

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

# SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

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

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1925.

## Trutsky denounces Eastman

By LEON TRUTSKY.

Readers of the DAILY WORKER will remember the controversy aroused by the publication of Max Eastman's book "Since Lenin Died."

The DAILY WORKER was able to smash the campaign of the capitalist press (which was using Eastman's book as part of their propaganda for war against the Soviet Union) by securing a telegraphic refutation direct from Trotsky himself.

In the article below Trotsky follows his telegram with a detailed and crushing refutation of Eastman's book. We print it in full, notwithstanding heavy demands upon our space, because it is one of the most worthless of ninety-nine per cent of the assertions made by the capitalist press—and its dupes—about the Workers' Republic of Russia.

This is the more urgent since the war-propaganda against Russia—also suspended—may be resumed at any moment.

### About Eastman's Book, "Since Lenin Died"

SOON after my return from Sukhumi to Moscow, I learned from a telegram from Comrade Jackson, of the SUNDAY WORKER, about the publication of a "book by Eastman under the title "Since Lenin Died," which was being made up of by the capitalist press for attacks upon our Party and the Soviet Government.

Altho my reply to Comrade Jackson was published in due course in the paper, I nevertheless think it useful to reproduce here its first part.

Eastman's book about which you write, is quite unknown to me. The bourgeois papers which quoted it have not reached me. It goes without saying that I repudiate in advance and most categorically all comments directed against the Russian Communist Party. Further on in the telegram I repudiated the absurd insinuations as to my alleged change in favor of bourgeois democracy and freedom of trade.

SUBSEQUENT I received Eastman's book from Comrade Inkpin, secretary of the British Communist Party. Who wrote me a letter similar to Comrade Jackson's telegram.

I had no intention of reading and still less of replying to Eastman's book being of the opinion that my telegram to Comrade Jackson, which in the meantime had appeared in the British and general foreign press, would be sufficient.

Nevertheless, some of my Party comrades who had read the pamphlet expressed their opinion that, in view of the references in the pamphlet to conversations with me, my silence might indirectly assist it in damaging our Party.

This has induced me to pay more attention to Eastman's production, and to acquaint myself in detail with its contents.

ON the strength of well-known incidents in our Party life, of the discussion of the methods of the democracy, of State regulation of economic life, etc. Eastman arrives at conclusions which are unwarranted and entirely directed against the Party and may, if accepted on their face value, bring discredit on the Party and the Soviet Government.

I shall dwell first of all upon one item which is not only of historical interest but also of the most actual and vital importance—i. e. the Red Army.

### About the Red Army.

EASTMAN makes it appear as if the Army, thru the change in the personnel of leadership, had broken up and lost its effectiveness. It is a mystery how and whence Eastman derived this notion. Its absurdity is quite patent. At my rate he should not recommend impartial newspapers to base their schemes upon Eastman's revelations.

Eastman, by the way, does not seem to notice that by characterizing the Red Army thus he supports the thorny rotten Menshevik legend about Dis-orientation and Praxerism—since

it is clear that an army, apt to be broken up on account of a personal change in leadership, would not be a Communist or proletarian, but precisely a Bonapartist and Praxerian army. The author quotes, in his booklet a large number of documents, and mentions many incidents not infrequently second, third and fourth hand. There is in this little booklet a not inconsiderable number of obviously false statements, and a number of them from which we need only select a few of the more important.

IN several places Eastman alleges that the Central Committee has "hidden away" from the Party a number of most important documents written by Lenin in the last period of his life—such as the letters on the national question, the so-called "will" etc. This cannot be called by any other name than a slander against the Central Committee of our Party.

Eastman's words lead one to imagine that he has once treated proposals for the press. This is absolutely untrue. In the course of his illness Lenin more than once treated proposals, letters, etc., to the leading organs of the Party and its congresses. All these letters and proposals were, of course, invariably delivered to the quarters to which they were addressed, were brought under the nose of the delegates at the 12th and 13th Party Congresses, and never failed to have due effect upon the decisions of the Party.

Lenin's "Will". All the letters have not been published this is because the author did not intend them for publication. As for the famous "will," Lenin never left one, and the very nature of his relations with the Party as well as the nature of the Party itself made such a "will" absolutely impossible.

In the guise of a "will" the emigre and foreign bourgeois and menabre press have all along been quoting one of Lenin's letters (completely mutilated) which contained a number of advice on questions of organization. The 13th Party Congress studied this letter most attentively, and drew conclusions in accordance with the conditions of the moment.

All talk about a secreted or infringed "will" is so much mischievous advice on questions of organization written by Lenin, and of the interests of the Party created by him.

NOT less mischievous is Eastman's statement that the Central Committee had wanted to suppress Lenin's article about the Workers' and Peasants' discussion, if not to suppress one may at all speak here of dimensions, which arose in this connection on the Central Committee were of quite secondary moment, having reference only to the question whether the publication of Lenin's article by a statement of the Central Committee that there were grounds for fear of a split. But even this question

was settled unanimously at the same sitting, and all the members of the Politbureau and the Organburo present signed an address to the party's organization saying, inter alia: "With respect to the article of Comrade Eastman, we declare with complete unanimity that there are in the internal work of the Central Committee absolutely no data which could in any way suggest the danger of a split."

This document, not only has, with ten others, my signature, but its very text was written by myself on January 27, 1922.

As this letter, expressing the unanimous attitude of the Central Committee towards Lenin's proposal about the Workers' and Peasants' proposal, also has at bottom the signature of Comrade Kulyshber, another mendacious statement of Eastman's is ipso facto refuted, viz., that at the head of the Inspection was placed Comrade Kulyshber as an opponent of Lenin's scheme of organization.

Another falsehood. EQUALLY false and based obviously upon fantastic rumors is the statement by Eastman that the Central Committee had confiscated or kept back in one way or another pamphlets or articles in 1923 or in 1924 or at any other time.

It is equally false to assert as Eastman does that he had offered me the post of President of the Council's Commissars and the Council of Labor and Defense.

I learn this piece of news for the first time from Eastman's pamphlet.

ONE could not doubt, when attentively reading the pamphlet, point out a number of other mistaken statements or prevarications and distortions. One hardly has to say, however, doing this in one way or another. When making use of Eastman's "information" and quoting his statements, the capitalist and, more particularly, such membership press have invariably underlined his near relations to me as the author of my biography, his alleged "friendship" with me—thus trying in an indirect way to lend his arguments a weight which in themselves they have not and cannot have. I am, therefore, obliged to speak also on this subject.

Trotsky's Relations with Eastman. PERHAPS the nature of my real relations with Eastman will best be seen from a business letter which I wrote at the time when there was as yet no thought about his book "Since Lenin Died."

At the time of my stay at Sukhumi I received from one of my dear comrades in Moscow, who had to do with the publication of my books, a manuscript by Eastman under the title "Leo Trotsky: A Portrait of His Youth."

The accompanying letter from my comrade informed me that the manuscript which had been sent by the publisher to the Publishing House, was making a strange and, to us, unfamiliar impression by its sentiments.

I replied to this letter by one dated April 2, 1925: "Even without reading Eastman's Manuscript I entirely agree with you that it would be a mistake to publish it. Tho' you have already sent the manuscript to me, I have neither appetite nor desire to read it. I willingly take your word that the manuscript is quite unappetizing, es-

pecially to us Russian Communists." "Eastman for a long time had persistently tried to convince me that it was very difficult to interest Americans in Communism, but that they would be made interested in Communism. His argument did not lack plausibility, and it was this which prompted me to render him some assistance of a very limited nature; the limits were shown in my letter to him."

"Of course I did not know at the time that he was going to publish this book in Russia. I should probably have advised the State Publications House not to print it."

"Naturally, I am unable to prevent his publishing the book abroad. He is a 'free' writer, has lived in Russia, has collected materials, and is at present in France, if not in America."

"Should I ask him not to print this book as a personal favor to me? I am not sufficiently intimate with him for that. And altogether, it would hardly be proper to do so."

I repeat, the question was about a perfectly harmless booklet relating to my work up to 1922, but the tone of my letter leaves no doubt that my relations with Eastman differed in nothing from my relations with a number of other Communists or foreign "sympathizers" who have asked my assistance in studying the October Revolution, our Party, and the Soviet State—more than that.

"Quite!"

WITH a vulgar self-assurance, Eastman has been so earnestly about my nearest comrades of the Central Committee, whom, according to him, I spoke of in a friendly manner, at the moment of the revolution, that I am not sufficiently intimate with him for that. And altogether, it would hardly be proper to do so.

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# Are the Firms Social Democrats?

By Henry Askeli

Just now, there circulates an ugly rumor among the party members, to the effect that we Finns are social democrats and supporters of the Two-and-a-half-International tendencies. This character assassination has gone so far that I think it proper to say in a few words just what we are and what we have accomplished and what we are fighting for.

We Finns are too modest. We do not like to praise ourselves, and our work. We believe that our work speaks louder than words. We simply go ahead, doing the best we can to get, tomorrow a little better, without any glory, honor or fame.

In this respect I may say that our policy has been unwise. This modesty and humbleness on our part has resulted in a condition, where the party membership does not know much about us and now may "lead the ear" to the groundless rumors peddled about us by less minded plotters. Some honest comrades may be misled so that we truly are right-wingers, reactionaries and what not.

## Brief History.

To place this matter properly before the eyes of our party members I must relate a bit what we have done that we have not "just started." We have been on the job when many of our comrades were drying the back of their necks and learning their A. B. C.

Finns began to do socialist propaganda in the United States about 1893. During and after that year a number of isolated Finns were organized. In 1904 the first convention was held in Cleveland, Ohio. This convention, however, did not result in forming a permanent socialist organization, because these branches were imbued with idealistic, theosophic, philosophic and many other esoteric thoughts, although there was a strong left wing in that convention. Our comrades deemed it wiser, not to split, but to stay in the branches, because the ranks were small and therefore they were the proper place to do the work for socialism.

Their labors were in vain. Two years later another convention was held at Hibbing, Minn., where our federation was formed and affiliation with the socialist party decided at most unanimously.

Then started a rapid growth of the Finnish socialist federation. Its membership rose up to 12,553 in 1911. This increase on account of a split, which occurred next year (1914) the membership declined to about 10,500. I will later relate about the ideological grounds for this split. Our present membership is about 8,000 which is a very good percentage, when we consider that there are about 170,000 Finns in this country. We are, therefore, about five per cent politically organized. This is a far greater percentage than any other nationality in the United States.

Altho the Finnish Federation is not numerically the strongest Finnish organization in this country (two religious organizations have many members) we are the most influential. Our influence is felt in every walk of life among the Finnish immigrants. Our three daily papers, our clubs, our buildings and plants, have the combined readers of about 50,000 daily and are very effective factors in forming the opinion of the Finnish reading public. We have built numerous meeting halls and labor temples, where now, not only our own meetings, but also the Workers' Party meetings and socials are held. Dramatic, athletic, musical, debating and other social activities are drawing the workers, young and old, into our meetings and socials, and our influence and propaganda. It is through our tireless efforts that the Finnish co-operative movement was established and is now the most effective movement of the American co-operative movement.

Thus we did not stop at merely getting members into our organizations. Then started the most thorough educational work. The success thus far achieved by our federation is due to

the elaborate educational work we have done and are doing at the present time. Six and eight week training courses are held every year in the central and western states, with elaborate theoretical and practical curriculum. We realize that the unity, enthusiasm and devotion of the labor and education rests upon intelligence and education. Beside these courses we have one and two week lecture courses, which are held almost every branch of the federation every year. We also employ traveling speakers who are touring our branches continually.

Our federation has considered the education of the children and our youth as one of our most important tasks. We realize that they are the ones who inherit our results and conduct our work, when we are gone. Of late this has become one of our main functions. The results of this work are beginning to show now. The results of the Finnish immigrants are gradually taking the place of the older ones. It follows naturally from such a training. I may mention just a practical illustration of this work the young workers summer school held just held at Watons, Wis., which has stirred up the American bourgeoisie more than anything else done by us in the last few years. Education of the workers' youth will attack the very roots of the stronghold of capitalism. It undermines the ideological foundation on which it is established. While our accusers are busy scheming just how they could exploit the leadership of the party, we, besides our other work, were busy making this first Communist summer school of youth a success.

Our Sunday school work is extensive. Generally it continues throughout the year around and besides these we have summer schools for smaller children.

We do a large publishing business. We have had an opportunity to study Marx, Engels, Plehanov, Lenin, Trotsky, Pannekoek and many other international known authors on revolutionary socialism and Communism long before their works were translated to English. Large editions of these works have been published by us through by Lenin, Zinoviev, Trotsky, Bucharin, Radek, Tjumenev and others translated in Finnish, than there are English. Our collective efforts have made this possible. I can safely say that about 50,000 Finnish immigrants are under our influence and conduct our work. And they are the most advanced section of our people.

## Where Have We Stood?

But all of the above does not disprove the claim that we are "the most reactionary section of the Workers' Party." It only shows that we are practical people and good organizers. But how about the principles? Where do these Finns stand anyway? I will try to answer this phase of the question.

Again a little bit of history is required.

Our Federation has always been on the left. This is not a meaningless claim. I have a lot of historical data to prove it.

At the close of the last century there was an ideological controversy in the United States between the left and the right wing party in Finland as a natural reaction to the ruthless oppression of czaristic Russia and the treachery of the Finnish bourgeoisie. The center of the party was in the hands of the party bourgeois minded leaders. Finally the program and tactics were changed accordingly. Charitable oppression and economic exploitation compelled a large number of Finns to emigrate to the United States. Presently the Finnish immigrants had been almost exclusively agrarian workers, but now industrial workers were compelled to leave their homes. This industrial proletariat was mostly socialistic. Arriving here, they continued their socialistic propaganda. Some of the half-breed socialists had organized the workers' associations, which affiliated with the Inmtra League, an Anarchist

organization, masquerading under the name of a workers' organization. In these broadsides the left wing socialists established their socialist nuclei and started to work to revolutionize them. As I have already stated, in 1904, at the Hibbing convention they finally won their fight. A new organization, our federation was formed there.

That was our first fight on principles of revolutionary socialism. In this controversy we fought for revolutionary socialism and against the party bourgeois and their ideology and right wingers of all kind.

In 1912 and 1913 a new controversy arose in our federation. Then we had the Workers' College at Shmithville, Minn., maintained by our federation. Around that institution developed a strong anarcho-syndicalistic group led by Leo Lauki. He and his followers wanted to make our federation a syndicalist organization and lead us away from revolutionary socialism. They were determined and had well organized their forces. Their weapons against us were the opportunist tendencies of the socialist party of which our federation was a part. We admitted that there were undesirable elements in our socialist party, but still that was just then, with all its weaknesses, the only political party with some membership, which, with our work, could be trained to revolutionary ways of thinking. At that time in theory it advocated the class struggle and an uncompromising fight against the capitalist class. Our syndicalist comrades attacked the principle of political action and wanted direct action, industrial action and complete abandonment of all political activity. We claimed that the political action is needed in the class struggle and that we must work with the political organized workers in America. This group of radicals, Lauki and others, told us that they were revolutionary, that only they were socialist socialists, and that they were of the left. We were everything in their opinion and we, our federation, political action and Communist political action. They wanted to lead our federation out of bondage to the pastures of peace and plenty thru direct action cuts.

We refused to believe that. We saw that they had syndicalist tendencies and the leadership fever of a very high degree. And finally in 1914 anarchy occurred. About 5,000 members were expelled and we were drawn from the federation.

Radicals grouped themselves into groups and started to fight among themselves on the issue: "Who the greatest among us?" Now this group is almost completely wiped out. Most workers have come back to our federation and the others, the remnants are now fighting the Comintern, and President.

Again, in this second controversy our federation was the banner of revolutionary socialism. Anarchists, syndicalists, leftists, the left Communist, who were stricken with infatuation, and progressive labor organization will do, but they were corrected at once.

The socialist party was not satisfied with the way we tried to revolutionize socialism and we hoped that with the aid of other revolutionary comrades we would finally succeed. However, it was a different matter, which was a different way. They organized themselves into a left wing organization, thereby giving the reactionary leaders of the socialist party cause to expell them in 1918. Also we were on the left, we had different tactics. We did not want to leave the organization in which we had worked so long. It is an easy matter to get out of an organization, but it is a big task to organize one. We realized that and tried to urge our left wing comrades to stay in and come back into the so-

cialist party and then appeal the reactionaries. We did not agree with the policy of the party leadership but the socialist party was an organization, prestige and an organization, which were worth something. With a little tact they could be captured and made to serve revolutionary socialism. It was a fine idea. Ten per cent expell ninety per cent; this was the tactic selected by our left wing comrades. They were about ninety per cent of the socialist party ten per cent reactionaries expelled thence.

When the left wing socialists were expelled from the socialist party, they organized themselves, wrote their programs and declarations of principles, which were decidedly leftist documents, so much so that later the Comintern had to correct them in several instances.

Of course we could not then withdraw from the socialist party. We knew that it was not an easy matter to sever such old political ties; they were tied to the socialist party. Many of our comrades were still faithful to the socialist party and we had to start a strong campaign of education in the federation against the socialist party and its reactionary leadership, and in favor of revolutionary action. This took some time, which we could not help it. We wanted to take from that later the Comintern had to correct them in several instances.

Then we were severely criticized. Our left wing comrades criticized us as "right reactionists" and the socialist party and its supporters, criticized us as Communists, impossibilities, etc. Many unwise but important things were done between two groups. I must confess that it was not an easy matter then to correctly analyze the situation and find a correct policy to pursue. Had we followed our instructions and orders from our left wing comrades and withdrawn from the socialist party then we would have been better prepared. We decided to stay still our federation, a whole, willingly withdrew from it. However, there were other forces working in the socialist party, and we were compelled to withdraw from the socialist party prematurely, resulting in the loss of about 2,500 members, but we were not a daily newspaper. We pointed this out well meaning left wing comrades, but they refused to believe it. They had the left reactionists, a very marked degree and our maneuver was not fish to them. Now every honest "after the battle" observer admits that we were right in our position. That our policy had been the better one. However, we could do no better than have the socialist party to a handful of reactionaries and bureaucrats, when all other left wing comrades were expelled, or withdrawn.

In this controversy we got rid of the right wing element, social democrats and the supporters of the Two-and-a-half International. "Principles of social democracy" and its entire program was condemned by our membership.

I do not need to say much about our stand in the Workers Party and how we played in its organization. Everyone who has been in the party since its organization, knows that we have worked to our utmost to make the Workers Party an efficient instrument of the left wing workers' rights. We are strong for workers' education. Maneuvers do not, in our opinion, make the Workers Party. We must work with the party first; make it into something. American it must be recognized when Party workers begin to organize politically, as they are now, small and inefficient, we will not be content with an important social factor in the coming struggle of the American working class. Our main task is to build the Workers Party and to be behind this one hundred per cent.

## Present Controversy.

Our federation was against the Labor party and that was against the Labor policy and all the maneuvers of that sort. We considered them as fa-

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# Are the Firms Social-Democrats?

(Continued from page 2)

Use short cuts, which, in a final analysis are makeshift tactics pure and simple, more simple than pure. We fought against that. We fought against the party which decided in favor of such an adventure, like good Communists we obeyed. And then when several unsuccessful attempts were made and the party with the aid of the Comintern finally rejected such a policy, we were delighted. And we hoped that at last our party has gotten over its makeshiftism and leftism and begins to work earnestly for Communism.

But our joy was short lived. Our party executive was split. A majority and a minority began functioning and these after some time were given out! declaration on principles and policies, statements and "facts for workers" were given out, even personal attacks appeared in our party organs. And the only given reason for all of that was: "shall we continue our (Menshevik) policy of advocating the farmer-labor party, or shall we continue a purely American objective factors are against that kind of policy. Ninety-nine per cent of our membership is

against that kind of policy. Let's be something first. They talk about maneuvering and federating with the other groups." This is what our federation comrades say. Our membership does not want any high sounding phrases and useless talk about the absolute and correct Communist policies. We know that the correctness of all the policies of the labor movement is only relatively true and correct. Then when some group of members talk that they are suitable material for the party leadership, because they are true Marxians, and scientific analysts of the conditions, honest, sincere, and characteristically themselves with all kinds of adjectives, it reminds us of the controversy we had in 1913 and 14, when we also had such big headed members, who were badly stricken with fantastic sickness and the leadership bog.

The amusing feature about this controversy is that the minority of the party is so deadly against us, and denounces us with very bitter terms. They say that we are collecting evidence that we are supporters of "Lorelein." Of course they are doomed to fall in their efforts. We have

no opportunistic tendencies, but neither do we have any leftist tendencies, which are just as bad. Some of the minority comrades demanded so low as to peddle lies about us. And those demands of a character. Miscellaneous have been converted into recent into a Communist way of thinking. Now they are usurping the authority of the Comintern. We have worked faithfully the last twenty-five years for revolutionary socialism and Communism.

## What do We Want Now?

I feel confident that I speak for every one of our federation members when I say that we want:

1. Immediate cessation of factionalism. Organized groups which are taking the life out of the party, must be liquidated. And we pledge ourselves to see that machines are liquidated and machinists disciplined, or expelled.

2. Only one executive committee, not two, like we have now. We must get over the idea of having a group or factional representation in our executive committee.

3. We also want an executive committee with nerve, and a sense of re-

sponsibility, and Communist understanding. We say that we settle questions, without foolishly appealing to higher party bodies on every little question. Hesitation, indecision and vacillation are destructive and must be done away with.

3. We want the shop nuclei form of organization, not so much that, it is the practical trial and true, because theoretically it appears practical and true and this must be shown.

4. We do not want the language federations in our party. All language federations must remain Communist propaganda organizations, working independently under the ideological leadership of the labor party.

In conclusion, I want to say that our standers have no patent or copyrights on Communism. They have an exclusive rights on Communistic understanding. They state as all of us, make errors. I do not wish to leave the impression that our federation has not made any errors. We have made numerous errors. We have also done something. Those pure and good "Marxians" that do not say anything may remain free from any human error, but in my estimation they are bum Communists.

# Communism Denies to Henry Askell

By JAMES P. CANNON.

Comrade Askell's article follows the two statements published by the Finnish Branch of Superior and is directly related to them. The Central Executive Committee has declared that these statements contained a non-Communist tendency and represented the beginning of a new era of maneuver for a split in the Party. Comrade Askell's article is another manifestation of this sentiment. It shows the same tendency to maneuver and forces us to draw the conclusion that it amounts to an attempt to substitute a program of the Party and the program of the Communist International. At the moment when the serious Communist workers are striving to unify their ranks on the platform of the Communist International, Comrade Askell comes forward with an attack on the Communist International. Such proposals tend to discredit the Communist International before the membership.

Comrade Askell has presented a platform without one word of criticism in it. No one can accept this platform without first throwing away the platform of the Party and the Communist International. The loyal followers of the Communist International in the party, and especially those in the Finnish Federation, have no choice but to take up at once the most resolute struggle against the political platform of Comrade Askell. The unity and integrity of the Party demand such a struggle.

## Incitement Against the C. I.

The Communist International is the most precious acquisition of the revolutionary proletarian and the authority of the Communist International is the surest guarantee that the unity of our party will be preserved and strengthened, that distracting opportunities will not be allowed to get a strong foothold, that mistakes will be corrected and that following leadership will be assisted, strengthened and equipped for its tasks. To make a breach between the party and the Comintern is to strike at the most important of all countries who shrink from the implications of a policy of determined revolutionary struggle. Comrade Askell is following a line which leads in this direction. His attack is directed first of all and above all at the authority of the Communist International. He opposes it in a more or less direct way all the propositions put before the Party by the Communist International. He then unites his opposition to the various specific proposals of the Communist International into a combined and systematic opposition to the declaration that he wants a Central Executive Committee with sufficient "nerve" and "responsibility" to

"settle questions without foolishly appealing to higher bodies on every little question." The practice of the Central Executive Committee in turning to the Communist International for advice and guidance and for the solution of disputed questions apparently does not commend itself to Comrade Askell, who regards it as "hesitation, indecision and a vacillating policy," which, he says, is "destructive and must be done away with."

What is such talk but incitement against the Communist International? And what could be its effect but to lead to a break between the Party and the Communist International? To list the Party become the prey of distracting tendencies and render it powerless!

## Lorelain.

With such an attitude of general opposition to the Communist International, it is quite logical for Comrade Askell to break himself out of line with its specific decisions on the situation in our Party. The Comintern has put before the Party as one of its most important tasks the liquidation of the opportunist ideology of Lorelain. Comrade Askell has nothing to say on this question, except to deny the accusation of sympathy with Lorelain. To open statement and direct attack on Lorelain which all leading comrades should make without hesitation or evasion is lacking. On the contrary the article makes many concessions to Lorelain.

Comrade Askell says the Finnish Federation got rid of the right wing elements and the ideology of the time of the split in the Socialist Party. We are confident that the overwhelming majority of the membership of the Finnish Federation will demonstrate that they have broken decisively with this ideology that no one will be able to lead them back to it. But in the light of this article we can not be so confident of Comrade Askell. A remnant of this ideology has found its way into his article.

## The Labor Party.

Our most important political question is the question of the Labor Party. The future growth and development of our Party is indissolubly bound up with the solution of this problem. The first decisive steps of the American workers in constituting themselves as a class, and entering into the Labor Party, will be taken through the medium of a Labor Party. The solution of the Labor Party problem is of incalculable importance. It is in fact the key question to the American Labor movement. Every member of the Party must understand this.

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International has solved the Labor Party problem, or

recting the past mistakes of all groups in the Party and laying down a clear political line for the immediate future. It is of the utmost importance that every leading comrade take a clear and unswerving stand on this question. Mistaken conceptions of the past must be openly acknowledged and resolutely put away. The whole Party, as one man, must consciously swing its energy into the Labor Party movement according to the policy of the Communist International. In order to make this possible all leading comrades in the Party and in the Federation must have a unified point of view, a realistic half-hearted attitude is not permissible.

Comrade Askell confines his remarks on this question to a couple of sentences that only serve to confuse the issue. He speaks of the questions of the Third Party Alliance, the Farmer-Labor Party and the present Labor Party policy of the Party, making a distinction between them. He throws them all into one pot, labels them all "maneuvers" to be avoided and then concludes with the assertion that "99 per cent of our membership is against that kind of policy." Such a method of presenting the question can only confuse the comrades.

## "Maneuvers."

Political advertisement, maneuvers that are not based on a true analysis of all the factors in the given situation, are very dangerous for a party. But to proceed from this premise to a rejection of all maneuvers is to falsify and distort the Leninist standpoint. One of the most incorrect and harmful aspects of Lorelain is its opposition to maneuvers and its unadmitted conception which arbitrarily separates organization and propaganda from action and maneuvers. Askell makes this error when he says, "We are strong for organization and education. However and no matter what we can make the Workers Party." This conception is wrong. A fighting Communist Party cannot be built upon it.

Organization and propaganda, actions and maneuvers, must be united in an organic whole. Without ability to maneuver there is no capacity for action and no Communist Party. The paralyzing dogma of "no maneuvers" must be eliminated from our conception at all costs. The great leaders and teachers of Leninism are constantly pressing this idea as a life and death struggle to the Communist Party. Only recently, the Executive Committee of the Communist International was obliged to adopt a special resolution against the doctrine of "no maneuvers" which was threatening to paralyze the Communist Party of Germany and which had already led it

to the most serious errors in connection with the liquidation of the monarchy. The Communist Party of Germany must learn how to maneuver," said the resolution of the Communist International. We must learn and in order to do so it must reject the standpoint which is presented by the article of Comrade Askell.

## Shop Nuclei.

The Bolshevization of the Party implies reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei. Our Party is confronted with this question in a very important respect on account of its small membership and many national divisions. The success of our campaign to construct the Party on the shop-nuclei basis requires the active, conscious and whole-hearted support of the leading comrades of the various federations. Comrade Askell does not give such support. He gives the shop nuclei form of organization only a negative endorsement and attempts to discredit it. He says that the shop nuclei form favors it, "not so much that it is practical, tried and true, but because theoretically it appears practical and true and this must be shown." The transformation of our Party from the social-democratic form of organization to the Communist form of organization, human error in the workshop, will never be accomplished by such a skeptical attitude. The position of Comrade Askell amounts to opposition to shop nuclei, under the guise of advice to it. The Party must oppose and reject this standpoint.

## The Federation Question.

The Communist International and the Central Executive Committee of the Party are in complete agreement in their conclusion that the existence of separate language federations must be done away with. The language federations must be fused into one centralized party. The organization letter of the Communist International gives detailed and specific instructions on this question; and the resolution of the Party committee takes a clear and definite stand for the complete abolition of the present federation form of the organization. The specific carrying out of these resolutions will be the reconstruction of the process of Bolshevizing the Party.

On this vital question as well as on all the others raised by Comrade Askell takes a wrong stand. The letter of the Communist International and the resolution of the party committee, which give the reconstruction of the present language branches as, non-partisan workers' parties. The Communist Party of Germany to maintain the federations on

(Continued on page 4.)

# RUSSIA TODAY Official Report of British Trade Union Delegation

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(Continued from Yesterday's Daily Worker)

**SYNOPSIS**—The structure and activities of the Soviet Union have been analysed in the official report of the British Trade Union Delegation to Soviet Russia, which is being prepared jointly by the DAILY WORKER. The trade union leaders exhaustively received the Government of the Soviet Union in leaders, and in the form of their government. Transportation, industry and agriculture were taken up in detail. The study of agriculture showed that production is steadily increasing. The study of agriculture showed that Soviet Union is manufacturing and importing tractors and other farm machinery. The relations of the Red Economy Policy to agriculture were also explained. "Russian agriculture is recovering slowly but steadily" was the conclusion of the British Delegation. The important subject of the Soviet Union's foreign trade was discussed in yesterday's report.

## FOREIGN TRADE OF THE U.S.S.R. JANUARY TO JUNE, 1924. (1,000 roubles at 1913 prices.)

Exports		Imports	
Commodity	Value	Commodity	Value
Germany	217	22,573	9,639
Great Britain	192	12,308	3,131
U. S. A.	128	12,818	1,113
France	119	50	2,518
Poland	118	1,300	9,627
Sweden	207	2	2,983
China	198	8	2,109
Japan	186	130	2,098
Norway	122	179	304
Denmark	6	93	1,272
Belgium	11	10	1,217
Portugal	11	10	303
Spain	10	11	1,213
Italy	10	11	1,213
Yugoslavia	10	11	235
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# Copies to Henry Askeli

(Continued from page 3)

a national scale, "working independently under the leadership of the leadership of the Workers' Party," would tend, in our opinion to separate still more the federations from the Party and reduce the control of the Party over them to a fiction.

### Factionalism.

There exists in the Party a sentiment against factionalism and factional groupings. Comrade Askeli appears to be attempting to play upon this sentiment and to create for his own factional purpose. The decision of the Comintern demands the liquidation of factionalism and calls for the unity of the Party on the basis of the political platform of the Communist International. Comrade Askeli would make it impossible to accomplish this result. Under cover of acceptance of the first half of this provision, his article reads like an attempt to prevent the unification of the Party and to create a new faction of his own on a non-Communist platform. The members of the Finnish Federation who are against factionalism must be on their guard and not allow anyone to maneuver them into a faction against the Party and the Comintern.

### "History."

We would like to find some part of Comrade Askeli's platform which we could agree with. In the platform the wrong from start to finish. Even the "history" which Comrade Askeli recites is presented in a false light. He attempts to draw comparisons upon the glorious past of our Party and to take credit to himself for remaining in the leadership of the Party after the split. It is quite true that the left wing made a tactical error in allowing the reactionary leaders of the Socialist Party to force the split too quickly. And it can also be admitted that the first program of our Party contained some tactical mistakes. But in spite of all, the fundamental line of division at the time of the split, which completely overshadowed all minor, tactical questions, was between the Communist Party and the reformist social-democrats; and it is no credit to anyone

who, at the decisive moment, remained in the ranks of the Socialist Party. In this situation, one who has a clear Communist position always unites with the Communists, even the disorganizing tactics. This is a fundamental principle. We do not mean by these remarks to bring up the past in such a way as to cast any reflection on the comrades now in our ranks who took the wrong position in the historical days when the revolutionary vanguard in America was first organizing itself into a party. We know very well that many who remained in the Socialist Party at the time of the split and who later joined our ranks, have done and are doing good work for Communism. The error of the past has been made good many times over and now has only historical significance. It is quite unnecessary to refer to it again, and we would be among the last to do so. But when the history of the Party is considered, one should relate the past events in their true perspective. Comrade Askeli fails to do this.

### The Federation Split of 1914.

We take issue with another part of Comrade Askeli's "history"—the part dealing with the split in the Finnish Federation in 1914. Moreover, we are of the opinion that the narrow attitude manifested by Comrade Askeli may explain to a certain degree, the reason we have not had greater success in healing the rifts of that split and in winning over to Communism the Finnish workers who have fallen under the influence of anarcho-syndicalism. Comrade Askeli may explain to a certain degree, the reason we have not had greater success in healing the rifts of that split and in winning over to Communism the Finnish workers who have fallen under the influence of anarcho-syndicalism.

The platform of the syndicalist group in 1914 was politically incorrect, but so was the platform of the socialists. A true examination of the emergence of syndicalism and anarcho-syndicalism as a phenomenon in the labor movement is impossible unless one understands and clearly states that pre-war syndicalism represented an extreme reaction against reformist, parliamentary socialism. Reformist socialism is the father of syndicalism. This is the way to explain the split of 1914 and to show to the syndicalist workers of the Communist Party and the Communist conception of political action have nothing in

common with the Socialist Party and the socialist conception of politics. It was the reformist, which they made a justifiable revolt, which led them to extreme and unsound doctrines.

The Communist Party and its Finnish section ought to represent, at least to a certain extent, a union of the best proletarian elements from the Socialist Party and the syndicalist Party. The Communist International was of this opinion when it invited the I. W. W. as well as the left wing of the Socialist Party and delegates to its first Congress. The Communist International declared many times that the progress of the Communist Parties would be measured in a large degree, by their success in winning over the syndicalist workers to the platform of Communism.

Many of the best revolutionary syndicalists responded to the Communist International and are in its ranks today. They are fully entitled to be placed on an equal footing with the revolutionary workers who came from the Socialist Party, without recriminations or with regard to the past being brought up against them. Comrade Askeli has no right to give such a one-sided account of the old fight and to ridicule and attack them in such a benevolent and intolerant manner.

Anarcho-syndicalism still finds too much support among the Finnish workers in America. It is one of the most urgent tasks of the Finnish section of our Party to win over the Finnish syndicalist workers to the platform of Communism. It is the duty of the best of them into the Party. This task can be carried out successfully only on the condition that we adopt the correct Communist policy on this question and reject the policy of Comrade Askeli.

### Fight for the Party

The great constructive work performed by the comrades in the Finnish Federation is well known and appreciated by the Party. The organizing genius of the Finnish comrades is responsible for many achievements from which the Party has much to gain. We know that many of the greatest undertakings of the Party, such as,

for example, the establishment and maintenance of the DAILY WORKER would hardly have been possible without the loyal support and generous sacrifice of the Finnish comrades. These facts are as well known as to need no special mention.

Comrade Askeli shows himself to present even these facts in the wrong way. In some of his language he creates the impression of an attempt to alienate the Finnish comrades from a Federation patriotism as against a Party patriotism, and to set them against the Party as an overall party. The sharp criticisms which the party directs against such non-Communist policies as those put up by Comrade Askeli are related around him and made to appear as attacks against the Finnish Federation and against the Finnish comrades as such. The Finnish Comrades are bound to repulse such methods.

Any attempt to make a breach between the Party and the Communist International and to lay the basis for the liquidation of the Finnish Federation by every Communist. The whole party must mobilize itself for quick and resolute action to defeat such designs. The Party as an overall party, would endanger all the achievements of the past six years.

The efforts of Comrade Askeli to put himself up as the spokesman of the Finnish members of the Party and to identify them with his program does not by any means signify that this is really the case. We are absolutely confident that the vast majority of the members of the Finnish Federation will reject the program of Askeli without hesitation and in a decisive manner. We are confident that those disposed to support him will be compelled to abandon their whole program. The Bureau of the Finnish Federation has set as one of its primary memberships by its resolute and determined stand in support of the Party. The interests of Communism demand that all party branches of the Party follow the example of the Bureau and repudiate the policies of any such a divisive and reactionary views. We are confident that we do so.

# Our Struggle Against Loreism Must Be Concrete

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

It is always good to begin with a definition of Loreism. It is also necessary to show the historic background of Loreism, how it originated and developed in our party. But we must not stop at that. To expose Loreism effectively, to prove to our membership conclusively the opportunistic nature of Loreism, one must bring forward practical examples of its manifestations in recent party life. One must be able to show, by the everyday manifestations of Loreism, its right wing groping for the right to what I mean by proposing that our struggle against Loreism must be concrete.

### A Few Samples of Loreism.

There are at the disposal of the party several significant samples of Loreism that are of a recent date. For instance, Loreism in the Communist fractions in the needle trades. This is a manifestation of Loreism, very much in the same line as that of the C. E. C. was quite successful in combating. There is a definite manifestation of Loreism in certain sections of our Finnish Federation. We refer here particularly to the statements of the Finnish branch of Superior, Wis. The C. E. C. and the Bureau of the Finnish Federation have taken up very energetically the ideological struggle against this manifestation of Loreism. But there is also a distinct Loreist groping in another section of the party which thus far has received very little attention in the general party press. We refer here to the very definite and militant, and aggressive Loreist tendency and group in the Jewish section of the party. It is in this particular group that the present article

will be devoted.

### The Loreist Wing in the Jewish Federation.

It is perhaps best to study Loreism on the development and present activities of the Jewish section of our party. The reasons for that are manifold. First, because the Jewish section of our party, although small in numbers comparatively speaking (only about 2,000 members), yet it is a very militant and active section in the party. It is connected organically and intimately with the broad mass movement of the Jewish working masses of the country and is exerting considerable influence upon the everyday struggles of these workers. It is for this reason that the opportunistic tendencies within the Jewish section have quite naturally made themselves manifest concretely in the political tactics and organizational policies of our party among the Jewish workers.

Recently, the present Jewish section of our party is the result of a merger of two formerly distinct groups—a merger which took place when the Workers Party was formed. One of the groups was the Jewish section of the Communist Party of America, affiliated with the C. I. since 1919. The other group was the section of the Jewish socialist workers which split from the S. P. after its Detroit convention. It was this second group (which became a part of our party at the formation of the Workers Party) that brought with it not only a considerable membership, but not only much experience in organization work, but also a heavy burden of social-democratic traditions and prejudices. It is these social-democratic and Two-

and-a-Half International tendencies that the Jewish section of our party had to struggle with during recent years. And it is in the struggle to outline and discard these traditions and prejudices that our Jewish section has grown into its maturity and influence upon the masses.

The history of our Jewish section since 1919 and particularly since the formation of the Workers Party is in the truest sense of the word a history of struggle, ideological and organizational, against Loreism. It began when the Communist International was the central issue of the struggle. The question was, "Shall we join the Communist International unreservedly or with reservations?" It was an intense and bitter struggle which finally resulted in the almost complete victory of the adherents of the Communist International who stood for affiliation without reservations.

It is thus continued over the question of the now famous 21 points. This struggle lasted for quite a while. The result was the same, the complete triumph of the majority of the C. I. incorporated in those 21 points.

The struggle against social-democratic traditions in our Jewish section then began to develop over the question of the policies of the underground Party. The social-democratic and Two-and-a-Half International tendencies in the Jewish section assumed the position of the principal enemy in a life and death struggle for the abolition of the underground Party. The main feature of their struggle was the question of the principal underground existence of a Communist Party and to combining legal with illegal work. The result of this struggle again saw the complete triumph

of the Communist International. The underground Party was liquidated because conditions had made it possible for the Communist Party to function openly. But, at the same time, it was deeply impressed upon the minds of its members, and particularly upon the minds of many of those who were still deeply submerged in social-democratic traditions that there is nothing more fundamental in the organization principles of the C. I. than the combination of legal with illegal work.

### The Rehevaluation of the Jewish Section.

In the process of this struggle between the Communists and the contrary tendencies in the Jewish section, four important things happened. Let us enumerate them.

1. Large numbers of the proletarian and politically advanced elements of the so-called original Jewish socialist federation group freed themselves of their social-democratic traditions and completely became assimilated with the Communist Party in the Jewish section.
2. Several very influential and capable former reformist leaders of the Jewish socialist federation group completely with their former centrist attitude in the party and identified themselves with the majority of the Jewish socialist federation group and with the Communist International, and with the body of Communists in the Party. To realize what that meant for the Jewish section, it is sufficient to mention the fact that among those comrades we find the names of such well-known and influential figures.
3. While annihilating and identifying with itself the best proletarian elements and the best leadership of

(Continued on page 7)



# The Struggle Against Loreism Must Be Concrete

(Continued from page 8)  
the original Jewish socialist federation group, the Communist Party and the party have succeeded in getting rid of and discarding a number of individuals who were also very influential and very powerful in the Jewish movement, but who were incapable of and unwilling to accept the Communist International and its policies. We refer here to such individuals as Salatsky, B. Hoffman, and several of their followers.

4. Having won over to the policies and tactics of the Communist International the overwhelming majority of the Jewish section of our party, having brot to complete identification with the C.P. The best and most sincere leaders of the original Jewish socialist federation group, and having gotten rid of the Salatsky-Hoffman influence, the tremendously increased body of Communists in our Jewish section proceeded to build Communist influence among the Jewish speaking masses. In this work they were very successful. The wide influence of the party among the nonpartisan mass organizations of the Jewish workers and the powerful development of the party's Jewish daily organ, the Freiheit, is a standing monument to the successful struggle of Communism against Loreism in the Jewish Federation.

The Lingering Remnants of Loreism in the Jewish Section.  
THERE is, however, yet, in the Jewish Federation, what could be designated as lingering remnants of Loreism. These remnants are found in nearly every Jewish branch of the party. The comrades of this tendency are easily recognizable by their peculiar attitude which is best de-

scribed as veiled hostility to the Communist leadership in the Jewish section which at times becomes open opposition.  
In common with Loreism in the party as a whole, those remnants of Loreism in the Jewish section are opposed to what they term mass work, and boast of the fact that they are "very strong" on organization and propaganda. The same as Loreism and opportunism elsewhere, the Loreism in the Jewish Federation abhor and oppose strict party control over the activities of Communists in non-partisan organizations. Thus the remnants of Loreism in the Jewish Federation, there runs a thread of sullen anger and disappointment in the defeat of the Salatsky-Hoffman influence and mistrust in the present Communist leadership in our Jewish section.

The following is a telling illustration that has enabled us to win for the remnants of Loreism in the Jewish section. Comrades Olgin and Yuditch, and several more comrades of less prominence, were attacked by these Loreism as traitors. Why? Because these comrades have definitely, sincerely, and wholeheartedly outlined their correct position and have identified themselves with the Communist International and with the party.

The lingering remnants of Loreism refuse to make peace with Communist leadership in the Jewish section. Some of them have already reached the point of expressing Communist leadership in the party as a whole but they will not agree to the Jewish Federation being led by the present majority in the Jewish bureaus, which is made up of comrades who

have led in the formation of the Communist Party in 1919, plus those like Comrades Olgin and Yuditch who came from the original socialist federation group and have completely identified themselves with the Communist International. The liquidation of Loreism in the party as a whole means for our Jewish section the complete liquidation of these lingering remnants of Loreism.  
In this final effort to liquidate social-democratic traditions in our Jewish section, the Jewish comrades must continue to follow the old Communist strategy which has proven so successful thru all these years. This strategy is not to surrender and give away a single working man or truly revolutionary intellectual to the Loreistic tendency in the Jewish Federation. It was this strategy that enabled us to annihilate hundreds of workers from the camp of the original socialist-federation group. It was this strategy that enabled us to win for the C. I. men like Olgin, Yuditch, etc. Consequently this strategy must be continued in order to liquidate completely what is now our small group in the Jewish Federation.

Know-Nothingism as the Most Modern Manifestation of Loreism.  
CONFRONTED with the determined campaign of the party to liquidate Loreism, quite a number of comrades in the Jewish section have adopted the policy of either denying the existence of such tendency, or denying personal knowledge of the existence of such a tendency. It is a modern expression of the philosophy of know-nothing. This know-nothing, however, must fool the member ship of the Jewish section, because it is nothing else but a clumsy attempt

to evade the issue, this issue being the liquidation of Loreism.  
Why? Why do we call this philosophy of know-nothing an attempt to evade the decision of the C. I. and of course the existence of this Loreistic tendency is so well known (it functions and finds its leading expression in the Jewish Federation, its manifestations in our daily work are so concrete and persistent that no one in our Jewish section can claim ignorance of these facts without exposing himself to the serious charge of either attempting to evade the issue, which is the same as giving support to Loreism, or of being so politically immature as not to be so for any leading role in our movement.

The way to combat this philosophy of know-nothing is to present the issue in the most concrete form. Not only must we refer to Loreism in the party as a whole, but only must we refer to Loreism in the past, but we must also point our fingers at Loreism in the Jewish section, and its concrete manifestations. We must analyze and show the true value of the activities of our comrades in the unions, the Workers' Circle and in similar organizations. We must analyze and show the true value of the activities of our comrades in the opposition manifested by the Loreists in the Jewish section to the policies of the majority in the Jewish bureaus. We must analyze and show the value of each city and each branch and show the presence of anti-party tendencies of a Loreistic nature. It is only by this method of analysis that we can succeed in liquidating completely these Loreistic tendencies.

# "There Is No More Communism Here"

By Y. ANVELT.

A FEW days ago in the town of Yareff, Esthonia, a group of workers commenced against the class conscious Esthonian workers, agricultural laborers and soldiers accused of having "preparatory" and "reactionary" opinions in favor of the Union of Socialist Soviet Russia.

Comrade Heidemann, whose name the Esthonian bourgeoisie has given the whole "case of the 77" is a former independent socialist who broke away in 1921 from his former comrades (who had now merged into the socialist party with the bulk of the Esthonian menshevik debris).

He was leader of the local organization adhering to the Comintern, of the labor party and trade unions of Yareff. When all the workers' organizations were smashed up by the secret police in 1924, and all the most prominent workers were arrested (as a result of the trial of the "149.") Comrade Heidemann went into hiding. In September of last year he was arrested at Yareff, and in connection with which the secret police asserted that they had found the traces of an organization of fighting troops among the workers and soldiers of the Yareff district.

AFTER this the White Guards, who had become thoroughly frightened, began to track down all and sundry known workers and agricultural laborers still outside prison walls and also arrested soldiers in the army who were suspected of Bolshevism. After the December rising all the proletarians arrested in Yareff were bunched together in one bunch and the big "case" was staged which of course will now result in sentences of penal servitude and terms of death.

The Royal lawyers informed the newspapers of their London masters after the suppression of the December rising, that "there is no more Communism here" and that they reprinted this in Royal for home consumption as being the "opinion of the British press." But the miserable facts hardly come out of the mouth but had prepared by the Esthonian bourgeoisie, after December 1st and continuing up to the present time,

is more or less powerless to suppress the struggle of the workers and the peasants on behalf of the Soviet power so popular among the toilers of Esthonia.

The interest of the Baltic Lilliputians continues to stir in the Esthonian abyss without slackening its speed, and it is not surprising that such an "independent state" is not agreeable to the toilers.

There is no need to talk of the heavy industry which was considerably developed in pre-war days; nothing remains but the rubble and the fall sense of the world. A section of agriculture—the farms of the colonists on the former lands of the landlords—is disappearing, a serious and long drawn out crisis, since the holders are in the overwhelming majority of cases assessed with high lease payments and are incapable of standing on their feet.

NOW, in addition to this a law has been passed according to which will be sold to the lease holders at a price of 100 rubles per desiatin (without buildings).

There is a complete stoppage in the rural economy, the masses who are becoming more and more impoverished is neglected, and at the same time imports exceed exports.

All the queues for rich foreign uncles who are prepared to throw a "loan" into the hands of the Esthonian lease holders are carried out even if it be only a million pounds sterling—have proved fruitless up to the present. It is not surprising that the unemployed, whose the menshevik papers recently estimated at 45,000 (out of a population of just over a million) and the village poor, condemned to die of starvation, have been compelled to carry on a struggle for the right of existence.

The weakest elements who have become desperate after the defeat suffered in Yareff to Brazil and Canada; another section more energetic, but very disciplined, is trying to slip thru into the U. S. S. R. in spite of the barred way arrangements and the frontier troops, and it will be well understood, that the majority of these remain behind,

and that the bourgeoisie carry on a life-and-death struggle against them. From the very commencement of "independence" the ideal of a section of the Esthonian bourgeoisie has been to transform the country into petty-bourgeois Dumbuck, without heavy industry and its inevitable political appendage—the proletariat; economic internationalism had been the motto to this impasse.

All that has to be done now is to settle up with the declared proletariat and unemployed, and the petty-bourgeoisie will have been realized. The secret police and the court martial must put an end to the most advanced elements, who still have no work or other, who want and poverty must push the rest over the frontiers of Esthonia, or simply send them to the cemetery. Thus the "independent" court works uningly.

The old absurd cases are hushed up again, obviously nonsensical accusations are invented, and the proletarian section is broken up by one group to long periods of imprisonment, if not to death. Here the "independent" court does not bother about the rights of the accused, the question as to whether the accused are, in their opinion, members of a "secret society" or simply guilty of possession of subversive literature, or carrying on agitation against the existing order, etc.

ONCE a worker is discovered, for instance, distributing illegal literature, he is taken to court by one of the members of the Communist Party, and he receives a heavy sentence. Already since last autumn responsible editors and lead labor newspaper appearing before the rising) have been sentenced to penal servitude up to ten years. The following is an example of how the court brands him as carried out. A few days ago in Rival the worker of the "Dobrobut" Tondl was accused of participation in the armed rising. We should like to mention to the court that in reality this worker was ill on December 1st, the court decided; participation in the rising not proved; the court was a member of "Dobrobut" where only Communists are accepted, and since he was a member of the legal organization—

the Sports Society Union and the Local Society—in which Communists participate, his membership of an illegal organization is proved, and he is sentenced to penal servitude in a house of correction for three years.

THAT is how the "evil spirit"—symbolizing for the Soviet power—is being knocked out of the Esthonian proletarians; but the end of the proletarian operations is not yet in sight. Searches and arrests still continue. Those who cannot be brought to trial under any circumstances are kept under surveillance of the police or are deported to the U. S. S. R.

But nevertheless the bourgeoisie and the knaves are trembling, sensitive to the fact that heavy hands are waiting for the moment to clutch them by the throat. On May 1 the entire bourgeoisie of Esthonia were armed to the teeth and with shaking knees read the quite ordinary May list manifesto of the Communist Party and awaited a repetition of December 1st when the bourgeoisie were to die their nightly dream. Their hearts are only tranquil on the days when some foreign feet or other bovers near Rival, when the British, the Danish, the American fleets come there, and even the mighty fleet of their neighbor Latvia, in the form of its military armaments in order to show their teeth at Soviet Russia.

NOW, miserable pygmies, you will not be able to uproot from among the workers and peasants the ideas they have inherited from the bourgeoisie. Continue to imitate the Biggest Workshops of the White Terror, but your court martial will not exclude the possibility of the proletarian revolution. The tribunals of 1917, but on the contrary they will only hasten it.

Dynamite on the Boulevard.  
KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 1.—Four persons were injured slightly and the fashionable Armour boulevard apartments section were thrown into a panic when a bomb was exploded in an apartment house here. Windows were blown out of the Sheridan apartment second door. Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Huppel and Mrs. J. H. Morris and Mrs. J. L. Morris and Philip Morris, 2 years old, were cut by flying glass.

# British Used Forged Document Against Soviet

**NOTE**—The following is a verbatim report of a part of the "trial" of representative of the Soviet Oil Syndicate in China, Dosser, who was arrested charged with "hostile acts against foreign nations." Dosser was "legally" tried in a "mixed court," the British authorities refused to bring his case before a mixed court.

Because of the exposure of obviously forged documents by Dosser's defense, all charges except "creating propaganda" were dropped and Dosser was expelled from the Shanghai foreign settlement. The case was prosecuted by the British representatives. When Dosser was arrested three Russian white guards were present.

The report of the "trial" shows to what lengths the British are going to create ill-feeling between China and the Soviet Union.

**AFTER** their arrest at Shanghai, Comrade and Mrs. Dosser were charged under Article 221 of Chinese Provisional Criminal Code, which article provides for the punishment of a person in possession of literature liable to cause persons to commit a breach of peace.

**AGAINST** Creation With Death.

The second charge was that the accused were "undesirables"—which of course, however, is not provided for either in any article of the Chinese Criminal Code or any law regulating or Shanghai Municipal by-law.

Then, after the forged document appeared on the scene, Dosser was charged under Article 137, 125, 123, and 130, of the Chinese Criminal Code, which provide for the punishment of persons "having committed a hostile act against a foreign state" or "having broken the neutrality of China during war between foreign states"; an offender convicted under these articles is liable to be sentenced to a term of ten years' jail or even capital punishment.

The Mixed Court sat in the persons of Mr. O'Brien, the magistrate appointed by the Shanghai Consular Body, and British Junior Assessor Whitmore, the latter naturally playing first fiddle in the whole scandalous

frame-up and British-made travesty of justice. The prosecutor was no less worthy a gentleman, a Britisher, Malland, who prosecuted on behalf of the municipal police.

**Questions Right of Court.**

The hearing was opened by this Malland producing a document clumsily forged by his worthy Anglo-Russian white associates and submitting his contention that "the accused made preparations, namely by obtaining a certificate from the Communist Party, he made preparations to create strike committees and also for further preparations the accused went to Hong Kong." The strike is a hostile act against foreign States with the exception of Russia.

Dr. Fischer, counsel for the defence, raised the question of jurisdiction, which Assessor Whitmore tried to dodge by declaring that as he "might say, the mixed court has definite instructions from the consular body. The right of this court"—further asserts Whitmore—"cannot be questioned. It is an old established procedure."

**Speaks For Capitalist Nations.**

Replying to Dr. Fischer, who asks the police to specify the foreign states against which the "hostile acts" have been committed, Malland enumerates: "Britain, Japan, Italy and every other state except Russia."

Dr. Fischer: "If Malland is entitled to make a charge on behalf of these other nations, I ask that they be put on the charge list. I wish to know which nations the municipal police is trying to protect."

"Malland: 'I act on behalf of the municipal police. The treaty rights have put the settlement in the hands of the municipal council, and I act on behalf of the police.'"

Dr. Fischer: "The police might wish to protect nations which do not wish to be protected by this court." The court further agrees to hear Dr. Fischer on the question of jurisdiction. Hearing, however, his time to five minutes.

Whitmore: "We have our instructions and we are not remanding the case."

Dr. Fischer: "Then I ask a remand on the ground that negotiations are going on at Peking between the Chin-

ese and Soviet authorities interested in this case." Whitmore: "That is likewise overruled. We might consider an application at the conclusion of the case for the postponement of the judgment. You have brought your time." The magistrate and I have agreed that it is important to proceed with the case now."

With a similar spirit of fairness and world-renowned British official honesty, Whitmore overruled all the other applications of the counsel for the defence, including Dr. Fischer's suggestion that the accused was arrested aboard an English ship, while the Mixed Court has no jurisdiction over foreigners, as well as his statement that "he defers" was not in accordance with all the documents and generally all the details of the charges.

**Forgery Exposed.**

After all the preliminary arguments were closed, detective Sergeant-inspector Yorks gave evidence, of which the following details may deserve attention.

The warrant was issued when the Dosser's were being deported from Hongkong back to Shanghai, which they were to do immediately.

Along by the Senior British Assessor on behalf of the Senior Consul. The Soviet Consul was not informed of the arrest. "Detective Hongkong and Shanghai the accused were not present, they occupied a two-berth cabin, and so had two clear days and ample chance to destroy all dangerous documents." Having, however, had to make this statement, Yorks—to explain why the accused had not destroyed an incriminating piece of evidence—volunteered the following clever explanation regarding the "stilt certificate" allegedly found in Mr. Dosser's book: "I think the document was for identification purposes; therefore, if the accused came back, he would return it to those who gave it to him, as it was not easy to obtain."

This last remark at least of sergeant-inspector Yorks about the document being "not easy to obtain" appears to be truthful, since it took the British officials and their white associates nearly six days to prepare that grossly and clumsily forged "document."

In the course of his evidence, Yorks

stated that Dosser's passport had been twice viewed by the British Consulate at Shanghai for going to Hongkong.

**Search Revealed Nothing.**

Cross-examined by Dr. Fischer about the search and the alleged discovery of the said "certificate," Sergeant-inspector Yorks said:

"I was accompanied to the ship by three Russian police officers, Bebenin, Kedrotravnsky and Bousinik, and myself, and was taken to a mixed court. The accused were arrested on board the steamer Mantus. The cabin was searched; the luggage was not searched, as it was from the steamer and taken to the police station. The luggage was searched in the presence of the defendants under my own supervision. Nothing attracted attention, except a code book, which I believe to be a commercial code. When first found, this book was roughly examined, as was done with my fingers and Bebenin did the same thing, too, but we only found Dosser's business card. This book was left in the station, as was done with my fingers. That is all I myself found. The documents found in the attached case have been brought into the court."

"Find" Certificate.

"During the morning search," continues Mr. Yorks, "three Russian police officers, Bebenin, Kedrotravnsky and Bousinik, and I handed the documents to these Russian detectives to see if there was anything important. Then the prisoners were taken into court, and the baggage was left unlocked in the detectives' room between nine o'clock a. m. and half past two."

"Personally I was not in the room when the 'certificate' was found, as I left the main detective office at about twenty minutes to three, leaving the three Russians alone in the building. At about a quarter to four, Bebenin brought me the 'certificate' with a rough translation of it. He told me the 'document' had been found in the code-book; Kedrotravnsky said—he found the main detective office. He noticed it between the binding of books; he opened the book and the document dropped out. The accused was locked up in the station at about the afternoon search, it was not really a search, because if it had been I would have been present myself."

# Domnick Venturato Must Be Freed : By Max Salzman

**FOR** three years Domnick Venturato has been suffering in the penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio, where he is serving a life sentence. The facts in the case of this working class fighter were given in an article that appeared some time ago in the DAILY WORKER. Being framed up on a charge of murder, because of his activities in the 1917 strike, Domnick Venturato is waiting for the time when he will be released from prison so he can again become active in the affairs of the miners' union.

The dastardly frame-up of Venturato has been kept from the masses of workers in this country. The newspapers have given it little publicity and the American Federation of Labor has done nothing to expose this contemptible frame-up.

Here is a man with a record of activity in the trade unions that any one could be proud of. A man who had courage, who was fearless and who understood the struggles of the workers. Here was a worker imbued with class consciousness, and who carried the message of working class freedom down to the rank and file of the United Mine Workers, the union to which he belonged.

Not a strike has taken place in the time that Domnick Venturato was in the union, but that he was on the

picket line, leading the militant membership of the miners' union, encouraging the disheartened ones, and imbuing a spirit of fight and struggle that to a large extent was responsible for the successful termination of the strike.

**AND** now the United Mine Workers' Union is beginning to lose its power in the state of Ohio. The operators are trying to separate mines in various sections of the state under the 1917 scale, and Domnick Venturato, who has helped to gain for the miners their increase in wages and the betterment of their working conditions, must not in jail while his revolutionary spirit wants to be free to go to the mines again to help them in their struggle to win the conditions which they have won through years of sacrifices.

Domnick Venturato must be freed. The workers in the United Mine Workers' Union need him. The miners demand him and yet Governor Donahay lets him rot in jail.

Everett Donahay, a man who claimed to be a liberal, a man who has claimed to be friendly to labor; it is he who is responsible for Domnick Venturato remaining in jail. Almost every day one reads in the headlines of Ohio that Donahay has pardoned this person and that.

Here he pardons a person convicted of murder, here he pardons a per-

son convicted of robbery and every other crime on the calendar. And yet Domnick Venturato, whom Donahay knows is in jail on a framed up charge because of his activities in the miners' union, rots in jail and Donahay—a "friend of labor"—does not even lift a finger to have him freed.

There has been a rumor spreading through Ohio. That rumor is that during the last election Vic Donahay, who was also governor of Ohio at that time, pardoned Domnick Venturato. Venturato's every miner in Ohio will tell you that. Every miner will say that Donahay said he would set Venturato free. However, Donahay pardoned Don Agresti, a coal-landlord, Venturato? To them it was a matter of time as to when this "liberal," this "friend of labor," this man who was elected official because of the support the organized labor movement gave—would free Domnick Venturato.

**THE** workers say that Domnick Venturato is not guilty. No more guilty than is every other member of the United Mine Workers of America. No more guilty than is every other worker in this country. Venturato is not guilty of any crime in the eyes of the capitalists. He is guilty of unwavering loyalty and devotion to his class; the working class. For that and that

alone is Domnick Venturato lying in jail.

And you, Vic Donahay, governor of Ohio, "friend of labor" liberal. You are keeping Venturato in jail. You refuse to set him free. All you do is make promises, which you do not intend to fulfill, because you want the support of organized labor.

You are an unscrupulous thief, to sell with your promises. We want Domnick Venturato freed. We will not depend on you and your "promises." We will bring the case of Domnick Venturato to every local union in the state of Ohio.

We will bring it to the attention of every man and woman in the state of Ohio.

We will bring it to the attention of every worker in the United States.

We will see that this case is brought to the attention of the worker in every part of the world.

**WE** do not beg for the freedom of Domnick Venturato. We demand it. We insist on it. And we will have all the workers join in this demand till we compel the capitalists in the state of Ohio and their spokesmen, to set Domnick Venturato out of prison and let Domnick Venturato again take the militant, active part in the struggles of the American workers that he had before.

# ANOTHER INSTANT OF "RUSSIA TODAY" IN OUR NEXT ISSUE