

THE MAKING OF LENIN

(Continued from page 1)
a difference in approach in decisions, in readiness to act. It can be said, returning to the relations of Lenin and Martov, that even before the split and the conversion of Lenin was known as "hard" and Martov as "soft." And that of them we know it.

ONE Sunday evening with Lenin and Madame Lenin to the Socialist church in London, where a Social-Democratic meeting was held later, with the singing of revolutionary songs and the recitation of Lenin's plous poems. The speaker was a tradesman who returned home from Australia. Lenin translated to us in whispers his speech, which sounded quite revolutionary—at least for those days. Then all rose and sang: "Almighty God, make that there be no kings and no rich people" or some thing like that.

"There is a multitude of revolutionary and Socialist elements scattered in the English proletariat," Lenin said on that occasion. "I have left the church, but it is all combined with conservatism, religion, superstition, and absolutely cannot break the and spread."

It is interesting to observe that Zasluch and Martov, who were both from the English labor movement, entirely absorbed in the spark and in their environment. On the other hand, undertook from time to time independent investigations in the field of the English labor movement.

IT is unnecessary to say that Lenin, Mme. Lenin and her mother lived more than modestly. Returning from the London Social Democratic church, we dined in the little kitchen-dining room in their two-room flat. I remember, as if it had happened yesterday, the slices of fried meat served in the small pan. We drank tea. We jested, as usual, on the subject, whether would find my way home alone. I was poor at getting my bearings in the streets, and being taken into the room. I called this quality mine "topographical imbecility."

THE date fixed for the second convention was approached. The more the "Spark" center to Geneva, Switzerland. These living and working together and connection with Russia easier. Lenin graciously agreed to this. I was sent to Geneva with the understanding that I come to Geneva from there together with Martov. In Geneva preparations were going on for the convention.

AFTER a short time Lenin also arrived in Paris. He was to read three lectures on the agrarian question in the socialist "The Party."

FOSTER'S REPLY TO NEARING

(Continued from Page 4)
build a mass party. And in doing this care must be taken not to mix the masses in the United States than in almost any other country. The workers are utterly bankrupt of leadership. The Socialists have nothing whatever do offer them. Likewise the "progressives." Lenin, with his unselfish, cowardice and weakness, have rooted back to Communist propaganda on the line of the "struggle" now going on to revolutionize the labor movement. The left wing must be organized. There is no one else to do so. To the extent of its power it must seek the control of the mass movement, its misleaders and throw them into the struggle against the exploiters. This is exactly what the mass movement of the great campaign for the labor party, amalgamation, recognition of Soviet Russia, organization of the unemployed, etc. Such campaigns, instead of being a weakness to us, are our greatest strength. They give us control over great masses of workers who can thus be gradually prepared for more important revolutionary tasks. If properly exploited, they offer the best possible means for education and organization, and the T. U. E. L. You say it is based upon Russian experience, but this is an error. It is in line with Communist tactics and experience all over the world. Your program of peaceful education and organization will not do it. It would make of the left wing a school of a secular, non-political group. The program of the W. P. and the T. U. E. L. would make of it a political fighting organization, able to lead the workers in their struggle now and bearing with it the promise of eventually leading them in their final struggle with the capitalist system. Fraternal bids, W. M. Z. FOSTER.

late, organized in Paris by professors exiled from Russia. I remember how Lenin was very agitated before his first lecture, but upon reaching the stage he at once mastered himself. I think in Rue Chateaux, organized a bar, who could be heard him, expressed his impression to Deutch in these words: "A real professor." The kindly fellow thought that he was expressing the highest praise in that way.

LENIN was given to such agitation at public appearances much later, too, and the less his audience was of his own followers, the more formal the occasion for speeches. At the beginning of his own lecture. Externally Lenin always spoke impetuously and rapidly, so that his speeches were a cruel test for the stenographers. When ill at ease, his voice sounded unnatural, had a reverberating and impersonal sound resembling an echo. But when Lenin felt that the particular audience which he was addressing strongly needed that which he had to say, his voice acquired an extraordinary vivaciousness and elastic presentness, not oratorical in the proper sense, but conversational, except that it was increased to stage proportions.

Challenge to Strike.

By OSKAR KANEHL.

Let rest the hammers.
Let stop the wheels.
Let burn down the fires.
Put out the light.
Disturb the literal comfort.
Shut off the supplies of their landers.
Harvest, which doesn't nourish you, may rot.
Cool, which doesn't warm you, may vanish underground.
Chimney that doesn't smoke for you, may collapse.
Look here.
The bourgeois builds upon your labor's ground.
His house is rich. His bed is soft.
By your labor's favor he feeds his belly.
By your labor's favor his wife dresses.
By your labor's favor his children grow up.
Industrialists, brought up to master over you.
Poisoned to hate you.
By your labor's favor.
And you?—Proletariat—labor-creatures?
And your hired barracks—Hungertowers?
And your wives?—Bearing-machines?
And your children?—Misery-brats?
Curse upon every slay for bourgeois-slavery.
Curse upon every step into their park.
Curse upon their thanks. Curse upon their traitor's wages.
Yours is the Earth.
Out of the newshaps!
On the street!

THIS was not oratorical art, but something greater than oratory. At the conclusion of the third lecture in Paris, Lenin made a political speech on the agrarian question. I think in Rue Chateaux, organized by the High Institute, but by the Paris group of "Sparkists." The hall was packed. After the speech the "Sparkists" went with the lecturer, according to custom, to a cafe. Every body was extremely satisfied and the lecturer himself was joyfully excited. The treasurer spoke with satisfaction of the receipts netted from the lecture of the speaker of the Spark. It was in all probability something like 75 to 100 francs—a sum not to be feared at. All this happened in the beginning of 1907.

IT was during that sojourn of Lenin in Paris that it was decided to allow him an opera. N. I. Sedova, a member of the "Sparkist" group, was commissioned to arrange it. Lenin went to and from a brief case which he took with him to the opera. In the High Institute Charpentier's opera "Lohengrin" was presented—very democratic in theme, but very conventional in concept that it was increased to stage proportions.

A SMALL, absolutely unusual event was connected with this visit to the opera. Which, however, I firmly retain in my memory. Lenin had bought himself in Paris a pair of shoes. They proved out too for him. After several hours of torment he decided to get rid of them. As if for spite, my shoes suddenly demanded a change. I received his shoes, and at first they seemed to be just the right size.

(Continued next Saturday.)

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SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

May 17, 1924.

THE MAKING OF LENIN

REMINISCENCES OF LENIN BY L. TROTZKY.

IT is unquestionable that to the future biographer of Lenin the period of 1906-07, of the old "Spark", will be of exceptional psychological interest and will at the same time present great difficulties. For it was just in those short years that Lenin became Lenin. This does not mean that he did not grow further. Quite the contrary: he grew and by what large steps before and after the November revolution. But that was all ready a more organic growth.

HEAT was the bound from "unbearable" power on November 7, 1917. But this, so to speak, the material part of a man who had measured and weighed all that one could measure and weigh. The growth, however, which preceded the split at the second party convention was unmitigated to the outside onlooker. It was the more resolute inner leap.

I ARRIVED in London in the autumn of 1902. It must have been in October. It was early in the morning. A cab brought me to the flat of Nikolai Lenin. The door was opened by a red-haired woman, by Madame Lenin. Lenin was still in bed and his face was an expression of welcome mixed with legitimate perplexity. She knew the circumstances in which one first meeting and that conversation took place. Both Lenin and I were already known to me through a letter from Clara Zetkin, who had recently introduced me in Samara into the "Spark" organization under the nickname of "Tom." And I was received as such. "The 'Tom' arrived!"

I WAS filled with tea in the kitchen dining room while Lenin dressed. I told about my escape from Siberia and complained against the poor "Sparkist" organization at the front. The unimpaired, mere talker, flooded me in excess of all faith and standards. I delivered to Madame Lenin a modest package of addresses and papers, or more probably information about the necessity of discontinue several union meetings there. At the instance of the Samara group I had visited Kharkov, Poltava and Kiev, and almost everywhere, at least in Kharkov and Poltava, I was able to discover but a very weak system of communication.

AFTER I had finished walk with Lenin about London. He showed me Westminster from the outside, and some other notable buildings. I do not remember how he said it, but the nuance of the message was such: "If it they can't take the famous Westminster."

"They" signified, of course, not the British, but our Communist opponents. Lenin always had this slight shade-not at all emphasized and profoundly genuine in his attitude toward the English, which expressed itself whenever he talked about some cultural treasures or new movements, about the organization of the British Museum, the wealth of information of the London Times, or many years later, about German artillery of French aviation. "THEY" are capable, or THEY are, they have achieved, but what happens THEY are?" The inside shadow of this "exhibiting" class seemed once a human exhibition, in his eyes and he was never weary of it. This shadow, as unmistakably as of doubt.

LENIN took me on this long walk to get acquainted and examine Lenin. It was not really an examination, but the "entire curriculum" answer to his questions. I told about the members of the Leninsky group, how we collectively studied in the Moscow Transient prison his book, was a sense of difference, of natural incompatibility. But she, as a first psychologist, felt the power of Lenin, not without a certain subtle hostility, even in these days. It was this that pleased him that the young comrade devoted attention to his most important economic work.



Lenin in Childhood.

I WAS quartered by Madame Lenin and did not without difficulty, the intimate relations which existed among the members of the "Spark" staff. I arrived in London, as already said, "Spark" printing shop lived. The bolshaks occupied rooms one on top of another. There was another large common room, which Plekhanov had christened, after his first visit, "The Kiev Div." In this room, there always remained great disorder. Here coffee was taken and people dropped in for talk and smoke. Hence, the name. Thus the short London period of my life commenced.

DURING the London sojourn, as well as later in the Geneva period, I met Zasluch and Martov much more frequently than Lenin. Lenin quired whose articles they were. It appeared they were all by Lenin. One day I remarked to him that it was in my opinion literally inimitable to only one, looking backward, say one day of them.

VERA DIAKOVA was an individual for I had no definite opinion on the Lenin person and possibly family. I do not remember how many times they genuine pains of emotion touched a little sympathetic. There is a great deal in Vera Ivanovna which has a moral, an emotional foundation. Lenin said to me once. It is not difficult to imagine what Lenin's "entire curriculum" answer to his questions. I told about the members of the Leninsky group, how we collectively studied in the Moscow Transient prison his book, was a sense of difference, of natural incompatibility. But she, as a first psychologist, felt the power of Lenin, not without a certain subtle hostility, even in these days. It was this that pleased him that the young comrade devoted attention to his most important economic work.

IN such a literary method a bit of "objectivity." But in reality the "objectivity" in his articles, even those that were not signed, was a way of fixing his own line of thinking, because of his uncertainty about a line taken by his close collaborators.

THE political pilot of the "Spark" was Lenin, but the main political strength was Martov. He wrote easily and endlessly in the same way as he talked. Lenin, on the other hand, spent most of his time in the library of the British Museum where he pursued theoretical studies.

SEVERAL months later, already in the weeks preceding the second convention, there burst forth an editorial difference between Lenin and Martov on the question of the tactical nature of the demonstration, more accurately about conflicts with the police. Lenin said:

"It is necessary to form small armed groups, and it is necessary to teach fighting workmen to combat the police." But Martov was against this. The contrast, which makes up by the editorial staff. "Will not something like group terror out of this?" I said about Lenin's position. He might be recalled that at that period the struggle against the terrorist tactics of the Socialist-Revolutionaries played a big part in our work.

LENIN came in a private conversation, outside of meetings and conferences. Lenin disliked even then long arguments, vague conversations which always turned into gossip and talkative. This greatest engineer of revolution, not only in politics, but also in his theoretical labors, and of foreign languages, as well as in his conversation with people, was unfortunately possessed of the same idealistic nature as perhaps the most utilitarian which the laboratory of history ever produced.

Axionide of Lenin, his nearest coworker at that time, Martov, always felt himself ill at ease. They were still addressing each other as "thou," but in their relations a coolness was clearly manifesting itself. Martov was more vitally interested in the current day and its situations, in current literature, in political and social activities, in news and conversations.

LENIN, allowing fully to pass by his health, pre-occupied tomorrow with his Communist opponents. He was attracted by several leading articles and sketches in "The Spark," which, however, suggestions which he frequently fought himself. Lenin took that which he wanted when he wanted it. The embellished fragility of Martov's ideas saved Lenin more than once to shake his head anxiously. "Only were there at that time on so different political lines, to only but they were not even in sight. Only now, looking backward, say one day of them.

AFTER, before the split in the second convention, the "Sparkists" divided into "hard" and "soft." This division, which first manifested itself in the opinion of Lenin, was already a dividing line as yet there was already a beginning of a split.

SECOND SECTION

This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

Pacifism in The Universities

By ELSA BLOCK.

A SENSATION is sweeping the land—or sweeping the newspaper presses. Bolshevism is entering the schools! The Star-spangled Banner is being dragged in the mud of sycamore-backed hypocrisy and is eating at the heart of the nation. So says the press of America.

THE phenomenon of pacifism in fact, to be found in the American universities. It is not what the newspapers say it is. It is not Bolshevism—God save the mark! But it is a serious phenomenon, and whatever weak and watery faculty there may be in the pacifism theory, the phenomenon of a wide-spread pacifist movement, as a revolt against the great military caste system which is now the dream of the American Imperialist, cannot escape the serious attention of American Communists.

PACIFISM, in all of its confidential and at the same time in all its significance as a social phenomenon of the time and place, is well shown in the following report of a conference of Northwestern university, held on February 5 and 6. The report of the individual members of the conference is worth publishing as a whole. The Northwestern Student Conference was composed of 147 representative students of the University. The findings were voted on at the last meeting of the conference.

WAR.
CONSENSUS OF OPINION: We should abolish in ourselves the attitudes that make for war, such as hatred, fear, suspicion, race prejudice and rivalry.

1. We believe that the United States should join the League of Nations, signed by every man.

2. We believe that the United States should enter the World Court.

3. We believe education which will develop international thinking should be encouraged. For unanimity.

4. That a policy of preparedness should be supported. Voted down by 10.

5. That as an individual, refuse to participate in any war, such as has been fought by 21 students in favor.

THE ECONOMIC ORDER.
CONSENSUS OF OPINION: The standard by which the social order is to be judged is whether or not it provides a means for every man to be as happy as he can be. The present order does not provide happiness or even the bare necessities for many. The evils of such a system would, perhaps, be remedied by an adjustment to include these suggestions:

1. Production and natural resources for use and not for profit.

2. Workers should do work attractive to them; an additional remuneration should be given for those tasks that are unattractive.

3. Human values should be recognized above efficiency wherever work should be employed.

4. There should be a fair division of profits and an equality of opportunity. Propositions voted on.

5. The student should realize his social obligation to all his fellowmen who have made possible his education. Adopted by a unanimous vote.

6. A realization should be evidenced in application to his work at school.

7. It should also be evidenced in preparation to help those who by their labor for war have made possible profit enough for them to endow a University.

8. The student should make an effort to get information that will enable him to appreciate his social responsibility. Adopted by a unanimous vote.

9. By insisting in the classroom on a fair presentation of both sides of controversial questions, such as History, Economics, and Social Sciences.

10. By making an attempt to get

all the information available on both sides of each question.

11. Some students believe that their inability to get both sides of a controversial question is due to three things, and that they therefore have a responsibility to protest against those things, which are:

a. (Protest against) Trustee control that says what a student may and may not study. Adopted by a vote of 52.

b. (Protest against) Endowment by great accumulations of wealth from exploitation of the workers. Adopted by a vote of 52.

c. (Protest against) Control which prevents a faculty member from expressing his own opinions. Adopted unanimously.

RACE RELATIONS.
CONSENSUS OF OPINION: All races should have equality of opportunity. At present equality of opportunity does not exist as evidenced in some cases:

1. Unequal per capita public expenditure of education.

2. Unequal representation in student affairs.

3. Discrimination against certain races in athletic contests.

4. The investigation should be changed to allow all races equality of opportunity.

5. Propaganda is used: "What does equality of opportunity mean?"

1. There should be parallel development of the races, each reaching to itself, yet each assisting the other in its development. Voted down by 10.

2. There should be complete intermingling of the races, including social intermingling. Adopted by 72 votes.

3. There should be intermingling in a casual and limited way, but not complete intermingling (no social intermingling). Voted down by 63.

If the position taken by these "pacifist" students could be regarded as reflecting a social condition, the American Teapot Dome scandal would not be so surprising. For its students, with their emotionalism, have here given us one hundred per cent evidence of the greatest and most ambitious scheme that the two-headed tentacles have ever tried to reel against such a social condition. Their rebellion against such an unemployment and racial inequality is not surprising. Substituted revolution and counter-revolution, leading to weaken the Mexican government to an extent that would "justify" the "intervention" of the United States; the establishment of claims in Mexico by capitalists whose business methods have received too much unscrupulous notice to need description; the nullification of Mexican laws inimical to American interests—these and other factors point to Mexico as the next logical step in the world-wide program of a social revolution.

WHILE pacifism was making a dramatic entrance, the Senate investigations were being stealthily conducted. One of the back benches newspapers, have rightly relegated them from the right to the left-hand column. From the first to the last. At this rate, it is probable that within a few weeks we shall begin to wonder not only what became of the whole affair.

AND would it be rash to suggest that another more traditional motive actuated the press? Mexican politics has of late been turning rapidly into a social revolution. The Communist, so bitter an opponent of war, is now the greatest and most ambitious fighter of the proletariat of another nation so that their masters may obtain more power. It is an equally militant partisan in a war that transcends national boundaries. It is all very well for the pacifist and his associates to say that economic equality should be attained by peaceful means. The fact remains that social and economic equality cannot be so attained. Where pacifism would hold water in a sieve by attempting the cure of economic ill with sentiment, the Communist realizes that the only cure for economic ill is militant economic.

DETROIT
They planned a concerted attack upon the masses and poorer or to which the wisest of them yielded. Their idea that government should be in the hands of the capable classes might now, for the first time in the history of the new government, be put into operation.

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Revival of Alien Sedition Laws

By J. RAMIREZ.

APARENTLY "Silent Cal" Coolidge does not know his American history very well. And it is perhaps best for his peace of mind to believe what he might see what happened 74 years ago to John Adams, the second President of the United States. What is going to happen to him Adams was like him. He had the same man-brothering mouth.

In the year 1798, the reactionary Adams Administration forced thru Congress a series of laws known as the Alien Sedition Acts. These measures were modeled on an earlier act called "Criminal Syndicalist Law" and "Anti-Raid bills" that it is clear they belong to the same family tree. Two years later, the Adams Administration fell with a crash, dragging down the whole blasted structure of "Federalism" with it. Thomas Jefferson and the "Democratic-Republicans" were swept into power, and declaring that it would refuse to recognize the law. In all other words, the Alien and Sedition Acts were denounced as an unconstitutional and a violation of the rights of free speech in a free assembly. In

judgment to the capitalist program, that is the meaning of the Dawes report, which is so heartily supported by the capitalist press. This report which has so readily been approved by liberals and the yellow socialists of the world over, the traitors who have so long deceived the workers is nothing but a program to force the American workers to greater exploitation so that they will provide not only credit for mass capitalism but also pay reparations to the Allies. If the German working class can be smashed by the workers and their organizations, a great step towards the enslavement of the world working class will have been achieved.

MAY DAY, 1924 - - By ERNST EITLINGER.

ONE more May day is here. Once more the earth will tremble with the effort of the workers to bring masses all over the world. May Day is here. The Workers' Day of Freedom has come. May Day, what hope it brings! There is no other protection for the workers of the revolutionary working class the world over. From China to Russia, from America to the farthest corner of Europe.

MAY DAY will be the great day of International Capitalism. "Up with the rule of the Workers."

The working masses of Europe, Asia and America are completely unprepared for the day of the workers, which is eroding them down to lower levels. The capitalist structure has collapsed economically and is only able to exist by the naked exploitation of the workers, and forcing them to accept living conditions which mean for them a life of starvation and misery.

Capitalism which stagnated and rotted of workers in the last world war, which made of European civilization a holocaust of misery and death, is now endeavoring to reorganize itself against the masses, in no endeavoring to saddle the cost of the war upon the workers. By increasing working hours and cutting wages in all directions, it hopes to increase the exploitation of the workers and to raise them from profits in ever greater volume. In order to do this it is trying to smash the unions, the organizations of the workers which have been built up by so much struggle and sacrifice during the years of democracy are now gone. Democracy which could be used to divide the workers during the years of the present upswing of capitalism now no longer functions as the working masses are becoming more and more conscious of their destiny. Gone is all the talk of peace, democracy, freedom. The capitalist class has only one more trick for the workers and that is armed force to break any resistance to their rule.

Under the banner of Fascism a policy of mass terror has been inaugurated against the masses in every country with the object of breaking all resistance and completely sub-

jugate them to the capitalist program. That is the meaning of the Dawes report, which is so heartily supported by the capitalist press. This report which has so readily been approved by liberals and the yellow socialists of the world over, the traitors who have so long deceived the workers is nothing but a program to force the American workers to greater exploitation so that they will provide not only credit for mass capitalism but also pay reparations to the Allies. If the German working class can be smashed by the workers and their organizations, a great step towards the enslavement of the world working class will have been achieved.

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HERALD COMMUNE

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1243 N. Claremont St. Chicago, Illinois

Foster's Reply To Nearing

DEAR COMRADE NEARING:—I must take issue flatly and fundamentally with practically all the points developed by you in your letter of Jan. 28th relative to the policies of the Workers Party and which I have pointed out in the League. As I understand the situation, your analysis of social conditions in this country is not accurate, and your conclusions are wrong. The four main points you would establish, and which I have sidled one by one, seem to be about as follows:

1. There is no revolutionary sentiment among the working masses of this country, save in a few localities and among the foreign-born workers.

2. The reactionary state of the labor movement, especially as it is expressed in trade union conventions, is a true reflection of the state of mind of the broad rank and file of labor.

3. The militant program of the W. P. and T. U. E. L. is carried out in an active participation in all the struggles of the workers, it is not only wrong in principle but also harmful in operation, but also actually harmful to the left-wing movement in general.

4. The program of the left-wing should not be plunged into the workers' struggles, but should be carried out in a careful and systematic campaign of educating and organizing the petty bourgeois elements in preparation for the struggles of the future.

5. The weakness of your whole conception is that it is based upon the false assumption that there is no considerable mass of revolutionary sentiment in this country. Throat your letter, and as the very heart of your tactical conception is based upon the body of revolutionary sentiment as being expressed solely by the small number of conscious and active revolutionaries. You overlook completely the revolutionary significance of the prevailing discontent among the working masses. And by ignoring this tremendous factor you naturally draw conclusions which are valueless for our movement.

UNDENIABLY there is a great volume of discontent among the masses of American workers.

This arises inevitably out of the class of class interests within the frame of capitalism. This discontent, it is true, is mostly unconscious, blind, stupid, timid, and easily misled. But it is essentially revolutionary, nevertheless. It is the raw stuff of which revolutions are made. Revolutions are not brought about by the type of enlightened revolutionists that you have in mind, but by stupid masses who are goaded to desperate revolt by the pressure of social conditions, and who are led by straight-thinking revolutionaries who are able to direct the storm intelligently against the masses. Never mind how stupid the masses are, content with the fact that they are in the workers' ranks, as you say they do, that "times will pick up again" under the present system, or that there is basically revolutionary, not withstanding. Capitalism is the cause of this discontent, by granting the demands of the exploited. It must increase in volume. This discontent will finally culminate in the revolution. You make a fundamental error when you assume that the only revolutionary discontent is that of the handful of class conscious militants, and when you assume that the greater factor, the general discontent of the masses.

THE W. P. and the T. U. E. L. exist in large degree of consciously revolutionary sentiment. On the contrary they merely "assume" the unquestionable, deep (even if vague) discontent of the masses. They know that the real function of the conscious left-wing is to educate, organize, intensify, discipline, and direct this discontent into the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, and militancy to precipitate the final struggle with capitalism. You

said that radical sentiment was created by education, while we add to this that all over it must be developed out of the existing mass discontent. Your conception that the conscious elements are the only revolutionary force leads straight to the isolation of our movement and to its degeneration into a stultified, sterile, colorless Communist sect. The W. P. and T. U. E. L. conception, in direct contradiction to yours, makes inevitably for a broad movement by means of an increasing participation in all over-riding, ever-deepening, and ever-widening struggles. It makes for a real fight, Communist movement.

IN this article Comrade William Z. Foster takes issue with Scott Nearing on the question of policies and tactics to be pursued by the Workers Party. It is a reply to an article by Nearing published in this magazine Saturday, May 10th, 1924.

Our readers will do well to carefully examine and study the two points of view expressed by Nearing and Foster respectively, because the matter dealt with in these articles are of supreme importance to the revolutionary movement of the American workers.—Editor.

In your letter, as part of your general case that there is no real mass revolutionary discontent in this country, you make the rash assertion that the rank and file of the unions are as reactionary as the leaders. You go on so far as to say that Compara is probably to the left of the general mass of unionists. Then, to support this broad contention, you cite the indifference to the organized masses at the expulsion of Wm. F. Dunne, and rejection of amalgamation and a labor party, and the repudiation of Soviet Russia in the A. F. of L. convention, as well as the continued imprisonment of Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti, the discredit of Alex. Howat, the expulsion of left-wing militants in the needle trades, and various other things. The same things are cited by the rank and file of the unions are as reactionary as the leaders. You claim that the views of the leaders on these things are diametrically opposite to those of the working masses. And by ignoring this tremendous factor you naturally draw conclusions which are valueless for our movement.

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Two Elections That Tell a Story

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

WHITING the past two weeks German voters held elections to their respective national legislative bodies. Each of these elections has a story which is pregnant with meaning and promise for the future. A story of decay among the ruling classes, a story of the millions who are oppressed, rising in anger against things as they are. A story of a splendid spirit of rebellion among the masses, again taking hold of the working masses of the world, stealing their democracy for the fast-approaching day of reckoning.

YES, that day is coming despite all the efforts of Morgan, Duves, Polunear, Ludendorff, Ebert, Gompers, etc. The end of capitalist misrule is coming so much faster than even the optimistically inclined could believe. It is that apparent from the elections in Germany? France? And even in Japan that it still finds itself in the clutches of a feudal-fascist oligarchy?

THE Communist International did not always calculate right, particularly where dates were involved. But there is one Communist assumption which today stands as fast and unimpeachable as the day it was made, an assumption which is very real and the International Communist movement. And it is this: That the time we happen to live in, also happens to be capitalism's last phase of development. That since the last war, the world has entered a period of social revolution, and that the end of this period will see the triumph of working class power in most of the capitalist countries of the world.

THE development of the proletarian struggle for power, Germany plays the most important role. Events in Germany have a determining effect upon events the world over. It is really the crucial point for ourselves just as well as for international capitalism.

When capitalist statesmen speak of saving Germany by a general election of the reparations problem, they really mean saving capitalism. They really mean to admit that in many ways they are not doing it. But they prefer speaking in terms of industry, commerce, peace, international unity and what not. But it comes down to the same thing, which is to save capitalism all over the world.

GERMANY is the problem. If you can work out a proposition whereby German industry and commerce can begin functioning normally and freely, without at the same time hurting and crippling the industry and commerce of France, England and America, if you have got that, you have gotten hold of something which nobody has been able to devise as yet.

MANY had tried their hands at it. Just to mention a few: Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando, Briand, Poincare, and the rest. They have failed. The job was beyond their powers, beyond the powers of capitalist statesmanship in general.

New Morgan is making an attempt. Backed by the enormous resources and wealth of American capitalism, the House of Morgan is trying to improve upon European capitalism. What is his plan? Nothing more than a new version of the old capitalist idea to enable German capitalism to live without injuring the capitalist foundations of the other countries. An impossible task, to be sure. But the intentions of Morgan and Co. are good. They are trying to save Germany, let's try, anyway.

AND have power enough to impose their will upon the masses? They are trying to put their scheme over. But what if it fails? They are trying to reestablish the economics of Germany, they will thereby ruin England and France. If that is not the case, they will be made to work in the interests of England and France, then German

capitalism is doomed. Its final end being only a matter of months.

FRANCE held elections to her legislative bodies in Germany.

CONCLUSIONS from the elections in Germany. If we analyze the figures of the vote, we find that the results of the election to the old Reichstag with those to the new one are as follows:

Deutsche-Folkische	1,200,000
Folkpartei	3,610,000
Social Democratic	4,279,000
Democratic	2,202,000
Social Democratic	10,120,000
Various	800,000

The new elections produced the following results:

Deutsche Nationale	4,500,000
Deutsche Folkische	2,000,000
Folkpartei	2,000,000
Centrum	7,500,000
Democratic	1,600,000
Social Democratic	6,000,000
Communists	4,000,000
Various	1,760,000

What are the lessons? First, the Social Democratic party with a loss of 6 million votes, or nearly 40 per cent, secured in the elections to the old Reichstag. Second, the Deutsche-Folkische with a loss of over a million and a half, or nearly 40 per cent. Third and last, come the Democratic party with a loss of over half a million, or nearly 25 per cent.

In other words, more than seven million voters, about one-fourth of the electorate, have changed allegiance. What sort of people are they? What social class do they belong to? It can be safely assumed that these people consist of two social elements: the petty bourgeois and the working class elements of Germany. The result of the elections in Germany can be summarized as follows: The working masses have swung to the left. The middle classes— the petty bourgeois and the petty bourgeoisie— have swung to the right. The Social Democratic party has been relegated to a position of very small importance. The leading force in the proletarian class struggle has been assumed by the Communist Party.

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