mass demonstrations to turn its NEXT REGULAR MEETING INTO A CELEBRATION OF THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

This means that in every city where we have single party branches, in every city where we have a City Central Committee that did not organize a celebration—in all these cities THE BRANCHES ARE TO CELEBRATE AT THEIR NEXT REGULAR BRANCH MEETING.

The program for your celebration will be found in this paper. Several verses of the INTERNATIONAL; the MANIFESTO of the Workers Party; the speech in support of the DAILY WORKER; the speech by LENIN made upon the fourth anniversary of the Russian Revolution; the speech entitled, "BOLSHEVIZE THE WORKERS PARTY"—all these constitute your program. Your meeting program should be organized in the following order:

PROGRAM FOR YOUR BRANCH:

1. SINGING OF THE INTERNATIONAL
2. READING OF THE MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS PARTY.
3. READING OF SPEECH ENTITLED: "INSURE THE DAILY WORKER FOR 1925!"
4. COLLECTION: The proceeds of the meetings are to be remitted to the DAILY WORKER.
5. READING OF SPEECH MADE BY LENIN UPON THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.
6. READING OF SPEECH ENTITLED: "BOLSHEVIZE THE WORKERS PARTY!"
7. SHORT SPEECHES BY THE MEMBERS OF THE BRANCH.
8. SINGING OF INTERNATIONALE AND ADJOURNMENT.

The International

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been taught, we shall be all.

REFRAIN

'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The International Party
Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviors.
To rule us from a judgment hall;
We workers ask not for their favors;
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.

Tollers from shops and fields united,
The union we of all who work;
The earth belongs to us, the workers,
No room here for the shirk.
How many on our flesh have fastened!
But if the noisome birds of prey
Shall vanish from the sky some morning,
The blessed sunlight will stay.

Insure the DAILY WORKER for 1925

THE DAILY WORKER is the central organ of our party. Upon it, more than anything else, depends the growth and the strength of our party. If the circulation of THE DAILY WORKER is big, our Party will grow. If THE DAILY WORKER is strong, our party will gain strength.

That THE DAILY WORKER has been able for almost a year to continue its existence without financial help is a testament to the health of our party and to the activity of the membership. Never in the history of the world labor movement has any labor daily been able to exist without subsidy. If, in America, in the face of the enmity of the entire labor officialdom, in the face of the bitter hostility of the capitalist class, THE DAILY WORKER had been able out of its income from subscriptions to pay its own way, that would have been a miracle.

But miracles do not happen. THE DAILY WORKER has gone on for nine months without asking for money. It has not been an easy road that has been traveled. It has meant saving and planning, and ceaseless work. But the achievement has been great. From a weak and tiny

paper, THE DAILY WORKER has grown into a strong and powerful organ of the revolution. But it has not grown fast enough, nor strong enough yet, to make its own way without the financial support of the militant workers, who alone make THE DAILY WORKER possible.

THE DAILY WORKER does not face annihilation if the funds are not forthcoming, but yet it can no longer go on its way strong and becoming stronger unless the money is available. Therefore, we campaign now to make THE DAILY WORKER safe for 1925; to make it possible that during the coming year THE DAILY WORKER may equal its record achievements of the past year and go on to further and greater victory.

Insure THE DAILY WORKER for 1925! In celebrating the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, we not only greet Soviet Russia on the completion of its 7th victorious year, but we also greet THE DAILY WORKER, emblem of victory for the Workers Party and the American revolutionary movement. Upon this anniversary of the Russian Revolution we pledge our utmost support for THE DAILY WORKER and will generously contribute to make our English daily safe for the coming year.

Bolshevize the Workers Party

It was a Bolshevik party which led the workers and peasants in the triumphant struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. When we celebrate this victory we should ask ourselves, "What are the qualities which make a workers' political party a Bolshevik Party?" We must ask ourselves this question and then get to work persistently and systematically to make of our party—the Workers Party—a Bolshevik party.

The basic quality of a Bolshevik party is a clear, fundamental grasp of Marxism and Leninism on the part of its members. A party built upon that foundation cannot go wrong in formulating policies and tactics to fight the class struggle. For this purpose, to create this Bolshevik understanding, we must create party schools, nationally, and study classes in every branch of the party and there teach Marxism and Leninism. Our party members must be encouraged to study the literature of Marxism and Leninism and thus to develop the theoreticians and leaders of our movement.

A Bolshevik party, however, is not only a party of Marxist and Leninist educational propaganda. It must be able to apply the Marxist and Leninist theory to the actual struggle of the workers. It must participate in the struggle using the Marxist-Leninist understanding as the guide to its maneuvers to draw the workers into the mass, class struggle against capitalism. The united front tactics as a means of agitation and mobilization of the masses, maneuvers in relation to other parties and groups, these are part of the tactics of a truly Bolshevik party. A sectarian propaganda organization is not a Bolshevik or Communist party. A Bolshevik party must be a fighting, maneuvering vanguard in the actual struggle of the workers.

A third requisite to make a party a truly Bolshevik organization is the correct organizational basis. This organizational basis is the shop nuclei—groups of workers organized in the factories—who keep the party in touch with the everyday lives of the workers and make it possible to mobilize them from the factories for the struggles against capitalism. Every factory must be a stronghold of the Workers Party.

With these qualities of the party as a whole must go the strictest discipline on the part of its members. In a Bolshevik party, the convention is the highest power. Between conventions, the Central Executive Committee is entrusted with all authority on all party questions. Once decisions of the highest party authorities are handed down, the party as a whole must carry them into effect. Discussion ceases when decisions are made and action is the order of the day. It is only thru such strict discipline that we can build a monolithic party able to act decisively and meet the great problems which it has to solve.

The Communist International, as well as the Workers Party, makes one of the qualifications for party membership active participation in the party work. We do not want a party merely of dues paying members. Such a party is not a Bolshevik party. Every member of a Bolshevik party must be an active worker for Communism. He must be a member of the trade unions and carry on work for Communism there. He must carry on active propaganda among the working masses. He must be ever on watch to recruit new members worthy of becoming part of the vanguard of the working class, must support every party campaign, must endeavor to increase the circulation of the DAILY WORKER, the Workers Monthly, the language press and thus increase their influence. He must lead a Communist life—that is, all the time he does not give to the actual work necessary to secure his livelihood should be devoted to the upbuilding of the party. Communists must even have their social life in the party environment.

These are the qualities of a Bolshevik party. We must try tirelessly to make the Workers Party such a Bolshevik party. We have achieved much in that direction but there is still a great deal to do. Today we celebrate the Seventh Anniversary of the Triumph of the Russian Workers. When we celebrate the Eighth Anniversary we must be able to say that we have made still greater strides toward making our party a Bolshevik party, which means that we will have made greater strides forward towards the day when the Bolshevik party will triumph in the United States.

Workers Party Educational Department

Conducted by James P. Cannon, Educational Director

"Without a Revolutionary Theory a Revolutionary Party is Impossible."

Principles of Communist Propaganda

Adopted by Fifth Congress of Comintern

(Continued from last week.)

III. The Tasks of Organization of the Various Sections on the Field of Propaganda.

9. Agitational and propaganda activity must be regarded as a special branch of work of every party, if possible or at least, the most highly developed Communist mass parties. Within the central apparatus, a special body must be set up for party training (propaganda) and to guide agitational and propaganda activity. This body must guide Marxist-Leninist propaganda, must work out the system and method of conducting this propaganda, and furnish propaganda literature for educational work in Marxism-Leninism.

10. One of the prerequisites for organized propaganda activity and systematic development of party training, is to register all propagandist schools in Marxism, to specialize and secure a continuation of their education, and to support them in the educational work of the party. New cadres for propaganda must be formed and the old ones must be revived in the spirit of Leninism: in view of the scarcity of propaganda specialists, they must be used not only for teaching directly, but also for instructing lecturers who do not concern themselves specially with propaganda activity. Moreover, they must be organized into permanent commissions, or into commissions that meet periodically under the auspices of the departments for agitation and propaganda, the task of which will be to render assistance to the party members in their Marxist-Leninist education by word and deed, and to organize the work of education.

11. It is the duty of every party to awaken interest this autumn in the theoretical, political, tactical and organizational questions of Marxism-Leninism by an as extensive campaign as possible. This campaign is to be carried on in connection with the death of Lenin, with the new program of the Communist International, and with the actual political and internal questions of the Communist International and the parties. This campaign must also serve as the starting point for the systematic training of the parties.

12. It will be necessary to raise the question of imposing on all elected officials the duty of study. A special body must be formed within the training apparatus, which will offer the party officials an opportunity to extend and intensify their theoretical knowledge. Wherever possible, education days must be introduced for the party officials after the pattern of weekly party conferences. Every party member must be required to become acquainted with a certain minimum of political and theoretical knowledge at least to such a degree that the masses of the party members will be able to answer the questions of the non-Communist workers on the program, the aims, and the tactical principles of the Communist Party, and to combat the most flagrant petty bourgeois and social-democratic prejudices of the working class.

13. The party press must be utilized for awakening interest in the work of party training, in self-education, and in the problems of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist periodicals must intensify the theoretical discussion of the actual political and tactical questions without impairing the clearness of the discussion in general.

The daily press of the party must not refrain from discussing theoretical questions, but only in connection with the political everyday questions and the economic everyday struggles of the proletariat. The daily press must give carefully assembled bibliographical guidance. Every political question and every political event, every important anniversary must be utilized

for popularizing Marxist-Leninist literature by linking them up with the minimum knowledge which every Communist worker must possess in those questions. The daily press must also support the efforts of self-education of the party members with advice and in agreement with the departments for agitation and propaganda of the party. The bibliographical sections of the daily press, which must be enlarged for this task, must announce as completely and attractively as possible the appearance of Communist literature and Communist periodicals. The bibliographical sections of the periodicals must not confine themselves to announcing and criticizing the contents of the literature, but must discuss the ways and means of utilizing the literature in propaganda work. The Communist bibliography must be developed into one of the most important means for awakening a desire for Marxist education among the party and non-party masses.

14. A thorough discussion of the library question is also absolutely necessary. Marxist-Leninist libraries must be established in the party organization. Those who have charge of the libraries must be put at the service of the workers who are trying to educate themselves, and must be instructed for this work. The party must pay attention also to the public libraries (trade union and community libraries) and gain influence in these libraries wherever possible so that they can be put at the service of Marxist-Leninist propaganda.

IV. The Methods of Marxist-Leninist Propaganda Institutions.

15. The methods of propaganda must be adapted to the conditions and stages of development of the various sections. The following suggestions may serve as a common principle for all countries and parties:

a) Party education must be so organized as to absorb, in some form or other, all the members of the party. The parties must see to it that each one of their members obtains at least a thorough knowledge of elementary Marxist-Leninist propaganda. But even the higher party officials must continually refresh their political education to add to their knowledge and intensify their organizational and agitational activities.

b) Every department of the Communist educational institutions and propaganda organs must be directed towards practical and definite aims, and must be composed of students of a similar level of education. When forming classes, drawing up programs, and selecting methods, the guiding principle for all propaganda institutions must be to train the students for a definite form of party work and for the solution of definite and practical questions.

c) Each department of the educational propaganda institutions must represent an independent whole, having definite tasks to fulfill. It must not be regarded merely as a stepping stone to higher education.

16. In order to benefit as many party members as possible (in spite of the paucity of intellectual and material means), the two forms of education should be adopted in the Marxist-Leninist propaganda institutions, viz. party schools and self-education.

17. In connection with the former, the two poles of the party school system should be:

a) Central party schools.

b) A network of elementary evening classes or Sunday schools.

18. The central party schools must bring together for shorter or longer periods (according to the financial resources of the party) advanced party workers (and eventually members of parties of the same language groups) well versed in the principles of Marxism and Leninism. The aim of these central schools must be to systematize, extend and render more

profound the student's knowledge of Marxism and Leninism, and thus train fully qualified party workers and new and strong bodies of propagandists for the development of our propagandist activities.

19. The principle aim of the elementary evening classes (Sunday schools) must be to impart elementary political knowledge to our party members by teaching the first principles of Marxist-Leninist theory and method. The curriculum of these classes must be based on the program of the Communist International. These classes must aim at making party members fit to take up active party work and to carry on individual propaganda among the masses inside and especially outside the party.

20. Between these two poles of the party school system various other forms of party education may be organized and adapted to the conditions prevailing in the respective countries and parties. These forms of education can range from Sunday schools and short local study courses to district party schools, able to cater to more advanced students and calculated to turn out local organizers and officials. Special efforts should be made to institute continual courses for propagandists in order to add to their knowledge and to keep them in practice.

21. Communist Parties must not neglect to make their influence felt in labor colleges, factory council school, trade union educational institutions, etc. They must endeavor to get these institutions under their control with the object of using them as Communist education centers.

22. Neither the funds nor the intellectual material of the parties are sufficient to carry out the ambitious scheme of establishing a network of Marxist-Leninist schools wide enough to cover the overwhelming majority of our membership in the near future. For this reason, and also because the school system alone cannot give to students a thorough and complete knowledge of Marxism-Leninism we must rouse the interest of our members in self-education which must be organized on a large scale. In this connection special attention should be paid to the group system of self-education (workers' study circles). Every party must endeavor to set up a network of Marxist-Leninist study circles. The central agitation propaganda committee of the party must appoint a committee organized of comrades well trained in propaganda work and having pedagogical abilities. This committee must promote self-education in Marxism and Leninism by giving advice to individual members and self-education groups by correspondence and thru our various organs of the press.

23. Organization of propaganda must not be limited to the higher party organs, but must be also extended to the larger factory nuclei of the party as well as to the smaller territorial party organizations. In all these organizations propaganda organizers must be selected whose business it must be to develop propaganda activities and to arouse the interests of the workers for party education, in accordance with the instructions of the propaganda organs of the party.

24. The executive of the Communist International must see to it that in the course of the next twelve months a model school and several model evening classes (Sunday schools) be established at least in the most important parties for the dissemination of Marxism and Leninism. If desired by the central committee of any party, the executive must establish direct connection with these model institutions in order to give them ideological material support by providing them with books, appliances, etc. The central committees of the parties must also maintain direct

contact with the propaganda institutions and Marxist-Leninist study circles in the most important working class districts in their respective countries. The Communist International must also be the medium for establishing connection between the Communist universities, party schools, Marxist-Leninist study circles of the Russian Communist Party, and the corresponding institutions abroad.

25. Party organs must take an active part in the establishment of similar educational institutions for the youth, in providing them with propagandists and by drawing the youth into the educational institutions of the party.

26. Communist Parties must also concern themselves with the higher education of Communist students and other intellectuals. Students' organizations must not be allowed to remain in a state of splendid isolation. The existing Communist student groups or fractions, which hitherto have been select self-education circles without any particular system, must be transformed, under the direct guidance of experienced party workers well versed in Marxism and Leninism and familiar with the labor movement, into educational bodies capable of turning out fully qualified propagandists. Moreover, members of these student groups must be induced to take part in the propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas among the workers.

27. All Communist Parties must place the question of the development of Marxist-Leninist propaganda and of the party institutions engaged in it on the agenda of their next party convention.

(To be concluded next Saturday)

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Answering Call of the Russian Revolution

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

It was late in reaching our shores, but when the call of the Russian Revolution finally came into our midst it found the soil ready for a new beginning in the history of the American labor movement. That beginning was made and it found its immediate expression in the revolutionary left wing inside and outside of the socialist party of America. A little while later, after an intensive process of internal clarification and cementation, this left wing definitely crystallized into the Communist movement of America. Thus did the militant workers of the United States answer the clarion call of the Russian Revolution.

From Opportunist Socialism to the Revolutionary Class Struggle.

We have been moving for quite a while from opportunism to revolutionism, from class-collaboration and reformism to class struggle and Communism. As far back as 1911 and 1912 there was already in existence in the American labor movement a widespread feeling of discontent with the opportunist and reactionary policies of Gompers, Berger, Hillquit, etc. Even in those pre-war days, when the Russian Revolution was yet to come, when the world looked so deceptively peaceful, and capitalism quite secure, even then there was already in the making the elements of militancy from which we were to form later on the Communist Party of America. These working class elements in the trade unions and in the socialist party were painfully struggling for a clear revolutionary ideology and a consistent revolutionary leadership. Bolshevism and Communism were as yet very little known in the United States. Still the process of differentiation and crystallization was slowly going on thereby preparing the ground for the stormy and creative days of 1918-1919 when the Communist movement of America had finally come into existence.

Two Tendencies in the Left Wing.

Prior to the November revolution in Russia the left wing could hardly be spoken of as something definite and homogeneous. The lefts, the militants, and the rebels were united only on what they opposed, namely, opportunism, reformism and class-collaboration. They were united on the things that they didn't want but there was not a single common conception among them of the things that they wanted to be done.

There were really two basic tendencies in the left wing of the American labor movement in the days before the Russian Revolution. One was the anti-political and syndicalist ten-

ency which tho't served as the basis of the I. W. W. was in fact much wider than the I. W. W. in scope and in volume. The second tendency was the left wing socialist tendency which operated mainly within the confines of the socialist party of America.

The tendency which produced the I. W. W. was a healthy proletarian revolt against the deadening and stultifying influences of Gompersism on the one hand and against the futile, petty-bourgeois parliamentarism of Berger and Hillquit on the other hand. It was quite natural, in view of the conditions that prevailed in America in those years, that the rank and file revolt which crystallized in the I. W. W. should assume the objectionable features of anti-politics and syndicalism generally. It was also natural and unavoidable that the "working class" politics practiced by Berger and Hillquit should produce among real proletarian militants a feeling of revulsion against all kinds of political action. And only later, when the thundering voice of the Russian Revolution began to reverberate thru the immense spaces of our own continent, these anti-political proletarians got their first inkling of what real proletarian politics mean. It then became clear to many of these rebels that

working class political party, these were the two fundamental conceptions that were bro't home to large numbers of anti-political labor militants by the November revolution of the Russian masses. Since the memorable days of 1917-1918 these two ideas have been making their way into the minds of ever larger numbers of workers in the United States. And it was these two conceptions that have mainly contributed towards clarifying the anti-political tendency in the left wing and finally crystallizing a good portion of it into an organic part of what later became the Workers Party of America.

A similar process of differentiation and clarification was taking place in the ranks of the political tendency of the left wing. This latter group, which had been growing mainly within the socialist party, had been moving for a number of years in the right direction, namely, away from parliamentary opportunism and toward a revolutionary conception of the class struggle, but it lacked clarity, consistency and determination. Besides it manifested the same indifference toward the economic struggles and mass organizations of the workers as did the right wing of Hillquit and Berger. This left wing in the socialis-

wave of the Russian Revolution reached our shores, has the political tendency in the left wing come to appreciate the vital importance for the social revolution of a revolutionary proletarian mass party, rooted in and supported by the economic mass organizations of labor.

Both Tendencies Merged into One Party

Then came the merger of the two tendencies into a Communist Party. This merger would have been forced upon us by the logic of the class struggle in the United States, but instead of three years it might have taken three decades. The Russian Revolution accelerated the process.

It is true that both tendencies were substantially the same. They were moved by the same basic forces in the American class struggle. But they had different origins, and different experiences, which made all the difference in the world between a rebel in a trade union and a left wing socialist. The former was concerned exclusively with the building up of militant revolutionary unions, while the latter had nothing else in mind but the revolutionizing of the political parliamentary tactics of the socialist party. Both these tendencies had been developing for years along side of each other without ever realizing that there is a common basis for the two upon which to unite into one harmonious whole.

The Russian Revolution, which, in the words of John Reed, shook the world to its foundations, has also shaken the left wing of the American labor movement, purifying its ideology, strengthening its will, and cementing its various elements into one homogeneous body of revolutionary workers. Under the stress of the Russian upheaval, the shapeless discontent of the labor militants in America has taken on definite revolutionary form. Anti-political rebels became convinced adherents of class political action and of a revolutionary political party of the working masses. Socialist left-wingers came to realize more fully the basic and organic connection between the economic struggles of the unions and the political struggles of a working class party. As a result of these changes in the ideology of both tendencies in the left wing, changes which were produced mainly by the powerful hammering of the Russian Revolution, these tendencies moved closer to each other until they met on the common basis of International Communism. It was the merger of these two tendencies that produced the Communist movement in the United States and later on the Workers Party of America.

THE FIRST DAYS OF THE REVOLUTION



Attacking the Police

there is a sort of working class political action which is the very essence of class struggle and without which no effective struggle against capitalism is possible, the sort of political action that has been practiced by the Bolsheviks in Russia.

Revolutionary working class political action, led by a revolutionary

party was hardly aware of the truth, which later became part and parcel of Communist tactics in the United States, that it is the duty of Communists (revolutionary socialists) to engage and lead the everyday struggles of the workers and to win their economic mass organizations for the social revolution.

Only later, when the great tidal

Soviet Russia and Oppressed Nationalities

By HARRISON GEORGE

Out of the peculiarly complex struggles going on all over the world three major conflicts stand out, according to G. Chicherin, commissar for foreign affairs in the Soviet Union. These are—first, the world-wide struggle between capital and labor; second, the antagonisms between the great powers, and, third, the increasing struggle between the mother "robber" countries and their colonies.

These are often intertwined. It may be said that the greatest conflicts between capitalist powers arise, during this period of historical decline of capitalism, over the struggle for colonies. The great powers seek not only to snatch from each other the prize of colonial plunder, but to crush and subjugate each other. Germany, we see, has become a colony of, first, the entente, which, in turn, has been subjugated to the same but arrogant imperialism of America thru the Dawes' plan. Germany definitely enters the list of oppressed nationalities.

But, laying aside the enslavement of Germany and its political consequences, we see that the position of

the colonial oppressed peoples are of tremendous importance, particularly as a strategic position in the class struggle of the proletariat against the forces of imperialist capitalism.

The Great Slave Empires.

The nine colony-holding countries, England, France, the United States, Spain, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Portugal and Holland, hold in colonial hands five times their own area, and, with their own total population of 320,657,000, hold as colonial slaves no less than 560,200,000 people. Britain has a colonial population eight and a half times her home population, while France exploits a colonial population of 16,600,000 more than the population of France itself.

The Balkans and the Near East are imperialist satrapies. The continent of Asia (leaving out Soviet territory) has been a bound and blind victim of the vultures of the Occident. Africa from end to end, from "Cape to Cairo" is a vast slave pen. With whiskey and opium, the bible and the repeating rifle, the black and brown and yellow millions carry the burden of imperialist exploitation, of industry seeking raw material and cheap labor, of traders seeking markets, of di-

plomats looking for oil and man power, of bankers seeking export of capital, of all of these seeking super-profits from subject nationalities in excess of the profit rate in domestic production.

The program of the Communists is comparatively simple. The solution of exploitation, of misery and oppression can be shortly stated, even if the accomplishment is long in reaching. It is, in one word—"revolution." But before elaborating upon it, a view, or a review, is necessary of the methods of imperialist capitalism in the oppression of what are called "backward peoples."

The favorite weapon of imperialism is plain brute force. It does, of course, moralize in the home country and before the world. It is always "advancing civilization, developing the country," "building good roads" (a favorite pursuit of General Wood), stopping the slave traffic, (in the name of wage slavery), forwarding Christianity (and the opium trade) and liberating oppressed races (from other "liberators").

The Missionaries of Imperialism.

The American imperialists have their peculiar method. Kallinik, presi-

dent of the Soviet Union, speaking last year in Eastern Siberia, upon the expulsion by the red army from that region of all invading armies, including the American, mentioned the saintly imperialism of American interventionists. "Not without reason," he said, "did American capitalism appear as in the highest degree religious, bringing into the occupied territory the bible, with America's own preachers, including Baptists and Methodists."

"What led Americans to do all this? The only reason is the following: Thru these preachers America established her first advance posts, thru which she will in the future exert influence and develop her commercial business. America takes this line not only with us, but in China. American capital in China has developed a whole series of institutions making easier the obtaining of profit by American capital, chambers of commerce, missionaries' organizations and so on. To outside appearances these serve the Chinese populace, but at bottom they follow economic interests."

Marx Versus the Gospel.

The chief counter-action against this sanctified imperialism, has been (Continued on page 8)

The Growth of International Popularity of the Soviet Union

By I. STALIN

Secretary of Russian Communist Party

ONE of the surest signs of the instability of the "pacifist democratic regime," one of the most undeniable symptoms of the fact that this regime represents the froth on the surface of the deepest revolutionary processes taking place within the working class, is the decisive victory of the revolutionary wing in the Communist parties of Germany, France and Russia, the growth of the left wing activity in the British labor movement, and finally, the growth of the popularity of the Soviet Union among the toiling masses of the West and of the East.

The Communist parties of the West developed under peculiar conditions. First they are not homogenous in their makeup, for they comprise former social democrats who had gone thru the old school, and of new members who have not sufficiently been hardened in the revolutionary fire. Second, their ranks are not purely Bolshevik, as the leading positions are held by former members of other parties, who have not yet completely broken with the social democratic traditions. Third, they are confronted with such an experienced enemy as the social democrats, who have gone thru fire and water, who still represent a tremendous political force among labor. And finally, they are confronted also with such a powerful enemy as the European bourgeoisie, with its tried state machinery and its omnipotent press. To think that such Communist parties can overthrow in a day the European capitalist system is to be a thorny mistake. Therefore our immediate task is to make the Communist parties of the West truly Bolshevik bodies, to weld them into genuine revolutionary battalions, capable of rebuilding the entire party in the spirit of the revolutionary education of the masses, in the spirit of revolutionary preparation.

This was the situation within the Communist Parties of the West only a short while ago. But during the last half year things have been changing definitely for the better. The last half year is remarkable in the respect that it has produced a radical change in the Communist parties of the West in the sense of their breaking completely with the social democratic traditions, in the sense of the Bolshevikization of the party ranks, in the sense of the isolation of the opportunist elements. What a great danger to the revolution the social democratic traditions in the Communist parties may represent has been clearly demonstrated by the sad experience of the labor government of Saxony, when the opportunist leaders attempted to change the meaning of the united front idea from revolutionary mobilization and organization of the masses into social democratic parliamentary combinations. This was the turning point which opened the eyes of the Party masses and aroused them against the opportunist leaders. The second question which undermined the authority of the right wing leaders and brot on the scene new revolutionary leaders was the so-called "Russian" question, i.e. the discussion in the Russian Communist Party. As is known, the Brandler group in Germany and the Souvarine group in France, reluctantly supported the opportunist opposition in the Russian Communist Party against the basic ranks of the R. C. P. against its revolutionary majority. This was a challenge to the revolutionary working masses of the West, who were clearly sympathetic to the Soviet power and to its leader, the Russian Communist Party. This was a challenge to the party masses and to the revolutionary wing of the Western Communist Parties. It is no wonder that this challenge ended in complete defeat of the Brandler and Souvarine groups. It is no wonder that this

movement found a response in all the other Communist Parties of the West. If we add to this the complete isolation of the opportunist tendency in the Russian Communist Party, then the picture becomes complete. The Fifth Congress of the Comintern only consolidated the victory of the revolutionary wing in the main section of the Comintern.

No doubt the mistakes of the opportunist leaders have played a very important role in the acceleration of the Bolshevikization of the Western Communist parties. But it is just as doubtless that other deeper reasons also operated here: the successful capitalist offensive of the last few years, the lowering of the workers' standard of living, the presence of a huge army of unemployed, the general economic instability of capitalism, the growth of revolutionary unrest among the great working masses. The workers are moving towards the revolution and they want revolutionary leaders.

Conclusion. The process of the final formation of genuinely Bolshevik parties in the West, to serve as a basis for the coming Revolution in Europe has begun. This is the summary of the developments during the last half year.

Even more difficult and peculiar are the conditions of the development of the western trade unions. Firstly, they are narrow in their "tried" craft practices and are hostile to socialism, (or having arisen before the socialist parties and developed without their aid, they have become used to flaunting their "independence" to put their craft interests above class interests, and to recognize nothing but penny-raises. Secondly, they are conservative in spirit and hostile to all revolutionary beginnings, for they are headed by an old, mercenary, bourgeois-led trade union bureaucracy, always ready to put the trade unions at the service of imperialism. And finally, they, the trade unions, being united around the Amsterdam reformists, represent the very same million strong army of reformism upon which the present capitalist system leans. Of course besides the reactionary Amsterdam unions, there are also revolutionary unions affiliated to the R. I. L. U. But firstly a considerable part of the revolutionary unions, anxious to avoid splits in the labor movement, remain within the Amsterdam Federation and submit to its discipline; secondly, in the most important European countries (England, Germany, France), the Amsterdamers still represent a majority of the workers. It should not be forgotten that Amsterdam has no less than 14 million organized workers. To think that the proletarian dictatorship could be established in Europe against the will of these millions of workers is to be sadly mistaken, to move away from the ground of Leninism, to doom oneself to inevitable defeat. Therefore what we must do now is to win these millions over to the revolution and Communism, to free them from the influence of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy, or to get them at least to assume a position of benevolent neutrality towards Communism.

This was the situation until very lately. However, the last years have seen a gradual change for the better. The home of isolated reactionary trade unionism is England, which had once been the industrial Colossus of the world. The collapse of British monopoly was connected with the development of financial capitalism, which has been marked by a struggle of the biggest countries for colonial monopoly. The imperialist phase of capitalism has brot with it an extension of the territory for the narrow reactionary unions but also a contraction of their material base for the imperialist super-profits are the bone of contention of a number of countries while the colonies become less and less inclined to remain in the position

of colonies. It should also be remembered that the war has greatly undermined European industry. As is known the present total of European production does not exceed 70 per cent of the pre-war level. Hence the limitation of production and the successful capitalist offensive against the working class. Hence the reduction of wages, the actual abolition of the eight-hour day, and numerous unsuccessful defensive strikes, which again demonstrated the treachery of the labor bureaucracy to the working class. Hence the colossal unemployment and the growth of discontent of the workers with the reactionary trade unions. Hence the idea of the united front in the economic struggle of the working class and the project for the unification of the two labor internationals into a single international, capable of resisting capital. The reformist speeches at the Vienna congress of the Amsterdam International (June, 1924) about negotiations with the Russian unions and the appeal for unity of the British Trade Union Congress (September, 1924) are only a reflection of the growing pressure of the masses upon the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. The most remarkable thing about it was the fact that it is precisely the British unions which have been the nest of conservatism, and the basic nucleus of Amsterdam, that have taken the initiative for the unification of the reactionary and revolutionary unions. The appearance of left elements in the British labor movement is the best proof of the fact that there, at Amsterdam, "something is rotten."

Some think that the unity campaign is wanted precisely now, because a left wing has developed in Amsterdam, and it must be supported by all means and efforts. This is, in part, true. The Communist parties of the West are becoming mass organizations. They are becoming truly Bolshevik parties. They are growing and moving to power space with the growth of the discontent of the great working masses; hence we are moving towards the proletarian revolution. But it is impossible to overthrow the bourgeoisie without first depriving it of its buttress in the face of reactionary Amsterdam; it is impossible to establish the dictatorship without winning over this capitalist stronghold. However, this cannot be done by one-sided work from without. This object can be achieved at present only by combined activities within and without, along the line of establishing unity in the trade union movement. That is why the question of unity and of affiliation to the Industrial Internationals has become a vital issue. Of course the lefts should be supported and pushed on. But, real support of the lefts will be obtained only if the banners of the revolutionary unions continue to fly, if the reactionary Amsterdam leaders continue to be scorned and denounced for their treachery and splitting activities. If the left leaders are criticized for their halfheartedness and indecisiveness in the struggle against the reactionaries. Only by such a policy can real trade union unity be brot about. Otherwise we may get a picture similar to that in Germany last October, when Levi's left group was successfully used by the reactionary right wing of the social democrats to envelop the German revolutionists.

Finally, as regards the growth of the popularity of the Soviet Union among the masses of the capitalist countries. Perhaps the best indicator of the instability of the "pacifist democratic regime" is the undeniable fact that the influence and prestige of the Soviet Union among the toiling masses of the West and East, far from weakening, continues to grow from year to year and from month to month. It is not the "recognitions" given to the Soviet Union by the different bourgeois states that we refer to. Of course these "recogni-

tions" represent nothing special in themselves, for they are dictated firstly by the competition of the capitalist states, anxious to find a place on the Soviet market and secondly by the program of pacifism which demands the establishment of "normal relations" with the Soviet Republics the signing at least of some agreement with the Soviet Union. The point is that the present "democrats" and "pacifists" defeated their bourgeois competitors in the parliamentary elections, thanks to the Soviet recognition plank, that the MacDonalds and Herriots came to power and can remain in power, thanks to their lip service and "friendship" to Russia, that the prestige of these democrats and pacifists is a reflection of the prestige of the Soviet power among the great masses. It is characteristic that even such a well known "democrat" as Mussolini considers it necessary to display at times, before the workers, his "friendship" for the Soviets. It is no less characteristic that such well known grabbers of other people's property as the present rulers of Japan cannot get along without "friendship" for the Soviet Union. We do not speak of the immense popularity of the Soviet power among the masses of Turkey, Persia, China and India.

How are we to explain this unusual prestige and this unusual popularity among the masses of other states of such a dictatorial and revolutionary power as is the Soviet power?

Firstly, by the hatred of the working class for capitalism and by its anxiety to free itself from it. The workers of the capitalist countries sympathize with the Soviet power primarily because it is a power that has overthrown capitalism. The president of the British railway men, the not unknown Bromley, recently said at the Trade Union Congress: "The capitalists know that the eyes of the workers of the entire world are turned upon Russia, and that if the Russian revolution wins, then the conscious workers of the other countries will ask themselves 'why cannot we too also overthrow capitalism?'" Bromley, of course is not a Bolshevik. But what he said was an expression of the thoughts and longings of the European workers. For, why indeed, not overthrow European capitalism if the Russians have now been getting along for seven years without capitalists? Hence lies the source of the vast popularity of the Soviet power among the broad working masses. Therefore the growth of the international popularity of the Soviet Union signifies the growth of the hatred for capitalism on the part of the workers of all countries.

Secondly, by the hatred of the masses for war and by their anxiety to thwart the military schemes of the bourgeoisie. The masses know that the Soviet power was the first to open an attack against imperialist war, and by opening the attack has undermined war. The masses see in the Soviet Union the only country struggling against the recurrence of wars. They sympathize with the Soviet power because it is the standard bearer of peace among nations and a true bulwark against war. Therefore the growth of the international popularity of the Soviet power testifies to the growth of the hatred of the masses of the entire world for imperialist war and its sponsors.

Thirdly, by the hatred of the oppressed masses of the dependent countries and colonies for the yoke of imperialism, by their anxiety to break that yoke the Soviet power is the only power which has broken the chains of "native" imperialism. The Soviet Union is the only country building its life upon the principles of equality and cooperation of the nations. The Soviet government is the only government in the world championing the complete unity and independence, freedom and sovereignty of

(Continued on page 7.)

GOMPERS AND RUSSIA

By Earl R. Browder
Editor, "Workers' Monthly."

Enemies of Soviet Russia always delight in pointing out that it is Samuel Gompers, titular head of the American labor movement, who fights against Russia most bitterly. Not even those bourgeois Russians who lost their means of exploiting Russian labor because of the revolution, are able to spit more venomously at the Workers' Republic than Gompers. What is the explanation of this fact, that Gompers, "labor leader," hates the Soviets at least equally as much as does Judge Gary or the Grand Duke Michael?

Can it be that Soviet Russia menaces any interest of the working class? Is that why Gompers hates Russia?

No, that is not the reason. To prove that Soviet Russia is a tower of strength for the labor movement in every country, it is not necessary to believe what the Communists say. Bitter anti-Communists, "labor leaders" of the reformist stripe throughout the world, have acknowledged and publicly stated, that Russia is the one strong bulwark against capitalist reaction and the destruction of the labor movement.

The first desire of all enemies of the struggling proletariat is, to overthrow the present form of government in Russia, i. e., the rule of the Workers and Peasants.

The overthrow of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic would be the severest blow which the international working class could sustain. For no matter what the differences dividing the working class internationally, there is one thing certain: Soviet Russia is the last stronghold against the growing international reaction which threatens to submerge the working class.

The above is not a Communist proclamation. It is a document signed in Berlin, in May, 1923, by Edo Fimmen, then secretary of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions (bitterly anti-Communist), and also secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation of the Amsterdam International. It was also signed by Robert Williams, chairman of the Transport Workers' Federation, and leader of the British Transport Workers' Union.

The entire British labor movement is unanimously (and enthusiastically) in favor of recognition of, and a treaty with Soviet Russia by Great Britain. The British labor movement is ready (no matter how reluctant its leaders) to fight out a general election on this issue. This should be convincing proof that the British working class feels sympathy and even love for the Russian working class and its government.

When Churchill, in 1920, threatened war against Russia, the British working class organized a tremendous "Hands off Russia" movement, set up

councils of action, and threatened a revolution if the war movement was not stopped. That was a convincing demonstration that the Russian Soviet government is known to the British working class as its friend.

But it is not necessary to go to Great Britain to find that the workers feel confidence in Russia, and repudiate entirely the Gompers' hatred of the Workers' Republic. Thousands of local unions and city central bodies in the American Federation of Labor have demanded the recognition of Soviet Russia, in spite of all Gompers' snarls and lies. Such a conservative organization as the American Federation of Teachers has repeatedly adopted such resolutions. The conservative International Association of Machinists, both at its convention in Rochester four years ago and again in Detroit this year, unanimously demanded the recognition of Russia.

Why then does Gompers fight so bitterly against Russia? Why does he repeat every white guard lie against the Soviets and even improve upon them? Why is Gompers a more vo-

luntarily a few crumbs of concessions to small sections of the organized workers and in return for social and political recognition for himself.

What Gompers' policy means, for the workers in the United States, is weakness, demoralization, and a helpless submission to the capitalist class. His opposition to amalgamation, to class political action, the militant policies of every kind, bring about such a condition that The Magazine of Wall Street could say, (August 30, 1924): "It is evident that this country (read Wall Street) has in no way to fear from such institutions as the American Federation of Labor. On the whole, American business can congratulate itself on the inherent good sense of the average American laboring man."

Domestic policy is but one side of Gompersism. Of perhaps even greater importance in the long run is the support that Gompers gives to American imperialism. And here we can readily understand why Gompers hates Russia.

Soviet Russia has established itself



The Beginning of the Bolshevik Uprising in Petrograd

cal enemy of Soviet Russia than even Secretary of State Hughes?

Gompers is Enemy of Workers. The answer to this question is that Gompers has interests, separate from and opposed to the interests of the working class, which are threatened by the rise of revolutionary sentiment among the workers. Soviet Russia is the great center of revolutionary hot and feeling in the world's working class. Therefore Gompers hates and fights against Soviet Russia.

What are these special interests that Gompers represents? They are manifold, but all come under the general heading of "Gompers' policy of co-operation with the ruling class." Gompers' settled policy, in all fields, is to support the capitalist system and American imperialism in its merciless exploitation of the masses of unorganized workers at home and the masses of the population in the colonial and semi-colonial lands abroad, in return

in the hearts of all oppressed peoples as their friend and champion. The example of Russia granting self-determination to all national minorities within the old czarist empire is but one example. The contrast that this policy of the revolutionary workers of Russia makes as against Gompers' policy of echoing the words of Secretary of State Hughes, agent of Wall Street, must make Gompers grind his teeth in rage.

Gompers' role as a servile tool of American imperialism is nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in the functioning of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, a creation of the partnership of Gompers and Morones, chief labor faker of Mexico. This so-called Pan-American Federation is made up of delegates from countries controlled by the agents of the United States department of state, thru intrigue, money, or the rifles of U. S. marines. Its policy is to sabotage,

beat down labor and nationalist resistance to the orders of Hughes, or whoever happens to be the mouthpiece of Wall Street at Washington. Its only activities are in the direction of enforcing Wall Street orders upon South and Central America.

A recent example of this servility is given in the "mission" that Gompers sent to Nicaragua in July of this year. The official report, published in the American Federationist for October, discloses that the whole "mission" had but one object—to force the adoption of an election law "drafted," says the report quite frankly, "by a representative sent down there by the United States department of state." "The U. S. state department is in accord with the legislation proposed and Charge de Affaires, Mr. Thurston, so advised the Nicaraguan government when the bill was under consideration. Notwithstanding the congress refused to enact the bill." That was the reason the mission was sent—to try to force the Nicaraguan congress to pass the bill sent down for them by Mr. Hughes. The report threatens "violent resentment" because this was not done. The whole affair is palpably another glaring instance of Gompers filling his classic role of agent of American imperialism.

Gompers hates Soviet Russia, because Soviet Russia is the bitterest enemy in the world of just such imperialist intrigue, such slavish submission to the rule of capitalist imperialism, such arrogant carrying out of the policies of imperialism under the cloak of "labor."

And in the same issue of the American Federationist, which reports, thru Gompers, this black piece of treachery to the working class, the old hypocrite howls against the "machination of Wall Street." And his man Friday, Chester Wright, prints an eulogy of "American diplomacy" as "the best brand of diplomacy in the world," remarking that "it is possible for an American to be proud of many American institutions."

Because Soviet Russia is the flaming embodiment of working class revolt against the treacherous policies of all agents of capitalist imperialism such as Gompers, and because Gompers feels the volcano of a similar revolt gathering force beneath the surface of American society also, the head of the American Federation of Labor hates Soviet Russia with a deep and abiding hatred.

But all of Gompers' wild abuse of Soviet Russia has been as futile as the armies of allied capitalism which were thrown against the Workers' Republic. The Seventh Year of Workers' rule is now being celebrated, and to the extent that Gompers curses this glorious day, the workers of America and of the world should rejoice. And for the same reasons Gompers hates Russia because it stands as the guarantee of the complete downfall of the capitalist system. The workers love Soviet Russia for that very fact.

Program of the Communist International

Draft Adopted by the Fifth Congress

(Continued from last week)
III. THE FALL OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE FIGHT FOR COMMUNISM

1. General Characteristics of the Transition Period.

Between the Capitalist and Communist systems there lies a long period of proletarian struggle, of its victories and defeats, a period of continuous decay of capitalist relations with intermittent periods of revival. A period of national wars, of colonial uprising which, although not revolutionary movements of the proletariat as such, are objectively becoming a component part of the proletarian world revolution, inasmuch as they undermine imperialist domination, of armed and "peaceful" warfare of capitalist states against the budding socialist states—a period which comprises temporary agreements between social-economic systems contrary to one another, and life and death struggles. Finally, the complete victory of the proletariat, and the firm establishments of the power which it

has gained through so much suffering and privation will be followed by an epoch of accelerated development of various types of socialist construction in the different countries. The multiplicity of the types of capitalism and of the conditions of the revolutionary process renders inevitable also the formation of a variety of types of new relations—this will be the main feature of the tedious transition period of development. Here the capture of power by the proletariat constitutes the essential preliminary for the peaceful growth of socialistic forms of economy, as well as the cultural development of the proletariat, which becomes transformed, and grows in maturity while in charge of all the spheres of public life, drawing the other classes into this process of regeneration and thereby laying the foundation for the total abolition of class-distinction. In the fight for the proletarian dictatorship, and for the subsequent transformation of the social order, the workers' and peasants' alliance is formed, under the ideological and political hegemony of the

former against the alliance of landowners and capitalists. The transition period on the whole is characterized by the cultural growth of the proletariat and of the entire toiling masses. Not until this epoch has fulfilled this historical task will society begin to become a Communist society.

2. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the Unavoidable Pre-Requirement of the Struggle for Communism.

An unavoidable premise for the transition from capitalism to Communism—the starting point without which the further evolution of mankind is entirely impossible, is thus the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois state, and the seizure of power by the working class, which has to set itself the first and most important task of suppressing the enemy and firmly establishing the new regime. Dictatorship of the proletariat—that is the most elementary pre-requisite for social evolution.

The seizure of power by the proletariat is nothing else than the destruc-

tion of the bourgeois state apparatus by the fighting organs of the proletarian class struggle, and the organization of a new proletarian class power by those organs.

The form of proletarian state power generally best adapted to its purpose is that of the type of the Soviet State. This has been demonstrated by the experiences of the Russian and Hungarian Revolutions, which greatly extended the experience gained by the Paris Commune in 1871. It is precisely this type, arising immediately out of the broadest mass movement, which assures the greatest activity of the masses, and consequently the best guarantee of ultimate victory.

The Soviet type of state is flatly opposed to bourgeois democracy, which is invariably a veiled form of bourgeois dictatorship. The mass organizations of the workers, which are at best merely tolerated under bourgeois dictatorship, form in the proletarian democracy the main supports and or-

(Continued on next page)

Program of the Communist International

(Continued from page 8)

gans of the proletarian state every where.

The Soviet State differs from bourgeois democracy in that it openly reveals its class character, and openly sets itself the task of suppressing the exploiters in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population.

While bourgeois democracy leaves quite untouched the monopoly of the capitalist class with respect to the means of production, and all material values of decisive importance, and thus reduces the formal rights of the workers to blatant hypocrisy; the Soviet State first creates the premises for these rights by actually securing the liberty of the working class, by rendering of the workers' organizations possible, etc.

For the first time in history proletarian democracy removes the inequality of all exploited citizens regardless of sex, race, religion, and nationality—it establishes an equality which has never been realized in any capitalist state.

Proletarian democracy and its organs, which realize the broadest democracy amongst the workers, are in incomparably closer relation with the masses, and enable them to take part in the administrative machine. The right to elect new delegates, the right to recall them at any time, the combination of executive and legislative power, the arrangement of electoral districts not according to territorial, but according to economic units (according to factories, undertakings, etc.)—all this draws a sharp dividing line between the bourgeois parliamentary republic and the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletariat, as leader and vanguard of all other workers, and above all of the peasant masses, strengthens its leading role by legal privileges, which are unavoidable in the first stages of development. These privileges must gradually die out in proportion to the progress of the education received by the rest of the working masses, and later by the other citizens of the state, and on the basis of the new relations.

An essential part of the seizure of power by the working class is the destruction of the bourgeois monopoly of arms, and the concentration of arms in the hands of the proletariat. During the course of the struggle the main object in view must be the disarmament of the bourgeoisie and the arming of the proletariat.

The further organization of armed forces, based on strict revolutionary discipline, must be carried out on precisely the same fundamental class principle; it must correspond with the structure of the proletarian dictatorship, and the principles assuring leadership to the proletariat.

The victorious proletariat utilizes the power which it has seized, first, to break the resistance of the enemy and to guarantee the further rule of the working class against the attacks of the bourgeoisie. Secondly, it utilizes this concentrated power for the expropriation of the expropriators, that is, for the revolutionary transformation of economic, and consequently of all other social relations. As a rule, this expropriation will assume the form of confiscation, that is, by the expropriation of the means of production without compensation and the delivery of these means into the hands of the proletarian state. In this connection the Communist International proposes the following fundamental measures:

1. The expropriation of the large industrial undertakings, of the means of transport and traffic (telegraph, telephone), electric works, etc.

2. The proletarian nationalization of large landed estates, which are to be handed over to the administration of the organs of proletarian dictatorship; their collective cultivation by means of the agricultural proletariat, who are drawn into the work of the administration of the state-owned agricultural estates; one part of the landed estates, especially that part being worked under lease, to be handed over to the poor and partly to the middle peasantry. (The extent of the ground area to be delivered up

to the peasantry is determined by economic expediency, and by the necessity of neutralizing the peasantry, and by the social-political importance of the peasantry); the organization of credits for agricultural improvements, combating usury and land speculation; the organization of agronomic aid to the peasantry by means of suitable schools, etc.

3. Proletarian nationalization of the banks. Delivery of all gold reserves, etc., into the hands of the proletarian state. Security of the interests of small depositors, centralization of the banks, subordination of all large banking concerns to the Central State Bank of the republic.

4. Nationalization and municipalization of wholesale trade.

5. Annulment of national debts.

6. Monopoly of foreign trade.

7. Monopoly of the most important printing establishments and newspapers.

In the execution of these measures, the following principles must be observed:

Nationalization should as a rule not include small and medium enterprises. The chief reason for this is that the proletariat which has just seized power has not the required number of organizing forces at its disposal, especially during the first days of the dictatorship, to enable it not only to destroy the old order, but to bring about a union of the small and medium units of production.

The second reason is that the proletariat should not provoke antagonism in the intermediate groups. The victorious proletariat must find the right course of action to be adopted towards these spheres of production which can be subjected to centralized and systematic management, and those which would only be cumbersome ballast. The latter must be left to private initiative.

The victorious proletariat ensures to itself the important pre-requisites for the solution of the economic political basic tasks by the accomplishment of these fundamental measures, which have to be fulfilled in the early stages of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The manner and method for carrying out these basic tasks will be determined on the one hand by the economic measures necessary for the attainment of this goal; on the other hand by the long continued or repeated political necessity of civil war or foreign war. According to the concrete demands of the economic and political position of every country and its international relations an economic political system can be proved necessary for a longer or shorter period, which undermines the material basis of the hostile strata, and ensures a rational consumption of existing provisions but ruins productive endeavor of private enterprises (by a system of requisition, etc.). This is linked up on the one hand with proletarian forms of economy and stems thereby the growth of productive forces in a high degree, and occasionally renders them impossible (war communism).

At the close of the open civil war, that is, after the installation of the political rule of the working class, the interests and necessities of the national economic policy will be determined, whereas the methods of war Communism are pushed aside and finally absolutely discontinued.

Thus the economic system in the initial stage of the transition period will be as follows:

There is a large variety of economic forms, extending from socialized big industry and agricultural estates to small artisans and peasants. The more backward the country under the capitalist regime, the more numerous and varied are its economic forms.

In conformity with these various economic forms, we find on the one hand, various classes, and on the other hand various forms of economic stimuli, the operations of which determine the actual progress of production, and consequently, the development of the productive forces.

The varying forms of economy and industry, in their turn, inevitably also determine the form of their interrelations. The greater the influence of small private enterprise the more inevitable is the growth of the importance of simple market relations, with

all the logical consequences thereof.

This determines the fundamental tasks of the economic policy of the proletariat, which holds in its hands the large and economically decisive branches of industry. While taking advantage of the economic power of big industry and transport, as well as of the power of the state machinery, it is necessary to regulate private economy and the stimuli of private economic activity in such a manner as to ensure in the long run, the least painful method of removal of these forms. The adaptation to market conditions and the regulation of market relations are most important in this respect. The proletariat, thru the market relations and thru competition with the backward types of economy, as well as with the constantly emerging elements of the new bourgeoisie, such as tradesmen, capitalists, etc., must abolish these economic forms. Adaptation to the market inevitably entails the adoption of capitalist forms and methods of economic activity (calculation of costs, money payments, organization of commerce, even to the extent of organizing stock exchanges, and banks, etc.). Nevertheless, these capitalist forms as applied in the enterprises of the proletarian state are essentially of an anti-capitalist character in the same way as the formation of the proletarian standing army ensures the strength and growth of its anti-capitalist character. On the other hand, the application of these forms and methods harbors the seeds of their own suppression; the more rapid the victorious progress of large scale proletarian production, the less the importance of the market relations; the larger the growth of systematized economy, the less necessary become the capitalist forms of economic activity.

In view of the survivals of capitalist influences and of the heterogeneity of the working class itself, it becomes necessary for a time to adopt capitalist methods in the socialized enterprises in one form or another (the bonus system, piece work rates, etc.).

On the other hand the proletarian state must do its utmost to support and encourage all and every form of transition to social economy on the part of small producers. The question of the promotion of co-operation among the peasantry is of great importance, and particularly in agrarian countries. If under capitalist conditions and bourgeois dictatorship peasants' co-operatives inevitably become transformed into collective-capitalist organizations, and the so-called "agrarian socialism" is but a miserable reformist utopia, because co-operation becomes merged into the general system of capitalist economy—then under the proletarian dictatorship, under a wise economic policy, under the growth of large socialized production, peasants' co-operation will inevitably merge into the economic system of the proletarian dictatorship.

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The class struggle, in the period of the proletarian dictatorship, to a considerable extent assumes the character of an economic fight between the rival economic forms, which may for a certain period grow side by side. The chief task is to ensure the steady removal of the backward economic units which are hostile to the proletariat. In this connection the fundamental policy should be a wise combination of state industry and peasant co-operation against merchant capital and the first seedlings of industrial capital.

It is also necessary to make such use of state finances and taxation as to regulate the distribution of productive forces even in those branches of industry which are not in the hands of the proletarian state.

The proletariat must devote particularly careful attention to and the utmost precaution concerning reciprocal relations between city and country, and set up no barriers to the individualistic working motives of the peasantry.

It is natural that the extent of market relations and together with that the application of the methods of the new economic policy depend on the relative extent of capitalist large scale enterprise in comparison with small enterprise, that is, on the degree of national economy under consideration.

(To be concluded next Saturday)

THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL POPULARITY

(Continued from page 5)

Turkey and Persia, of Afghanistan and China, of the colonies and dependencies throughout the world. The oppressed masses sympathize with the Soviet Union because they see in it an ally in the cause of emancipation from imperialism. Therefore the growth of the international popularity of the Soviet power signifies the growth of the hatred of the oppressed masses of the world for imperialism. Such are the facts.

It can hardly be doubted that these hatreds will not serve to strengthen the "pacifist-democratic" regime of present day capitalism.

The other day the American Secretary of State, the pacifist and Kolchakist, Hughes, issued a most reactionary declaration against the Soviet Union. No doubt Poincaré's laurels do not give Hughes any sleep. But it can hardly be doubted that the reactionary pacifist declaration made by Hughes will only serve to further the influence and prestige of the Soviet Union among the toilers of the entire world.

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Soviet Russia and Oppressed Nationalities

(Continued from Page 4.)

and is the program of proletarian revolution. I recall that one of the best laughs I got while in Leavenworth, was upon reading the accounts, told in the manner of horrified bourgeois, of how the American missionary force in China, had raised a huge fund in America to finance free, wide-spread distribution of the bible printed in Chinese. After millions had been printed and hundreds of thousands distributed, it was discovered that the "heathen Chinese" printers had surreptitiously inserted in the middle of the holy book, the entire Communist Manifesto, bound in and printed in the same type as the gospel!

Again, in the last few days, American imperialism with its Nazarene face, has received a slap by the Shin-to-Buddhist Japan, who, in the contest between its own satrap, Chang Tso-Lia and the American-British hireling Wu Pei Fu, checkmated western imperialists by calmly bringing a "Christian general" to mutiny against Wu and seize the central Peking government.

The policy of the Soviet Union toward the oppressed nations is well illustrated in this same country of China. Since the 1911 revolution when the nation was dismembered by the imperialists, China as a unified nation has not existed. She has been the sport and victim of quarrelling imperialists. The Russian revolution removed the ominous czarist threat, but so firmly had the western imperialists gotten the various Chinese rulers in their clutches, that none would recognize China's only friend—Soviet Russia. Some even did the bidding of the imperialists and sent Chinese troops into Siberia and gave the Chinese Eastern railway over to the white guard Russians.

China and the Soviets.

But the power of the red army soon swept all interventionists into the sea. The magnanimous treatment of Mongolia and the Soviets' offer to renounce all the czarist concessions and extra-territorial rights, so hated by the Chinese, as well as foregoing the Boxer indemnity, was a tremendous pressure. China, even the servile Tso Kuo, established in Peking by the power of Standard Oil, finally recognized the Soviet Union.

Particularly in South China, where the revolutionary workers and the native intelligentsia have organized with the peasants into the powerful nationalist revolutionary party, the Kuomintang, controlling the Canton government of Sun Yat Sen, is the Soviet Union looked upon with fervid hope as the Great Deliverer.

The anniversary of the bolshevik revolution is a public holiday in South China, and upon the death of Lenin great ceremonies in which the whole populace, with the exception of the Chinese merchant fascist organized by Britain, took part.

Trotsky's lesson for the Orient. The policy of the Soviet Union is well expressed in the answer of Trotsky to the message sent him by the Oriental Society for Struggle Against Imperialism, which said in part:

"True to the will of the founder, the Union of Soviet Republics will altogether and entirely remain on the side of the oppressed against the oppressors. By their opprobrious work of violence the imperialists are driving the Chinese people to hate every foreigner and everything foreign.

"It is, however, the task of Chinese revolutionists, in order to guard the Chinese people from chauvinism, to teach it to distinguish in every capitalist nation between two fundamental classes—the imperialistic bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat. It is only in union with the workers of the world that the Chinese democracy will repel the new imperialist onslaught on the national independence of the Chinese people."

Leaving China, let us see how the peoples of the Near East are treated. Let us take their own versions of how they "civilize backward nations," and analyze them.

Patience Grabbed for "Sentiment." Albert Montefiore Hyamson, controller of labor in the government of Palestine says that, while the issue between British and Turkish arms was

still uncertain in that land, the Zionist leaders "especially those who happened to be in England" and who were "not slow in seeing possibilities" opened negotiations with the British government, with the result that by a declaration of Lord Balfour in November, 1917, a practical protectorate was established by Great Britain over Palestine. The motives, says Hyamson coyly, "were complex. Prominent among them were the sentimental and religious interests in the return of the Jews to Palestine. Another motive doubtless (very probable, indeed—H. G.) was the desire for the security of the imperial communications with India and Australia."

His excellency, the controller of labor, goes on to say how native Arab agitation against this state of affairs grew, and he observes this was increased by, of course, "a wrong interpretation" of the "promise of Arab independence made by the British government in 1915. Affairs became worse until anti-Jewish outbreaks occurred in which many Jews were killed at Jerusalem on Easter, 1920. The British, doubtless out of pure sympathy with the Jews and not at all influenced by solicited for "imperial communications" hastened to declare a military rule under Sir Herbert Samuel, and "the riot was suppressed and punishment meted out."

The Arabs began a non-co-operation movement somewhat flavored with riots. But the league of nations in September, 1922, formally allotted Palestine as a "mandate" to the British crown and covered the whole mass of duplicity and imperialism with an odor of international sanctity. The armed forces of Britain still rule by force over the preponderant Arab population. The bible and the Talmud are in alliance protecting "imperial communications with India," and doubtless, some undeveloped oil fields.

British Bandits in Persia.

In Persia, says Brigadier General Sir Percy Sykes, who was (some of the time) a peace-loving consul general, and sometimes a leader of marauding bands of British mercenaries euphemistically called the "South Persian Rifles," "The policy of Great Britain was and is to maintain the independence of Persia, which has served so long as a valuable buffer between the Indian empire and Russia." He adds as a mere afterthought that the merchants of London and Bombay were deeply interested in Persian trade, and that "the oil resources of Persia are her greatest assets."

Sir Percy did his best to grab these things for England, and even to lay hands upon the Soviet oil fields of Baku. Of course, he found good moral grounds for this. He says that "The collapse of Russia constituted a serious blow to the Indian empire." Besides, the infernal Germans were trying to get Baku first. A brigand crew of mercenaries politely termed a "British Military Mission" dashed across 700 miles of supposedly neutral Persian ground, united with the counter-revolutionary white guard cossacks and seized Baku.

The Red Army Smokes Them Out.

These hands were, of course, later put out, together with both Germans and Turks, by the red army of real liberation. But imperialist Germany and Britain continued to use Persia as a bone to quarrel over. The native Persians rose against both and drove back Sir Percy and his "South Persian Rifles." The interest of England in these looting hands of white guards, may well be seen by Sir Percy's own admission that if his forces had been completely routed, "There would have been a rising in the Punjab, which was seething with sedition. As it was, they did not take place until the following year when the war had been won." And, then, we may add, with no democratic pretenses to sustain, the machine guns of the British military suppressed the Indians with barbarous massacres at Amritsar, and other points.

At the end of the war, England attempted to use her victory by reducing Persia to a vassal state. She attempted to subsidize Persia to form a white guard base against Soviet Russia, offering to finance a "Persian" army of counter-revolutionary cossacks. But the Soviet policy of real friendship, the surrender of various

concessions forced on Persia by the czar, caused a popular uprising against England and the Persian parliament was forced to denounce this scheme.

The treatment of the people of Iraq, an artificially created nation at the door of Persia, with a "king" who is as servile to British imperialism as Ramsay MacDonald, is well known. Even under the alleged "labor government" the natives who rebel against the satrapy, are massacred—women and children indiscriminately, by airplane bombs of the British army. So sickening has been these massacres that the soldiers of the air force protested to the "labor" government at the butchery, but were ordered by those "pacifist" members of the Second International to proceed.

The Ruthless Treatment of India.

The fight of the Communists to bring a real liberation to the oppressed nationalities may be seen clearly in the case of India. We see first the steel-shod feet of England crushing the lives of teeming millions. Without India the British empire would not last a day. For good reason does England send her best bloodhounds and "firmest" statesman to service in India.

One of these, Sir Thomas W. Holderness, tells us in his amper imperialist way of the recent years' relations between India and what he calmly assumes is "the paramount power." He speaks of the "gracious proclamation" of King Edward, of the "notable vice-royalty" of Lord Curzon, of the "courage and tenacity" of Lord Morley and Lord Minto against the "misguided zealots" who answered oppression with tyrannicide, of the "demonstrations of loyalty" upon the visits of the royal family in 1911, strangely followed by "deep-seated anarchy" and attempts to assassinate Lord Hardinge, "Educated" and the "Malcontents."

A new tone comes into Sir Thomas' voice when he discusses the relations of the Indian people and the "paramount power" during and after the war. Subtly, he praises the "military races," the "territorial aristocracy" and the "educated classes" who "in many touching ways" demonstrated their loyalty to "the throne." He adds in the way of ecstatic philosophy, "the personal relation which kinship embodies is of magic power still in the East." True, he asserts, that some Sikhs, "indoctrinated with revolutionary principles," some "malcontents" in the Indian army" and so on, did not fully appreciate the blessings of the "paramount power." "But," he added, "a vigilant government, armed with sharpened powers" successfully dealt with them.

The war began a great upheaval, in spite of the "touching" demonstrations of loyalty by the "educated classes." India sent—sometimes by plain conscription, and usually with virtual compulsion or purchase, 800,000 combatants and 400,000 non-combatant army laborers to France. India, always with her millions on the edge of famine, was drained of food. Prices rose for the masses while the "ruling princes and territorial magnates" lashed them off to fight for the white overlord and the manufacturers and trade "reaped substantial fortunes." It was necessary that "British freedom" should protect itself with repressive laws, and the Rowlett bill passed by Lord Chelmsford was meant "for dealing with revolutionary crime."

The native capitalists were quick to turn the rage of the masses against the English rule in order to force from Britain their own swarsj or self-government, meaning their right to share the Indian masses without sharing the loot with English imperialism. Mahatma Ghandi appeared as the bourgeois-pacifist type, seeking to oppose to British arms the "soul force" of the Indian masses, preaching non-resistance, the boycott and historical reversion to the spinning wheel against the "satanic government" of England.

The Slave Pen Called Africa.

There remains the great slave-pen. Africa. In Tunisia, Algiers and Morocco, the natives are made into carts after their lands are seized by the French. In the towns the natives fight with the dogs for garbage cans, in famine years they die by the road-

sides. In west and equatorial Africa a system of "hostages" prevails, old people, women and children are imprisoned in vile barracks to insure the enslaved male workers from running away. If one escapes, the dependents are put to death, and continually they are starved, beaten and treated worse than animals. The unspeakable "civilization" France has given to Africa is vividly pictured in that wonderful book by the French colonial, René Maran, entitled, "Batouala." It may be noted that France plans for an army of 600,000 black soldiers to enforce "law and order" at home and in the colonies.

Does the Civil Liberties Union know that no Negro can leave South Africa legally? He must struggle himself out as a stowaway to escape from the slave pens run by MacDonald's "socialist" government. There, 6,000,000 blacks are bossed by 1,500,000 whites. In the gold mines of the Rand 230,000 black miners toil under 27,000 white overseers.

Oppressed Racial Minorities.

There are, of course, the problems of the oppressed races within nations, such as the Negroes of America, and the various peoples annexed by grace of the Versailles Treaty. But there is not space here to treat of them, they are highly important and they, too, turn toward Moscow as they lie down. The story has been told them of the real freedom brought the obscure and most backward races under the Soviet Union. How unheard of races under the Arctic circle have new schools and their language taught from printed letters for the first time and that, "in the forming of the central organs of the Soviet Union, all national republics, without exception, he guaranteed equal rights and positions, and that all the needs of the nationalities be satisfied." Such was the motion passed by the Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, which administers the Soviet Union.

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