

IN TWO SECTIONS  
(SECTION TWO)

# Daily Worker

Central Organ of the Communist Party U.S.A.

LONG LIVE  
LENINISM!

(Section of the Communist International)

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1931

## LENIN'S LETTER TO THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

The following letter of Lenin was written by him in 1919, in the most trying days of the civil war, intervention, at a time when the very existence of the Soviet Union was in the balance. It therefore reveals how deep Lenin's confidence was in the victory of the Soviet Power.

In view of the actual war preparations against the Soviet Union, in which American imperialism is taking a leading part, the above letter is now more timely than ever before.

Today, when capitalism is admittedly on trial, when the growth of fascism destroys the last remnants of bourgeois democratic illusions, Lenin's letter remains a masterpiece of Marxian analysis.

Today, when the U. S., the leading imperialist country in the world, is shaken by the world crisis of capitalism, when the toiling masses are facing misery and starvation, comrade Lenin's letter reminds us of the revolutionary traditions of American history, of the glorious militant traditions of the American Labor movement. His letter—in this period of growing class battles assumes particular importance.—Editor.

Moscow, August 20, 1919.

Comrades: A Russian Bolshevik who participated in the revolution of 1905 and for many years afterward lived in your country has offered to transmit this letter to you. I have grasped this opportunity joyfully, for the revolutionary proletariat of America—in so far as it is the enemy of American imperialism—is destined to perform an important task at this time...

Had the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie accepted the Soviet invitation to participate in peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, instead of leaving Russia to the mercy of brutal Germany, a just peace without annexations and indemnities, a peace based upon complete equality could have been forced upon Germany, and millions of lives might have been saved. Because they hoped to reestablish the Eastern front by once more drawing us into the whirlpool of warfare, they refused to attend peace negotiations and gave Germany a free hand to cram its shameful terms down the throat of the Russian people. It lay in the power of the Allied countries to make the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the forerunner of a general peace. It well becomes them to throw the blame for the Russo-German peace upon our shoulders!...

The workers of the whole world, in whatever country they may live, rejoice with us and sympathize with us, applaud us for having burst the iron ring of imperialistic agreements and treaties, for having dreaded no sacrifice, however great to free ourselves, for having established ourselves as a socialist republic, even so rent asunder and plundered by German imperialists, for having raised the banner of peace the banner of Socialism over the world. What wonder that we are hated by the capitalist class the world over. But this hatred of

imperialism and the sympathy of the class-conscious workers of all countries give us assurance of the righteousness of our cause.

He is no Socialist who cannot understand that one cannot and must not hesitate to bring even that greatest of sacrifices, the sacrifice

sopotamia. Shall we then hesitate to act in the name of the liberation of the workers of the world from the yoke of capitalism, in the name of a general honorable peace; shall we wait until we can find a way that entails no sacrifice; shall we be afraid to begin the fight

not only under the "condition" that it proceed smoothly and in an orderly manner, that the proletarians of all countries immediately go into action, that guarantees against defeat be given beforehand, that the revolution go forward along the broad, free, straight path to vic-

again, into the camp of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

They are little more than imitators of the bourgeoisie, these gentlemen who delight in holding up to us the "chaos" of the revolution, the "destruction" of industry, the unemployment, the lack of food. Can there be anything more hypocritical than such accusations from people who greeted and supported the imperialistic war and made common cause with Kerensky when he continued the war? Is not this imperialistic war the cause of all our misfortune? The revolution that war born by the war must necessarily go on through the terrible difficulties that war created, through this heritage of destruction and reactionary mass murder. To accuse us of "destruction" of industries and "terror" is hypocrisy or clumsy pedantry, and shows an incapability of understanding the most elemental fundamentals of the raging dynamic force of the class struggle called revolution.

In words our accusers "recognize" this kind of class struggle, in deeds they revert again and again to the middle-class utopia of "class-harmony" and the mutual "interdependence" of classes upon one another. In reality the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably taken on the form of civil war, and civil war is unthinkable without terror and limitations of the form of democracy in the interests of the war. One must be a sickly sentimentalist not to be able to see, to understand and appreciate this necessity. Only the Chekov type of the lifeless "Man in the Box" can denounce the revolution for this reason instead of throwing himself into the fight with the whole vehemence and decision of his soul at a moment when history demands that the highest problems of humanity be solved by struggle and war.

The best representatives of the American proletariat—those representatives who have repeatedly given expression of their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviks—are the expression of this revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the Eighteen and the civil war in the Nineteenth Century. Industry and commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But where can you find an American so pedantic, so absolutely idiotic as to deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American civil war of 1860-1865?

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand very well that the overthrow of slavery was well worth the three years of civil war, the depth of destruction, devastation and terror that were its accompaniment. But these same gentlemen and the reform socialists who have allowed themselves to be cowed by the bourgeoisie and tremble at the thought of a revolution, cannot, nay, will not, see the necessity and righteousness of a

(Continued on Page 2)



VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN (1870-1924)

of territory, that one must be ready to accept even military defeat at the hands of imperialism, in the interests of victory over the bourgeoisie, in the interests of a transfer of power to the working class. For the sake of "their" cause, that is for the conquest of world-power, the imperialists of Germany and England have not hesitated to ruin a whole row of nations, from Belgium to Serbia, to Palestine, to Me-

until an easy victory is assured; shall we place the integrity and safety of this "fatherland" created by the bourgeoisie over the interests of the international socialist revolution?...

The great Russian revolutionist, Tchernychevski, once said: Political activity is not as smooth as the pavement of the Newski Prospect. He is no revolutionist who would have the revolution of the proletar-

tory, that there shall not be here and there the heaviest sacrifices, that we shall not have to lie in wait in besieged fortresses, shall not have to climb up along the narrowest paths, the most impassable, winding, dangerous mountain roads. He is no revolutionist, he has not yet freed himself from the pedantry of bourgeois intellectualism, he will fall back again and





## LENIN'S LETTER TO THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

(Continued from Page 1)  
civil war in Russia, though it is facing a far greater task, the work of abolishing capitalist wage-slavery and overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The American working-class will not follow the lead of its bourgeoisie. It will go with us against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the American people gives me this confidence, this conviction.

We are accused of having brought devastation upon Russia. Who is it that makes these accusations? The train-bearers of the bourgeoisie, of that same bourgeoisie that almost completely destroyed the culture of Europe, that has dragged the whole continent back to barbarism, that has brought hunger and destruction to the world. The bourgeoisie now demands that we find a different basis for our revolution than that of destruction, that we shall not build it up upon the ruins of war, with human beings degraded and brutalized by years of warfare. O, how human, how just is this bourgeoisie!

Its servants charge us with the use of terroristic methods... Have the English forgotten their 1649, the French their 1793? Terror was just and justified when it was employed by the bourgeoisie for its own purposes against feudal domination. But terror becomes criminal when workingmen and poverty stricken peasants dare to use it against the bourgeoisie. Terror was just and justified when it was used to put one exploiting minority in the place of another. But terror becomes horrible and criminal when it is used to abolish all exploiting minorities, when it is employed in the cause of the actual majority, in the cause of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, of the working class and the poor peasantry.

The bourgeoisie of international imperialism has succeeded in slaughtering 10 millions, in crippling 20 millions in its war. Should our war, the war of the oppressed and the exploited, against oppressors and exploiters cost a half or a whole million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie would still maintain that the victims of the world war died a righteous death, that those of the civil war were sacrificed for a criminal cause.

But the proletariat, even now, in the midst of the horrors of war, is learning the great truth that all revolutions teach, the truth that has been handed down to us by our best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism. From them we have learned that a successful revolution is inconceivable unless it breaks the resistance of the exploiting class. When the workers and the laboring peasants took hold of the powers of

state, it became our duty to quell the resistance of the exploiting class. We are proud that we have done it, and we are doing it. We only regret that we did not do it at the beginning, with sufficient firmness and decision.

We realize that the mad resistance of the bourgeoisie against the socialist revolution in all countries is unavoidable. We know too, that with the development of this revolution, this resistance will grow. But the proletariat will break down this resistance and in the course of its struggle against the bourgeoisie the proletariat will finally become ripe for victory and power.

Let the corrupt bourgeois press trumpet every mistake that is made by our revolution out into the world. We are not afraid of our mistakes. The beginning of the revolution has not sanctified humanity. It is not to be expected that the working class which has been exploited and forcibly held down by the clutches of want, of ignorance and degradation for centuries should conduct its revolution without mistakes. The dead body of bourgeois society cannot simply be put into a coffin and buried. It rots in our midst, poisons the air we breathe, pollutes our lives, clings to the new, the fresh, the living with a thousand threads and tendrils of old customs, of death and decay.

But for every hundred of our mistakes that are heralded into the world by the bourgeoisie and its sycophants, there are ten thousand great deeds of heroism, greater and more heroic because they seem so simple and unpretentious, because they take place in the every-day life of the factory districts or in secluded villages, because they are the deeds of people who are not in the habit of proclaiming their every success to the world, who have no opportunity to do so.

But even if the contrary were true—I know, of course, that this is not so—but even if we had committed 10,000 mistakes to every 100 wise and righteous deeds, yes, even then our revolution would be great and invincible. And it will go down in the history of the world as triumphant. For the first time in the history of the world not the minority, not alone the rich and the educated, but the real masses, the huge majority of the working class itself, are building up a new world, are deciding the most difficult question of social organization out of their own experience.

Every mistake that is made in this work, in this honestly conscientious cooperation of ten million plain workingmen and peasants in the re-creation of their entire lives—every such mistake is worth thousands and millions of "faultless" successes of the exploiting minority in outwitting and taking advantage

of the laboring masses. For only through these mistakes can the workers and peasants learn to organize their new existence, to get along without the capitalist class. Only thus will they be able to blaze their way through thousands of hindrances to victorious socialism.

Mistakes are being made by our peasants who, at one stroke, in the night from October 25 to October 26 (Russian calendar), 1917, did away with all private ownership of land, and are now struggling, from month to month, under the greatest difficulties, to correct their own mistakes, trying to solve in practice the most difficult problems of organizing a new social state, fighting against profiteers to secure the possession of the land for the worker instead of for the speculator, to carry on agricultural production under a system of communist farming on a large scale.

Mistakes are being made by our workmen in their revolutionary activity, who, in a few short months, have placed practically all of the larger factories and works under state ownership, and are now learning, from day to day, under the greatest difficulties, to conduct the management of entire industries, to reorganize industries already organized, to overcome the deadly resistance of laziness and middle-class reaction and egotism. Stone upon stone they are building the foundation for a new social community, the self-discipline of labor, the new rule of the labor organizations of the working class over their members.

Mistakes are being made in their revolutionary activity by the Soviets which were first created in 1905 by the gigantic upheaval of the masses. The Workmen's and Peasants' Soviets are a new type of state, a new highest form of democracy, a particular form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a mode of conducting the business of the state without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie. For the first time democracy is placed at the service of the masses, of the workers, and ceases to be democracy for the rich, as it is, in the last analysis, in all capitalist, yes, in all democratic republics. For the first time the masses of the people, in a nation of many hundred millions, are fulfilling the task of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, without which socialism is not to be thought of.

Let incurable pedants, crammed full of bourgeois democratic and parliamentary prejudices, shake their heads gravely over our Soviets, let them deplore the fact that we have no direct elections. These people have forgotten nothing, have learned nothing in the great upheaval of 1914-1918. The combina-

tion of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the new democracy of the proletariat, of civil war with the widest application of the masses to political problems, such a combination cannot be achieved in a day, cannot be forced into the battered modes of a formal parliamentary democratism. In the Soviet Republic there arises before us a new world, the world of Socialism. Such a world cannot be materialized as if by magic, complete in every detail, as Minerva sprang from Jupiter's head.

While the old bourgeois democratic constitutions for instance, proclaim formal equality and the right of free assemblage, the constitution of the Soviet Republic repudiates the hypocrisy of a formal equality of all human beings. When the bourgeois republicanism overturned feudal thrones, they did not recognize the rules of formal equality of monarchists. Since we here are concerned with the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, only fools or traitors will insist on the formal equality of the bourgeoisie. The right of free assemblage is not worth an iota to the workman and to the peasant when all better meeting places are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Our Soviets have taken over all usable buildings in the cities and towns out of the hands of the rich and have placed them at the disposal of the workmen and peasants for meeting and organization purposes. That is how our right of assemblage looks—for the workers. That is the meaning and content of our Soviet, of our socialist constitution.

And for this reason we are all firmly convinced that the Soviet Republic, whatever misfortune may still lie in store for it, is unconquerable.

It is unconquerable because every blow that comes from the powers of madly raging imperialism, every new attack by the international bourgeoisie will bring new, and hitherto unaffected strata of workingmen and peasants into the fight, will educate them at the cost of the greatest sacrifice, making them hard as steel, awakening a new heroism in the masses.

We know that it may take a long time before help can come from you, comrades, American workingmen, for the development of the revolution in the different countries proceeds along various paths, with varying rapidity (how should it be otherwise!). We know full well that the outbreak of the European proletarian revolution may take many weeks to come, quickly as it is ripening in these days. We are counting on the inevitability of the international revolution. But that does not mean that we count upon its coming at some definite, nearby

date. We have experienced two great revolutions in our own country, that of 1905 and that of 1917, and we know that revolutions can come neither at a word of command nor according to prearranged plans. We know that circumstances alone have pushed us, the proletariat of Russia, forward, that we have reached this new stage in the social life of the world not because of our superiority but because of the peculiarly reactionary character of Russia. But until the outbreak of the international revolution, revolutions in individual countries may still meet with a number of serious setbacks and overthrows.

And yet we are certain that we are invincible, for humanity will not emerge from this imperialistic massacre broken in spirit, it will triumph. Ours was the first country to break the chains of imperialistic warfare. We broke them with the greatest sacrifice, but they are broken. We stand outside of imperialistic duties and considerations, we have raised the banner of the fight for the complete overthrow of imperialism over the world.

We are in a beleaguered fortress, so long as no other international socialist revolution comes to our assistance with its armies. But these armies exist, they are stronger than ours, they grow, they strive, they become more invincible the longer imperialism with its brutalities continues. Workingmen the world over are breaking with their betrayers, with their Gompers and their Scheidemanns. Inevitably labor is approaching communistic Bolshevistic tactics, is preparing for the proletarian revolution that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction. We are invincible. The proletarian revolution is invincible.





# 5 Year Plan Means a Rising Living Standard for the Soviet Worker

By V. KUIBYSHEV

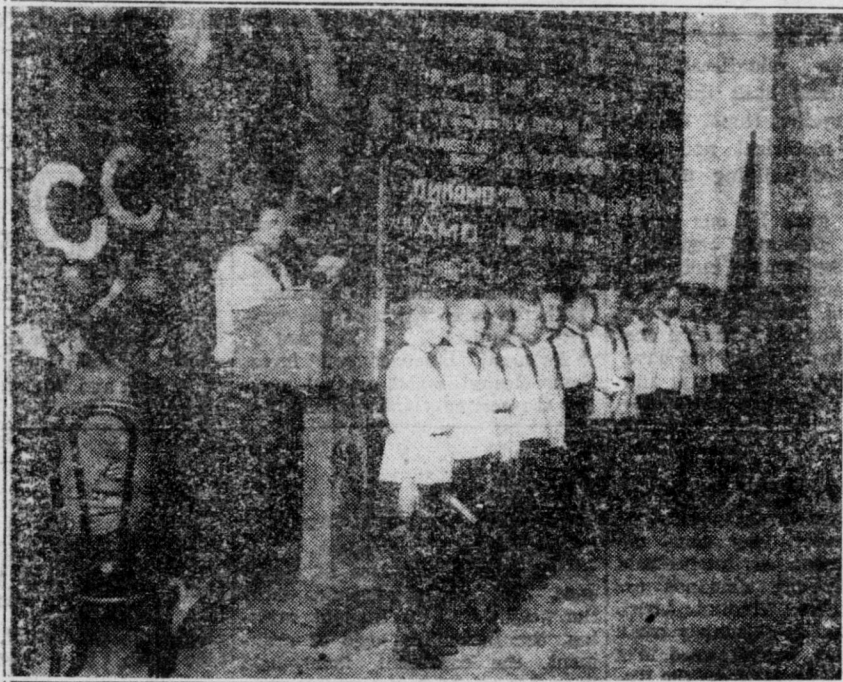
All the greatest achievements in the execution of the tasks of the Five-Year-Plan, being the result of the highest activity and working enthusiasm of the broadest working masses and first of all the working class, enabled us to make a further serious step with regard to the improvement of the living and cultural conditions of the working people.

This improvement of the conditions of the working people was expressed first of all in the numerical growth of wage earners. The total number of wage earners reached 13,684 thousand people

tions of the working people finds its expression in the further growth in the number of workers enjoying the 7-hour working day. If by the beginning of the second year of the Five-Year-Plan 19.1% of all the workers had the 7-hour working day, by the first of October, 1930, that is by the end of the second year of the Five-Year-Plan, the total number of workers having the 7-hour working day, reached 43.5% of the total number of workers, thus surpassing the task of the Five-Year-Plan by 3.5%. This secures the introduction of the 7-hour working day in all the

year to the systematic improvement of the living and cultural standards of the working class and peasantry.

In spite of all the predictions and prophecies of the economists and politicians, who are hostile to our country, in spite of the sabotaging of the embittered remnants of the old regime, the Five-Year-Plan is being executed and shall be executed and not in five but in four years. The problem of the execution of the Five-Year-Plan in time, that is in five years does not present any difficulty to us,



Soviet Pioneers in Cultural Drive

in 1929-30 instead of 12,793 thousand people envisaged in the Five-Year Plan for this year. The result was that by the end of the second year of the Five-Year-Plan the problem of unemployment has been absolutely solved, unemployment does not exist any longer in the U.S.S.R. while the Five-Year Plan assumed that there would be 400,000 unemployed towards the end of the Five-Year-Plan. Now we face the task of rapidly training the qualified labor-power, the lack of which is so acutely felt by the rapidly industrializing country. The improvement of the condi-

other enterprises in a shorter term, than proposed by the Five-Year-Plan. This general improvement of the conditions of the working people has been followed by a further increase of wages. The wages increased on the average by 12.1% per worker, for two years of the Five-Year-Plan. Thus the growth of national economy, the systematically growing importance of the socialized sector in the national economy, in which it already prevails, fully secure in the execution of this slogan of the millions of workers: "The Five-Year-Plan in 4 Years," and lead from year to

this has been overcome, as may be seen by the above data. Our task now is to execute the Five-Year-Plan before term, that is in four years. The above data show that we are already carrying out this task.

However, we are not quite satisfied with the rates of growth we have adopted nor with the quality of our work. Our severe self-criticism can be accounted for by this fact. Those who draw conclusions about the failure of the Five-Year Plan—basing them on this self-criticism—make themselves look ridiculous.

## Stalin on Religion

We carry on propaganda against religious prejudices. Our legislation guaranteed to citizens the right to adhere to any religion. This is a matter for the conscience of each individual. That is precisely why we carried out the separation of the Church from the State. But in separating the Church from the State and proclaiming religious liberty we at the same time guaranteed the right of every citizen to combat by argument, by propaganda and agitation all religion. The Party cannot be neutral towards religion and does not conduct anti-religious propaganda against all and every religious prejudices because it stands for science, while religious prejudices run counter to science, because all religion is something opposite to science. Cases such as recently occurred in America in which Darwinists were persecuted in court, cannot occur here because the Party carries out a policy of the

general defense of science. The Party cannot be neutral towards religious prejudices because this is one of the best means of undermining the influence of the reactionary clergy who support the exploiting classes and who preach submission to these classes. The Party cannot be neutral towards the bearers of religious prejudices, towards the reactionary clergy who poison the minds of the toiling masses. Have we suppressed the reactionary clergy? Yes, we have. The unfortunate thing is that it has not been completely liquidated. Anti-religious propaganda is a means by which the complete liquidation of the reactionary clergy must be brought about. Cases occur when certain members of the Party hamper the complete development of anti-religious propaganda. If such members are expelled it is a good thing because there is no room for such "Communists" in the ranks of our Party.

## Facts of Molotov's Life

Molotov (Skriabin) was born on February, 1890, in the village of Kukarke, in the Viatka province, a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since 1906. Started his Party work in Kazan. Was arrested in 1909 in the city of Kazan and exiled for two years to the Vologodsk province. Being in exile carried on Party activities in the city of Vologodsk. After the exile, being in Petersburg, organized Bolshevik fractions in the High Schools and Universities. In the beginning of 1912 worked on the Bolshevik paper "Star," and from the beginning of the organization of the "Pravda," became a member of the editorial staff of the "Pravda." Wrote under the names of W. Michailow, Riabin, A. Zwanow. He also participated in the activities of the Bolshevik fraction in the Duma.



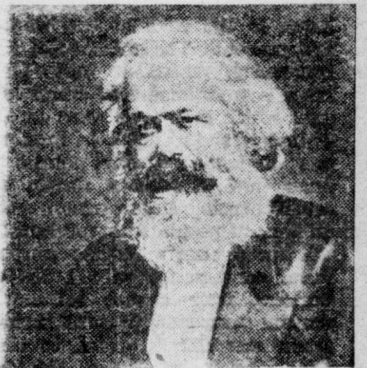
At the end of 1912, Comrade Molotov was compelled to become illegal and later on was arrested and exiled from Petersburg. From the fall of 1914 Comrade Molotov worked in Moscow, and in 1915 was arrested and exiled to the Irkutsk Province from where he ran away in 1916 to Petersburg, where he carried on illegal Party activities. At the end of 1916, he was coopted to the Bureau of the Russian Central Committee of the Bolsheviks. After the February revolution, he became one of the leading members of the Petersburg Executive Committee of the Bolsheviks, a member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet and in its first period, one of the leaders of the Bolshevik fraction in the Soviets of the Workers' and Peasants' Deputies of Petrograd. In the October days, as the representative of the Petersburg Committee of the Bolsheviks, he was a member of the revolutionary War Committee in Petersburg. In 1918, he was chairman of the Soviet of National Economy of the Northern Commune. In

1919, representative of the Central Committee and the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets in Povolzhie. In 1920, chairman of the Novgorod Party Committee, later on the secretary of the Donetz Party Committee. At the All-Ukraine Party Conference held in 1920, he was elected secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Since the 10th Congress of the Party (1921) a member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In 1928 and 1929, was secretary of the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Since 1925, a member of the Political Committee. Since 1927, a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Soviets. Author of a number of works dealing mainly with the questions of Party organization and the Socialist reconstruction of the village.

## Machinery, Unemployment and Wage Cuts

By KARL MARX

Machinery has the same effect, but on a much larger scale. It supplants skilled laborers by unskilled, men by women, adults by children; where it is newly introduced it throws the hand-laborers upon the streets in crowds; and where it is perfected improved or replaced by more powerful machines, discards them in slightly smaller numbers. We have sketched above, in hasty outlines, the industrial war of capitalists with one another; and the war has this peculiarity, that its battles are won less by means of enlisting than of discharging its industrial recruits. The generals, or capitalists, vie with one another as to who can dispense with the greatest number of soldiers.



KARL MARX  
May 5, 1818—March 14, 1883

The economists repeatedly assure us that the laborers who are rendered superfluous by the machine find new branches of employment.

They have not the hardihood directly to assert that the laborers who are discharged enter upon the new branches of labor. The facts cry out too loud against such a lie as this. They only declare that, for other divisions of the laboring class, as, for instance, for the rising generation of laborers who were just ready to enter upon the defunct branch of industry, new means of employment will open up. Of course that is a great satisfaction for the dismissed laborers. The worshipful capitalists will not find their fresh supply of exploitable flesh and blood running short and will let the dead bury their dead. This is indeed a consolation with which the bourgeois comfort themselves rather than the laborers. If the whole class of wage-laborers were annihilated by

the machines, how shocking that would be for capital, which, without wage-labor, ceases to act as capital at all.

But let us suppose that those who are directly driven out of their employment by machinery and also all those of the rising generation who were expecting employment in the same line, find some new employment. Does anyone imagine that this will be as highly paid as that which they have lost? Such an idea would be in direct contradiction to all the laws of economy. We have already seen that the modern form of industry always tends to the displacement of the more complex and the higher kinds of employment by those which are more simple and subordinate.

How, then, could a crowd of laborers, who are thrown out of one branch of industry by machinery find refuge in another without having to content themselves with a lower position and worse pay?



Soviet Pioneer Anti-Intervention Demonstration



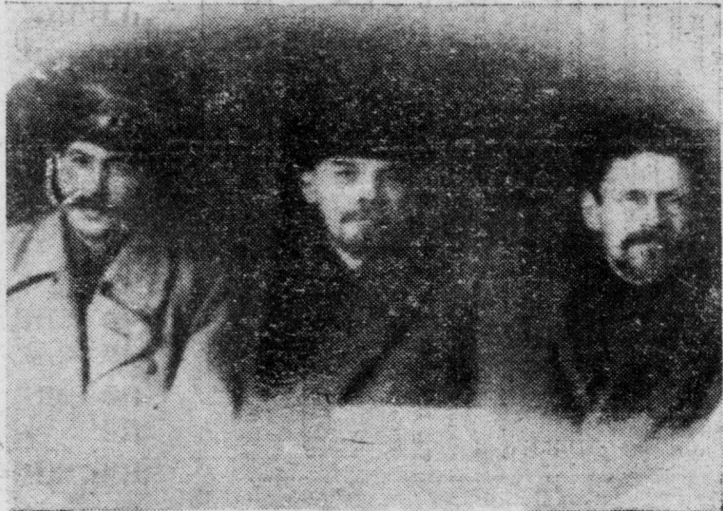
# LENIN THE PARTY BUILDER

By EARL BROWDER

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was not only the leader of the Bolshevik Party which made the proletarian revolution in Russia. He was also the builder of the Party, the teacher of the entire world's working class on how to build its Party. The Communist Party is the supreme expression of the genius of Lenin.

The fight of the working class to overthrow capitalism is a difficult and bitter struggle. It requires not only the break-up of the capitalist state power, but also its substitution by the proletarian dictatorship — the workers' government. Only through the leadership of the Communist Party is it possible for the working class to accomplish this aim. Lenin's writings are a treasury of proletarian wisdom on this question.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a hard-fought fight against the forces and traditions of the old society; a fight that is both bloody and bloodless; both violent and peaceful; both military and economic; both educational and administrative. The power of habit, ingrained in millions and tens of millions, is a terrible power. Without the Party, a party of iron which has been tempered in the struggle, a party that enjoys the confidence of all the straightforward members of the working class, a party able to understand



STALIN, LENIN AND KALININ

and to influence the psychology of the masses, success in such a struggle would be impossible." ("Left Wing Communism.")

In the early days of the Bolsheviks (Communist Party) Lenin had to conduct a bitter and prolonged struggle against those who wanted not a Party but a mere loose circle of "friends" of the working class. Outstanding among the early enemies of Lenin's conception of the Party were the Mensheviks, led by Martoff, as well as Trotsky and others. Lenin fought

against them relentlessly for many years, and built the Party in struggle against them. He explained the historical and class significance of building a disciplined Party.

"In days gone by our Party was not a formally organized whole, but the sum of individual groups. Consequently, these groups could exercise no more than an ideological influence one upon the other. Today we have become an organized party; and organization signifies the estab-

lishment of power, signifies the transformation of the authority of ideas into the authority of power, signifies the subordination of the lower constituents of the Party to the higher."

("One Step Forward." — p. 442, Collected Works.)

Lenin analyzed the opposition to this idea of the Party as "aristocratic anarchism." His polemic against anarchism in the ranks of the working class applies with full force to the opponents of Party discipline in the United States. Lenin said:

"This aristocratic anarchism is peculiar to the Russian nihilist. In his eyes, the Party organization appears as a monstrous 'factory.' The subjection of the part to the whole, of the minority to the majority, seems to him a 'slavery'. . . . the apportionment of Party work from and through the Party center drags from him tragi-comic wails about the transformation of men into 'machines'. . . the very mention of Party rules elicits a grimace, and the remark that we can quite well do without rules. . . . It is abundantly clear that behind these complaints there lurks a spirit of discontent with the composition of the central organism. . . . You are a bureaucrat because you have been elected to this or that post by the congress and against my

will; you are a formalist because you act in accordance with congress decisions and against my consent; you act mechanically because you follow the decisions of the majority and think little of my approval or my desire to be coopted; you are an autocrat because you will not hand over power and authority into the hands of our dear and trusted comrades. . . ." Collected Works, Vol. V, pp. 462-438.)

The absolute necessity of Party discipline for the victory of the working class over capitalism, Lenin formulated in the words:

"He who weakens, no matter how little, the iron discipline of the Party of the proletariat (especially during the period of dictatorship), effectually helps the bourgeoisie against the proletariat." ("Left Wing Communism.")

Under these teachings of Lenin on the Party we have built the world Party of the working class, the Communist International, the foremost section of which has conquered one-sixth of the earth of the workers and is successfully building a Socialist society. By strictly adhering to the policy of Lenin, we will achieve the same results in the United States and the entire world. The Party is the instrument, and the only instrument, which makes possible for the working class to win victory over capitalism and establish a workers' society.

## Memories of Lenin

"Lenin was extraordinarily simple in everything he did. When he spoke to the workers or peasants, his speech was not beyond the scope of the vocabulary of the mujik and the worker. He spoke a simple language, without strain or affectation, and it always seemed to the workers and peasants that Lenin guessed their thoughts, that he was speaking of that which they themselves were thinking.

"Wherein lies the secret of this tremendous influence over the workers and peasants? It lies in the fact that Lenin knew how to listen to the voice of the workers and peasants. The Mensheviks have frequently remarked that Lenin knew how to issue very simple slogans which the people were capable of understanding. This, in fact, was one of Lenin's strong points: he knew how to select a simple and comprehensible slogan which united millions of people, a comprehensible call for a clearly definite purpose. From conversation with individual workers, from chance talks with peasant men and peasant women, Lenin was able to guess, to sense what the people were thinking, what interested them and what troubled them. In order to understand such people he would sometimes speak for hours with the sixteen-year old son of the worker, Emelyanov, who was an anarchist, and regarded himself as being more left than Lenin. From a conversation with a Finnish peasant woman, who said that there was no need to fear a certain man with a rifle, because that man with the rifle was a Red Guard, Lenin sensed how the peasantry regarded the Red Guard. How often did workers and peasants come to Moscow in their great need! They knew that if they "got to Lenin," if they wrote to him, Lenin would do something. He would listen to them and would help them. When Lenin spoke to the workers and peasants, they felt that he was speaking from his heart, that he was saying before them his intimate thoughts and ideas. . . . This simplicity, combined with great modesty, his attentiveness to the needs of the comrades, his tremendous capacity for work, his endurance and fidelity to principle, and the fact that he intro-

duced strict discipline into the Party, made Lenin a man capable of victory. Therein lay the secret of his great influence upon us all. We knew that if Lenin wanted a thing, he would stick to it stubbornly until he got it; he would use every argument, the whole force of his logic, he would cite every fact and take advantage of our own weaknesses in order to demonstrate his idea and compel us to admit its truth."

"LENIN," by Yaroslavsky.

"The question of bringing workers on to the committees was fraught with most greater contention. Vladimir Ilyich vigorously defended the idea of including workers. The people abroad, Bogdanov and the writers, were also in favor. The Komitetchiks were against. Both sides became very heated. The members of the committees insisted that no resolution be passed on the subject; indeed, it would have been impossible to pass a resolution that workers should not be brought on to the committees!

"In his speech in this discussion Vladimir Ilyich said: 'I think we should consider the question more broadly. To bring workers on to the committees is not only an educational but also a political task. The workers have a class instinct, and even with little political experience they quite quickly become steadfast Social Democrats. I would very much like to see eight workers on our committees for every two intellectuals. If our written counsel, that as many workers as possible should be brought on to the committees, proves inadequate, it would be as well to issue this advice in the name of the Congress. If you get a clear and definite instructions from the Congress, you will have a radical means of fighting demagoguery; it will be the express will of the Congress.'

"Even before this occasion, Vladimir Ilyich had firmly championed the necessity of bringing the largest possible number of workers on to the committees. He already wrote about this in 1903 in his 'Letter to a Petersburg Comrade.' Now in defending this standpoint at the Congress, he became very heated, and even made interruptions. When

Mikhailov (Postolovsky) said: 'So in practical work very small demands are made of intellectuals, but extremely big demands are made of workers,' Vladimir Ilyich cried out: 'That is absolutely true!' His exclamation was drowned in a chorus of—'Not true!' from the Komitetchiks. When Rumyantsev said: 'There is only one worker on the Petersburg committee, although work has been going on there for fifteen years,' Vladimir Ilyich shouted: 'What a disgrace!'

"Afterwards, when the debates had ended, Ilyich said: 'I could not sit still and listen to them saying that there were no workers suitable to be members of committees. The question drags on, and it shows there is a malady in the Party. Workers must be brought on to the committees.' If Ilyich was not very much concerned that his viewpoint met with such a rebuff at the Congress, it was simply because he knew that the approaching Revolution would itself radically cure the Party of this incapacity to make the committees working-class in composition."

"Memories," by Krupskaya.

"An atmosphere of the greatest tension filled the high, spacious Kremlin Hall where the flaming red of the Communist People's House outshined the sparkle of the coldly ostentatious gold in the one-time Imperial Palace. Every nerve strained in attention, the hundreds of delegates, the closely packed list-

eners, follow the proceedings.

Lenin gets up to speak. The speech is a masterpiece of eloquence. No trace of rhetoric. Only the weight of clear thought working, the inexorable logic of argument, the consistent, firmly-held line. Like unhewn blocks of granite the sentences are thrown out and fused into a unified whole. Lenin does not want to dazzle, to enchant; he wants to convince. He convinces and enchants. Not by beautiful, sonorous words which intoxicate, but by the luminous spirit which, without self-deception, comprehends the world of social phenomena in its reality and which 'speaks out' with cruel truthfulness, what is. Like lashes of a whip, like blows of a club, Lenin's words fell on those 'who make a sport of hunting the right,' and do not understand what will lead us to victory. 'Only if we get on our side in the struggle the majority of the working class, and not the majority of the workers alone, but the majority of the exploited and oppressed, only then shall we really triumph.' Everyone feels that the decisive blow has been struck."

"The revolution demands concentration, increase of forces. From the masses, from individuals. It cannot tolerate orgiastic conditions, such as are normal for the decadent heroes and heroines of D'Annunzio. Dissoluteness in sexual life is bourgeois, is a phenomenon of decay.



The proletariat is a rising class. It doesn't need intoxication as a narcotic or a stimulus. Intoxication as little by sexual exaggeration as by alcohol. It must not and shall not forget, the shame, the filth, the savagery of capitalism. It receives the strongest urge to fight from a class situation, from the Communist ideal. It needs clarity, clarity and again clarity. And so I repeat, no weakening, no waste, no destruction of forces. Self control, self-discipline is not slavery, not even in love. But forgive me, Klara, I have wandered far from the starting point of our conversation. Why didn't you call me to order? My tongue has run away with me. I am deeply concerned about the future of our youth. It is a part of the revolution. And if harmful tendencies are appearing, creeping over from bourgeois society into the world of revolution—as the roots of many weeds spread—it is better to combat them early. Such questions are part of the women question."

"Lenin had spoken with great animation and fervor. I felt that every word came from his heart, and the expression of his features reinforced that feeling. Sometimes a vigorous movement of the hand emphasized an idea. I marvelled that Lenin, confronted by urgent and great political problems, devoted such attention to secondary matters and analyzed them. And not only as they appeared in Soviet Russia, but in the capitalist States. Like the excellent Marxist that he was, he comprehended the particular in whatever form it manifested itself, in its relation to the general, and in its significance for the whole. Undeviating, unshakable as an irresistible natural force, his life will, his life aim was directed to one thing: to hasten the work of the masses towards revolution. So he evaluated everything by its effects on the conscious driving forces of revolution. National as well as international, for, with a full regard for historically determined peculiarities in separate countries and the varied stages of development, there stood always before his eyes the one indivisible world revolution."

"REMINISCENCES OF LENIN"  
By Klara Zetkin



## Wall St. Calls for War on the Soviet Union

Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, in a speech before the American Country Life Association at Madison, Wisconsin, on October 8, said:

"One of the great peoples of the earth is deliberately trying to work out large social and economic programs for the mastery of its vast terrain along new and untried lines. Our economic, social and political philosophies inevitably must wage a gigantic and fundamental struggle with theirs." (Our emphasis.—A.P. Dept.)

Admiral William V. Pratt, Chief of Naval Operations, in a speech (November 14, 1930) to the Institute of International Problems, Boston, said, as reported by the Press:

"The world in which they live and the one in which we live are so totally different that the two cannot exist side by side indefinitely without great compromise on one side or the other, or war ultimately may result. They may openly proclaim war or any means to attain their ends, and if that be so then some day it may fall to our lot to meet the challenge.

"It is useless to hide our heads in the sand like the ostrich and think we are safe from destruction in the face of such a determined, subtle policy."

Arthur M. Hyde, Secretary of Agriculture, in a speech to eight hundred representatives of land grant colleges and other agricultural leaders in Washington on November 18, 1930, attacked the Soviet Union.

"I confess that I cannot understand the type of American whose stomach is strong enough to permit him to regard anything Russian with a tolerant spirit. The Soviet has crucified American idealism, our religious principles, our theory of individual enterprise—in fact everything America stands for. I cannot understand how any American can look upon the proceedings in Russia today as an 'interesting social experiment!'"

Herbert Hoover, in a speech at Kings' Mountain on October 8, 1930, attacked "Socialism or its violent brother, bolshevism. . ."

"Whatever the merits or demerits of these other systems may be, they all mean the destruction of the driving force of equal opportunity, and they mean the destruction of our Constitution, for our political framework would serve none of them, and many of its fundamental provisions are the negation of them. They mean the abandonment of the nation's spiritual heritage."

Matthew Woll echoes his master's voice:

"There is in that regime something which makes it impossible for our nation to hold with that regime the relations common to friendly governments."

The Bedford Times of December 23 states:

"We would point out emphatically that the United States must not delay or hesitate in such matters. It is a case of fight now against the Soviet or be devoured by the Soviet after we have been reduced so to be unable to fight. And with proper economic campaigns against the U. S. S. R., let us not forget plenty of armaments."

## "IMPERIALISM IS THE LAST STAGE OF CAPITALISM"—LENIN



—Drawn by BURCK.

## LENIN ON WAR

War is no contradiction to the foundations of private property—on the contrary, it is a direct and inevitable development of those foundations. Under capitalism, equal economic progress of the individual concerns, or individual states, is impossible. Under capitalism, no other means for periodically re-establishing destroyed equilibrium are possible outside of crises in industry or of war in politics.

The United States of Europe Slogan—August 23, 1915.

The English military authorities forbade fraternization by a special order. And still the Socialist-opportunists and their defenders (or maybe servants like Kautsky?) have in the public press assured the workers with an air of unusual self-satisfaction and with the comfortable feeling of being protected by military censorship against refutations, that understandings between the Socialists of the belligerent countries as to anti-war activities were impossible (a verbatim expression of Kautsky's in the *Neue Zeit!*)

Imagine that Hyndman, Guesde, Vandervelde, Plekhanov, Kautsky and others, instead of aiding the bourgeoisie, which is now their occupation, had formed an international committee for the propaganda of "fraternization and attempts at mutual relations" between the Socialists of the belligerent countries both in the "trenches" and in the army in general. What would have been the result after several months if even now, only six months after the beginning of the war, in spite of all those political bosses, leaders and stars of the first magnitude who betrayed Socialism, there grows everywhere an opposition against those who voted for military appropriations and against the ministerialists, while the military authorities threaten death for "fraternization!"

"There is only one practical question: the victory or the defeat of our own country," Kautsky, the servant of the opportunists, wrote in unison with Guesde, Plekhanov and Co. This is true; yes, if we were to forget Socialism and class struggle, this would be true. But if we do not forget Socialism, it is untrue! There is another practical question: whether we should perish in a war between slaveholders, ourselves blind and helpless slaves, or whether we should perish for the "attempts at fraternization" between the workers, with the aim of casting off slavery?

Such is, in reality, the "practical" question.

Civil War Slogan Illustrated, March 29, 1915.

The peace slogan is, in my judgment, incorrect at the present moment. This is a philistine's, a preacher's slogan. The proletarian slogan must be civil war.

Objectively, from the fundamental change in the situation of Europe, there follows such a slogan for the epoch of mass war. The same slogan follows from the Basle resolution.

We can neither "promise" civil war nor "decree it" but it is our duty to work in this direction, if need be, for a very long time. You will find details in the article in the Central Organ. For the time being I am just outlining the main points of our position, so that we may agree.

(Letter to A. G. Shlyapnikov, Lenin Collection 11, 1924.)

Social-Democracy never looked, nor does it look now on war, from a sentimental viewpoint. Decisively condemning war as a barbarous method to decide conflicts in humanity, Social Democracy knows

that wars are inevitable so long as society is divided in classes, so long as there exist exploitation of man by man, and in order to abolish this exploitation we cannot do without war, which is always and everywhere started by the ruling exploiting and oppressing classes.

There is war and war. There is war—adventure to satisfy the interests of the dynasty, the appetites of robber bands, the aims of the heroes of capitalist greed. There is war—and this is the only lawful war in capitalist society—against the domination and exploiters of the masses. Only the Utopians and Philistines principally condemn such a war. Only capitalist traitors to the cause of freedom can at present in Russia shrink from this war—a war which expresses the interests of the masses. The Russian proletariat started this great war of emancipation. It will be able to continue forming divisions of a revolutionary army, strengthening the regiments of soldiers and sailors who have come over to our side, drawing in the peasantry, filling the newly formed regiments which stole the citizens of Russia in the fire of civil war with enthusiasm and heroism of the fighters for freedom and happiness of all humanity.

Revolutionary Army and Revolutionary Government, 1905.

**"Practice without theory is blind" — "Theory without practice is barren"—Stalin**

## "End Capitalist Robber Wars" — Liebknecht

I state the following reason for my vote on today's measure: This war, which was desired by none of the participating nations, did not break out for the good of the German or for any other people. It is an imperialist war, a war for capitalist domination of the world market, for the political control of important colonial regions by industrial and financial capital. From the point of view of competitive armaments, it is a preventive war, hatched in the dark of a semi-absolutism and a secret diplomacy by the German and Austrian war parties acting jointly. It may also be considered a Bonapartist enterprise for the demoralization and the destruction of the rising labor movement. The past few months have shown this with increasing clearness, in spite of a ruthless campaign of misrepresentation.

The German slogan: "Against Czarism!"; like the present English and French slogan: "Against Militarism!"; pursued the purpose of mobilizing the noblest instincts, the revolutionary traditions and aspirations of the people, in the service of national hatred. Germany, the accomplice of Czarism, and to this day a pattern of political backwardness, has no mission to act as a liberator of nations.

This war is not a defensive war for Germany. Its historical character and its progress to this day forbid us to trust a capitalist government when it states the purpose for which it seeks credits to be the defense of the Fatherland. . . .

Only a peace arising from the soil of the international solidarity of the working class and the freedom of nations can be a sure peace. Therefore, the proletariat of all lands has again, to-day, in the war, to perform a joint Socialist labor for peace.

I am voting in favor of the Poor Relief Credits, to the amount asked, which appears to me entirely insufficient. I shall likewise vote in favor of everything that can be done to alleviate the hard lot of our brothers in the field, of the wounded and sick, who have my limitless compassion; here again no amount asked can be too much. But, as a protest against war, against those responsible for it, against the capitalist policy that brought it about, against the capitalist aims

### KARL LIEBKNECHT



Murdered in 1919 by the German Social-Democrats

which it pursues, against plans for annexation, against the violations of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, against the military dictatorship, against the social and political irresponsibility of which the Government and the ruling classes are to-day still guilty. I vote against the war credits asked.

—Text of the proposed declaration which Liebknecht intended to pronounce on December 2, 1914, to explain his refusal to vote the war credits.



# A YEAR OF BOLSHEVIZATION

By MAX BEDACHT

The Bolshevik Party of Russia was the organizer and leader of the first victorious battle in the international proletarian revolution. Lenin was the organizer and leader of the Bolshevik Party of Russia. Leninism is the very essence of Bolshevism. The Communist Party cannot become the organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution until it becomes a Bolshevik—a Leninist Party. Our adherence to Leninism must herefore manifest itself in the continued revolutionary improvement of our Party. Our Leninist understanding of the revolutionary tasks before us must show itself in a progressively closer adaptation of our Party to these tasks.

Does our Party pass this test? Our international leadership, the Communist International, in its letter to our Sixth Convention, formulated the main task of our Party as its "marked transformation from a propaganda sect into a mass Party of revolutionary action." This transformation presupposes Bolshevization. The Bolshevization of our Party is exactly the process of making it into a mass party of revolutionary action.

This Bolshevization necessitates the change of the relations of the Party members to each other, the change of relations of the Party members to their units and to the leaders of the Party, and finally, the change of the relation of the Party to the masses.

In the last year our Party did make substantial headway in this direction. However, the progress was insufficient and in many instances unsystematic.

The first task to be considered is the activation of the Party and the politicalization of its activities. This change is not a mere mechanical one. It presupposes already a partial penetration by the Party of the working class. An active Party member, or an active Party unit, are not the ones that participate in or hold many and long meetings, but the ones that reach many workers and that have their contacts organized and systematized. The political character of the activities of a Party member or a Party unit are not proven by the political nature of the subjects they discuss in their meetings but by the influence they exercise upon the political activities of the workers with whom they have contact. The activities of the Party members and Party units and the political character of these activities must at once be the cement which binds the Party with the working class and the magnet which attracts the working class to the Party. The Party can register some progress in this field.

The unit meetings which in a not far distant past, have been immune from any influence that important events in the class struggle might exercise, have now opened their doors to let the storm of the class struggle enter. The unit meetings become more and more the training ground for the members to fit them for their agitational and organizational tasks among the workers. The unit meetings also become more and more the sounding board of the feelings and reactions of the workers in the shop to events of the class struggle. In this direction the recent campaign of the Party for concretization has contributed much, but a completion of this process is possible only by a transformation of the basic Party units and the shop nuclei. The political work of the Party unit in the working class as well as the chance of the Party unit to feel the pulse of the working class at all times and on all issues, depends upon its construction into the basic unit of the working class, the productive unit in shops, factories, mills and mines.

This Bolshevik reorganization of the Party and the building of



Fighting Illiteracy in the Soviet Union

the roots of the Party into the shops and factories will also defeat the efforts of the capitalist class and its government to outlaw the Party and to legalize every activity of the Party. The capitalist class policeman may be able to prevent the worker from going to a Communist meeting by preventing such a meeting; but he cannot prevent a Communist worker in the shop from talking to his fellow worker and from winning him for struggle against capitalism.

In spite of a comparatively successful recruiting campaign at the beginning of the year, the membership of the Party actually remained unchanged. However, the fact that a large section of our Party membership, in some districts more than half, are new members, testifies to the fact that the results of the recruitment campaign were not mere pretenses. But why no increase in membership?

A large section of our old Party members have been so used to inactivity that the activation of the Party in many instances drove them out. It would be wrong to explain this merely with a lack of revolutionary quality on the part

of these ex-members. This result was largely due also to incorrect methods in the campaign of activation, to tactlessness and especially to an insufficient ideological campaign.

In the field of trade union work our Bolshevization process was least successful. This is not merely a shortcoming of our organizational activities, it is a political weakness of the first order.

The organization of the working class for a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism is possible only if this working class is drawn into the revolutionary struggle gradually through successive struggles for immediate demands and for the solution of immediate problems. The winning of the working class for the revolution is not the winning of the working class for certain theoretical formulae. It is rather the winning of the working class for the struggle in its own immediate interests and the development of this struggle into a revolutionary one by gradually adding in the minds of the workers to the understanding of the immediate interest and understanding of their political class interests.

If we understand this, we know that our Party can never become a mass Party without economic mass organizations under our influence and leadership. Our Party can never attract masses for the political class struggle if it does not succeed in organizing and in leading masses into economic struggles. A lack of understanding of this point also represented the major weakness of our recruiting campaign last year.

The recruiting campaign became more of a problem of arithmetic than of the class struggle. The campaign was conducted more by

numerical addition of whoever consented to be added, than of intensive class struggle activities in which the Party by its initiative and leadership would attract the most intelligent, the most active and the most militant workers into its ranks. But whatever the shortcomings of the Party in this field still are, the very experiences gathered during the last year will be a considerable step toward decisive improvement.

The greatest weakness of the Party is still its inability to establish a more intimate contact with the masses which it leads. In many instances Communist slogans lead the masses, but the Party does not. The basic reason for this weakness is the sectarian conception still prevailing in our Party about the united front tactics. Here lies the reason for the continuing propaganda character of the activities of the Party. In the anti-war campaign for instance, we have penetrated quite deeply into the working class with our propaganda against the threatening imperialist war and against the impending imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union. But we have no organized mass movement against this war and intervention.

The greatest step toward the overcoming of this weakness was made by the Party during the last year in the unemployment campaign. There, though slowly, the Party learned to realize the paramount importance of real organization and real struggle and the indispensability for this real organization and this real struggle for immediate and partial demands. Our unemployment campaign is the best manifestation of the progressive Bolshevization of the Party. The next step must be the application of the experiences of this campaign to the general work of the Party, especially in the anti-war campaign.

On the whole, we are justified in stating that the last year was the year of greatest progress of our Party on the road to Bolshevization. Not only did the Party actually improve considerably its revolutionary quality, but it became more and more conscious of the gap that still exists between what it is and what it can and must do.

The Lenin Memorial campaign shall be made the occasion for disseminating the experiences of last year within our Party. It shall be made the occasion to translate Leninism into a living and guiding principle of every activity of the Party as well as its organizational forms and life.

### STALIN ON LEADERSHIP

The workers in the U.S.S.R. grew up and received their training in the storms of three revolutions. They learned, as no other workers learned, to try their leaders and to expel them if they do not satisfy the interests of the proletariat. At one time the most popular man in our Party was Plekhanov. However, the workers did not hesitate to isolate him completely when they became convinced that he had abandoned the proletarian position. And if these workers express their complete confidence in the Communists, elect them to responsible posts in the trade unions, it is direct evidence that the strength and stability of the Communist Party among the workers in the U.S.S.R. is enormous. This is one test of the undoubted sympathy of the broad masses of the workers for the Communist Party.

## Why the Bosses Hate the GPU

(The Cheka)

(Lenin at a meeting of the Cheka on the First Anniversary of the October Revolution)

Comrades:

Celebrating the anniversary of our revolution, I should like to say a few words about the hard work of the Extraordinary Commission.

It is no wonder that we hear not only from our enemies but also from friends making attacks on the activities of the Cheka. Reviewing the activities of the Extraordinary Commission and comparing them with the attacks, I must say that the latter are nothing but talk hardly worth mentioning. It reminds me of Kautsky's sermon on the dictatorship which he deals with from the angle of bourgeois politics. But we are speaking from experience, we know that it requires a very hard struggle to expel the bourgeoisie, to establish a dictatorship.

Marx said that between capitalism and Communism there is a period of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The more the proletariat will bring pressure to bear on the bourgeoisie, the greater will be their resistance. We know how they dealt with the proletariat in France in 1848 and we are surprised to see how people can forget the most elementary principles of Marxism when reproaching us for being severe. We still remember the uprising of the junkers in October, we must not forget the organization of a number of insurrections. On the one hand we have to learn to perform creative work, and on the other, we have to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie. The White Army of Finland did not hesitate in shooting down the workers of that country, notwithstanding its boasted democracy. The idea of the need for a dictatorship has deeply penetrated the broad masses, notwithstanding its severity and difficulty. There is no other way of emancipating the masses except through the violent suppression of the exploiters. And that is just what the Cheka is doing, that is its service rendered to the proletariat.

### Rosa Luxemburg



"She was and remains an eagle; and not only will her memory always be highly esteemed by the Communists of all the world, but her biography and the complete collection of her writings will be useful for the instruction of many generations of Communists in all countries."

—V. I. Lenin.





# THE HOOVER DAM AND DNEIPEPSTROY

## (A Comparison of Socialist and Capitalist Construction)

By HARRISON GEORGE

THINK, workers! Back in Teddy Roosevelt's first administration, to be exact in the year of 1906, American capitalism "began" to build the Hoover Dam. Czar Nicholas "the Bloody" had just crushed the 1905 Revolution. Lenin was a hunted refugee in exile. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was yet eleven years distant. That, workers, was the time president Roosevelt "took the first steps" to build the Boulder Dam, now re-named the "Hoover Dam." It is now 1931, and, says the "Outlook and Independent" magazine, "within seven or eight years it will be completed."

At that time, in 1906, the Dnieper River was flowing past the tiny Ukrainian village of Kichkas, where peasants slaved and starved under the whip of the Czar, the cross of the priest, steeped in enforced ignorance and Christian drunkenness, never even dreaming that on May 1, 1932, socialist construction, under a Workers' and Peasants' government, would deliver to the socialized industries of the Soviet Union a giant hydro-electric plant, provided by Lenin's Electrification Plan of December 1920, fully completed, magically built on the site of the vanished peasant village. That, workers, is what is actually being done at Dnieperstroy!

The Hoover Dam and Dnieperstroy are construction projects easy to compare. Both are huge. But if anything the Soviet project is the larger and certainly the most difficult. Hugh Cooper, the consultant engineer, says that Dnieperstroy Dam—"will be the largest dam in the world. There will be nine main generating units of 84,000 horse-power each. The dam and auxiliary plants that will eventually be built around it will furnish all the electric power necessary for 16,000,000 people."

He continues: "Dnieperstroy is one of the most difficult, if not the most difficult engineering work of its kind that the world has ever attempted." He refers to the deaths necessary to go to get firm foundation; then: "The fact that when the dam is finished the quantity of water going over the top of the dam in times of flood will be greater than has ever gone over a similar dam in any part of the world, made the question of foundation important. In times of flood a greater quantity of water by about 50 per cent, will have to go over the top of the dam than over the St. Lawrence River."

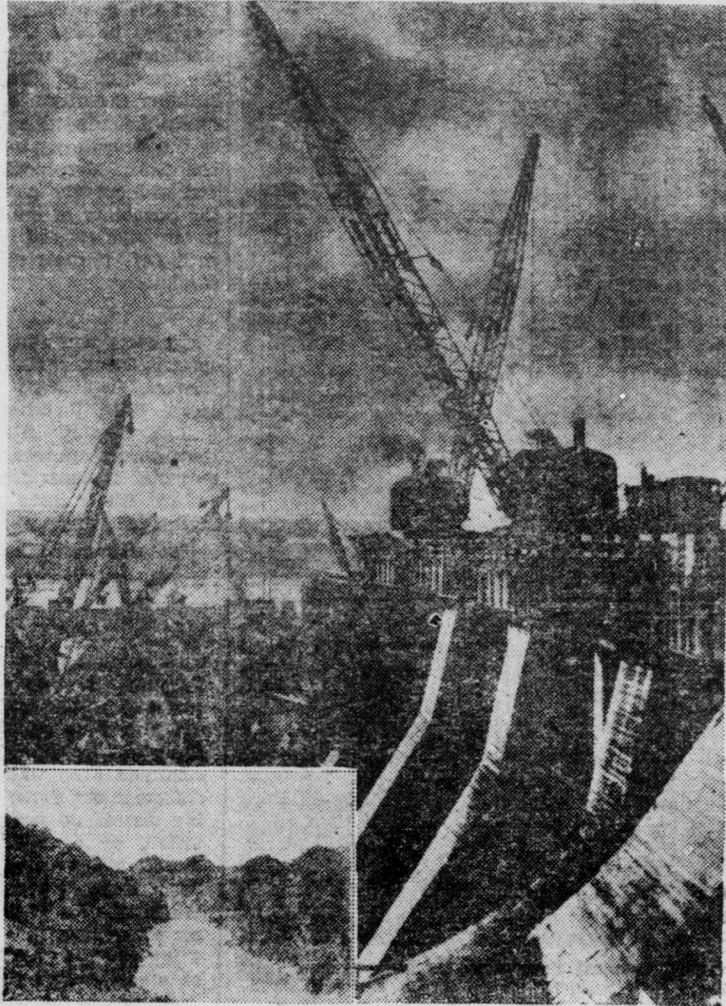
Dnieperstroy will furnish more power than Muscle Shoals. It will cost some \$110,000,000. While the American capitalist press makes much of the fact that American engineers are employed, yet the fact is that Dnieperstroy is being built according to the designs made by and under the supervision of Soviet engineers. Cooper and

the other American engineers, also some Germans—are only present as consultants, the Chief Engineer is a Russian named Winter, and the engineer staff is almost all Russian or Ukrainian—which is the same to capitalists, as they are both Soviet.

But if there are difficulties encountered in building Dnieperstroy, they are as nothing com-

pared to those surrounding the building of the Hoover Dam. Not that there are so many physical difficulties in the actual work of damming the Colorado River, at the town of Las Vegas, Nevada. The "Hoover" Dam, so-called—though by the time it is built it will doubtless be named over again as Hoover will have passed, scorned and detested, into oblivion—will be higher but narrower than Dnieperstroy, and will have no trouble in finding solid rock foundation.

A contrast in projects: The large photo shows the rapid rise of the giant Dnieperstroy, which will be completed in 1932, 5 years after the first shovel of dirt was turned.



The small photo shows the site of Hoover dam, which was first planned 25 years ago, and which will probably not be finished before the end of the present decade.

Where the Hoover Dam has trouble is in the fact that capitalism is the economic and political system under which technical advance is obstructed at every turn. It was not always so, but is so

project is: Who will get the water for irrigation? And, which, among the private capitalist power companies, will get to steal the power? But on these two questions alone, the building of the dam, at first called the Boulder Dam, has been dragging along for a generation.

The first question was water; and by 1921, just talking about the dam had produced a first class row, since the states drained by the Colorado River's upper tributaries, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and New Mexico, were opposed to the states of Arizona, Nevada and California getting more water than they did.

Herb Hoover, the White House prophet of "Prosperity in Sixty Days," then Secretary of Com-

merce, presided at a conference in 1921 to fix up the quarrel between the seven states. At the time, the Soviet was still wrecked by invasion, famine and blockade. Of course the Commerce Department really had no jurisdiction. Building the dam is the job of the Department of Interior, and more precisely of its Reclamation Bureau. But then, of course, the govern-

ment could not really do anything. So any work that is done, is by private contractors—who know how easy graft goes with the Department of the Interior from rich experience.

Although Hoover "presided" at the Santa Fe Conference in 1921, he didn't settle much—"untangled problems have been left over from the conference," says the magazine "Outlook and Independent." Arizona refused and still refuses to ratify the conference agreement, and has a bitter fight with California over the water—is preparing a petition to the U. S. Supreme Court for an injunction to stop construction until Arizona "rights" are determined. Acres of legal opinions have been written on the

subject. Such things never happened or could have happened in the Soviet Union with Dnieperstroy.

But that was only a start. Power is now the main question, and the "Outlook" puts it this way: "Shall the electricity drawn from a public dam be farmed to a private agency for profit, or shall it be given to the public at cost?" Scarcely have the capitalist politicians handled this problem, that the "Outlook" says that, "the answer to both questions is 'Yes'." "Let the 'Outlook' tell how many agencies had to 'decide':"

"The question of disposal was passed upon by the four agencies which necessity compelled: first, Congress; second, the White House, both under Coolidge and Hoover; third, Secretary of the Interior, Wilbur; fourth, the City of Los Angeles."

Here is "organization" for you! With a flock of capitalist politicians all itching for graft from the power interests, and a bevy of power interests trying to stab each other in the back.

Mr. Borah, the bushy-haired hero of the liberals, strode forward with an "amendment" that no power go to corporations. Then, he withdrew his amendment! A slick servant of corporations who, as Secretary Wilbur's "department solicitor" speaks as an oracle, decided that Wilbur would uphold "public interest" by turning the power over to private companies.

Los Angeles has a municipal power graft apparatus and wants most of the power. The Southern California Edison Co., after using its influence for years and years to block construction, when construction was decided on finally, was the first to demand a concession—and among the first claims recognized by Secretary Wilbur!

So, says the "Outlook"—"Within seven or eight years the dam will be completed, and within ten years the river will begin to bestow its full beneficence."

That, workers, that is capitalist construction! "Begun" in 1906, and possibly finished in 1937 or 1938! That is the "wonderful" Hoover Dam! But—by December 4, 1930, the workers of the Soviet Union, breaking all world records at placing concrete at Dnieperstroy, had laid foundation enough to insure the completion of the great Dnieperstroy project by May 1, 1932, five years after the first shovel turned the first dirt in the now vanished village of Kichkas.

Such is the story, enlightening, but the coldest of cold facts, of the superiority, technically and socially, of socialist construction under a Workers and Farmers government. It is the story of how much more effective, in bringing construction projects into living reality, was Lenin, the great revolutionist, than Hoover, the great engineer."

Dear Comrades:

In reply to your letters congratulating us on the Thirteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution, I am glad to send you and the whole of the working class of your country my fraternal greetings. I congratulate you on the heroic fight against the ramshackle capitalism, for your bitter fight against all enemies of the USSR, for your promise to support the socialist construction in the USSR.

The workers of the USSR already during 13 years have been successfully constructing socialism. With every new year we see progressing and increasing the achievements in the workers' state. Unemployment is completely eliminated. 1,600,000 workers got their work in the newly constructed factories and shops. The wages increased about 40 per cent. The industry, the

## Greetings from the Soviet Union

economy and the trade are developing in the socialist way. Private capitalism possesses only about 1.8 per cent of the whole national revenue. After two years the USSR will be in possession of 45 powerful electro-stations with the capacity of 25 billion kilowatt-hours instead of 5 billion kilowatt-hours that we have now. The achievements in the agriculture are also great, for example, 25 per cent of the individual economies are already collectivized, in some districts even up to 50 per cent. The result of this is the increase of the crop in 1930 from 4,200 million puds to 5,500 million puds.

These are the essential successes in the economic domain. But also

in the cultural revolution there are remarkable achievements: the illiteracy is rapidly disappearing, the working masses and their young generations are studying and acquiring all knowledge and sciences to be able to replace the old hostile and counter-revolutionary technical specialists.

Comrades, perhaps you have read in your workers' newspapers about the constant efforts of the capitalist world to provoke a war against the USSR. The recently discovered counter-revolutionary parties and groups of the damagers shows very clearly to the workers that the intensive battle between labor and capitalism is not yet finished in the USSR, in spite of the asser-

tions of the right opportunists and the left ones. The capitalist servants in USSR, representatives of the world capitalism, are organizing insurrections against the USSR, and the foreign bourgeoisie helps them, provides them with money. Still more, the foreign bourgeoisie is organizing a provocation of war against the USSR to invade the land with the aim of overthrowing the Soviet Government by military force, for reestablishing the power of blood-thirsty capitalism.

The Soviet proletariat is proud and strong in realization of the support of the organized world proletariat. With your help and support, with your heroic fight against your own capitalist class, with your

active cooperation, the Soviet workers will continue and successfully achieve the socialist construction. We will push away all opportunists and renegades who intend to stop or to weaken the victorious march of the Proletarian World Revolution.

ASOCIO DIL AMIKI  
DI INTERNACION LINGUA  
"IDO"

A number of Russian workers from the factories and mills will correspond with American workers. You can write your letters in all national languages.

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# STALIN and LENIN

(Excerpts from an article by L. Kaganovich)

"When Lenin died, many of us experienced a painful feeling of uncertainty. Many thought: how shall we finish Lenin's work without Lenin? Thinking thus, comrades did not suspect that actually they were sharply criticizing Lenin himself. Lenin built our Party as a mass proletarian party, combining iron discipline, a centralized organization, strong leaders and professional revolutionaries with the broadest participation of the proletarian masses, and the recruitment of more and more proletarians into its Bolshevik ranks.

"Lenin trained up hundreds and thousands of active party builders, from among the illegal workers, who had fought shoulder to shoulder with him, learned from him how to build a party, learned how to lead it through difficulties and setbacks to victory.

It is just this force of old professional revolutionaries who, backed by the masses, are now continuing and completing the work begun by Lenin.

The Party, stricken by the death of its leader, began to study questions of party leadership with especial care and vigilance. The Party knew that in the ranks of its leadership there were those who had wavered and fallen away from Lenin in the most difficult days. The Party knew that in the ranks of the Party leadership was to be found the Menshevik of yesterday, Trotsky. But the Party knew also that in the ranks of the Party was still to be found one of the direct disciples of Lenin, who during the whole period of his 22 years of Bolshevik activity had never left Lenin's side, had always carried on a consistent Leninist policy, and in the most difficult years, the years of reaction, had been one of the most forceful builders of the Party. This disciple of Lenin is Comrade Stalin.

"Stalin belonged to that category of old professional revolutionaries which has worked from day to day to build up the Party, in circumstances of difficulties and defeat, firmly and unwaveringly moving towards the goal, fully convinced that the Party would conquer in the end.

The role of Stalin as one of the best organizers and builders of our Party was already predetermined during the dawn of development of our party, when the foundation stones were being laid, when the first Party circles were being organized."

"Treachery in policy always begins with revision of theory. The betrayal of social democracy began

with the revision of the theory of Marx. Lenin, in a violent struggle against Menshevism and revisionism, defended the purity of Marxian theory. Revisionism and opportunism have the quality of reviving in new forms and in new species, even

sky was still fairly high, when many still considered him above all criticism, Comrade Stalin was the first openly and decisively before the whole Party, to speak of the Menshevism of Trotsky, and called the party to a decisive fight against



JOSEPH STALIN, General Secretary, C. P. S. U.

in the conditions of proletarian dictatorship."

"But greatest of all were the services rendered by Comrade Stalin in defending the theoretical principles of Leninism after Lenin's death, when the oldest adversary of Lenin—Trotsky—remaining true to Menshevism and fighting against Lenin even during his lifetime, revealed his true self and attacked the Party on basic questions of theory and politics. When the authority of Trot-

Trotskyism, against its attempts to revise Lenin on fundamental questions: the nature of our revolution, the relation of the proletariat to the peasantry, the question of the construction of the Party. This struggle took on a particularly sharp form when Zinoviev and Kamenev, who prided themselves on being the closest disciples and co-workers of Lenin, tried to throw their own weight into the service of Trotsky, when they hypocritically and pharisaically, under the cover of Lenin-

ism, went against the Party and its Central Committee, and made a bloc with Trotsky, who was moving over to the counter-revolution. In those days, iron will, constancy, and most of all, deep theoretical understanding of Leninism, and confidence of being in the right, were needed to struggle determinedly against and finally smash these attacks of the enemies of Leninism; and not only to do this, but to mobilize the masses of the people to fulfill the will of Lenin, to reinforce the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to build Socialism. Here the greatest service of Stalin was that he was able to give principal emphasis, as it deserved, to the question of the possibility of building Socialism in our country. Stalin defended this Leninist theory in the struggle against those petty-bourgeois, Menshevik opportunists and whiners who completely denied the possibility of building Socialism in our country, and hid their denial with Left phrases about the world revolution."

"In every new stage of our development, Comrade Stalin has brought forward first class organizational tasks. With the advent of new conditions, Comrade Stalin, has more than once emphasized the new requirements demanded of the leadership. These tasks he has defined in the following way:—

"To sit at the helm and keep watch, seeing nothing until some calamity overtakes us—this is no kind of leadership, Bolshevism does not interpret leadership in this way. To lead means to foresee; and to foresee, comrades, is not always so simple. It is one thing when a dozen other leading comrades keep watch and notice defects in our work; but the working masses do not want to keep watch, or cannot do so; they therefore do not notice the defects. Then there is every chance that one may miss something, fail to see everything. It is quite another thing when, together with dozens of other leading comrades, there keep watch, hundreds of thousands and millions of workers; seeing the shortcomings in our work, bringing to light our mistakes, taking up the common cause of Socialist construction, and pointing out the way to improve the position."

(From a speech at the meeting of the Active of the Moscow Organization of the C.P.S.U. concerning the work of the April Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., April, 1928)

## Lenin Thoughts on Intervention

In Lenin's writings we find a deep Marxian analysis of intervention, its causes, development, and its miserable end for world capitalism. To be acquainted with the fundamen-



tal thoughts of Lenin on this question is very important for the understanding of the nature of the present intervention conspiracies of Poincare and Briand, as well as of all leading imperialist powers in so far as they are a continuation of the policies of Clemenceau and Foch in the years 1918-1920.

Below we give various quotations from Lenin, dealing with intervention:

"The representatives of the ruling classes stake all on intervention and war because for them these are the final and decisive battles and they will not stop before any crimes in order to destroy the Soviet power. Does not the history of Socialism, particularly of French Socialism, which is so rich in revolutionary strivings, show us that when the toiling masses take power into their hands, the ruling classes commit unheard of crimes and carry through shootings when the moneybags are in danger? Capital in the Soviet Union is allied with international capital."

"The Soviet Union could have been destroyed only then when the people who shouted so much about the defense of the fatherland and about their patriotism, showed their true capitalist nature and started to work out conspiracies today, with the German bayonets in order together with them, to murder the Ukrainian Bolsheviks, tomorrow with the Turkish bayonets in order to attack the Bolsheviks, after tomorrow with the Czecho-Slovakian bayonets in order to abolish the Soviet power and murder Bolsheviks. Only foreign assistance, only with the aid of foreign bayonets, only by selling Russia to Japanese bayonets, German, Turkish, only these methods have up to now given a shadow of success to the conspirators of the capitalists and landlords."

"We have achieved victory because we were united. Because we succeeded in winning allies in the camp of our enemies and our enemies, who are much more powerful than we are, have suffered defeat because amongst them, there is no unity, there can be no unity, because every month of our struggle with them, meant disintegration in their own camp."

"The armies of the allies have proven to be incapable of carrying on a battle against the revolutionary Soviet Russia. We have taken away from the Allies their soldiers. The victory which we achieved when we compelled them to take away the French and English armies was the most important victory which we had over the Allies. We took away their armies. We answered the much higher military and technical superiority of the Allies with the solidarity of the toiling masses against their own imperialist governments."

## FACTS OF LENIN'S LIFE

Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianov-Lenin was born on April 23, 1870, in the town of Simbirsk. His ancestors were peasants. He graduated from Simbirsk college in 1887, receiving the highest ratings in all subjects. That fall he was expelled from Kasan University, which he had just entered, for participation in student movements. In 1891, he passed his examination in the Law Faculty at Petersburg and obtained the degree of Assistant Barrister. In 1888 Lenin began to study Marx.

By 1893, when comrade Lenin moved to St. Petersburg, he was already a matured revolutionary leader. He went abroad for the first time in April, 1895, to establish revolutionary connections. After his return in September he was arrested, and while in prison began his work, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. He was sentenced to exile in January 1897. Here he was joined by his friend and comrade, Krupskaya.

Lenin led in the formation of the Bolshevik Party in 1903, and since then carried on a struggle

against the Mensheviks. He returned to Russia to take part in the 1905 revolution, but after this subsided, on the insistence of the comrades, again went abroad. This second period of exile was somewhat shorter but a more difficult period.

Already in 1910 there were symptoms of revival of the revolutionary wave. Before and during the war of 1914-1918, Lenin was carrying on a fight against the opportunism of the Second International and was building up the organization and discipline of the revolutionary forces. He laid the foundation for the establishment of the Communist International.

In 1917 Lenin returned to Russia, where all of his abilities and long revolutionary experience were thrown into the October Revolution. In 1918 was wounded by a Social Revolutionary, but he recovered and returned to his work of establishing the new Soviet Union and leading it through its first trying years.

The great proletarian leader died on January 21, 1924

## Lenin's Collected Works

In order to give every active revolutionist an opportunity to obtain Lenin's works, the International Publishers have now organized a popularly priced edition of those volumes that have already appeared. The edition is in every detail identical with the original one, except in price. The price is cut in half.

The volumes so far published and available in the present low priced edition contain the most important of Lenin's writings. "The Iskra Period" embodies the theoretical crystallization of bolshevism. "The Imperialist War" formulates the Leninist struggle against war, which is so important at this moment of imminent war danger. "The Revolution of 1917" embodies the Leninist preparation and organization of the November Revolution. And in "Materialism and Empirico-Criticism" we have Lenin's most important theoretical work, a defense and development of the Marxist historical-material-

