To the Teachers, Conference

By A. LUNARCHARSKY.
People's Commissar of Education, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

THE first federal conference of the teachers of the U.S.S.R. represents without a doubt an event of tremendous significance. There never was a time when the workers' and peasants' government failed to grasp the whole import of the task of popular education. Adequate testimony to this fact is furnished by the numerous articles and speeches of our readers upon this subject.

Progress Was Gradual.

YET there were endless obstacles in the way of the realization of our extensive plans. Economic impoverishment brought us into such straits that we simply could not carry on any normal work. It was but gradually that we achieved victory after victory, and repulsing both our internal and external enemies, we disposed of the more acute forms of distress and created the political and economic postulates for proper activity on the third front.

This, of course, does not mean to say that the third front has thus far been dormant, that there has been no movement and no important achievements.

ON the contrary, great tasks have been performed on the third front, a general political program has been unfolded and adapted in a considerable degree to the requirements of life; numerous teachers have been trained and retrained, being thus equipped to tackle real Communist educational work, if not the whole ranks of the teachers, at least some quite important groups of them. New textbooks were compiled and published copiously on the various branches of school knowledge. The apparatus of popular education was created, both as regards staffs and methods.

Some Russian Teachers.

Labor Colleges Greatest Achievement.

THE largest possible amount of work was done in the maintenance of the educational front, and in the care and training of the children, under trying conditions when this work seemed exceptionally difficult. Political education amongst other things was brought into being, work which hitherto hardly existed. At the same time it ought not to be forgotten that on our third front we had to take care also of our science and of the treasures of past culture, which on the whole have been preserved, and which are kept alive, adjusting themselves more and more to the tasks of our revolutionary society. Perhaps by far the most important of our victories was the creation of a mighty wave of worker and peasant students in the labor colleges and universities. Nevertheless we think that the pace of the work should be and can be speeded up.

BOTH central and local educational grants are being steadily increased and altho still insufficient, the resources have been increased and enable us already to carry on normal work. General attention has been attracted to the educational workers, to the liquidation of illiteracy, to the village school, and in the first place to politico-educational work in the villages. Everybody concedes the importance of bringing the vast backward masses into line with the vanguard. For this work we need first of all the mass-worker, i. e., the teacher. Vladimir Ilytch had long since said that the party could never rely on general political and agronomical education of the peasantry, if it failed to put itself at the head of an army of four hundred thousand teachers, if it failed to organize them into an apparatus which would work freely and enthusiastically. We have now drawn near to such a consummation.

Teachers Respond to Communism.

WHILE the Communist Party and the Soviet government have come to the conclusion that it is time to get hold of this apparatus, that it is time to direct the chief attention to education work, particularly in the villages; then on the other hand, there has been a colossal change of heart among the teachers themselves. All trace of deliberate political opposition or inertia among the teachers has disappeared as well as the political aloofness of the teacher in the past, for which he himself was largely to blame. The whole mass of the teachers has begun to feel the spirit of the new times as never before, having conceived their new obligations and rights bestowed on them by the creative genius of the people.

THE teachers' conference will be a parade of the Red Army of education. The representatives of the mass teachers will meet face to face with the leaders of the work on education, and what is still more important, with the leaders of the state and social life of the Soviet Union.

THIS conference will mark important stages in our onward movement. It will constitue an event not only on the third front, but on the great world-wide front of the trade union movement marching towards Communism.

The Myth of Rural Prosperity

By ALFRED KNUDSON.

WHAT the working farmers are mainly interested in is how their problems can be solved. They know by actual experience that something is wrong because no matter how hard they work and how much they try to save, it is impossible for them to make both ends meet. The very conditions under which they are forced to work and make a living are operating against them. The fact is that today the working farmer is beginning to realize that he is butting his head against the stone wall of the capitalist system, and as long as this barrier stands in the way it is utterly useless for him to expect any relief.

TO do away with the capitalist system, then, is the important task for the working farmer, and it should be clearly understood by all exploited farmers that this cannot be accomplished by trying to purify, improve or reform the present social order. Only thru united action with the workers in the industries and the building of a real class government by actual farmers and workers, will the mortgaged and tenant farmers ever be able to solve their problems.

DURING the last few years one million farmers have lost their entire life-time savings and a still greater number have debts larger than their resources. There are about six and one-half million farmers in the United States; three million are tenants and over one and one-half million are mortgaged farmers. The mortgaged owner is often worse off than the tenant because of the taxes and the interest he has to pay for the privilege of working his land. The rapid increase in tenantry and the mortgaged system will, in the not distant future, almost completely abolish the fiction of "farm ownership" in the United States.

TAXES have increased an average of 122 per cent from 1914 to 1922 and the total farm debt has reached the stupendous sum of 14 billion dollars. Farmers generally have come to the conclusion that their debts never can be paid. Their main struggle at present is to be able to pay taxes and interest and even this, as far as hundreds of thousands of farmers are concerned, has become impossible. So-called "prosperity periods" do not benefit them in reality because any "extra" money they may make from an increase in the price of farm products, is used to pay off debts and the industrial products the farmers have to buy are correspondingly higher during boom periods. The capitalist system is so arranged that the exploited farmer gets only the crumbs—barely enough to exist on—while the big slices are gobbled up by food gamblers, bankers and trust companies.

A WORD should be said about the 1924 crop. The capitalist press has heralded it all over the country that the farmer now is on easy street because he got a good crop and a good price last fall, and even now with wheat hovering around the $2 mark, the inference is that the farmer is getting rich.

THERE are a very few farmers who have been able to take advantage of the good crops and the good prices and they are the best fixed ones, but the overwhelming majority of the tenant and mortgaged farmers had to sell their crop about the time it was ready for market in order to pay pressing bills. It was the business men and the bankers who benefited most from the 1924 crop and not the struggling farmers. In North Dakota 80 per cent of the wheat crop was marketed and sold before December 1, when the price of wheat at the primary markets stood between $1.20 and $1.30 per bushel.

THE tenant and mortgaged farmer cannot beat the capitalist system. What must they do? There is only one way out for them and that is to ally themselves with the workers in the industries in a revolutionary organization for the complete abolition of the whole capitalist system. They should join the Workers Party, the only revolutionary party in the United States, and subscribe to the DAILY WORKER and become real fighters in the movement for the emancipation of their class. No time should be wasted in clearing the decks for action.

Pavlowa Will Not Return.
By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN.

The last program the great Russian dancer will ever give in Chicago she gave last Sunday night. For is we are to believe the words of her press agents, Anna Pavlowa is never again to visit America.

"Don Quixote," her major presentation, is a fantastic ballet rendering of scenes in Cervantes' novel.

The music to this is old-fashioned ballet stuff, early nineteenth century music written before the influence of Delibus revolutionized ballet. It is the sort of music that is played in beer gardens on Sunday afternoons, sentimental, sugary and with no variation from the same dead level of prettiness.

Four principal dancers stand out particularly when one thinks back over the performance. They are Domoslavski, who played the Don; Markovski, who took Sancho Panza; Anna Pavlowa as Dulcinea, and Hilda Butsova as a street dancer in the first act and as cupid in the last.

One of the divertissements at the end of the program was the famous Pavlwa solo, "The Swan." Pavlowa does this thing in a white costume. She flits around a bit, curls up and dies. She dies most gracefully and one likes to see her do it.

Some good folk have been sorely disappointed in Pavlowa. They have gone to her performances expecting to see Pavlowa herself outdo all the rest of the company. This is the wrong attitude. Pavlowa herself outdo all the rest of the company. This is the wrong attitude. Pavlowa is not the greatest dancer on the stage today. If I may utter an awful blasphemy, in my estimation, jump for jump and whirl Hilda Busova is a finer premier danseuse than Pavlowa. But Pavlowa gets the credit and deserves it. A captain who leads a charge gets the credit for it even tho the privates under him are better riflemen.

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SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
THE DAILY WORKER

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

February 14, 1925

Communism is 'Catching'

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

"They poison the well-springs of our democracy with the virus of Communism."
—From the speech of Samuel Gompers delivered at every A. F. of L. convention for the last three years.

• • • • • •

"Every trade union leader who has come to public notice has been vilified by the Communist machine and the campaign goes on. * * * * One of the favorite practices of the Communists everywhere is to denounce the elected leaders of the trade union movement. In the United States the death of Samuel Gompers was hailed by the Communists as 'the passing of America's arch labor faker'."
—William Green, in the February number of the American Federationist.

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"These Communists are smart enough to always fight on fundamental issues."
—John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor in a speech at one of its regular meetings.

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"The trade unions are the basic organs of the class struggle."
—Nikolai Lenin.

TO pass a motion unseating Communist delegates in the Seattle Central Labor Council it was necessary for the officialdom to bring into the council delegates from unions so isolated from the general labor movement and so reactionary that they had been unaffiliated for two years.

IT was also necessary for the secretary of the building trades department of the American Federation of Labor and officers of international unions to spend most of their time for a week organizing the drive against the Communists.

THE Seattle struggle is an almost perfect example of a process that is taking place in the labor movements of all capitalist countries in Europe, a process that is now perceptible in the United States since the rise of the Communist Party and the left wing movement it organizes and leads. Its workings are as follows:

THE most class conscious organized workers join the Workers (Communists) Party and bring its program to the unions. The work and program of the Communists attracts militant organized workers and they too become party members. Around them gather the sincere trade unionists who see the need for struggle against the capitalists.

THE officialdom of the unions fight the Communists and their program and the growth of the circle of rank and file supporters of the Communist program is checked somewhat but continues to enlarge.

BEFORE the active, informed and honest union members the union officials are unable to defend their position. They then begin to organize a counter-offensive against the Communists and they bring to their assistance by economic pressure, by appeal to ignorant prejudice, religious hatred and social patriotism, elements of the organized working class that have seldom if ever taken an active part in the general work of the labor movement. These elements are found principally in certain unions that are controlled by one of the other of two religious fraternal organizations—masons or knights of columbus—and which are entirely middle class in outlook.

IN the manner outlined above more and more workers are brot into the struggle. They are compelled to listen to new and to them startling and disturbing theories of the role of the labor movement. They hear the policies of their hitherto unchallenged leaders assailed by the Communists. They become angry—but they begin to think. The result is that the mass of workers to whom the Communist program is made known becomes ever larger.

Democracy Illustrated

THE FAT ONE: "You must admit we all have the same vote, we all have the same laws, we all have the same rights . . ."
THE LEAN ONE: "And how about the same chance to eat?"

• • • •

-Democracy claims to overbridge the chasm between those that produce nothing and own everything and those than own nothing and produce everything, and to establish equality. But even a good bourgeois editor whose business it is to peddle that fairy tale of "equality" has his moments when the ridiculousness of this sermon of "equality" strikes him so forcefully that he cannot help but burst out laughing. In such an unguarded moment the editor of a French bourgeois paper permitted the above cartoon to slip into the columns of his sheet. We reproduce it as expert testimony against democracy.

THE Communists may be and quite often are—as in the Minneapolis, Seattle, Los Angeles and Detroit Central Labor Councils unseated as delegates. Some of them may be and quite often are expelled from the unions as in the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Machinists, the Carpenters and the United Mine Workers but others remain—it is impossible to expel them all. Terror and intimidation are exercised by the union bureaucrats, they co-operate with the department of justice in denouncing and jailing the Communists and with the police in raiding meetings, they make it difficult for them to secure and hold jobs—their press carries on a constant campaign against the "reds."

ALL of this is grist to the Communist mill. Hundreds of thousands of workers who have never heard of the Communists, their program or of the Communist International, have these brot to their attention; not casually, but as issues around which a bitter struggle is being fought—as issues that are linked up with both the most commonplace and the most important union affairs.

WITHOUT controlling a single one of the official labor journals the Communists have, simply by their activity and the iron logic of their program, forced a discussion of matters never before mentioned in the conservative, deadly dull and provincial American labor press. The united front, amalgamation, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Communism, the Communist International, Lenin as the personification of the world revolutionary movement, the Red International of Labor Unions, criminal syndicalism laws, imperialism—all of these strange matters are denounced at length in the press of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions.

LONG quotations from speeches and articles, from theses and manifestos of the R. I. L. U. and the Communist International are printed to prove the assertion that the Communists in the labor movement stand for revolution, that they are against American capitalist government, that they are for the confiscation of factories, mines, etc., and that they believe the unions should be in the first line of the struggle against the oppression of capitalist government.

LABOR union officialdom believes with all the unthinking faith of ignorant devotees that these "disclosures" and "exposures" will exorcise the Communist devil. They have been ready now for three years to sing a hymn of thanksgiving over a labor movement purged of the evil spirit that has driven the Russian workers and peasants, like the Gadarene swine, down the precipice of revolution into the bog of the dictatorship. Alas, and a couple of alacks! The stubborn Communists at the head of the Russian government have gone calmly on forcing recognition from nations whose rulers hate them just as viciously as the well-paunched American labor officials do.

THE Red International of Labor Unions appeals so successfully to the working masses of the world with its program of trade union unity that the English labor movement endorses it, the Communist International loses its great leader Lenin but comes out of its Fifth Congress stronger than ever before; to make the cup of the bureaucrats more bitter even than gall and wormwood it is plain as the alcoholic shine on their faces that recognition of Soviet Russia by the American government cannot be withheld much longer.

JUST as the support of the right wing MacDonaldites in the British labor party comes more and more from the element of backward and hitherto politically and industrially organized workers who have been

(Continued on Page 5.)

Leninism or Trotskyism - L. Kamenev

(Continued from last issue)

Trotsky Writes Again about Himself and Lenin

Were we the only ones, in Trotsky's opinion, who made mistakes at the time of the October revolution? No, we were not the only ones. This book contains many sensations. But the most sensational sentence in the book is one referring to the October revolution. On page 50 of his "Lessons" Trotsky writes: "The rising on the 25 October was of supplementary character only." There are probably many here present who took part in the October events, and these will be surprised to learn, eight years after the October 25, 1917, that the rising on October 25 was merely of a "supplementary character." What did it supplement? We learn that it "supplemented" the events which had taken place on October 9.

The main data of the revolution are familiar to us. But when I mentioned events which occured on October 9, many will ask what happened on that date to which the October rising was nothing more than a supplement. On October 9, says Comrade Trotsky's book, a resolution was passed in the Petrograd Soviet, on the motion of Comrade Trotsky, ending with the sentence: "The Petrograd Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet cannot be responsible to the army for such strategy on the part of the provisional government, and especially for the removal of troops from Petrograd."

It need not be said that this was an important resolution; it united the garrison, which did not want to go to the front, with the Petrograd Soviet. But listen to how Trotsky describes and estimates this event of the October 9: "From this moment (October 9) onwards we were actually in a state of armed insurrection . . . . The issue of the rising of the October 25 was already three part pre-determined at this moment. . . . In all essentials an armed insurrection had already been brought about . . . . Here we had a 'quiet' and 'almost legal' armed insurrection, one which was two thirds, if not nine tenths, an accomplished fact . . . . From this moment onwards we had a victorious rising in the capital city."

Thus it appears that October 25 was not more than a slight supplement to the great 9th. But now the question arises: If the "victorious" insurrection was already an accomplished fact to the extent of nine tenths on the October 9, what are we to think of the mental capacity of those who sat in the Bolshevist C. C. and decided in a heated debate, on October 10, whether we should proceed to an insurrection or not, and if so, when? What are we to think of people who on October 25 gathered together as plenary session of the C. C. together with the functionaries and co-workers from the military organizations, and still deliberated on the prospects of the insurrection, on the forces of the insurrection, and on the date of the insurrection. Had it not been all arranged on the 9th, quietly and legally? So quietly that neither the party nor the C. C. heard anything about it.

But this is merely a side issue. What is the party, what is the Petrograd Committee, or the C. C. when Trotsky writes a history of the October revolution? In this history neither the C. C. nor the party exist at all as real living powers, as collective organizers of the mass movement. And there is not a word to be learned from the "Lessons of October" with regard to what took place in Moscow, that not only in Petrograd, but in Moscow and Ivanovo Voznesensk there was a proletariat which was also doing something. And with reference to Lenin the book informs us: "Lenin, who was not in Petrograd, did not fully estimate the importance of this fact . . . . Lenin, living illegally, had no possibility of estimating the theoro upheaval," etc. We see that not one of us really knew anything about the October revolution. We had thought that it was precisely Lenin who led the October revolution, and that the C. C. the party, and the military organizations of the party organised it. But it appears that they did not appear on the scene at all.

In order to throw even more light on the part played by Lenin, Trotsky reports as follows: "If the insurrection had begun in Moscow (in accordance with Lenin's advice, L. K.), before the revolution in Petrograd, it would inevitably have dragged much more and the issue would have been very doubtful, and a failure in Moscow would have had a very severe effect upon Petrograd.

While Lenin is engaged in imparting such "advice" Trotsky with his "quiet" but "victorious insurrection" already in his pocket, is engaged in "an extensive maneuver." "We succeeded," he writes triumphantly "in luring our enemies into the trap of Soviet legality." Lenin, calculating much more upon the workers, sailors, and soldiers than upon Comrade Trotsky's "maneuvers," wrote at this time "It is a crime to hesitate, it is a piece of childishness and formality to wait for the Soviet Congress, a betrayal of the revolution." But Trotsky refutes Lenin's words with an air of victory at the close of his description of the roles played by him and by Lenin in October: "It is one thing to organise an armed insurrection under the bare slogan of seizure of power by the party." Trotsky instructs Lenin: "But it is something very different to prepare and realize an insurrection under the slogan of the defence of the rights of the Soviet congress."

Here the figures are shifted from their actual positions: Lenin is illegal, unable to make a correct estimate of the situation, unable to observe that nine tenths of the insurrection has already been accomplish-ed, advises that the rising be commenced in Moscow, although this obviously condemns the revolution to failure. Trotsky, on the other hand brings about a "victorious insurrection" by October 9, carries out a definite but cautious maneuver by which he "lured the enemy into a trap," and "prepares and realizes the victory" under a slogan comprehensible to the broad masses, the slogan of "defence of the rights of the Soviet congress."

What do these "Lessons of October" endeavor to teach us? That in the spring Lenin was obliged to alter his attitude, to abandon his old strategy, and that in October Lenin endeavored unsuccessfully to lead the insurrection which Comrade Trotsky was destined to lead to victory.

We have to choose what we are to learn and to teach. Either this history of October, this history of Trotsky's, or of the history as given in the works of Lenin.

In the question of the Constituent Assembly Comrade Trotsky quotes my and Zinoviev's letter of October 11, in which we wrote: "The Constituent Assembly will be able to lean upon the Soviets only for aid in its revolutionary work. The Constituent Assembly and the Soviet form the combined type of state institutions towards which we are advancing."

Trotsky comments as follows: "It is extremely interesting for the characterization of the whole line adopted by the right to note that the theory of 'combined' state institutions uniting the Constituent Assembly with the Soviets, is one which was repeated one or two years later in Germany by Rudolph Hilferding, an opponent of seizure of power by the proletariat."

Zinoviev's and my letter was written on October 11, and I take Lenin' article written on October 8. Lenin writes as follows: "During the transition from old to new combined types are possible at times (as the Workers' Path rightly pointed out a few days ago), for instance Soviet Republic and Constituent Assembly."

What does this imply? It implies that in the case before us Lenin resembled Hilferding. Historical truth is of little importance to Trotsky. The alteration of tactics at moments when the situation alters from day to day is of no interest to him; what interests him is to discredit Bolshevism by every possible means.

A final example, again in two words. Is this same letter of October 11? we wrote: "These masses of the soldiery are not supporting us for the sake of the slogan of war, but for the slogan of peace. . . . Should we find ourselves in a position, after seizing power, in which the international situation obliges us to resort to a revolutionary war, the soldiery will turn away from us. The best of the youth among the soldiers will remain true to us, but the great mass will leave us." The historian may judge in how far this estimate was justified. But what does Comrade Trot ky do: He writes: "Here we see fundamental arguments in favor of the signing of the Brest Litovsk peace."

Thus it appears that the Brest Litovsk peace, signed by the party on the urgine and irresistible pressure of Lenin, against Trotsky, was substantiated by "fundamental arguments" supplied by us, the "right," the followers of Hilferding. It is not to be wondered at when our enemies, who have a very fine feeling for anything resembling comment on such books about Lenin by remarking that it is difficult to distinguish whether they have been written by a co-worker or a rival of Lenin.

Leninism Against Trotskyism.

The results may now be summed up. We are the monopoly party in our country. We gather together in our ranks every organized worker in the country; but we must not forget for a moment that we are surrounded by elements foreign to our class, and that these elementary forces do not diminish, but will multiply and become politically more enlightened. They do not possess the form of legal organization. Petty-bourgeois intelligence will also grow on the soil provided by the development of industry, of the works and factories, and of trade. All these petty-bourgeois elements, finding no open means of expression in any social organization, are naturally endeavoring to find their aims thru the medium of our party itself. The petty bourgeois elements, in exercising this pressure upon our party, naturally seek the weakest link in the chain, and naturally they find this weakest link where people have entered the party without being assimilated to it, and are possessed by a secret conviction leaving them no doubt that they are here in the right place in the party, and that it is mere narrow-mindedness on the part of the party, mere conservatism, tradition, and adherence to this or that clique in leading positions which prevents them from learning from its real saviors, such as Comrade Trotsky.

It is with great regret that I state this, and the whole party will share this regret, but it has to be said. Comrade Trotsky has become the channel thru which the elementary forces of the petty-bourgeois find their way into our party. The whole character of his advances, and his whole historical past, show this to be the case. In his contentions against the party he has already become a symbol, all over the country, for everything directed against our party. This is a fact which it is most important for Comrade Trotsky to grasp. If he will grasp this and draw the necessary conclusions, then everything can be made good again. Whether he wants it or not (and as-ready he does not want it) he has become, for all who regard Communism as their greatest enemy, a symbol for emancipation from the thrall of the Communist Party. This is the regrettable, but perfectly inevitable conclusion of all who are accustomed to judge political events from the standpoint of actual analysis of class relations, and not from the standpoint of mere words.

I am aware that in Moscow, a city particularly receptive for all manner of rumors, "perfectly reliable" information is already being spread abroad to the effect that firstly Comrade Trotsky's book has been prohibited, and secondly, that Trotsky's exclusion from the party is contemplated and Trotsky himself is no longer in Moscow. All this is naturally mere gossip. It has not occurred to anybody to prohibit Comrade Trotsky's book; no single member of the C. C. has raised the question of any reprisals against Comrade Trotsky. Reprisals, expulsion, and the like would not enlighten anybody, but would con the contrary render enlightenment more difficult and at the same time give opportunities to those brewers of confusion who would like to sow the seeds of schism in the party, and prevent the real fundamentals of Bolshevism being explained in their differentiation from Trotskyism, and it is this explanation which is of fundamental importance at present.

It must be perfectly clear to every conscious member of the party that for us, the Bolsheviki, and for the international proletariat marching forward to victory, Leninism is sufficient, and that it is not necessary to substitute or improve Leninism by Trotskyism. (Enthusiastic applause)

END

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Letters From Soviet Russia

THERE has been begun in Soviet Russia a system of correspondence with workers of other countries, carried on thru the labor and Communist press.

The letters describing working and living conditions are written by the workers and peasants themselves.

WE urge all workers readers of the DAILY WORKER to answer the letters of the Russian comrades and supply them with firsthand information of living and working conditions in America. No better way of establishing the closest bonds between the workingclass of the two nations can be devised and Russian workers are just as eager to hear of actual daily happenings in the workers life in America as we are to hear how they are progressing.

WE publish in this issue a number of the first letters received. Workers who desire to reply can send their letters to the DAILY WORKER and they will be carefully forwarded to the Pravda, Isvestia, Gudock and other Russian papers.

Railway workers should write for Gudock—the official organ of the All-Russian Union of Railway Workers with a membership of approximately 400,000.

To Our Fellow Workers in the West

HITHERTO we, the workers of the world, used to communicate with each other thru our leaders (of the Communist Parties) at international congresses.

In this letter I wish to describe to you the life of the workers at the factory where I am working.

OUR factory, named Spartak, is engaged in the manufacture of spades. Before the war, and particularly during the war, the owner of the factory reaped huge profits, waxing fat at the expense of our underpaying. But, as you know, we, the workers of U. S. S. R., have taken the factories and workshops into our own hands. The factory came into our possession (it is owned by the state, but since the state belongs to the workers, we speak of it as ours) in an antediluvian state of equipment, because the owner used all his profits for his personal pleasure, not for the improvement of the plant. We began normal work in 1922, and working in roofless sheds and on broken stands we turned out from 20 to 23 thousand spades a month. Having gone thru starvation, it was not an easy matter for us to reconstruct our factories.

NEVERTHELESS, we have already achieved a good deal. We now produce not 23,000, but 112,000 spades per month, the highest pre-war output was 85,000 and that with the same number of working people that we have now. But this is not all. We have repaired and overhauled our factories. We now have new roofs, we now have new walls; almost with our very teeth we constructed our machines, which were destroyed during the years of civil war, and not only reconstructed but also installed a new press of improved construction. Hence we got an improvement in our living standard. The wages of our unskilled workers are now 103 per cent of pre-war, and only the wages of skilled workers are so far at 87 per cent of the pre-war rate.

IT is true that our requirements have increased, too. We get need to books, to the newspaper and to the theatre. We can't manage any more with our pre-war wages, but we know that we are working for the improvement of our own position, and that our life gets better year by year, because we are the masters in our country, having got rid of the parasites who used to live at our expense. We still have cases of two or three weeks delay in the payment of wages. But it is fully compensated by the credits which we get.

THE workers of the Spartak factory enjoy credit at the co-operative store from pay day to pay day and we also get on four to six months credit such articles as coal, wood warm clothing, footwear, etc. Furthermore, we have our mutual loan society, which advances loans in case of need.

THERE are many things which I would like to write about, dear comrades, but it is impossible to say everything in one letter. In my next letter I will tell you about the cultural activities in the various circles of our factory. We often speak about Germany, about your position, about the manner in which you are betrayed, but I leave this for next time.

With warm fraternal greetings,
Dmitri Seepanovitch Kortzky.
A worker in the "Spartak" factory at Ekaterinoslav.

* * *

DEAR foreign comrades:

Being aware that your bourgeois press misrepresent the life of our Russian workers, I will tell you the truth and nothing but the truth about the life and doings of the Russian proletariat.

I WILL describe how we work.

I work in a textile factory which employs 11,000 workers. (The former owner of the factory has escaped abroad). This very big concern is under the management of a worker. All our workers are doing their utmost to revive and increase production, for they know that they do not work for their master but for themselves. They work eight hours out of the 24. All questions connected with the factory are decided at the workers' general meetings. Every worker has the right to point out by word of mouth or thru the press any shortcomings, and may suggest improvements in the conditions under which the workers live and work, etc.

WE have factory and workshop committees to which our best comrades from the bench are elected. There are also organs for the protection of labor and motherhood and childhood, and above all, there is the trade union. All these organizations are composed of working class comrades whose chief aim is to work in the interests of the working class. This, dear comrades, does not exist in your country, and will not be so long as the bourgeois is in power. Our workers carry out by their own initiative all sorts of campaigns. For instance, they come to the assistance of the unemployed, they help to liquidate illiteracy, they care for homeless children, open children's homes and shelters, most of them are members of the International Red Aid, etc.

THOUSANDS of children of our workers and peasants have the benefit of higher education in the universities and other institutions, a thing unknown under the czars. And dear comrades, I hardly think that your bourgeoisie will admit the children of the poor into the universities and other institutions for higher education.

AT present our workers are doing their utmost to raise the productivity of labor and to reduce the cost of production. Results have already been achieved on this field because of the workers very sensible attitude in this matter. Our workers are fighting for the complete reconstruction of our industries and agriculture. One year of this work has shown our workers that as far as wages and output are concerned, they are approaching the pre-war level. All necessities of life are quite accessible to the workers.

ALL factories and works have clubs for the workers which carry on the educational work. There are free libraries and reading-rooms, and the club has also various circles and sections; such as: art, dramatic, choral circles, musical and other circles, in which workers and children get instruction. This, comrades, you also lack. This can only be done by a workers' and peasants' government. The workers of our factory have made great progress during these years of revolution as far as culture and education are concerned. They are, therefore, interested not only in the life of their fellow workers, but are also following carefully the life of the oppressed workers of all countries. Their hearts beat in unison with those of the workers abroad, and they are ready to come at any moment to the assistance of their foreign comrades.

OUR workers demonstrate openly with red flags and posters against the bourgeois oppression of the working class. A few more years of such steady and strenuous work and our country will be so strong economically, that it will no longer need the help of the western capitalist countries. I should like to close my letter with the slogans: Workers of the world unite! Long live the proletariat and the working class of the world!

With comradely greetings,
Malyshev, Workers' correspondent of the Wall Paper, The Rudnikov Worker.

Economics of World Opium Conference

(Continued from Page 4)

subsequent policy has developed in harmony with her special capitalistic needs more or less modified by the strength or weakness of these countries. Therefore, historically, and because at this moment she cannot supply fresh capital in enough quantities she is compelled to follow the old paths and customs. She cannot without serious damage to herself, or ruin follow new ones.

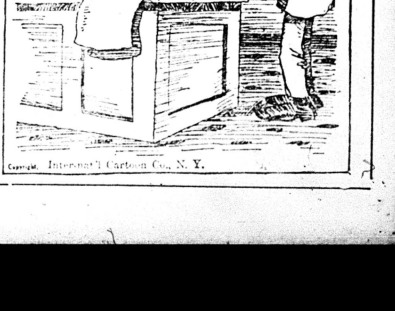
ON the other hand the roots of the American drug problem are in the East. Further American capital means American methods in the United States in the interest of American capital it has been found necessary to heavily fence American labor with anti-drug laws. Much more so in China American capital finds similar protection is necessary; the successful enactment and operation of which will prove more difficult than in America. Chinese labor, with American dollars to spend on European manufactured drugs, would react too seriously against America's large scale intentions in China and would rapidly and ultimately destroy the living foundation of every investment.

THE means of warfare employed by the principal adversaries are also instructive. Britain democratically shelters behind the altered self-government of India. The United States thru Rockefeller supported church efforts and Morgan subsidized red cross works altruistically in the best Wilsonian spirit for the good of China alone. The truth is—each requires China for their own special purposes. The destruction of the opium trade in the East means for England—a sure loss of revenue and Chinese labor with the probability of revolution in India. The continuance of the traffic means that the United States cannot find a safe outlet for her surplus capital. She cannot invest in China to any great extent unless there is an international guarantee that Chinese labor won't be doped and destroyed by Indian opium, or French, British, German or Japanese morphine, heroin or cocaine. Neither country is interested in China for China's sake. In other words the opium conflict is at this moment a beautiful illustration of the English between different levels of capitalist development.

IT is difficult to predict how the extended negotiations will terminate. Already it is announced that a British cabinet minister will attend the next conference. No doubt Britain will endeavor to trap America in her diplomatic nets. For the league of nations, however, failure means death because already Britain's attitude over the Geneva protocol, Egypt's appeal and Ireland's registration, has struck it a mortal blow. But that which obviously neither Britain nor America has sufficiently calculated upon is the influence of Russia's recognition of China, a contingency worth while watching!

THINGS THAT NEVER HAPPEN

By GENE BYRNES



VIA BERNSTEIN - - -

By J. C. Oblan

In the auditorium of the Rand school . . . Morris Hillquit is to give a lecture on "Labor, Socialism and the Progressive Movement." He was supposed to have been here at 1:30 p. m. It is 1:40 and he has not arrived yet. The auditorium is not even half full; and more than a third of the audience is made up of young boys and girls, who belong to the young socialists (due to the very large gymnasium and dance rooms at the Rand school). A girl just back of me remarks to her neighbor: "You know, Mr. Goldstein spoke yesterday for the socialists." "Who is Mr. Goldstein?" asks the other. "He is a democrat, but he is a friend of mine, and so he spoke for us." That's the environment.

Where is the old spirit, old enthusiasm, old crowds of inspired socialists, who would pack the same auditorium full? The place truly resembles a graveyard much more than an assemblage of class conscious workers, the vanguard of the proletariat. The atmosphere chills and one feels estranged in this cold space . . . . Here comes in a bunch of four trade union bureaucrats; fat faces, shapeless bodies indicating long service to the machine and sure jobs for the present.

Enters the chairman and Mr. Hillquit. Hillquit takes a seat. His face visibly expresses disappointment—a and grimace covers it as he looks thru the crowd. As the chairman introduces him the grimace is replaced by a typical Hillquit smile.

He begins his lecture by admitting that "Such a merger is somewhat new in the history of the socialist movement" and that "this campaign is a very unusual experience for a socialist movement in any country." The reasons for this adventure he states are "unusual conditions confronting us at this time." He states that the objective of socialism is "the abolition of private ownership in fundamental industries and the gradual establishment of socialism based on popular sanction." "Whatever is going to be ultimately is not of great paramount importance." The immediate objectives are of paramount importance. In an appropriation he says that socialists were previously proceeding on the formula of Marxian philosophy. However, "In the last several years in the formula certain changes took place due to changing world conditions." He throws in a couple of sentences in explanation of the "classical Marxian theory of socialism," class antagonism, profits and wages, class struggle, as if to remind the audience that he is well versed in Marxian terminology.

He assures his audience that the difference between economics and politics is that of degree and not kind and then proceeds to the most important part of his address. "The entire political conception of the socialist movement was based on the economic and political interests of wage earners. The main two contending classes are capitalists and wage earners. economics was based entirely on factory relations. Marxian theory and Marxian practice simply neglected the agricultural population." At that time this formulation was all-sufficient; the interests of the working class elements reached the height of organization the problem arose: "How are we, socialists, to ever gain a majority in the country in order to gain control of the government?" Then it became clear that intense cultivation of the farmers' sympathies were to be made. "That is one modification to the strict Marxian theory of socialism: its extention to include agricultural elements." He had to offer a second modification, which "took place partly by natural progress and was accelerated by the war." At the time of the formulation of the Communist Manifesto, Europe was under autocratic rule. There was practically no democracy. When general suffrage was extended it was for years very limited. The political activities of the working class were not those of today. Therefore the phraseology: the capture of political power of government. It did not mean an evolution it meant a war, a revolution. In the 75 years that passed a revolutionary change took place, gradually the countries of Europe became democratic. Women are enfranchised in all countries, all men have suffrage, and so the entire problem of socialist political work was changed very radically." "To conquer democratic control of political institutions (for liberalization of government) was the duty of the old socialists; the only thing left to socialists in Europe now is the economic program."

Such is the second modification of Marxian tactics as practiced by socialists, according to their mouthpiece, Mr. Morris Hillquit. ("He'll quit" irresistibly presses itself against one's consciousness, altho it is as clear as the day that he has already quit the road of Marxism.)

From these general considerations he goes over to an analysis of conditions in Europe and America. He finds that we in America never had a political autocracy; we never had here any feudal class, no peasant class in the sense of Europe and antagonistic class interests between labor and capital; therefore, "Our whole population is practically homogeneous." "The definite mark of demarkation between industrial worker and farmer of Europe does not and never did exist here." "The species, the fixed class of workers in America is very recent class, without heredity—a very conservative type in politics." The progressives in America are specifically an American type; something very indefinite but distinctly American. There is a different class constellation, different classes, different types, and therefore, different parties. "The new alignment is based on the above."

"This movement means a workers' and farmers' movement, altho not a socialist movement." "It does not mean yet a definite political alignment," however, "a labor party is bound to come into existence." "It will be partly unlike any that before existed. It will be even not entirely analogous to the labor party of England (where the homogenous expression of wage earners is the important nucleus), because this party will include the farmer element and progressive groups." The program of such a party is unimportant. For those who do not care so much for slogans, symbols, but for substance, the present experience will appeal as promising.

In answer to questions Mr. Hillquit asserted that the platform of LaFollette is "a working class" platform because many planks are in the interests of the working class, because it is composed of 75 per cent workers.

So Mr. Hillquit is definitely on the road to Bernsteinism. Still accepts Marxism, altho he has two modifications of the Marxian "formula" for the present. The ultimate is not of great paramount importance due to the "evolutionary change" which took place in the various countries in Europe in the last 75 years (they became "democratic") "the capture of political power of government" in the sense of "a war, a revolution" is a dead phrase. "The only thing left to socialism in Europe is the economic program." In our country the whole population is "practically homogeneous." The platform of LaFollette is a "working class platform."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

GERMANY

Communist Reichstag Campaign

BERLIN—In spite of the fact that parliamentary immunity is a dead letter in Germany today, the Communist deputies in the Reichstag are making consistent use of their position to bring the facts of the class struggle and the message of revolution before the German masses.

During the recent reichstag discussion of Luther's ministerial statement, Comrade Ruth Fischer made a merciless expose of the new Luther cabinet and of the shameful role played by the social democrats.

Social Traitors Get Theirs.

"The social democracy," she began, "are complaining about the monarchist character of the new cabinet, but they themselves are above all responsible." Recalling the policy of collaboration and support followed by the social democrats in connection with the reactionary ministry of Cuno and Stresemann, she went over the long list of social democratic betrayals, and showed the stupidity of the pacifism extolled by Hilferding and Dr. Breitscheid, with his eternal quest for a portfolio.

Ruth Warms Up.

Ripping up the program of the new cabinet, Comrade Fischer showed how Germany was being reduced to the status of a colony by the Dawes plan, described the "sanitation" process in Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and the Balkans, and showed that France was soon due for the same treatment. Touching next upon the Anti-Soviet united front organized by England and America, she declared that this united front of capitalism would be met by the red front of the world proletariat.

After exposing the treachery of the social democrats who were supporting the reichstag, Ruth Fischer laid bare the hypocrisy of the Luther program, a program of pretended social peace, which would translate itself into new taxes, still worse conditions for the working class, and more savage persecution of the workers and the Communist Party. Recalling the duplicity of the social democrats in Saxony, in Thuringia, and at the Ebert trial, she declared that their recent electoral victories were obtained by means of lying promises, and would never be repeated.

Shows Communist Method.

In conclusion, calling attention to the parliamentary and ministerial crisis, already of three months' duration, and the insecurity of German industry, Comrade Fischer declared that the new cabinet would not be able to solve existing economic and social contradictions; that Germany could be freed only by the revolution, and that it would not be long before the German proletariat would demonstrate that the reichstag parliamentarians' way of doing things was not their way.

Demonstrate Against Dawes Plan

BERLIN.—At the time of the Reichstag discussion of Luther's ministerial statement, the Berlin proletariat held a great demonstration against the Luther cabinet and the social democrats. Hundreds of thousands of workers coming from all parts of Berlin and its suburbs marched thru the streets with flags and placards bearing the inscription: Down with the Luther Cabinet! Lenin is dead; Leninism lives! Free the political prisoners! Proletarians, when will you avenge Karl and Rosa! etc. . .

All the big factories and shops of the capital were represented.

Communist Speakers' Message.

At noon, many speakers addressed the masses, recounting the crimes of the bourgeoisie and social democracy, and openly attacking the Luther cabinet. Ruth Fischer, Communist leader and member of the reichstag, spoke, reminding the workers that six years ago Berlin and Germany were in the hands of the workers. "Now the monarchists are again governing the country," she said, "and social democracy is responsible . . . ". This demonstration shows that we are beginning to understand that we must work in the shops and in the trade unions. Our Russian brothers were there from 1905 to 1917—and then they conquered. We too shall work there, and we shall conquer. Today we are holding a deputation, in Berlin and Berlin itself is not yet ours, not yet Communist.

"We must conquer Berlin!"

GREAT BRITAIN

Glasgow Tenants' Struggle

GLASGOW—The Clyde workers have a well-earned reputation for being hard fighters, and the police contingents who are making repeated attempts to evict the families of unemployed workers in this region are not finding it an easy job. At Clydebank the resistance was so strong and well organized that special detachments were sent from Glasgow and Dumbarton to aid the local police.

Battle with Police.

When the reserves arrived at dawn, the families threatened with eviction were warned according to plan by the beating of drums, and the workers' defense guard gathered.

A violent clash between workers and police followed, the police incidentally, charging groups of women gathered in the streets, and a number of workers were arrested. Despite the resistance, the police smashed in the doors of a number of houses and carried out the evictions, but the moment that they had left the crowd broke the seals and reinstated the evicted workers.

British Communist Army Program

LONDON—The executive committee of the British Communist Party has issued a program of demands for soldiers, to be distributed in the English army. The program demands the right for soldiers to form trade unions of soldiers and aviators, to participate in trade union activities, to belong to political parties, to organize sections of these parties in the army, and to attend political meetings and demonstrations.

Further demands are the abolition of court-martial, and the establishment of military tribunals on the basis of juries consisting of three soldiers, a petty officer and an officer, the right of appeal to civil tribunals, the abolition of the death penalty and the abolition of military intervention in strikes.

SOVIET RUSSIA

Health in Soviet Russia

MOSCOW. — The central commission on epidemics attached to the health commissariat has issued statistics on disease of the U. S. S. R. during nine months of 1924.

As compared with the same period in 1923, cases of spotted fever showed a decrease of more than half (109,000 and 230,000), recurrent fever—a decrease of one-sixth (41,000 and 220,000). Cases of typhoid were about the same a in the previous year (89,000 and 90,000). There has been a very great decrease of cases of small pox.

Malaria was about the same in 1924 and in 1923.

Food Supply in Bad Harvest Areas

MOSCOW. — According to information sent to Comrade Rykov's commission the food situation in the bad harvest districts in the Samara and Saratov gubernias, in the Nemrespublika (German Republic) on the Volga and in the Tsaritsin, Astrakhan, and Voronesh gubernias is as follows:

By November 1, 5,504,000 poods of various sorts of grain were sent to the bad harvest districts. This is one and a half times more than was originally planned. Moreover, local stores of various kinds of grain were accumulated in the bad harvest districts, which gave 3,569,000 poods of grain. All this stabilized the food situation in these districts guaranteeing them a sufficient supply of grain.

TOWARDS A NEW ENTENTE

By KARL RADEK

The Quest for Fresh Markets and the Export of Capital.

THE victory of the republicans in America was, as we already wrote in an article regarding the issue of the American elections, the consequence of the improvement in the favorable combination of circumstances obtaining in the summer and autumn. It, in turn, gave a fresh impetus towards the further improvement of the conjuncture. One of the American democratic journals, that is, belonging to the winning party, writes on this occasion: "Not in the memory of this generation has a president sat in the White House in whom the financial interests of the country have had more confidence than President Coolidge." The reasons for this confidence are very clearly expressed in a trading circular issued by the American firm of Goodbody & Co. It states: "The business community rejoices for the following reasons: 1. Because radicalism, if not dead, is scotched for at least three years. 2. Because the appeal to the poorer classes has proved but an insignificant results politically. 3. Because the election demonstrated anew that the labor vote is not controlled by the labor unions. 4. Because the railroads are expected to be free from adverse legislation for several years. 5. Because the federal reserve banks will be unmolested for several years at least. 6. Because the tariff will not be tinkered with by unfriendly hands. 7. Because the election restored confidence and removed obstructions to industry and trade." ("Literary Digest" for the 29th of November.) In short, the capitalist world having secured its own government, which will be its blind tool, has got down to business.

A few basic figures will show what this industrial prosperity in America looks like. The stock exchange has been disposing of over 2,000,000 shares per day, and has started 555 industrial and trading concerns. This is the highest figure since the year 1896. Clearing operations amounted in October to $10,000,000,000. This again is a high figure, the highest since March, 1920. Along the whole line we have a decrease in the number of bankrupts, an increase in freightage. And while the steel industry at the first of July was busy to 46 per cent below its normal, this figure had increased before the first of November by 11 per cent. The prices on steel are growing. The fundamental cause of this boom is the high prices on bread, caused by the bad harvest in Canada and Russia. Wheat prices have reached one dollar 62 cents. In one or two journals the question is already being raised of whether they have to deal with the temporary surmounting of an economic depression or with the beginning of an immense industrial boom. It is of course quite understandable that this question cannot be answered theoretically. The capitalists believe what they want to believe, and it is a long time now since we have seen the American bourgeoisie in such an exultant mood as they are at present.

The immense amount of capital accumulated in America is not only seeking fresh markets for the disposal of American industrial goods but is likewise looking for direct markets to which it may export its capital. Last year London issued securities to to the value of 2,600,000,000 rubles; 38 per cent British, 41 per cent colonials, 21 per cent foreign. The United States of America exported capital abroad to the value of 1,200,000,000 rubles, last year. During the first ten months of this year London issued 1,400,000,000 rubles worth of securities, of which 200,000,000 rubles worth of these went abroad, while during the same period New York issued securities to the value of 5,600,000,000 rubles and there went abroad more than 2,000,000,000 rubles. Thus, we see that American financial capital has left British capital behind in the quest for markets to which to export capital.

Very important is the fact that this exported capital is to be found not only in the hands of a few banks or financial magnates but that various loans find subscribers in the ranks of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. The Austrian loan of 50,000,000 rubles got 300,000 subscribers, while the Japanese loan of 300,000,000 rubles found 14,000 subscribers. The low percentage paid by the American banks has broken the fear of the unknown among the members of the petty and middle bourgeoisie and every year sees more of their money being placed abroad.

It is very interesting to throw even a cursory glance at the places absorbing American exported capital. During the course of the first ten months of 1924, the United States of America lent the Argentine 80,000,000 rubles, Japan 300,000,000 rubles, Switzerland 60,000,000 rubles, Holland 80,000,000 rubles, Czecho-Slovakia nearly 20,000,000 rubles, Hungary 18,000,000 rubles, Norway 50,000,000 rubles, Belgium 60,000,000 rubles, Canada 280,000,000 rubles, Germany 220,000,000 rubles, France 200,000,000 rubles, besides floating a number of municipal and private loans. No wonder that the newly elected president of the United States, Coolidge, declared: "We can not hope that we will always be an island of fortunate ones living far from the rest of humanity. If we were unable to avoid participation in the world war, whose causes had nothing to do with us (?), how then can we think that we will evade responsibility or other world questions, which must be solved in an atmosphere of peace and good will."

Let us set aside Mr. Coolidge's "peace and good will." In further articles we see how this "good will" is finding its expression in plans for manoeuvers, in agitation for increased armaments, etc., etc. The American president, put into power by a party which in 1920 defeated Wilson under the slogan of isolation from the rest of the world, expresses in these words the fact that American capital has already penetrated into all countries of the world, this fact being today one of the main driving forces in world politics. At the present time the American newspapers are full of articles devoted to the trade of America throughout the world, the export of capital and all the other conflicting questions of world politics. This is a change which can only be conceively conceived of by those who followed up America's attitude to world questions in the period from 1919 to 1922. Having recovered its own industry from the attacks of world competition with the help of an unusually high tariff wall, the United States of America are competing to an ever increasing degree with all the other countries of the world, and are utilizing for the purpose of carrying on this competition their own accumulated capital, the export of which represents nothing other than a powerful instrument for the granting of long term credits, a thing America has hitherto been very unwilling to do.

While the export of capital at present as a burning question, occupies the first place in America, in England the first place is occupied by the question of increasing the export of goods. In a recently published work "The Economic Position of England in the World," Edgar Crammond, the statistician, calculates that as a result of the war the British national income has considerably decreased. If the corresponding figures be compared with the altered purchasing power of money, we find that while in 1914 Britain had a national income of 11 milliard rubles, today she has only 21 milliards; it has sunk approximately to the national income of 1907. Added to this decreased national income, there is the heavy burden of a considerably increased public debt, leading to the quadrupling of the budget. It is for this reason that Britain, which in 1907, could use nearly 24 per cent of its national income in extending its capital abroad and at home, can now use no more than nearly 10 per cent, that is, almost two milliard rubles. It has already been pointed out here that of these two milliard rubles, 38 per cent was disposed of in Britain itself, 41 per cent in the colonies, and only 21 per cent abroad.

Not being in a position to compete with America in the export of capital, that is to say, in the granting of long term credits for the gaining of markets, and not having such a large home market as America, which would per mit the lowering of the cost of production, and suffering from the effects of the industrialization of its own colonies, British capitalism finds itself confronted with a much more serious difficulty than does American capitalism. The afore-mentioned statistician, Crammond, reckons that in comparison with the year 1912, when 13.8 per cent of the world's trade fell to Britain's share, she had managed to get 17.2 per cent in 1922. But this increase in the percentage of Britain's world trade (principally at the cost of squeeze out Germany) did not answer to the decrease of the sum of British trade. It was, on the contrary, lower by 25 per cent than in 1912. The necessity for the establishing of conditions for normal trade was the cause of Britain's participation in the attempts at solving the reparation question. It is the cause of Britain's endeavorss to re-establish, no matter what comes, firm rule in her colonies, to pacify China in her own way and to open the Russian market. And once both for the import of capital and for the export of goods it is necessary to consolidate the capitalist order thrust the whole world. The whole of 1924 was a period of Anglo-American co-operation.

The comparative weakness of Britain in the matter of the export of capital, her closer relationship to the European market, her greater dependence on its competition, as causes profound disquiet to the English capitalists, as far as those difficulties are concerned which would face British capitalism if German industry were to be consolidated.

A whole number of vital questions with regard to the rehabilitation of capitalism therefore confront the United States in another form than for England; for example, there is the question of the relation of Britain and America to the question of the steel trust and the question of the allied debts. These differences likewise show the different degree of the interestedness of Britain and America in colonial questions. Notwithstanding all the reverential compliments of the British statesmen to the United States of America, Anglo-American co-operation has not lead to the disappearance of the most profound contradictions. But meanwhile account must be taken of the fact that the increasing efforts, due to the superfluity of strength of American capital and the profound crisis of British capitalism, to establish, no matter what comes, a market for their goods and the export of capital in badly shaken up Europe, in the colonies and the semi-colonial countries, are creating not only solidarity between these powers with regard to the Soviet Socialist Union, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, but likewise endeavor to obtain favorable conditions for the penetration into these countries of British and American capital as speedily as possible.

American imperialism is endeavoring to gain the world, British imperialism is endeavoring to gain the world, British imperialism is endeavoring to hold what it has already gained, in the future they must come into conflict with one another. But be that as it may, they are at present compelled to extend the world at all costs. These endeavors of theirs form the chief feature of the international position at the end of the year 1924.

ART AND INDUSTRY

By H. C. FILLMORE.

TWO articles in last week's magazine supplement of the DAILY WORKER arouse great interest in me. I think we have here material for contrast worthy of study.

One article is "The Stockyards," by John Lassen, the other Comrade Zinoviev's speech to the worker newspaper correspondents in Moscow. Of course, we know that Pravda, which is Russia's "DAILY WORKER," is making great efforts to secure for publication an ever greater number of letters written by just workers, that is, by men and women who have no intellectual training as yet, but who will write from the job itself, just how everything on the job looks to those who are doing it.

THE real worker's point of view is considered to be very important over there in Soviet Russia and a great increase in the number and enthusiasm of these worker-reporters is linked right up with an amazing extension of the paper's circulation. Comrade Zinoviev says: "The worker correspondents form in a way the guard of our fortresses, the shops. Wherever they work their task is to describe conditions of work and life of the workers AS IT REALLY IS. In western countries by contagion the labor press is beginning really to 'workerize' itself. The Bolshevik leaders above all a man of the masses. The Leninist knows how to speak to the masses."

OF course a Leninist knows how "to speak to the masses," and why? Obviously because he is part and parcel of the masses, not something distinct and set apart. Let us never forget the significance of the Russian Communist Party at different times sending great numbers of their officials and administrative workers back to the factories and other jobs to become "re-workized."

I HAVE chosen Comrade Lassen's article in contrast to this because it seems to me more than anything else in recent months to show a different method of news gathering and writing. It may be art, surely, there is enough blood, and dung, and stink, and terrible weariness in it to cause some sensation even in a hardened person, and I catch myself thinking, "This is all right now, it shows what impression the stockyards made on the author."

To be consistent he had ought to be a vegetarian for a while now. But how does all this appear to the worker out there who can't "flee" but has to stay and be a part of all this. This is what I'd like to know and I wish some stock yards worker would tell us thru the columns of the DAILY WORKER.

WORKERS! Let us not bow down to the worship of the high art of the intellectuals, but put our point of view before the public, now that we have a great newspaper of OUR VERY OWN that is willing and anxious to publish our experiences. Let us make ourselves heard! Let us help to WORKERIZE our newspaper. Altho we are green and raw and this business of writing may be new, let us show the working world that we are not dumbbells.

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The Economics of the World Opium Conference

By JACK LECKIE.

ON Dec. 16 the opium conference after six weeks' sporive discussion adjourned until Jan. 12, 1925 so as to allow the various delegates representing 37 different countries an opportunity wherein to consult their respective governments. The disputes involves the legalizing and regulation or the abolition of the world's opium traffic. The principal antagonists were America versus the British governments in India. The former stands for the restriction of the drug traffic to the scientific medical neede of the world; the latter stands for the regulation of the trade on the basis of the world's legitimate needs.

IN reality what stands behind the beautiful formulations of these international humanitarians? Already at Hague in 1912 an international conference agreed upon the following points:

1. The suppression of opium smoking.

2. The restriction of exports and imports of prepared opium to opium smoking countries.

3. The adoption of measures for the suppression of the illegal cultivation of the poppy in China.

TOWARDS the conclusion of the Versailles peace treaty conference the articles of the Hague Opium convention (1912) was included in the covenant of the assembly of the league of nations. In subsequent conventions notably 1922, Great Britain in spite of America's protest successfully induced the league to interpret the Hague articles as meaning legitimate as opposed to scientific and medical needs. America stated that this constituted a complete perversion of the original intention and in 1923 requested that a world conference should be held again in 1924 at which the matter could be threshed out to a more satisfactory conclusion.

AS regards the articles of the Hague convention it has been found in practice that they have been outrageously flouted by all the chief signatories. The prohibition against the export and import of prepared opium was simply got over by exporting and importing raw opium instead. Thruout the far East, especially in Hong-Kong, Singapore, Saigon and Macao; British, French and Japanese interests built large factories for the presentation of the stuff. Worse still, French and German chemical science in the discovery of morphine and heroin has been frightfully taken advantage of.

ALSO, the coca plant—native of South America—has been recently introduced into Ceylon and elsewhere for the purposes of cocaine manufacture. Thus the evils of the opium traffic have been terribly aggravated (1) because of the concentrated intensity and social destroying nature of these later drug inventions and (2) because they constitute a form of indulgence which was not prohibited under the old eastern forms of religion. In the 1924 conference India, who was supported by England, France, Portugal, Switzerland, Germany, etc., was the chief opponent of America who was supported by China, Japan, Persia, Canada, Irish Free State, etc.

AS India has been internationally condemned for her opposition to America it is necessary at this juncture to clearly understand the extent of her responsibility. In 1919 she won a form of so-called self government which functions in two parts (1) the central government which has control over the army, navy, air forces, central police, salt tax, income tax, post, railroads, telegraph, etc., and "the right of control over the cultivation of the poppy, together with the manufacture, sale and export of opium;" and (2) the provisional government which controls education, fisheries, forestry, etc. and excise . . .

By virtue of the fact that England appoints 33 per cent of the assembly and also that the English appointed governor general with the assent of the king has absolute power in India it can be clearly seen that the attitude of India's English delegates at the Geneva conference was in reality the attitude of the British government in India.

NOT only is Tagore and Ghandi opposed to the Indian opium traffic but the swarajists also. If Britain was sincerely anxious to remove the traffic she has the power to enact in India the same dangerous drugs acts which protects the people of England and which have also been adopted by all the self governing colonies.

"As it is every Oriental country subject to European control—China, Siam, India, etc.—has to submit to standards which on the threat of heavy penalties have already been excluded from the conquerors' own territory." (Ethics of Opium—Ellen N. LaMotte.)

IN India the entire cultivation of the poppy (220,991 acres in 1921-22), together with the manufacture, sale and export is a government monopoly. During the six years ending 1921 India supplemented her home production of 45,892 chests (each 140 lbs.) with an additional 41,369 chests from Malwa and the native states—a grand total of 4,786 tons. In 1919-20 there were 17,000 shops selling intoxicating drugs of which 6,294 were opium shops where 360-450 grains could be purchased at one time (4 grams constitutes a fatal dose for a person unused to opium.)

The per capita consumption with a population of 319 millions equalled 26 grains. Altho the opium revenue in 1921 only equalled 3 per cent of the total revenues of this £3,728,000 was received direct by the central government and £10,162,000 by the provisional government. Of the latter sum, however, an unspecified sum was later deducted for the central government.

THE British possessions of the unfederated Malay states (Johore, Kelantan, Trengenna, Perlis and Kedah) have a combined area of 22,700 square miles and a population of 1,202,000, of which 179,000 are Chinese. In Trengenna (1917) the revenue surplus over expenditure was 114,145 dollars. The opium revenue for the same period was 117,145 dollars, which shows that the opium revenue was more than responsible for the entire surplus. The official blue books for 1919 state that the increase in the opium revenues from 166,000 dollars in 1914 to 762,000 dollars in 1919 resulted solely from placing the traffic under government control. In Kedah the total revenue for the 5 years ending 1921 was 26 million dollars of which eleven million dollars were from opium. The total expenditure in the same period was 20 million dollars. In Perlis the total revenue was 443,441 dollars of this $171,584 was opium revenue; the total expenditure was 257,992 dollars.

THE per capita consumption of opium in the unfederated states, based on the Chinese population, reaches the appalling figure of 17.480 grams, a fantastic result which utterly destroys the argument that the stuff is alone for the Chinese population. These figures not only demonstrate the swindle of government control but they also clearly show (1) that the natives in the interests of finance (2) that the means for a huge, profitable, illicit trade involving smuggling and price extortions, etc., exists.

IN these unfederated states as in North Borneo, (operated by a British chartered company), Brunei & Sarawak, (totalling 250,000 square miles with an approximate population of 900,000), the real reason for the opium traffic is strikingly identical. The natives in these areas are in many instances physically unable to undertake the heavy, vigorous labor connected with oil-drilling, mining, rubber planting, etc. Consequently, "recreations"—officially so termed involving state opium traffic, state gambling hells and government controlled pawnproking—are undertaken as a means whereby to attract immigrant Chinese labor.

THE problem in Persia is quite otherwise. Here Britain holds the state opium revenues among other things as security for debts totalling £92,000,000. It is an instructive side light on capitalist hypocrisy to recall that at the moment Persia was signing the conditions of the 1913 Hague Opium conference (which she never later ratified)—Britain was simultaneously loaning to her money on the strength of opium revenues referred to.

FOR the three years beginning 1919, Persia produced 162 tons; 149 tons and 162 tons; and in the same period Britain purchased from her 133 tons, 90 tons and 121 tons respectively. (The 12 per cent morphine content of Persian opium is 4 per cent stronger than Indian.) This provides a striking commentary upon the extent of England's drug industries. Russia's opium imports from Persia dropped from 300,872 lbs. in 1917 to 32,826 lbs. in 1921.

SINCE 1843 when Britain defeated China and compelled her at the point of the bayonet to throw her doors open to the import of Indian opium the situation—excepting the noble effort 1907-1917 has intensely become worse. Britain from Hong-Kong; Portugal from Macao; (where in 1920 the opium state rights were sold to a private company for the annual sum of 3,000,000 dollars); France from Indo-China; Japan and until recently America also, have and still continue to profitably debauch China and her people.

As a result China joins suicide with murder. The China year book (1924) estimates that China herself produces annually not less than 20 million lbs. of opium. Dr. Wu Lien (Pekin Times 1920) gave publicity to the still more appaling statement. That the import of morphia increased from 5½ tons in 1911 to 22½ tons in 1918.

THE UNITED STATES also has a huge drug problem. The state treasury estimates there exist over one million drug addicts. Independent authorities, however, place the figure as high as four millions. Leading criminologists state that 60 per cent 100 per cent of the inmates of reformatories and some prisons are drug addicts.

Of these 90 per cent are heroin addicts. This drug can be easily smuggled. The life of a heroin addict averages 22 years. One dose for six successive days makes an addict; one ounce is sufficient to make 2,000 such addicts within one week. It practically destroys all moral and social responsibility and is responsible for a large part of America's annual 3,000 million dollar crime and prevention of crimes' costs. The United States (1910-15) consumed four times more drugs than the combined totals of Britain, France, Italy and Germany. This means for America, high capitalist development a great danger.

THE interest of America in the opium problem, however is not fully explained by these important domestic difficulties. There are two reasons for its conflict with European nations over the Far East. (1) The successful solution of America's drug problem is dependent upon the successful solution of the opium traffic in the Orient and (2) **China is the largest and best country wherein the United States can invest its surplus wealth and develop new markets.**

IT is precisely at this point that English and American interests clash most. Each country represents a different level of development, each is historically compelled to employ different methods. Britain, generations ago, first penetrated the East in search of markets. Her wars with China were on behalf of the Indian opium trade and British shipping. Her

(Continued on page 7)

We Want Our Parents to Be Literate

("KRASSNY BOGATIR" WORKS.)

This feeling of just pride is noticeable in every corner and in The workers run down the hill and slip in quickly thru the lattice work gates eager to get to their club.

Today we celebrate the fifth anniversary of the decree on the liquidation of illiteracy in Soviet Russia.

Old men and old women go there to testify to the achievements of October.

Who will believe that we were illiterate up to our old age, and that we can now read and write?

What appeared before impossible and fantastic, has become a reality—such is the boast of the working men and women who have overcome their illiteracy.

every seat in the hall; go and see the little room, it is downstairs, next door to the orchestra, where refreshments are sold. In this little room you will see our exhibition. You will find there our wall newspaper which we have published with the help of the Young Communist League. It is called "down with illiteracy." Just imagine, we, who were recently illiterate, have now published our own paper.

Their joy is great.

The satisfaction and pride of the working men and women who have overcome their illiteracy, call forth the feelings of animosity in those who do not want to admit that even old people can be taught. Our factory employs 3,000 workers, including 150 illiterates. To these illiterates, the Young Pioneers go with this slogan, "We want our parents to be literate."

A little girl from the kindergarten taxes the adults with their illiteracy. One can hear her shrill little voice, which can be heard thruout the large hall, saying, "We, children, are only small, and can read and write, but you are grown up and you can neither read nor write. We are little and there are things which we cannot understand, but you, who are grown up, cannot explain these things to us." And waving her tiny hands, she finishes her harangue by saying: "We little children ask you to begin to learn, as our Lenin told you to do."

The speech of the little girl has come to an end. But she does not move, she wants to say something else, but her little brain refuses to connect the thoughts as quickly as she would like. And then the echo rang out in the hall, "Lenin!"

A cute little beggar—was the verdict of those present, and a deafening applause drowned the echo.

And late in the evening after the dramatic performance, some were joyously and proudly discussing, and only a very few hastened to get home, as if ashamed of something.—Risnik.

COMMUNISM IS 'CATCHING'

(Continued from page 1)

drawn only lately into the class struggle; with the more experienced workers swinging ever more to the Communist left wing, and to the American trade unions the support of the official tools of capital comes from that section of the organized workers whose viewpoint is purely middle class and who have never before been reached by any major question of trade union policy.

TO those who are inclined to minimize the influence of the Communists in the trade unions it is hard to understand the combined ferocity and hysteria that characterizes the offensive against the "reds." Therefore it is well to say here that altho the American trade union official is the most timid creature in the world politically, with a vision of a dozen different kinds of bogeymen constantly obsessing him, the present panic in official labor circles has a very tangible reason behind it.

ONE of these reasons is undoubtedly the 66,000 votes cast for three members of the Communist (Communist) Party who headed the left wing slate in the United Mine Workers of America and the militant program on which the campaign was made—a campaign that consisted only of the distribution of the program itself, that was fought without money and that had as its spokesman rank and file miners known well only in their own districts.

In these respects the campaign and the huge vote polled was the most remarkable in the history of the American trade union movement for two things:

IT was achieved after the best organized attack on the Communists made by any union officialdom in America and it showed that in the biggest union in the American Federation of Labor 66,000 members have reached a degree of militancy where they will vote for programs and not for individuals. On so large a scale this is an unheard of thing in the American labor movement.

IT must not be forgotten in estimating the full meaning of the vote and its effect on the bureaucrats that the election machinery is entirely in the hands of the union officials. Let we not forget either that the trade union bureaucrats have been counting Communist left wing votes for three years now and undoubtedly have a better idea than we ourselves of the extent of the prevailing dissatisfaction with their policies.

IT is not the purpose of this article to argue that the suppresive measures used against the Communists are a good thing for us and that we should encourage them. It IS our purpose, however, to point out that with the limited press and trade union material that we have at our disposal it is undoubtedly true that the conflicts have steeled our membership in the struggle, spurred them on to greater endeavors and brot into the conflicts large masses of workers who, tho now skeptical and suspicious of us, must become our supporters by the match of capitalist development coupled with growing familiarity with the Communist program.

With this prospect confronting them what are the labor fakers to do? THEY will continue the policy of expulsions, slurrings and denunciation. They are creatures of the capitalist class, they have learned their methods from the capitalist class and they know no other. They might, if they were as well-informed and cunning as the labor bureaucrats of other capitalist nations, begin a campaign of "education" of their followers but the American labor faker fears more than anything else—unless it be the loss of his fat job, with which he senses such a program would be intimately connected—a discussion of the Communist program. They have no program except the acceptance of capitalism now and forever, amen. They dare not debate the issue.

ANY group of organized workers in the United States, free from official influence, will listen to and agree with a Communist speech the time they hear one provided it is delivered in language they can understand. I recall one very interesting instance which substantiates this assertion:

IN St. Louis two years ago I was given the floor in an Electrical Workers' Union for ten minutes, with much misgiving on the part of the chairman who warned me to say noth ing radical, to talk on Soviet Russia. The union is known thruout the labor movement as one of the most conservative in the building trades but I talked for an hour and twenty minutes without interruption—altho it was a special meeting on a wage agreement—and when I asked if they had heard enough there were shouts of "Go ahead!" from all over the hall.

NO, the labor fakers will not permit open discusion in the unions. Heavier blows than any yet received are in store for us but we know now that we have a goodly portion of the organized workers with us—many more than we thought. Even in the Carpenters' Union—a veritable cesspool of reaction, ruled by Hutcheson whose reputation for autocracy is a scandal even among his fellow-bureaucrats—we have developed an astounding strength.

Read the list of unions that have endorsed the Michigan defense if more proof is needed that great numbers of organized workers have not been altogether terrorized.

WHEN our activities have begun to really shape trade union policies thru the mass pressure we can exert, when these policies draw the unorganised workers into the unions, when our shop committees draw masses of now unorganized workers into the gigantic struggles whose indications can already be seen, we need worry very little about the antics of the labor officialdom.

THE unorganized workers are ours—when the tyranny of capitalism forces them to move—there is no program but that of the Communists that holds any hope for them. They will be brot into the unions by our activity and their millions are the reserve army, as yet untrained, of a powerful left wing movement that will sweep the heritage of Gomperism from the American labor movement.

WE can continue and intensify our revolutionary work in the trade unions with the satisfying knowledge, based on indisputable figures, that we have within three years established in the organised labor movement, where Communist work gives the biggest results, a solid proletarian basis for a mass Communist party in the most powerful capitalist nation in the world.

THE united front from below, increased Communist activity in the daily battles of the workers, the connection of those struggles with the ceaseless warfare of the American government on the workers and their organizations, the merciless exposure of every sign of treachery on the part of the capitalism's agents disguised as labor leaders, these are the policies and tactics that have returned results for the Workers (Communist) Party and these are the policies into which the major portion of the party strength must be thrown.

EBERT

THE DAILY WORKER begins in the next issue of the Magazine Section an exposure of the details of the betrayal of the German working class during and since the world war by the social-democrats.

The articles will be composed almost entirely of copies of original documents, extracts from speeches and testimony given at the recent trial of the social-democratic president of Germany, Ebert.

The articles constitute the most damning indictment of the treachery of the social-democracy yet compiled, and the bulk of the evidence of treason to the working class was furnished by social-democratic leaders themselves in their defense against a charge of "treason to the German Empire."

Do not miss a single one of these articles if you wish to know from irrefutable evidence the reason for the failure of the German social revolution after the overthrow of the kaiser.

Our Readers Views

Hears Red Baiter on Radio.

To the DAILY WORKER: I heard a lecture on Communism on my radio. A hero by the name of Mackenzie lectured on Communism and Russia. Communism, he said, makes two classes. It takes these classes and labels one "proletarian" and the other "bourgeois." He said he feels very bad that the proletarian class has the power in the Soviet Republic of Russia. It pains him awful bad that the nobles are suffering. The Communists actually tell them to go to work. Also he says it hurts him when a priest in Leningrad receives ten years' penitentiary for preaching the almighty principles of capitalism.

Now I wonder has Mr. Mackenzie some feelings left for the proletarian class which does all the work in our beautiful world. Maybe he feels that they ought to work harder yet. Maybe he'll make another speech on the radio some day and tell us that.

The day will come when we American workers will know that the priests and the Mackenzies are being paid by the nobles to cry for them. Then the workers will realize that there are two classes, one class living on the other. And they will join up with the working class to rid themselves of the class for whom they suffer war, misery and starvation.

A good honest American working man writes this letter to our broadcasting station, our DAILY WORKER.

W. Jaffe, New York.

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and
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