

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

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Russia and the World Revolution

By Wm. Z. Foster

THE fact that the Russian revolution started 140,000,000 people on the highroad to emancipation gives it most tremendous importance. For centuries the masses in Russia suffered hopelessly under the iron boot of the czars. Then came the historic upheaval of 1917 and swept this tyrannical aside with an irresistible flood. The revolution is the greatest thing in the whole life of the Russian people.

But of far more importance than its effect upon the Russian people is the influence of the revolution upon the proletariat of the world. This is profound, far-reaching, and epoch-making. It is what gives the Russian revolution its real significance and erects it into the supreme event in history. In many ways the Russian revolution has deeply affected the course of the world labor movement. But in this short article only three of these can be indicated: (1) the establishment of a living symbol of proletarian revolution; (2) the creation of a clearly-defined, well-organized world revolutionary organization; (3) the realization of a tremendous fund of revolutionary experience. These three phases are of the very greatest consequence to the international working class.

1. The Symbol of Revolution.

Until 1917 the program of proletarian emancipation rested pretty much in the realms of theory. The workers of the world talked of it, dreamed of it, and speculated about it. But it lacked reality. It was but a scientific calculation and an inspiring hope. It was only by the advent of the Soviet government in Russia that the concept of revolution took on flesh and blood. Then it became a living, vibrant thing and an inspiration to the workers of the world.

The masses learn best from concrete facts; they require definite object lessons. They cannot be satisfied with theory alone. To them incomparably the best argument for the world revolution is to see a workers' revolution take place successfully in some country. The Russian revolution has provided them with that vitally necessary object lesson. It is a tremendous demonstration of the possibility and practicality of the proletarian revolution. It is the world symbol of the working class victorious.

When the Russian workers and peasants gave the death thrust to Russian czarism and capitalism, a thrill went thru the world workers. They were deeply inspired and heartened, not to sit idly by and hope for the Russians to bring about the world revolution, but to wage war similarly against the exploiters in their own countries. And as the Russian revolution has progressed, overcoming the unheard of difficulties confronting it and gradually consolidating its power, it is driving deeper and deeper into the hearts of the workers the conviction that they can and must also overthrow the power of their bourgeoisie in similar fashion. The facts that the Russian workers have broken the united front of capitalism and established one proletarian government, that they have forced the capitalist world to recognize this government, and that they are unquestionably making the new proletarian society a success, constitute a revolutionary factor of high importance thru their stimulation and education of the international working class.

Much of the early stimulative effect of the Russian revolution was lost because the workers' organizations in most countries were dominated by social-democrats and other reformers, who choked back the rising revolutionary spirit of the workers. But Russia is now entering into a new

stimulative period, after the long and depressing era of hunger and economic chaos. Industry is improving and the workers' standards of living are rapidly rising. In all other countries the workers' standards are falling. This contrast, of a growing prosperity in proletarian Russia, and an increasing poverty in capitalist countries, always before the workers' eyes, is bound to exert a powerful effect and to greatly stimulate revolutionary discontent and action. Russia is the living embodiment of the new society. It is the inspiring symbol of the proletarian revolution. As such it is of vast significance to the international working class.

II. The Communist International.

But the Russian revolution has furnished the workers of the world with not only the greatest example of a successful proletarian society, but also with a powerful revolutionary organization. The Communist International

had to rely upon the leadership of yellow social-democrats, who dominated their organizations and who led the masses into the brutal slaughter. And in 1918, when the workers, disillusioned by the war, surged all over Europe in a revolutionary wave, these same social-democrats, still controlling the workers' political and industrial organizations, dissipated the revolutionary movement and saved capitalism.

But since those times something important has happened, the most important thing that has taken place since the end of the war. This is the formation of the Communist parties in the various countries and their unification into the Communist International. The significance of this will be apparent in the next great crisis of international capitalism. If this crisis does not come before, it is bound to come with the beginning of the new world war which is now in

proletarian revolutions will have to take and the forces they will have to contend with.

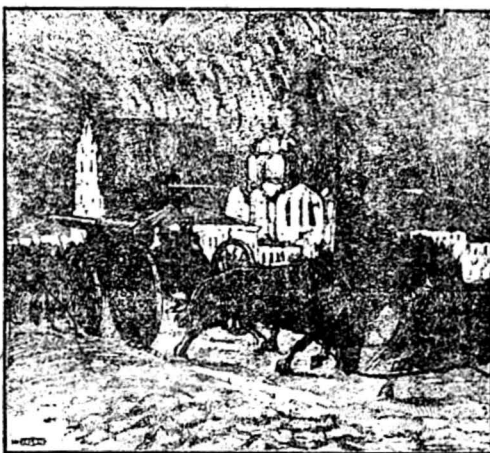
Russian revolutionary experience is so stupendous that hardly the faintest outlines of it can be indicated here. No longer is the working of the dictatorship of the proletariat a matter of speculation. The Russian revolution has made it thoroly understood. Likewise, the part the Communist Party has to perform, with its iron discipline and elaborate nuclei system, in maintaining the dictatorship. The principles underlying the Soviet form of government are now an open book. The true petty-bourgeois character of the social-democratic, anarchist, and syndicalist movements has been demonstrated as clearly as day. The enormous assistance of the capitalists and their intelligentsia hangers-on has been learned. Their instinctive campaigns of sabotage and counter-revolution have been experienced and ways devised to check them. A vast fund of information has been accumulated as to the relations between the workers and farmers and of the need and manner of the workers taking the lead in the revolutionary struggle and in the work of social reconstruction.

In the realms of industry the Russian workers have gained an enormous experience. They have tried out almost every conceivable system of management and tested all of them. They are solving the problems of developing the spontaneous discipline and incentive to work, to take the place of the capitalist slave-driving methods of the past. They have worked out the principle of the new economic policy, and they know its dangers and advantages. Likewise, the Russians have learned the true functions of the trade unions, the co-operatives and other working class organizations, before, during, and after the revolution. They have also mastered the principles of proletarian military organization, after a bitter and sanguinary experience. They have learned the most valuable lessons as to the psychology of the masses during the revolution and its attendant hardships. They have solved the questions of proletarian justice, control of the press, and a thousand others that were not even dreamed of before the revolution.

This tremendous fund of revolutionary experience, gained at such great cost by the Russian workers, is at the disposal of the world proletariat. All of it, of course, cannot be applied in every country, but a vast amount of it can. It shows the right way for the workers to go and the pitfalls they must keep clear of. Profit by the errors and accomplishments of the Russians, the workers in other countries will save themselves endless hardships and suffering. The Russian revolution marks an epoch in the history of the working class. To Marxism, or socialism in theory, it has added Leninism, or socialism in action. It has blazed the trail for the world revolution.

On this Seventh Anniversary of the Russian revolution the active Communists thruout the world should call to mind the three above-mentioned phases of the world-significance of the great 1917 upheaval. They should be stimulated by the example of the Russian revolution to make redoubled efforts in their own countries, they should diligently strive for the rebuilding of the Communist International, and they should study and absorb the great lessons taught by the vast experience of the heroic Russian working class. Thus they will realize in some degree the world importance of the Russian revolution.

MOSCOW



In November, 1917

is the most important working-class organization in the history of the world. It is a direct outgrowth of the Russian revolution and is intimately bound up with the latter's fate.

The Communist International is a world organization in the most real sense of the word. It is highly centralized and disciplined. Its various sections are animated by the same conceptions of Communism. It is in an altogether different class than the Second International, which has autonomous, undisciplined, and individualistic national sections. It is the militant, fighting vanguard of the international proletariat.

A first condition for the effective functioning of such an organization as the Communist International is that it establish its headquarters within the protection of a great proletarian power. To try to live in a capitalist country would be to condemn the organization to an underground existence and to reduce the international movement to a chaotic and impotent condition. But proletarian Russia furnishes a headquarters and protection to the Communist International, even as it gives it much of its inspiration and leadership. This is of greatest importance to the world's workers.

In 1914, when capitalism came to a crisis at the outbreak of the world war, the workers in the various coun-

tries had to rely upon the leadership of yellow social-democrats, who dominated their organizations and who led the masses into the brutal slaughter. And in 1918, when the workers, disillusioned by the war, surged all over Europe in a revolutionary wave, these same social-democrats, still controlling the workers' political and industrial organizations, dissipated the revolutionary movement and saved capitalism.

III. Revolutionary Experience.

Far more important, however, than even the establishment of a living example of successful proletarian revolution and providing a world revolutionary center, the Russian revolution has been the means of the workers accumulating a tremendous fund of revolutionary experience. This is enormous in extent and incalculable in value. Before the Russian revolution, proletarian revolutionary experience was meager. It was little beyond that gained in the Paris Commune. Nearly everything was theoretical. But the revolution in Russia has changed this. Its vast experience has shown the workers of the world the broad outlines of the way all prole-

The Russian Communist Party

Organizer, Leader, Inspirer of the Workers' Revolution

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

If the Russian Revolution has been victorious it is due to the leadership of the Russian Communist Party. If the Russian Communist Party was capable of leading the revolutionary working masses to a lasting victory, it is due to the application of THE PRINCIPLES OF BOLSHEVISM as expounded and put into practice by Lenin.

Party of the Masses

The Russian Communist Party has always been a party of the working masses. Whether its number was small or large, whether the temper of the masses was quiet or stormy, whether the work of propaganda and organization was easy or hard, whether the persecutions were severe or slack—the Russian Communist Party always strove to be with the masses within the masses, to organize its nuclei in the shops among the rank and file workers, to participate thru them and thru its leading bodies in the everyday struggles of the working masses, to formulate the demands of the workers and to give direction to their revolutionary struggle.

Revolutionary Spirit

The Russian Communist Party has always had an abiding faith in the revolutionary spirit of the working masses. At a time when the "economists" of 1898-1901, the forerunners of Menshevism, preached a forgetting of the workers' attention to economic demands only, leaving political struggle to the "enlightened" intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie, Lenin for the first time formulated the conception of PROLETARIAN HEGEMONY, i. e., leadership of the working class in all forms of struggle up to the final liberation. At a time when the Mensheviks (1905-6) preached collaboration with the Russian bourgeoisie in the struggle against czarist autocracy, the Russian Communist Party, then called Bolsheviks, appealed to the workers to wage a relentless war BOTH against czarism and the bourgeoisie who only used the menace of a workers' revolution to force czarism to make concessions to the propertied classes. At a time when, after the defeat of the first revolution in 1906, the Mensheviks preached acquiescence, abolition of the secret revolutionary organization and adaptation to everyday reform work under a semi-autocratic regime, the Russian Communist Party was busily engaged in reorganizing its ranks, improving its illegal apparatus, spreading its influence among the masses, preparing them for revolutionary action. At a time when, after March 1917, the socialists of all brands together with the bourgeoisie declared that the revolution had run its course and that nothing remained for the working masses but to accept the order of the bourgeois democracy, as final, the Russian Communist Party formulated the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets" leading the working masses into real battles for the power of state. At a time when, in the fierce years of 1918-1921, the socialists, turned counter-revolutionary, hopefully anticipated the collapse of the Soviet system in consequence of mass exhaustion, hunger, starvation, the Russian Communist Party KNEW that the revolutionary ardor of the masses is inexhaustible, that the persistence of the workers in their struggle for a better future knows no limits. The Russian Communist Party built on that rock of revolutionary potency and the building proved lasting.

Party of Action

The Russian Communist Party has always been a party of action. It viewed the working class as an army engaged in a war against a powerful resourceful foe. It knew that an army in war time can be either preparing for battle or engaged in actual combat. It strove to wake up the working class to the realization of the immediate need of action. It strove to coordinate all activities of the working

class in the direction of struggle for power. It knew nothing in the life of the worker that was too small to defend by means of concerted action. It knew nothing in the realm of workers' rule that was too big to strive for by way of revolutionary struggle. It demanded from every member of the party to be active within the party organization. It demanded from every member and every party organization to be active within the working class whenever and wherever they could reach it. It demanded from the working class to react to all events in economic, political and social life, whether the appointment of shop stewards, (starosty) or the enactment of a new labor law, whether a cut in wages or a movement of the students, whether war against a foreign power or the organization of a sham parliament, whether a mass strike in another country or an upheaval of the peasantry in Russia,—to react collectively, organizedly, purposefully, never losing sight of the final goal. After the October Revolution it was the Russian Communist Party which led in all activities of the workers and peasants: organization of the state and organization of the army, fight against counter-revolution and fight against disease, reconstruction of the economic apparatus and reorganization of the educational system, extermination of corruption and introduction of new standards for human behavior in the new order. "Keep moving! Keep trying! Do not get discouraged by failures. Do not get rattled by success. Work steadily and work according to a plan!" This has been the slogan of the Russian Communist Party.—the only government in the world which learns from its errors and has the courage to correct them.

Revolutionary Discipline

The Russian Communist Party has been the party of strong discipline and centralization. From that memorable discussion at the second congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party in the summer of 1903 when Martov the Menshevik defined membership in the party as "giving constant assistance to the party" under the control of the organization while the Bolshevik Lenin demanded "personal participation (of the members) in one of its organizations," down to the last discussion within the Russian Communist Party by the end of 1923 when Trotsky was understood to demand more democracy within the party and more freedom from what he termed the rigid rule of the old guard of Bolshevism while the majority of the Communist Party insisted on maintaining stern unbending discipline skin to the discipline of a military organization and on keeping the old tried revolutionists in leading positions, the question of discipline, of obeying the rule of the majority, of carrying out and defending the policies of the majority even if they are against the individual member's conviction, was paramount in the Russian Communist Party. It was due to this law of cohesion that the Russian Communist Party could attain to its present position.

The Russian Communist Party is now the leading party of all the parties united in the Communist International. We all take the lessons of the Russian Communist Party as showing the way of proletarian dictatorship to all countries now under the iron heel of the capitalist state. What are the main characteristics of this party at present?

The Shop Nuclei

a. The Russian Communist Party is built on the basis of Shop Nuclei. All communists engaged in a factory are united in one body called the ZAVODSKAYA YATCHEIKA, Shop Nucleus of the party. All Communists serving in an army unit form the company nucleus. All peasant Communists living in one district are united in the Volost (district) nucleus. But the shop nucleus remains, both numerically and by its revolutionary prole-

tarian weight, the foundation of the party.

The shop nucleus is the channel thru which most of the political and social problems of the state reach the workers of a particular shop and thru which the attitude of the workers towards one or another measure is made known to the party and to the Soviet government. The shop nucleus as a body and thru its executive bureau and political secretary keep in the closest touch with the workers of the shop, factory or mill, participating in their daily troubles and trying to find solutions to all their problems according to the advice of the party. The shop nucleus organizes schools, courses, lectures, talks, discussions among the workers of the establishment, presenting to them various phases of the life of the country, drawing them into the discussion of the governmental problems, making them active participants in the daily affairs of the state. The shop nucleus is the meeting ground for all Communists holding office in the factory, whether it be the director (manager) of the establishment, the chairman and members of the shop committee which is the lowest unit of the labor union, or the educational leader who conducts the cultural work among the workers. Being the meeting ground for all these local functionaries, most thoroughly discussing all problems that arise in the life of the factory, making decisions that are binding upon all its members and being composed of the most enlightened and active elements of the establishment, the shop nucleus brings unity into the shop, endows all activities with a purpose, reveals to the workers their significance for the achievement of the goal of the working class.

The shop committee is not a self-sufficient organization. Nor is it a mere propaganda center. It is connected in a thousand ways with the most intricate details of the shop life. It knows every employee and all his worries. It makes it the duty of every member to be engaged in one or more of the numerous committees, boards, bureaus that thrive among the workers. It participates in shaping the will of the party by bringing forth and (trying to express the will of the revolutionary masses within the shop or mill. It never loses itself in mere details of local life, always keeping in touch with the broadest problems of the state, but at the same time it never loses contact with the actualities of life. "Every factory must become our fortress," wrote Lenin as early as 1902. Thus the shop nucleus every factory is now a fortress of the proletarian dictatorship.

The sessions of the shop nucleus, ordinarily once a week, are open. Non-members frequent those sessions in ever greater numbers. Non-members participate in the discussion on equal terms with members, but without a vote. Non-members are deeply stirred by what is going on within the shop nucleus and within the Communist Party. There is gradually disappearing the line of demarcation between the nucleus and the non-partisan workers, the latter being drawn into the life of the party and being confirmed in the conception that it is the party of the working class.

Rich, colorful and many-sided is the life of the shop nucleus. A broad knowledge of communism, of party activities, of state activities is required of a secretary of a shop nucleus who is the mainstay of the party. A constant and lively line of communication is maintained between the shop nucleus and the local (district) committee of the party, between the nucleus and the highest party organizations.

The shop nucleus is the instrument thru which the working class exercises its cultural leadership in the village. It is the shop nucleus which delegates lecturers, teachers and performers to one or the other village, sends the peasants aid in harvest

time, distributes literature in the village and generally attempts to raise the cultural and political standards of the rural population.

Closer to the Masses

b. The Russian Communist Party is drawing ever closer to those who work in the factories, mills, railroads, mines, to the proletariat of manual labor. The Russian Communist Party knows that dictatorship of the proletariat means dictatorship of the producers of wealth over all remnants of the old system. The Russian Communist Party, therefore, makes every effort to increase its ranks by men and women working at the bench, to give to such men and women the most responsible positions in the party and in the state, to discourage the entrance into the party of elements hailing from the bourgeois intellectual groups, to adapt the life of the party to the standards of living of the average factory worker.

There has been a steady and consistent proletarianization of the party and the state apparatus. In 1918 the Central Executive Committee of the R. C. P. consisted of 13 intellectuals and 1 worker; in 1924 it consists of 25 intellectuals and 29 workers. The Central Committee of 150 members is overwhelmingly composed of workers. In 1923 the percentage of workers in the Communist Party as a whole was 41, that of the peasants 28, and that of office employees, 31. At present the percentage of workers in the party is 66, with 35 per cent actually working in factories and shops. Out of 88 combinations of factories ("trasta," i. e. a group of certain factories with one general management), 80 are under the presidency of members of the Russian Communist Party, most of whom are workers. Out of 438 factories employing 200 workers and more, 233 have Communist directors (managers) mostly coming from the working class, in the textile industry, 70 per cent of the managers are Communists and workers. This in spite of the fact that there was a scarcity of managerial experience even among the most revolutionary workers. The proletarianization is being carried out by the party in order that the party and the state be an adequate expression of the working class not only in the formulation of principles and in the pursuit of policies but also in the composition of the personnel.

The Russian Communist Party makes it easy for factory workers to join its organization. The Russian Communist Party puts up almost prohibitive demands to non-workers who wish to become members. Recommendation by five members who have been in good standing for no less than five years is required for a non-worker. The recommendation of three members in good standing for three years, is required for factory workers. The entrance of workers into the party has now become easier by introducing the recommendation of a general meeting of the workers of the factory or shop where the aspirant is employed. The goal put before the party by its last congress (May 1924) is one million members of whom more than a half are actually working by hand at the bench.

It is the conception of the Russian Communist Party that a worker by hand possesses, as a general rule, all the revolutionary qualities essential for a proletarian government surrounded by numerous enemies from without and compelled to work in a petty-bourgeois medium in the country itself: honesty, courage, endurance, discipline, simplicity, moderate life, a clear view, an unbiased mind, and a genuine devotion to the interest of the working class. It is the conception of the Communist Party that only exceptional elements of the non-proletarian class can rise to the heights of Bolshevism. This is why the party bases its structure and the structure of the Soviet on the rank and file manual workers in intimate

(Continued on page 7.)

The White Babbit and the Red Bear

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

Before the proletarian tailors of Russia fitted the czar out in a brand new suit of clothes cut out of the Russia which the little Father claimed to love so well, the greater power known today as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, was represented in the animal kingdom by the bear. Just as Britain has the lion and the United States the eagle. Kipling, the singing British imperialist, wrote of "the bear that walks like a man." The bear had a habit of starting on a stroll in the direction of India every now and then, which tendency made Kipling sing and the guns of the British navy thunder.

In 1917, November to be exact, the Russian bear changed his skin, but his ability to make trouble has not perceptibly lessened. Indeed not! Whereas formerly he bothered England chiefly, every capital in the world is now anxiously watching his movements. He is the "Red Terror" in the eyes of the capitalists. And nowhere is greater anxiety shown than in Washington, the capital of the United States, and the seat of our Teapot Dome government. And of all the men in Teapot Dome, no one is more grieved over the inadvisations of the Red Bear, than one Charles Evans Hughes. The diplomats of Europe have already parted with most of their hireate adornment in frantic rage over the rise of this new and embarrassing phenomena. Our American Baptist secretary of state has still some chin alfalfa left, which may account for the fact that today he stands almost alone against this mighty power that threatens the regime of the old codgers of capitalism and the capitalist system itself. Let us take leave of the animal kingdom for the time being.

Shortly after the United States government began its crusade for democracy and incidentally to protect the shekels of J. P. Morgan, citizen of the world, excepting Soviet Russia, the Russian workers and peasants led by the bolshevik party and by Lenin in particular, took over the country bag and baggage, and decided that they wanted peace, bread and land and were going to have them. Strange to say, these were peaceful aims the other nations associated with Russia in overthrowing their competitors, the kaiser and his capitalist owners, felt very much aggrieved, because the Russian workers and peasants would not continue to fertilize the trenches of Germany, Poland and Austria with their dead bodies.

It is well to state here that before the November revolution in Russia, a "democratic" and "kindly" gentleman by the name of Kerensky, was premier of that country. He was a short bridge between the rule of the czar and the rule of the workers and peasants thru the Communist Party. Kerensky was very kind and newsworthy; kind to the czar and his followers, kind to the European and American representatives of the brigand governments, but not so kind to the millions of workers and peasants, he was sending to the trenches at the command of Morgan and the rulers of France, England and Italy.

During the short reign of this nice man Kerensky, he appointed as his ambassador in the United States, one Boris Bakhmeteff, who figured much in the news, usually in the role of prophet. A more unfortunate prophet never lived. Jeremiah weeping by the waters of Jericho, was no more pathetic figure that this name Bakhmeteff, as one after another his predictions of the collapse of the Soviet government were impaled on the sharp bayonets of the Red Army. Job scratching himself on the dunghills of Jerusalem was an object of envy, politically and prophetically speaking, compared to the countryless ambassador and his lost but not found predictions of Soviet disaster.

But the badly bent as a prophet, Bakhmeteff could look his three square meals in the face very day without batting an eyelash. His cellar well stocked with the choicest of pre-Volsteadian brew and if his banal account was ever sneezed at, it must

have been by some victim of hay fever. A man may be down politically but he is never out, provided his pocketbook has the graceful curves of a Parisian mannekin. Bakhmeteff was not out, owing to the generosity of his friend the white Baptist of Standard Oil and Teapot Dome, with a residence in Washington, but the United States treasury is out \$187,000,000.

It is often said that a prophet is never honored in his own country. This was true of Bakhmeteff. It was also true that he was honored by very few in any country. But the few who honored him were mighty, and he stayed and liquidated, literally, most of the \$187,000,000 which the generous Charles Evans Hughes, allowed him to draw from the United States treasury.

It came to pass as the scripture would say, that after the Russian workers and peasants seized power, topped the czar from the throne and did a lot of other necessary scavenger work, that the governments with which the United States was associated in smashing the Central Powers, refused to "recognize" the newly organized Soviet Republic, even tho it was the expressed wish of the Russian masses that the czar and his bureaucracy should land on the rubbish heap of history in such a condition that their return could not be expected unless there was a modern resurrection pulled off. There wasn't.

The various governments sent armies into accessible parts of Russia in an attempt to overthrow the Soviet

In addition to the countries recognizing Russia de jure, other countries have important trade agreements with the Soviet Republic. This is the case with Czechoslovakia and Hungary while Japan is reported to be on the verge of signing a treaty with Moscow. Thus in seven years from the date on which the Bolsheviki overthrew the Kerensky regime and establishing the Soviet Republic all the great powers, and most of the small nations have either recognized the workers' government of Russia de jure or de facto, with the exception of the United States, which is now the outstanding figure in a circle of irreconcilables among whom are listed, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Belgium, Iraq, Hedjaz, and the south American republics who are afraid to antagonize the Wall Street eagle.

A capitalist diplomat must have an excuse for the predatory excursions of his masters. When they go to war it is one thing, when they refuse to make peace is something else. A capitalist diplomat who cannot dig up a decent excuse for a war or whatever other adventure the capitalist class he is serving may be engaged in will soon find himself digging for his breakfast in some other garden. The American capitalists are even more moralistic than their older and more blasé European contemporaries. Thus in the matter of Soviet recognition the European governments fought until they were licked to a standstill. In the meantime

won a victory, without it costing them much, outside of a few billion dollars which they did not miss. They looked on Soviet Russia with the eye of implacable hatred. They felt themselves ordained by the God of capitalism to wage eternal war on this unholy monster that threatened the profits of the money bags. When capitalists get this idea into their heads, particularly healthy capitalists like ours, it takes a lot of knocking to relieve them of their illusions.

And when such ideas become part of the mental processes of a White Guard Baptist, like the bewhiskered Hughes, it is safe to say that nothing short of an intellectual delousing process will suffice to cure the patient.

Since 1917, the United States has been the most outspoken and threatening foe of Soviet Russia. While I. K. Martens the envoy of the Soviet Republic to the United States was finally hounded out of the country by the Harding administration in 1921, the bogus ambassador Bakhmeteff, unrecognized by Russia except as an unprincipled scoundrel, ranked high among the diplomatic corps in Washington, while he squandered the funds of the United States treasury, posing as a representative of a dead government.

The recognition of the Soviet Republic by France on the eve of the seventh anniversary of the great revolution, which for the first time in human history saw the coming to power of the proletariat, is the worst blow yet delivered against the policy of Baptist Hughes and the battalion of death that supports him. While in Europe, the labor movement, reactionary tho it is, unanimously favored recognition of the Soviet regime, here in America, the spokesman of the American Federation of Labor, was the strongest anti-Soviet bulwark of the Coolidge-Hughes administration. Gompers, no less than Hughes, feared the psychological effect of such action on the part of American workers who were fed for years on atrocities and tales of horror and misery, governmental inefficiency, and progressive debility of the Soviet power. To be obliged to recognize "these horrible monsters" after all the cursing and praying, would put these political sky pilots in a bad light.

The American capitalists have held out well if not wisely. But it is not very likely that they will succeed in accomplishing their main purpose thru this policy, namely the overthrow of Soviet rule. After seven years of struggle, the workers and peasants' government is stronger than ever. International capitalism has felt the power of the Red Bear in the east. He comes now to the exploited masses of the world in the guise of a deliverer. He causes no fear in their hearts. But to the capitalists he is a nightmare and a terror and well he might. But they must recognize him. He refuses to be ignored.

The capitalists of the world find they must recognize the Soviet government. They know this will strengthen its rule, but yet they cannot help it. One sixth of the earth's surface cannot be wiped off the map by the stroke of a diplomat's pen any more than the red army could be wiped out by strokes of the capitalists' swords. Like the believers in predestination, the capitalists are out of luck either way. "They'll be damned if they do, and they'll be damned if they don't." And we say, the sooner they are damned the better.

The lone Baptist of Washington must now lean more heavily than ever on his "labor" prop Samuel Gompers. But instead of a prop he will soon find himself leaning against a coffin, in which will be enclosed the dead hopes of the enemies of Soviet Russia. There may still be enough of the \$187,000,000 given to Bakhmeteff out of the United States treasury, left to pay the funeral expenses. Baptist Hughes may have the honor of reading the prayers for the dead, as the workers of the world shout:

"Long Live Soviet Russia!"

A DETACHMENT OF RED SAILORS



power. They sent navies to bombard its coasts. They subsidized counter-revolutions, provoked rebellions, hired spies to hatch plots and sabotage to destroy bridges, wreck rail ways, mines and in general bring the industrial machinery of the Workers' Republic to ruin.

How they failed to accomplish their purpose need not be told here. The successful struggle of the workers and peasants of Russia against their myriad foes is an epic in human history that will thrill countless generations to come when the rotten capitalist system is no more and the red flag of Communism floats triumphant over the capitals of the world.

The Soviet power stood the impact of the terrible blows rained against it by the enemy. The spears of capitalism were shattered against the shield, fashioned out of the bone and sinew of the Russian working class. The Soviet power stood like the rock of Gibraltar. There were scars, but there were more on the enemy. Finally when the capitalist powers found they could not destroy it by the old weapons, they decided to make the best of a bad bargain. The anti-Soviet coalition began to crack. The fissures opened wider and wider and it was finally rent in twain. One nation after another made peace with the Soviet government, until the count stands to day as follows: Germany, Austria, Denmark, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Afghanistan, Finland, Poland, Persia, Great Britain, Italy, Greece, Mexico, Norway, China and France.

threatening never to "shake hands with the bloody Bolsheviki" but later they did, and sent perfumed notes to Moscow telling about the cordial relations that hitherto existed between the Russian people and the people of whatever country found itself obliged to talk business with the revolutionary government of Moscow.

It is no accident that the governments of Europe were obliged to do penance for their sins by making a pilgrimage to Moscow, the Mecca of the social revolution. Bankrupt as a result of the war, their productive powers impaired, the markets of the world lost to them, lost in most instances to the United States, which profited by the war "for democracy," they hungered for the Russian markets and the Russian wealth that lay buried in her soil waiting to be exploited. Their fear of Bolshevism was great, but beggars can't be choosers and having to choose between the devil of Bolshevism and the deep blueson of industrial bankruptcy, they took a chance on the devil, hoping against hope that he could be deborned and dehoofed and otherwise made to conform with the God of capitalism. But so far he is the winner.

The United States capitalists did not find themselves in the deplorable condition that confronted the European governments after the war was over. They had gold, their machinery was in good condition and they were cocky with the feeling of having

Seven Years Ago

By Max Bedacht

War! Millions of humans in uniform set against each other, armed with most modern and effective instruments of murder and destruction, moving by the order of little groups of big capitalists to conquer the world for them. That was the picture of the world in 1917.

Capitalism, born in a revolution and destined to die by one, had been moving rapidly toward the climax of its development. The ever-increasing intensity of exploitation had increased profits to unheard-of proportions. Now capital was accumulated in ever greater haste. Yet most of the chance for home investment seemed to be exhausted and the hunger for foreign fields of exploitation grew apace.

While the increasing intensity of exploitation had raised the productivity of labor tremendously, the share of labor in its products grew relatively smaller. This discrepancy could not but develop into a conflict, which would either change production from one of profit for a few, to one for satisfying the needs of many—or it would throw the world back into barbarism.

Capitalism, driven by an ever-increasing hunger for profit, reached out into unexplored territory. With its native proletariat armed to the teeth in attempts to colonize all the world and to transform it into one huge profit mill for one dominating group of capitalists and to reduce the working class portion of the human race to robots, that was the aim it set out to accomplish. This process of transformation to be achieved by a series of imperialist wars which were to settle the question of the supremacy of one group of the warring capitalist nations and at the same time are to solve the problem of military conquest of the earth.

This stage of capitalist development, altho of recent date, could not surprise the world by its appearance. Marxism, Communism, had laid bare the very entrails of the capitalist system predicting the phenomena of imperialism. Unlike the augurs of old, the Marxians base their predictions not on the windings of the entrails, but on a scientific analysis of the origin and character of the food passing thru the body of capitalism. This food was seen to be the life-blood of the working class; it was seen to circulate thru the body of capitalism as profit, turning into new capital; it was seen to fatten up that body of capitalism to a degree that it became a menace to the working class. So that the working class had only two alternatives: To destroy capitalism as the dominating force of society, or to be swallowed up irrevocably by the profit-hungry monster.

Preparing for the crisis and helping to hasten its advent, the Marxians, the Communists, had organized and educated the most conscious portions of the working class for the constantly intensifying struggle against capitalism. Imperialism was shown to be a menace to society itself. As an answer to a call by capitalism for imperialist war, was issued the call for the proletarian revolution. Thus the fear of the working masses for an imperialist war was alleviated by the hope for a revolution. The capitalist governments will not do this—that was the opinion of the masses on the very eve of the first of a series of imperialist wars. But they did face the call for war. They went out. The governments followed the urge of their profit-hungry ruling class and transformed the world into a shambles. The selfish leaders of the working class failed miserably in awakening the only fit echo to this call for war—the call for a proletarian revolution.

But there were exceptions. The Marxians, the Communists, the confronted by an unprecedented wave of patriotic paroxysms, upheld the revolutionary banner of the proletariat. Especially active in this respect were the Bolsheviks, the left wing party of the Russian socialists. With conferences at Zimmerwald and Kienthal,

they succeeded in uniting these Communist forces internationally and to create a nucleus around which the revolutionary resistance of the proletariat of the world against the imperialist governments and the imperialist war could be organized.

Imperialism had its weakest spot in Russia. The capitalist class of that country was only just developing. In many instances the Russian capitalists were only the administrators of foreign capital imported into Russia. This urge was met half-way by the semi-feudal desires for expansion of the old autocracy of the Romanoffs and their immediate backers, the great landowners. Thus backward Russia, too, launched its ship of state on the high-seas of the imperialist war.

At the head of the government stood a thoroughly rotten autocracy whose morality sometimes was even too much for the more delicate nostrils of an always-devoted bourgeoisie. Side by side with this rotten and corrupt autocracy and its machinery of state, the capitalist class (the bourgeoisie) stood, supporting the autocracy and reveling in its position as his majesty's most loyal and devoted opposition. That was the upper strata.

But below this thin veneer of wealth and power there were the masses of Russia—a not very numer-

The crash came. Strikes developed in Petrograd; the troops sent against the strikers fraternized with them. The army deserted; the crown slipped off the head of the last of the Romanoffs of Rasputin's infancy.

For years the bourgeoisie had acted as his majesty's loyal opposition. But never did this bourgeoisie dare to even think of revolution. But now that they were confronted with a fait accompli, Milukoff, the outstanding leader of the bourgeoisie had coined the slogan, "Rather defeat than revolution!" But here the workers and peasants in uniform had made the revolution. The very ground was shaking upon which this bourgeoisie stood. Danger lay in hesitation.

So they acted. They deserted the front trench of defense of the old order—czarism, and retreated to a stronger line of defense, a capitalist provisional government. The bourgeoisie had in the Duma representation a natural general staff. All that was needed was a little change of roles and the same drama could continue under a new name. Yesterday the landowners were the masters, with the bourgeoisie as loyal satraps. To day the bourgeoisie threw over its shoulders the cloak of authority and received the oath of loyalty from the new satraps, the rich landowners. The

abandoned their posts after the first victory. But they did not. Simultaneously with the usurpation of power by the bourgeoisie, the revolting workmen and soldiers created the instrument of a revolutionary government of their own, a workers' and soldiers' council, a Soviet. The bourgeoisie had its general staff in its Duma committee, while it found its instrument of power in the existing machinery of government. Counter-revolutionary as it was, the Duma committee found a willing accomplice in the old machinery of state. The revolutionary masses of workers and soldiers on the other hand, had their general staff in the leading proletarian parties, but they lacked an instrument of power and struggle. They had to create one.

The Soviets of workmen and soldiers came into existence in answer to that need. They became the organizational instrument through which the fight against the old order could be carried on and, with the final defeat of this order, they became the basic structure of the new one. The Soviets represented the authority of the forces of revolution, just as the machinery of government under the czar and under Milukoff or Kerensky were representing the authority of the counter-revolutionary forces. A fight to the finish was inevitable.

Either the old order would succeed in defeating the Soviets, then revolution was doomed and the old government would remain in power—or the Soviets would be victorious, would destroy the old order and its government; then these Soviets would become the government of the new order. The hesitating leadership of the Soviets, that of the Mensheviks, prevented the facing of this conflict. They desired to solve it not by a victory of the Soviets, but by their abdication.

Thus the conflict between revolution and counter-revolution manifested itself not so much in the struggle between the Soviets and provisional government, but in battles for leadership of the Soviets between the henchmen of the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks and the representatives of the Revolutionary proletariat—the Bolsheviks.

The Mensheviks at first denied that support of the provisional government was tantamount to a betrayal of the revolution; but when the language of the facts began to thunder so loud that they could no longer claim ignorance, then they maintained that a victory of the bourgeoisie is necessary and consequently their support of it was justified.

The revolutionary masses did not share this treacherous opinion. They refused to fight on the battlefields of imperialism for Constantinople while their revolutionary land committees at home were sent to prison by the former czar's jailers wearing red cockades.

The logic of the struggle drove the Soviets into the hands of the Bolsheviks. Created for struggle, the Soviets followed the most aggressive leadership and elected Bolsheviks on all committees.

Now the decks were cleared for action. The conflict became a clear one between the working class followed by the poor peasantry and the allied bourgeoisie and landowners, with the Mensheviks and socialist-revolutionaries as their henchmen. The revolution could proceed.

Like lightning penetrates darkness so was the counter-revolutionary attitude of the Mensheviks and socialist-revolutionary leadership of the Soviets illuminated for a moment by the Kornilovs. Here were the commanders of the army using their mandate from the republic to overthrow it. Here were the ministers of the revolutionary government in conspiracy with the monarchist generals in counter-revolutionary plots. Here was the revolution threatened in its existence by the very people entrusted with its defense.

Excitement rose to fever heat. The

(Continued on Page 5.)

KRONSTADT BOLSHEVIK SAILORS



Arrive in Petrograd to Fight Kornilov.

ous but class conscious proletariat and large mass of poor, starving and overworked peasantry.

The corrupt bureaucracy of the autocracy could not supply the leadership—and the under developed industry of Russia could not supply the materials necessary for a successful prosecution of the war. The collapse was inevitable. It came with a crash.

The Russian workers, whose organizations were suppressed and whose leaders were persecuted even in normal times, found the war an added weight on their shoulders. The police became the all-pervasive taskmaster driving a diseased proletariat back into the treadmill of capitalist profits. But this proletariat had a revolutionary tradition. The only attempts of any revolt against unspeakable and intolerable czarism in the past were made and led by this proletariat. The increased pressure upon them could not subdue them but could only increase the counter-pressure in the same ratio.

The army in the field, the masses of oppressed and oppressed peasants in the rear, the starved hoards of czarism, began to crumble. Czarism was even up to the minister of war, Sukhomlinov, betrayed them; corrupt officials stole their equipment or the money appropriated for them; reactionary officers tortured them; and their fathers and brothers at home on the land were ruined by the food policies of the government. Under these circumstances of the soldiers, the proverbial loyalty of the Mirbiks was crushed and autocracy found that bayonets may be good to lean upon, but are not good to sit upon.

masses, the suffering workers and peasants, altho they had set out in grim determination to throw down from the pedestal of its power, czarism, were to continue to suffer, to continue to be exploited and oppressed. The whole machinery of state remained what it was. The component parts changed color—that was all. The monarchists of yesterday became the republicans of today. The imperialists were replaced by red. The old police officials had their uniforms altered to fit new requirements, but they and their system continued in power. Under the cloak of republicanism the forces of the old order fought for life against the revolution. And yet the world at large and the exploited at home were persuaded that this was the revolution.

No matter how dignified these pseudo-revolutionists played their role in this comedy in the open—secretly they conspired for the return of the Romanoffs. The day after the proclamation of the provisional government in March, 1917, Milukoff, who to this very day parades his staunch republican qualities in Paris, proposed the proclamation of Alexis, son of the deposed Romanoff, as czar and the appointment of his uncle, Mikhail Alex. Androvitch, as regent. In the council room of the provisional government the loyal hearts of the "monarchist revolutionists" could beat more freely and the betrayal of the very revolution they pretended to lead could be proposed more shamelessly.

All achievements and hopes of the revolution would have undoubtedly found their graves in these council rooms, had the revolutionary masses

The Russian Revolution and the Communist International

By C. E. RUTHENBERG.

The glorious victory of the Russian workers on November 7, 1917, did not only bring into existence the first workers' government. Great as was the triumph of the Russian proletarian revolution in establishing the workers' state in Russia, the Russian workers thru their victory made even a greater contribution to the workers of the world. Thru their victory, they laid the foundation for the creation of the Communist International, which is today the center and rallying point for the revolutionary workers the world over.

There had been left wing socialist groups within the Second International even prior to the outbreak of the world war in 1914. When the Second International fell to pieces under the impact of the war, these groups endeavored to come together in order to form a nucleus for a new international. Meetings were held at Zimmerwald and Kienthal, during the war, at which tentative efforts were made to unite these groups. These efforts, however, did not bring any permanent results.

It required the clarifying experience of the first victorious proletarian revolution to lay the foundation for the new international. The Russian workers under the leadership of the Bolsheviks organized their Soviets and with the slogan "All power to the Soviets" on their lips, struck the blow which brought the first proletarian state into existence; they showed on the field of action the course which the proletarian revolution takes and the basis of the new proletarian state. The way to power for the proletariat was no longer a theory, but had been demonstrated thru action. The experiences and examples of the Russian workers made the Marxian theory

they had put to test stand out in a great new white light. The murky clouds in which the Second International had hidden the principles of Marx were dispersed by this great shaft of light. Thru their example, thru their practice, thru their action on the field of battle, the Russian workers taught the revolutionary groups in other countries the road they must travel in order to win their victory.

In every country, strong groups in the socialist parties rallied to the principles of Marxism as illuminated by Leninist practice in the victory of November 7, 1917. Thus the Russian proletarian revolution created the Communist International. When the call for the first congress of the Communist International was issued, in March, 1919, there were groups in every country ready to answer the call and to join in forming the Communist International. The Russian workers, thru their victory, had not only created their own workers' state, but had created the organization which would lead and direct the world proletarian revolution.

The Communist International.

In the seven years that the Russian workers have defended and made safe their victory, the Communist International has spread its influence to the uttermost places of the earth. Today there is not a place on the face of the globe where the Communist International has not some following where its appeal to the workers of the world has not some response. In fifty-one countries the Communist International has organized its sections. It is the leader of an organization of revolutionary workers which number from two to two-and-a-half million and its influence and leadership extends over tens of millions other workers. If, when Marx and Engels

wrote the first Communist Manifesto, it was true "that a specter was haunting Europe—the specter of Communism," this is a thousand times more true today.

The capitalist governments the world over hate and fear the Communist International. And well they may, for its power is not limited or restricted by national boundaries. If the English ruling class hates the Communist International it is because it knows that the influence of the Communist International reaches into England, and when it speaks, the English workers respond. If the French government hates and fears the Communist International, it is because it knows that hundreds of thousands, yes, millions of French workers listen when the Communist International speaks and are ready to follow its leadership. If Mr. Hughes hates and fears the Communist International, it is because he knows that in the United States the Communist International has its organized section and its followers ready to unite with the workers the world over in rallying under its leadership.

Protecting the Workers' Victory.

The Communist International created thru the Russian revolution has in turn become the greatest defender of the victory of the Russian workers.

If the might of the imperialist capitalist world has not been organized and thrown against the Russian workers' state in one united effort to destroy it, it is because the power of the Communist International has made such a united offensive impossible. When in 1920, England threatened Soviet Russia, during the Polish war, it was the power of the Communist International, speaking thru the English workers' councils of action, which called a halt to British imperialism. It was the power of the Communist

International which was expressed in the strikes of Italian workers, German workers, French workers, yes, even American workers, who refused to handle munitions of war for use by Poland against Soviet Russia.

The imperialist capitalist nations have not dared to openly mobilize their power and strike at the Russian Workers' Republic because within the borders of these capitalist-imperialist nations, there stand the armies of the Communist International, ready to act under its leadership against such an imperialist attempt. If the imperialist capitalist governments dared to, they would long ago have made the attempt to destroy the first proletarian government. That they have not dared to, is due to the fact that their attempt to mobilize their power would be answered by the marching millions of proletarian workers with the cry, "Hands Off Soviet Russia!"

Celebrate Beginning of World Revolution.

In celebrating the anniversary of the triumph of the Russian workers we do not only celebrate the victory of the Russian workers. We celebrate the beginning of the world revolution, we celebrate the creation of the Communist International which came out of the victory of the Russian workers, we celebrate the creation of that Marxist-Leninist leadership of the revolutionary workers which has already spread its principles and organization to all parts of the world which today is thundering at the doors of capitalism and which tomorrow will crash thru those doors and become the center of the World Proletarian State. As we hail the glorious triumph of the Russian workers, we also cry out, "Hail to the Communist International built upon the rock foundation of the Russian proletarian victory!"



SEVEN YEARS AGO



(Continued from preceding page.)

masses turned for leadership to the Bolsheviks who had answered the attacks of those in power against the revolution by the slogan: "All power to the Soviets!"

Yes, all power to the Soviets! Let the masses that started the revolution defend and complete it. Let those masses transform the only instrument of defense of the revolution, the Soviets, into their instrument of power. Into a revolutionary government.

With the leadership of the Soviets in the hands of the Bolsheviks, the situation clarified and the struggle between the Soviets and the old state began in earnest. It ended with the defeat of the old order and the glorious advent of the new. At last the proletariat of the world had regained its power of speech and through its Russian brothers it answered the crime of the first imperialist world war with the establishment of the first workers' state. For the first time in history the proletariat had claimed its heritage and succeeded by its own efforts. A new epoch was initiated and the construction of a new society had begun. The domination of property over the people was ended and the control of the people over property was established. The dictatorship of capitalism was terminated and the dictatorship of the working class proclaimed instead. The revolution of February had been a skirmish of the advance guard. The victorious emergence of the proletariat from that skirmish suggested to the defendants of the old order the tactic to take command of the attack, thru insuring its defeat. But the watchful eye, the clear insight, and the spirit of relentless struggle that dominated the Bolsheviks and their revered leader, Lenin, frustrated their plan. In the revolution of November, the main battle was fought in which the strategy of capitalism collapsed and the final victory of the toilers was achieved.

Marxism, Communism, had achieved its triumph. Lenin, the incomparable theoretician and strategist, had united

Marxian theory with Communist tactics and action in a perfect synthesis of the November revolution and the establishment of the first workers' state.

Seven years have passed—seven years of struggle, of suffering, of misery, and of brilliant achievements. The taking over of power by the Soviets marked the beginning of the most heroic efforts that only a revolutionary class is capable of performing. Although the Soviets presented in themselves a new machinery of government, one that was to replace entirely the old one, yet, too many threads of the old administrative machinery of the vast empire of Russia still ran through the hands of the old bureaucracy. Says Ariande Tyrkova, a bitter foe of the Soviets, of the first days after November: "The minor council of ministers continued its sittings, striving to preserve the succession of authority and, if possible, to restate the power of the provisional government. . . . The entire mechanism of the state was under their control." Sabotage set in on a scale never before witnessed, and perpetrated by a class who, during its rule, had dealt with mere talks of sabotage against them, as major crimes. To destroy the last remnants of this state machinery became the foremost task of the new rulers. The worker who had come out of the factory only yesterday to exchange his tool for a rifle, today had to exchange his rifle for a pen and become part of the administrative machine of the new workers' state. For a time, two parallel machines fought a life and death struggle: one old, experienced, trained in its task, but obsolete and representative of a defeated class; the other, new, inexperienced, to a certain degree even chaotic, but representative of a victorious new ruling class, the proletariat. But this new class had that indispensable quality of a revolutionary class of which Danton speaks: "Laudace, l'audace, et toujours l'audace!" Boldness, boldness, and forever boldness! Thus the old state was destroyed, utterly annihilated, and, like a phoenix out of the ash-

es, there emerged finally the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The victory of the Russian workers seven years ago rekindled the hope of the toiling millions the world over. The sun of the new workers' state of Russia lighted the path of struggle that the proletariat of the world must travel. It inspired these masses. It taught them how to succeed.

But this victory also drove fear into the camp of capitalism. Its solidarity manifested itself at once and the deadly foes on the battlefields of Europe, entente and central powers, became allies on Russian soil for a common campaign against the Soviets. The "humanitarian" Wilson tried to spit the red heart of revolutionary Russia on the bayonets of an expeditionary force of American soldiers. The successors of Danton and Robespierre, the present rulers of France, played the role of the Duke of Brunswick in the Russian revolution. The armies of the magnamonian William, harassed the workers' republic and robbed it of its most valuable provinces. And while English money bought and paid for counter-revolutionary uprisings within Soviet Russia, an English army stole for the ruling powers of England, the valuable oil-fields on the south of the Black Sea. But even against a world of enemies the Russia of the workers prevailed. The enemy within was smashed by the force of the Red Terror—the enemy from without by the force of the Red Army. And today,

though grinding their teeth in impotent rage, one by one the capitalist governments must recognize the hated new power. The United States alone, of all great nations, cannot forget the wrongs it did to Soviet Russia. It refuses recognition. But, like revolutionary France of old told Austria, so Soviet Russia can tell the Pecksniffs at Washington: "Soviet Russia is like the sun. You may refuse to recognize it; but yet it shines."

Revolutions are the locomotives of history. The revolution of November, 1917, pulled the development of society along with the speed of an express train. It broke the power of capitalism in Russia. It revealed the rottenness of world capitalism. It demonstrated the strength of the proletariat. Like a monument to that strength it stands out in its greatness and magnificence and sings out to the proletariat of the world the inspiring hymn of the Social Revolution:

Arise ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth!
For justice thunders condemnation;
A better world's in birth!

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Leaders--Not "Heroes"--of the Russian Revolution

By J. LOUIS ENGBAHL.

It is well that Nov. 7, the anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik victory, falls so quickly upon the period of the American national elections. It gives workers in this country, who have been won to the reading of Communist literature, an opportunity to compare the "heroes" of American politics, puny and colorless, with the inspiring personalities of the men and women—the leaders—who carried to victory the standards of the Russian workers' and peasants' struggle for emancipation.

In his little pamphlet on "Lenin: The Great Strategist of the Class War," we find A. Losovsky, secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions, heading one of his chapters, "A Leader, Not a Hero."

There were those who wanted to deck up Lenin as a "hero of the masses," in the effort to disprove the materialistic conception of history. But Lenin was the leader of his class; not its hero, Losovsky points out in reply.

That same is true of all the other comrades of the Russian Soviet revolution whose names are becoming more and more familiar to toilers in every land.

There is Michael Ivanovitch Kallin, the peasant president of the Soviet Republic, the second president under Soviet rule. He was selected for this position when Sverdlov died of the typhus in 1918. Kallin has been a connecting link between the city and land workers.

Leon Trotsky is still the Soviet minister of war. He is the head of the Red Army. Trotsky is the man of action, the originator, the organizer. He was born in 1877, suffered impris-

onment and exile under the czar, spent some time in the United States immediately preceding the revolution, but returned to Russia at the first opportunity to help build the Soviet Republic.

We hear more and more of Christian Rakovsky, who was the president of the Ukraine, now mentioned as the Soviet ambassador to Paris, since French recognition of Soviet rule. Louise Bryant wrote of Rakovsky that he never reached any important decision without consulting Lenin. Rakovsky comes from the Balkans having been born in the little Bulgarian town of Kotel. Driven from one country to another under the whip of reaction, he has, since the Nov. 7th revolution, in 1917, represented the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia in other lands. While president of the Ukraine he was also a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Of course, at the head of the Soviet foreign office, in Moscow, is Gregory Vassilievitch Tchicherin. Tchicherin is so deeply serious in his work that he could not, on one occasion, see the humor of an American capitalist newspaper publishing a fake interview with Lenin, discussing everything from the Irish problem to the Russian ballet. This Tchicherin comes from one of the oldest and most aristocratic families of the days of the czar. But he has been guiding successfully for years the foreign affairs of the Bolshevik Republic.

Side by side with Tchicherin, we find Maxim Litvinov, who worked with Lenin since the Russian Communist Party was created up to the time of the latter's death. Litvinov was one of the Soviet representatives sent to

London in the early negotiations over the question of British recognition.

In England with Litvinov we find Leonid Krassin, who once managed the great Putilov factory and was considered one of the most able engineers in Russia. He was a great power in Russia's early days of reconstruction.

There are plenty of other men of great ability in the Soviet foreign office, who run rings around the diplomats of capitalist countries. Another outstanding figure is Michael Karakhan, who has been carrying on such successful work in the orient, especially with Japan and China; not to overlook the great achievements of Joffe.

But there are not only men comrades in Russia's foreign service. Alexandra Kollontai, veteran of the Russian revolutionary movement, is the Soviet representative at Christiania, the capital of Norway. She spent much time in exile in Germany while the czar still ruled in Russia, but returned immediately following the inception of the revolution.

Mojssaye J. Olgin, who has just returned from Soviet Russia, says that someone tried to tell him that Anatol Lunacharsky, the Soviet minister of education, was just a figurehead in the workers' and peasants' government. But Olgin later learned that this informant was an anti-Bolshevik and spent his time in denouncing, fit a similar manner, all Soviet officials. Lunacharsky holds that illiteracy was Russia's greatest curse under the czar and he is working to wipe it out as rapidly as possible under the Soviet rule. Reports indicate that he is succeeding very rapidly.

It was Alexis Ivanovitch Rykov who succeeded Lenin as the president of the Council of People's Commissars. This was the unanimous decision of the Central Executive Committee and ratified the action of the All-Russian Soviet Congress.

But these are all comrades engaged in the work of the Soviet government. There are also the comrades more active in the Communist International like Gregory Zinoviev, president of the Petrograd Soviet, but also the head of the Communist World Party—the Communist International.

Karl Radek is declared to be one of Communism's best propagandists. He has been for a long time head of the Soviet propaganda bureau.

Nikolai Bucharin, another powerful Communist writer, is the editor of the official organ of the Russian Communist Party, the Pravda.

George Steklov is the head of the editorial staff of the Izvestia, the official organ of the Russian Soviet government.

These are only a few of the leaders—not "heroes"—of the Russian Soviet revolution. They are of the revolution. They sprang from the victorious struggle of the masses of oppressed against the capitalist reaction.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the transition stage towards Communism, multitudes of such leaders are rising to take up the new tasks—the building of the Communist society. The workers in all other lands may well envy the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia their leadership.

This is something for the hero-worshipping American workers to look into on this Seventh Soviet Anniversary.

Seven Years of Triumphant Soviet Rule

By JAY LOVESTONE.

The Workers' and Farmers' Soviet Republic, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, is now entering upon its eighth year.

The years of foreign invasion, the years of famine and war, the years of economic blockade are at an end. The enemies of the working and farming masses of Soviet Russia have been defeated. Communism is increasing its strength rapidly.

The economic chaos wrought by the war and czarist-capitalist inefficiency the ruin of industry and agriculture coming in the wake of counter-revolutionary insurrection and sabotage the stifling of economic progress thru the imperialist blockade—are all at an end.

Ignorance, illiteracy, oppression, economic backwardness, exploitation—these are, more and more, happily becoming by-gones for the Russian working and farming masses.

The Birth of Red Russia.

November 7, 1917: The birthday! The capitalist Kerensky puppet government is overthrown. The Communists win power. "All power to the Soviet of workers, soldiers and peasants! Peace! Bread! Land!" are the slogans of the victorious Communists under the leadership of the old guard of the Russian Communist Party—Lenin and Zinoviev. Soviet rule is established. The roar and thunder of the social revolution strike terror into the hearts of the imperialists the world over. The workers of the world hail the new day.

Communism Ends World War.

November 7, 1918: The first anniversary! It was the Communist propaganda and the Communist spirit spread amongst the great mass of German soldiers that brought about the end of kaiserism and the imperialist war. Not until the effective Communist agitation directed by the Bolshevik Party of Russia broke up

the efficient German military machine was the Prussian junker-capitalist alliance forced to seek an end of hostilities. Not until the allied imperialists began to dread the rising Soviet power were they compelled to consider even an armistice.

Soviet Republic Crushes Intervention.

November 7, 1919: The second birthday! The countless efforts of world imperialism camouflaged and inspired by Woodrow Wilson, to overthrow the Soviet Republic have been decisively crushed by the prowess of the Red Army. While the Russian working and farming masses under the leadership of their Communist Party were putting to rout their enemies at home and abroad, the social-democratic leaders in other European countries were serving as the hangers-on of the proletariat. It was the traitorous social-democracy of Germany that drowned the Spartacist revolution and that aided and abetted the overthrow of the Soviet Republic in Bavaria. It was with the connivance and comfort of the Hungarian social-democracy that Mr. Hoover was able to engineer the drowning blood of the Soviet government in Hungary. In all these dark hours the Russian Communist Party, at the head of the Soviet Republic, held aloft the banner of the world social revolution.

Ring of Iron and Fire Broken.

November 7, 1920: The third anniversary! More and more the capitalist powers are beginning to recognize that Soviet Russia is invincible. The oldest capitalist government, on whose land the sun never sets, Great Britain, recognizes its failure to crush the workers' and farmers' Soviet Republic by force of arms. Captain O'Grady is appointed to negotiate with Comrade Krassin at Copenhagen. This marks the beginning of the collapse of the murderous blockade of the Soviet Republic. It marks the beginning of the end of the so-called cordon sani-

taire—the capitalist imperialist ring of iron and fire thrown around Soviet Russia in order to break the backbone of international Communism.

Last Imperialist Attack Shattered.

November 7, 1921: The fourth birthday! The victorious Red Army has succeeded in sweeping into oblivion the imperialist counter-revolutionary lackeys. The Kolchaks, the Yudeniches, the Wrangels and the horde of lesser hooligans have all been smashed by the workers' and peasants' Red Army. The American working men are beginning to demand peace with Soviet Russia. American soldiers stationed in Murmansk and Siberia mutiny. Reactionary Poland is forced to give up its war against the Soviet Republic. The Kronstadt revolt, the last flicker of counter-revolutionary hope, is extinguished.

Vanquishing the Famine.

November 7, 1922: The fifth anniversary! The allied imperialists, despairing of their nefarious plans to overthrow the Soviet Republic thru a frontal attack, are planning to resort to other means. Soviet Russia is invited to meet the imperialist agents at the Genoa and Harzu conferences. The famine sweeps the Volga valley. The working classes thruout the world rally to the support of the starving workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic. The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International and the First World Congress of Red International of Labor Unions mark the victory of the Soviet Republic over the worst famine in the history of Russia. The trial of the social-revolutionary enemies of the Soviet Republic brings into ugly relief the alliance between the saffron social-democracy and the black monarchist reaction.

Rebuilding Soviet Russia.

November 7, 1923: The sixth birthday! The famine has been completely liquidated. The harvest brings a bumper crop. Gigantic exhibition in

Moscow shows inestimable progress in the rebuilding of agriculture in the Soviet domains. Red Russia is building a huge air fleet and increasing the effectiveness of its revolutionary army. Tremendous headway is being made in the reconstruction of industry.

Communist Russia Triumphant.

November 7, 1924: The seventh anniversary! The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is triumphant. Imperialist France, the arch enemy of Soviet Russia, the essence and incarnation of capitalist hostility to the first workers' and farmers' Soviet Republic, recognizes the bankruptcy of its anti-Soviet policy. The French government is compelled to extend unconditional de jure recognition to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. At least nineteen capitalist governments have been forced to confess the failure of their campaigns against the Soviet Republic and have granted full recognition to the Soviet government. Within one year at least twelve capitalist governments, amongst which are to be found England, Italy, the Baltic countries and France, have formally recognized the Soviet government. Japanese recognition is now only a matter of weeks at the most. Soon the entire continent of Asia will have recognized the Soviet Republic.

Soviet industry and trade are making remarkable progress. Soviet Russia has come out victorious over counter-revolution, foreign invasion, famine and capitalist blockade.

The Communist International, the leader of the international revolutionary proletariat, is stronger than ever. Its active, disciplined adherents are increasing by leaps and bounds. Today the Communist International is the mortal and only dreaded enemy of the imperialist blunderbuss at the head of which now stand the American financial and industrial capitalist overlords.

The Russian Communist Party

(Continued from Page 2.)

connection with the old guard of pre-revolutionary Communist fighters. Members of the Central Committee are Communists of long standing. Secretaries of the District and Province Committees may be only Communists who joined the party prior to October, 1917. Secretaries of the County Committees must be Communists of three years' standing. Members of the Central and Province Control Committees can only be Communists who actually participated in underground work before the revolution.

Lenin Enrollment

c. The great event that manifested to the world the attitude of the masses towards the Communist Party and brought the party into the very heart of the working masses, was the Lenin Enrollment. When Lenin died, the party issued a call to the workers to join the party of Lenin. One hundred thousand were expected to join, two hundred and fifty thousand filed applications, swelling the membership to 700,000, flooding the local nuclei, upsetting all calculations, putting an end to the party discussion, overwhelming the organization with the task of assimilating the new mass. Only workers engaged in industrial establishments were allowed to enter the Lenin enrollment. A quarter million offered its active services to the cause of the revolution, pouring new blood, new energy, new vigor, new impetus into the body of the party. This was how the heart of the working class responded to Lenin's cherished organization.

"Why did you join the party just after Lenin's death? Why did you not become Communists before?" the writer asked many a rank and file.

"Because as long as Ilyitch lived we were sure he kept an eye on the party and he would always find the best way. But when he died, we simply had to join the party in order to help it in its work."

The task of passing upon the candidates of the Lenin Enrollment was left to the general meeting of every mill, factory, shop or pit. Those meetings will remain forever in the history of the party as one of its most enchanting moments. Here they have come, the non-partisan workers. Here they sit in judgment over applicants desirous to join the party. What does this assemblage of non-Communists know about the Communist Party? How will it be capable of weeding out the undesirables and recommending the proper material? Never fear. The workers know. The workers understand very clearly the role of the Communist Party. Not in vain have the workers partaken of the great struggles.

One worker after another rises to object to individual applications.

"This man is a weakling. A Communist must have a will."

"This man is stupid. He will not be able to acquire the knowledge a Communist cannot get along without."

"This man was a Menshevik. We do not believe in his sudden conversion. He has yet to prove his devotion to the new order and to Communism."

"This man is inclined to religious superstitions. He may not become a Communist till he rid himself of false ideas."

"This man is not punctual in money affairs. We will not be able to trust him."

"This man has not led a clean family life. He is not fit for Communism."

"This man is drinking. A Communist must be sober."

One by one the aspirants passed in review before the masses of workers who chose the right men and women for candidates to the Communist Party. The mass chose its own party. The "non-partisan" mass chose its own Communist leaders.

Greater than this closeness of working class and party the world has never seen.

The party is now conducting a stup-

endous work of training these new Communists, many of whom are men and women of mature age. A host of teachers is giving this mass instruction in the first principles of social theory ("The ABC of political science"); a host of other teachers is introducing the more advanced among the Lenin Enrollment into the study of Marxism, while the secretaries of the nuclei and the party as a whole are drawing the new recruits into the various phases of actual party life, pushing them forward even to the most advanced positions.

The Vydvizheny ("those moved to the fore") are only one case in this variegated problem. Hundreds of workers recommended by the local nuclei were taken from the factories and placed in the highest offices of the Soviet government, the aim being, first, to have those fresh and unspooled minds observe the workings of the various institutions, simultaneously inspecting them in the name of the party and learning their mechanisms, second, to place those workers in responsible positions in the respective offices after they have acquainted themselves with their administration. The party thus makes it possible for

secretaries, conferences of secretaries of nuclei in a given city or district, general meetings of numbers of nuclei in the same industry or the same locality, etc. All these ways of party intercourse convey to the entire organization the will and the views of the leading body, at the same time conveying to the Central Committee and to the Central Control Committee the will and the views of the rank and file members.

The Central Committee which is the actual government of Russia consists of 54 members; the Central Control Committee consists of 152 members. The Central Committee is the highest authority of the party, giving direction to all the activities of every Communist organization, at the same time it decides upon all the problems confronting the Soviet state.

The decisions of the Communist Party are being carried out not only within the party but wherever a Communist happens to work. All Communists working in the same establishments or delegated to the same non-partisan conference or congress, or elected to the same Soviet political or industrial or educational office, are organized as a Communist faction

elected by its members. Every County Committee is elected by a county conference. Regional and provincial committees are being elected, at conferences of the region or the province. In the times of underground work prior to 1917 the officers of the party were appointed from above. At present, when the party leads a free and open existence, the party leadership, from the lowest to the highest functionaries is being elected from below, with limitations as to the party standing of the comrade to be elected.

There is freedom of opinion and freedom of discussion within the Russian Communist Party. Freedom of discussion, however, must not be abused so as to shake the very foundations of the party. When a group within the party criticizes its activities in such a manner as to inspire the bourgeoisie with new hope of a near collapse of the proletarian power, when the passions let loose within the party not only tend to denounce existing evils but to discredit the party outside its ranks and to undermine its vitality within, then the criticism reaches beyond the mark and freedom of opinion turns to be a danger. Such was the case with the last discussion.

One must always bear in mind that the Russian Communist Party is carrying out a colossal revolutionary task, that the revolution has not yet been concluded, that the enemies are numerous and cunning, and that every rift within the party means a weakening of the power of proletarian rule.

Housecleanings

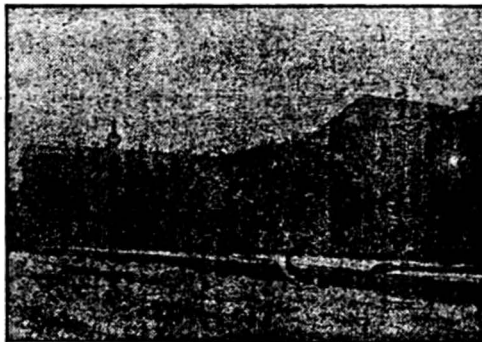
e. The Russian Communist Party is a governing party. It represents power. It imposes on its membership heavy duties but it also puts them in a privileged position. The Russian Communist Party is apt to attract persons who join it, not out of devotion to the cause of the revolution, but out of selfish motives. The Russian Communist Party is aware of this danger and is combating it with all the frankness that characterizes every one of its actions. "We are not infallible," says the party. "We make mistakes. We commit blunders. Only those who do not do so do not err. But we are ready to remedy evils. We will not stop before the most drastic measures. The party must be and will be an example of service, of proletarian integrity, of revolutionary sincerity and devotion." In 1921 the party started its most famous housecleaning: in the course of several months 200 thousand were excluded out of a total membership of 700 thousand. In the spring and summer of 1924 another housecleaning was conducted, this time exclusively among the office nuclei, i. e. among those Communists who work in Soviet institutions.

What are the reasons for exclusion from the party? First of all, a non-worker who is a member of the Communist Party must do work for the party. Even a factory worker is expected to render regular services to his organization, but he is not always in a position to do so. As for a non-worker, an intellectual or semi-intellectual, it is not sufficient for him that he does his duty in the Soviet institution; he must also be active within his nucleus and within the party. Non-active intellectuals, however useful otherwise, are considered ballast and thrown overboard.

Dutiful and capable discharge of governmental work is another demand put up to a Communist. He who shirks his duties, who soldiers on the job, who is inefficient, who demoralizes the staff, who does not live up to the standards of a proletarian administrator is being mercilessly expelled from the party and removed from his position, no matter how great his former services may be. The party has now changed from a war footing to a comparatively peaceful line of constructive activities. Men who were good fighters at the front may prove rotten administrators in economic or cultural affairs. The party

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IN PETROGRAD



Smolny Institute—Headquarters of the Bolsheviks

a capable aspiring worker to skip all intermediary steps and attain to high or administrative work in the shortest possible way. The "ones moved to the fore" bring with them proletarian conceptions of economy and order, proletarian working power, and proletarian freedom from bureaucratic bias.

Democratic Centralism

d. The Russian Communist Party is built on the principle of Democratic Centralism. The party is centralized from top to bottom: the decisions of the Central Committee are law for every party organization and every member. The decisions of the Central Control Committee are equally binding upon every party body and every member. The decisions of the lower institutions may be annulled by the institutions above them. The choice of officers by lower institutions is subject to veto by the superior bodies. The authority and prestige of the party must be a matter of the highest concern for every member. The entire party structure presents a pyramid the top of which is the Central Committee while the Regional and Provincial Committees, also the Central Committees of the individual states which form the Union (such as the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party) represent the section of the pyramid just below the top. The County Committees and the local nuclei forming the second and third layer respectively. The entire structure is shot through by a greater number of cross sections which represent direct communication between the top and the various portions of the pyramid, such means of communications being regional conferences, provincial conferences, conferences of local committees

(caucuses). The course of action of the faction is determined by the local or central committee. The decisions of the committee or caucus are binding upon every member. Communists appearing in a non-Communist gathering or organization, always act as a unit. No Communist will ever criticize the stand of another Communist before an audience of strangers. Communists appear to be all of one opinion and defending the same course when acting in non-Communist surroundings. This is one of the reasons of their great influence among the non-partisan masses. The Communists know what they want in every case, they are never caught unprepared, and they stand all for one and one for all.

The party decidedly forbids caucuses and groupings with the party or organization. No intermediary discipline may stand between the member and the party as a whole. No group loyalty may interfere with the loyalty of a member to his party. Every vote of a party member within the party organization must be dictated by his best understanding and not by the collective understanding of a group. The party forbids caucuses as tending to disrupt the unity of the organization and weaken its power in the face of the enemy who waits for just such a schism in the leadership of the proletarian revolution.

But while practicing a severe centralism which makes every member a soldier in a well disciplined array even to the extent of dictating him his kind of work and changing his place of sojourn, the Russian Communist Party is organized on a democratic basis. Every secretary of a nucleus is

The Youth in the Revolution - - By Oliver Carlson

It is always an exhilarating sight to see a mass of young people enjoying themselves. The spirit and enthusiasm at a football game here or in Great Britain, the steadiest motion of the young athletes of Germany or Sweden as they execute their maneuvers are interesting and enjoyable to everyone; but these in no way compare with the almost limitless flow of life and laughter and goodfellowship to be found at any gathering of the Russian Komsomols (Young Communists).

Whereas the whole trend of the education given in all capitalist countries is one wherein the individual is taught to think first and foremost in terms of his own success, in Russia it is the opposite. There the students are taught to regard society as a unit of which they are parts. They are developed so that their own advancement and success is measured in terms of their ability to contribute to the development and advancement of the entire community. Social science becomes a part of the training of children from the time when they enter school, but it does not cease when school days are over but is carried on in the workshops, the mines and the offices. Furthermore, there is at no time made the hard and fast line of distinction between manual and mental work such as we find throughout the rest of the world. The work schools, which are being established all over

the Soviet Union as rapidly as conditions permit, link up the school and factory, combine theory with practice and make out of the rising generation men and women who possess a balanced training, so they can serve in the capacity of both brain and brawn workers.

Children Both Heard and Seen.

The discrimination against the youth which exists in every other country is not to be found in Russia. The political barriers which prevent all under 21 years of age to vote (in many countries the age limit is 23 or 25 years) does not exist in Russia. Every worker there irrespective of his age, can participate in all elections. The barriers set up by the trade unions in all other countries against the admittance of young workers do not exist in Russia. Quite to the contrary, the youth have their special representatives on all committees of the unions to see to it that the interests of the young workers are especially looked after.

In every respect the young people of Russia are trained in such a fashion that they will be prepared to state their views and opinions on all matters. In their schools, in their clubs, everywhere, they are expected to govern themselves as much as they possibly can. They are trained to speak up, not to hold their tongues. The old saying about "children should be seen but not heard" is in bad stand-

ing in Russia. There they want their children both seen and heard. As a consequence, I have seen any number of good sincere Communists from other countries almost shocked at the forwardness, or as some of them put it, "the audacity" of these youngsters. The environment under which these comrades had been forced to live the whole of their lives made it almost impossible for them to accept the idea of children talking as equals to their elders. But the youth of Russia, freed from the old restraint, is developing at an almost unbelievable rate. Time and again I have witnessed long and serious discussions on political problems of the day by groups of kiddies ranging from nine or ten to fifteen years of age. It is no longer an unusual thing over there.

The backbone of the Soviet government is the Communist Party but back of that party stands a Young Communist League with a membership almost a million strong. This is a mighty army of young workers ranging in age from 15 or 16 to 22 years of age. Most of them had no part in the earlier struggles of 1917 or 1918. They have developed into man and womanhood under this new workers' government—and there are none so loyal to it as just these young Communists who know that theirs is the actual task of building a new social order. And back of the Komsomols stand the Young Leninists, hundreds of thou-

sands of them, as the third line of defense for the workers' state.

Creating a New World.

Small wonder that the joy, the enthusiasm of the Russian youth exceeds that of the youth of all the world for it is a joy and an enthusiasm that arises out of a consciousness of their importance in creating a new world. The youthful guardians of the Russian proletariat are the guarantee that world capitalism can never reconquer the Soviet government: They are the guarantee that the rising generation has thrown off for all time to come the shackles of serfdom and wage slavery. They stand as a guide and an inspiration to the working class youth of all the world to follow in their footsteps.

For every year that the Soviet government has existed there has grown up behind it a million new ardent supporters. From Vladivostok to Leningrad and from Marmansk to Tiflis the Young Communist League and the Young Leninists are to be found, training, organizing, educating their members and their supporters to become able and efficient citizen-workers in the United Socialist Soviet States. The first seven years of struggle are past. The critical period is over. The Youthful Guardians will see to it that the future will make up for the misery, the ignorance, the brutality inflicted upon the masses of Russians for centuries.

RUSSIAN PARTY

(Continued from Page 7.)

knows no personal considerations. He who is not fit, must go.

Honesty, integrity, clean living are a fundamental pre-requisite of a Communist. Members are being expelled for laxity, corruption, favoritism, for hob-nobbing with bourgeois elements, for extravagance, haughty attitude towards subordinates, an inclination to draw away from the mass of workers. This is a workers' republic, the party says, and a member who cannot live the life of a worker may not stay in the party.

A maximum of earnings has been fixed by the party for its members. What a Communist receives above the maximum must be turned over to the treasury of the party. Last summer the maximum which no member of the party could overstep was 190 roubles monthly (\$100).

It is a privilege to be a Communist in Russia. It is a strenuous task to be a Communist in Russia. The party demands, and takes, all a man's energy, all his abilities, all his life. A Communist must set an example for the rest of mankind. Those who fall short quit the party.

Women, Youth, Pioneers

A ramified organization has been constructed to work among the women. A splendid, active, boyant, aggressive and spirited organization is the Union of Communist Youth with a membership of 600,000. A beautiful, inspiring, happy and hopeful organization is that of the Pioneers, the Communist children. Color, riotous joy of life, reckless contempt for bodily difficulties, a burning desire for constructive work in the present and in the future are being brought into Russian life by the youth and children's organizations.

The Watchman on Guard.

We tread a narrow path in a difficult country. We are surrounded by enemies. We have little experience. We are, so far, alone in our great endeavor to create a new order. We must be cautious. As long as we are united and uniform in action, we are safe, and safe is the cause of the revolution. As soon as we have deviated from the straight path, as soon as there appears the slightest crack in our solid wall of unity, the revolution is endangered.

This is how the Russian Communist Party looks upon its task. This is why it is so anxiously watching every fluctuation in its organization. The party is aware that the bourgeois elements which still remain in the country serve for some political expression.

Having acquiesced in the existence of the Soviet system and in the proletarian dictatorship, the bourgeois elements are hoping for a slackening of the proletarian rule, for disagreements, dissensions and struggles within the party itself, as this would increase the chances of some kind of a "democratic" (bourgeois) order in the future. A deviation in the direction of so-called democracy, a deviation from the tried principles of proletarian dictatorship under the leadership of a monolithic Communist Party is, therefore considered by the party not as a difference of opinion but as a concession to the petty bourgeois classes which are still numerically strong in the Soviet Republic. Only Bolshevism will carry the revolution to a victorious conclusion.

Strength in Unity With the Masses
"We, the non-partisan workers, are with you. Together we shall work to make our Workers Republic a Communist country." "Lenin, our great leader, is dead, but his party lives and will continue his work. We shall follow his lead." "We, plain workers of the shop, greet your congress and are certain that you will make decisions to the best interests of the working class." "We have come from a far away district to tell you that you must unflinchingly follow the path of Leninism, for only in this way shall we win." "Long live the Party of Hytlch! Long live our victory the world over!"

In these words non-partisan workers, delegates from factories and plants greeted the 8th Congress of the R. C. P. at which the writer had the privilege to be present. In these words, the intimate unity, nay, the sameness of the working class and the Communist Party found its expression.

The Russian Communist Party is strong with the strength of the working masses.

Long live the Russian Communist Party, the leader of the Russian Proletarian Revolution!

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