

FOSTER SPEAKS IN GARY SUNDAY

France Jolts U. S. Anti-Soviet Policy—Borah

AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

FRANK D. COMERFORD, is well known in Chicago to all those who keep in touch with the radical movement. He was special prosecutor of 1919 Communist Labor Party cases, and when those sentenced were pardoned, Comerford was one of the loudest shouters against their release. Yet we find among those endorsing Comerford for the supreme court, the name of Clarence Darrow, an alleged radical and avowed anarchist. Darrow makes a lot of noise about "personal freedom" and he is always ready to denounce tyranny but he is also equally ready to line up with the capitalist class and their most vicious servants. Anarchistic consistency!

THE republicans charge the demomcrats with being in this campaign merely to assist LaFollette throw the election into congress. The demomcrats claim that Coolidge's candidacy will simply induce the voters to flee to "Bob" for salvation from four years more of silence and graft. The LaFolletteites say that Davis is aiding Coolidge and preventing the "people" from going back to 1776. And they all agree that the Workers Party is out to overthrow the capitalist system. For once they are all right.

THE uptown dry goods association of New York want Coolidge and Daves to win, so they advertise. It is a novel form of advertising and incidentally good propaganda for Communism. The ad. writer must have a taste for history as well as for politics. He discovered that for over one hundred years, every speech delivered in the Roman senate ended with "Deletio est Carthago" which translated in plain English, "Carthage must be destroyed." The new slogan suggested by the dry goods men is "Communism must be destroyed."

WE venture to say that when the bones of the dry goods merchants of New York are dry as the dust, that Communism will be flourishing and capitalism a thing of the past. It is well that our enemies realize the issue so clearly. It is between capitalism and the new order which will be erected on its ashes; Communism. Those who understand what Coolidge and Daves stand for will cast their votes for Foster and Gitlow, the standard bearers of Communism in this election.

A WORKER, who during the course of his employment was severely injured, so badly indeed, that one of his legs had to be amputated from above the knee, sends in a subscription to THE DAILY WORKER, which he secured from friends who came to visit him. The short letter accompanying the subscriptions, published a few days in the Power Column of this paper, could not help but encourage any member of the party with a drop of fighting blood in his veins, to greater efforts in pushing the "Build THE DAILY WORKER" campaign. If this comrade lying on his back, in a sick bed, could set his mind on building up our Communist daily, how much more could those who are in good health?

THE National Security League was unnecessarily excited over the visit of Countess Karolyi to this country. Despite her title these sterling patriots feared that her presence here would poison the atmosphere. They discovered that she is known in Hungary as "Red Catherine." If that is so our Hungarian comrades are holding back interesting information from us. The countess is about as "red" as Mrs. Borden Harriman, and perhaps not near so revolutionary as Jane Adams who is supporting Robert M. LaFollette for president and Judge Norman L. Jones, for governor of Illinois.

Vote Communist This Time:

NEW YORK CITY T. U. E. L. PLANS BALL FOR ELECTION RETURNS

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 31.—The Trade Union Educational League has arranged on election night, Nov. 4, a ball at Park Palace, 110th St. and 5th Ave. Election returns from all over the United States will be reported by Sam Lipzin between dances.

Every militant in New York will be there as this is the only affair this year run by the T. U. E. L. of New York. Tickets are only 50 cents and they are selling fast.

HUGHES' SOVIET POLICY DOOMED SAYS SEN. BORAH

French Recognition Big Forward Move

By JAY LOVESTONE.

"A very decided step towards the complete restoration of normal relations with Soviet Russia." This was the way Senator Borah characterized, in an interview given exclusively to the DAILY WORKER, the significance of the recognition of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics by the French government.

Soviet Russia Victorious.
"This event indicates clearly and above all a recognition of the fact that the whole world must deal with Soviet Russia as it is, with the Soviet government as the spokesman for the country," declared the senator who has been amongst the most active official proponents of American recognition of the Soviet Republic.

Hastens American Recognition.
In reply to a query by the writer as to the probable effect of the French move on the attitude and policy of the United States government, Senator Borah said: "The recognition, the unconditional recognition of Soviet Russia, will have a more direct effect than advance the cause of the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States. Every great nation has now recognized the Soviet government. All of our allies in the great war have done so. We can gain nothing by standing aside and keeping away. We can help a good deal and we can lose much, otherwise."

Won't Explain Hughes' Policy.
"Well, then, how would you explain the obstinacy and the opposition of the state department in its dealings with the problem of Soviet recognition in the face of the continued increase of the number of nations extending de jure recognition to the Soviet Republic?" asked the DAILY WORKER correspondent. Senator Borah answered that he would not undertake to explain the policy of the state department since he was in such fundamental disagreement with it.

Gompers' Hostility Doomed.
"To what extent do you think does the hostility of the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor play a role in the continuation of the present anti-Soviet policy by the American government?" queried the writer. The senator was quick to reply: "I think that the attitude of so big an organization as the American Federation of Labor has a very decisive effect upon this policy of the government. But I am sure that the leaders of the American Federation of Labor must have Soviet Russia back into the family of nations in the interests of world peace. It seems to me that Mr. Gompers can do nothing else and will have to come around to this point of view."

Congressional Action Likely.
What the next session of congress is likely to do regarding the recognition of Soviet Russia is not yet known definitely. There is every likelihood that an attempt will be made in the senate to force the hand of the state department. It will be recalled that last year the recognition efforts were seriously interfered with by the Teapot Dome inquiry and by the general political situation which prevented many legislators from doing anything on account of their being afraid to be branded "red" while they were trying

THE UNHOLY TRINITY



The Left Wing of Capitalism On the March—Backward

to win their return to Washington in the November elections.

Great Increase in Trade.

With the senatorial and congressional seats safe for a while, with the erstwhile bitter foe of Soviet Russia, France, having extended unconditional recognition, and with the economic pressure for a restoration of American relations with the Soviet Republic growing, we may look forward to some lively doings in Washington during the next few months.

According to the report issued today by the department of commerce, American exports to Soviet Russia in Europe have leaped from \$844,002 in September 1923 to \$3,520,001 for September 1924. The increase of American imports from Soviet Russia in Europe was phenomenal, rising from \$49,951 a year ago September, to \$544,234 in the corresponding six months of 1924.

BROWDER WILL SPEAK SUNDAY IN PITTSBURGH

(Special to The Daily Worker)
PITTSBURGH, Pa., Oct. 31.—The Pittsburgh campaign will close with a grand campaign rally Sunday evening, Nov. 2 at Labor Lyceum on Miller street with Earl Browder, editor of the Workers Monthly as the principal speaker. Admission is free.

LaFolletteites Worried.
The following quotation will give some idea of the publicity the Workers Party is receiving in the Pittsburgh press:

"How to mark ballot for LaFollette in Pennsylvania. Place your cross mark in the square after the name of the Labor Party in the first column on the ballot, thus:

"LABOR—X.
"Do not mark your ballot in the square after the name of the Workers Party. The Workers or Communist Party is not for LaFollette and is supporting another candidate."

Cover Town With Literature.
The LaFollette illusionists are worried over the progress made by the Workers Party in the first Communist campaign in the city of coal and steel. Our campaign meetings were very successful. We distributed tons of literature. The workers of Pittsburgh know the Workers Party is in the field.

In the last week of the campaign the LaFollette crowd are wildly attacking the Workers Party. But we will make them wilder yet when they see us roll up a vote of ten thousand in the Allegheny county.

Pittsburgh readers of the DAILY WORKER who want to volunteer to act as watchers for the Workers Party on election day will please get in touch with our office at 805 James St., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa., at once.

MUDDLING OF ELECTION ROILS BRITISH LABOR

MacDonald's Leadership is Now Threatened

(Special to The Daily Worker)
LONDON, Oct. 31.—The Communist movement in Great Britain has been advanced tremendously by the making of its program for a proletarian revolution an intensive campaign issue. The stunts of the MacDonald "labor" government is trying to outdo the Tory conservatives in "exposing the reds" has, unavoidably, brought the issue—"Do you want Communist or capitalism in Britain?" before the minds and into the consciousness of millions of English workers.

"Little Welfie Giant" Punctured.
The political significance of the elimination from the political struggle of the liberal party, the centrist party of capitalism, is most important in itself. The labor party is now the recognized left wing of the capitalist machine, and if it continues its rivalry with the Tories in being nasty to labor, and particularly to the Communists, as it began with the publication for political purposes of the forged letter claimed to be from Zinoviev of the Communist International, its identity as a party of capitalism will become clear to workers who now support it because of its labor pretensions.

Liberal Disaster.
The final count of votes shows that the conservatives have 398 seats in parliament; labor party, 149—a loss of 43; liberals, 10; and other parties, 13, including at least one Communist, Saklatvala, elected from Battersea.

Frank Hodges, whom Americans remember was fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. convention last year and who approval of the Gompers gang throwing out Wm. F. Dunne, was himself thrown out of parliament. The workers of England remember Hodges as the traitor who stabbed the triple alliance in the back on "Black Friday" in 1921.

Resentment it MacDonald Trickery.
It is everywhere shown that workers are disgusted with the MacDonald regime. It has been continually up to cheap tricks to keep in power. The publication of an eleventh-hour trick of the letter apposed to be from Zinoviev, and not known as a bare-faced forgery, has muddled things beautifully.

There was a rumor during the London conference that British imperialism was going to drop Ramsay after he would pu over the Daves' plan. Now, he has not only lost out as a servile bootlicker of capital, but his "god-granted" automobile and \$150,000 from Sir Alexander Grant and his cheap maneuvers at the expense of labor's interests has discredited his leadership, and rumors are that he will be withdrawn from leadership of the labor party and supplanted by somebody with more brains if no more honesty.

WORKERS PARTY IN ST. PAUL IN FIGHT FOR F. L. P.

War on Treason to Aid Republican Candidate

(Special to The Daily Worker)
ST. PAUL, Minn., Oct. 31.—The Workers Party, thru its city central committee here, has issued an appeal to the workers to save the farmer-labor party and elect J. F. Emme to congress.

The Workers Party appeal has been issued at the same time that William Mahoney, editor of the Minnesota Union Labor Advocate, has gone over to the corrupt republican party and come out for the republican, Oscar Keller, running against the farmer-labor candidate.

Conspiracy is Defeated.
The Workers Party appeal exposes the conspiracy of the old party bosses, which has now been endorsed by Mahoney to keep the farmer-labor party off the ballot in the fourth congressional district.

"The Workers Party immediately served notice that they would not compromise with a capitalist party and would see that a candidate was filed," says the statement.
"J. F. Emme, farmer-labor candidate for congress, has refused to compromise with those who would sell out the working class movement. From the moment J. F. Emme entered the political campaign he has had the stubborn opposition of such a reactionary as Frank T. Starkey, and the one-time progressive William Mahoney. These men have shown that they would betray the farmer-labor party into the hands of the enemy."

An Appeal to Labor.
"Emme, who is a Communist, member of the Workers Party, stands for working class unity on the basis of a militant fight against the present system of society in which the capitalist class gets everything and the workers nothing except a bare livelihood."
The statement then gives the complete program of the Workers Party and urges all workers to support the Communist candidates for president and vice-president, and the farmer-labor party candidates in Minnesota.

Fight Against Poison.
NEW YORK, Oct. 31.—Because there is great danger of widespread poisoning among men at gasoline filling stations, garages, repair shops, and even among the general public," Dr. Yandell Henderson, Yale professor and authority on gas poisonings, urges that the sale of gasoline containing lead should be stopped immediately.

PLAN MOBILIZATION OF WORKERS PARTY IN NEW YORK AND IN CHICAGO

NEW YORK, Oct. 31.—The campaign committee of the Workers Party in District 2, calls upon all members for a mobilization day on election day to distribute literature and act as watchers at the polls.

As watchers only those comrades who are citizens can do this work, but for the distribution of literature and for instructors to voters, all comrades can do this work.

You should report to your section headquarters immediately to be assigned to do this work. There will be comrades in charge of the section headquarters and you must report to them and be assigned for work on election day.

The section headquarters are as follows:

- 208 East 12th Street,
- 64 East 104th St., Harlem,
- 61 Graham Ave., Williamsburg,
- 105 Eldridge Street,
- 1347 Boston Road, Bronx,
- 1844 Pitkin Ave., Brownsville.

Comrades on the job, report immediately to your section to be assigned for work in your section on election day. It is not enough that workers will vote our ticket. We must see to it that the votes are counted for our candidates.

WANTED! To Distribute DAILY WORKER at Factories for November 7th Soviet Celebration.

The place to reach the workers with Communist propaganda is at the factories, shops, mills. That's where the Communists should be organized—in Communist shop nuclei. Communist work at or in the factories and shops brings us the best results in any other way. Factory distribution here of special editions of the DAILY WORKER and other literature brings industrial workers into the Workers Party and Young Workers League, and workers to our meetings in bigger numbers. But, to get down to the immediate need:

We want comrades to help distribute the DAILY WORKER on Nov. 4, 5, and 6, at the factories. This will be a special DAILY WORKER CHICAGO EDITION for the 7th Soviet Anniversary Celebration on Friday, Nov. 7. There will be stuff on various factories so that the workers can get the lowdown on some of their bosses. Meanwhile,

Send in your name if you are ready to help distribute the DAILY WORKER on either Nov. 4, 5, or 6. The distribution will take place when the workers are going home in the evening. So the comrades helping will have to show up at the local office, Workers Party, 166 W. Washington street, Room 303 (telephone State 7985) by 3:30 in the afternoon on those days. Comrades! Let's hear

Illinois Communist Voters! Notice!

When you go the polls on Tuesday, Nov. 4, 1924, to vote for the WORKERS PARTY candidates on the presidential, state and congressional tickets, remember to place a cross at the side of each Workers Party candidate. Otherwise, your opinion will not be registered. According to the capitalist laws of Illinois, voters casting their preferences for candidates of an independent ticket, for those candidates who are on the ballot by petition, a cross must be placed by the side of each presidential elector and other candidates. This is not the case with the parties that are so-called lawful parties, in which case a cross placed at the top of the ballot for the particular party you vote for registers for the entire ticket. But to record yourself for the Workers (Communist) Party candidates, Foster and Gitlow, you must vote for each of the 29 Workers Party electors, and then for the other Workers Party candidates also. Remember this so that your Communist vote will count.

CAL'S SILENCE IS SYNONYM FOR NEUTRALITY IN KU KLUX JARGON; CHARLIE BRYAN IS FAVORITE

INDIANAPOLIS, Oct. 31.—In an official document issued from the office of Walter Bessert, grand dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, today, Calvin Coolidge, for the instruction of klan voters in Indiana is listed "neutral," John W. Davis "anti-klan"; Robert M. LaFollette, not mentioned; Charles W. Bryan, "favorable," and Burton K. Wheeler not listed on the klan issue.

GARY WORKERS TO HEAR FOSTER DESPITE TRUST

Will Speak Tomorrow in the Open Air

"The Gary steel workers are going to hear Foster in spite of the steel trust dictatorship," says Arne Swabeck, district organizer of the Workers Party.

"First, we had engaged the armory for the Foster campaign meeting. But the banker who has control of that place turned us down, saying that Foster was not a 'good citizen.'"

"Then we leased the Froebel school auditorium, but three days later the school superintendent got his orders and cancelled the lease. Then we tried to get the use of East Park from the park commissioners. They had heard of Bill Foster, too. They 'didn't want any agitators.'"

Open Air Meeting Sunday.
"Shut out of house and hall by the steel trust, which somehow has an unfriendly feeling for Comrade Foster, we have engaged a vacant lot in Gary at 19th and Broadway, and are asking every working man in Gary to turn out on Sunday, Nov. 2, at 2 p. m., at 19th and Broadway to hear the message of the Communist candidate for president."

Steel Workers Know Foster.
And indication of how the steel workers like Bill Foster, said Swabeck, "may be seen in the way they responded to the DAILY WORKER drive. When the party members at the mill gates first went there, the slaves of the steel mills thought that the cry, 'DAILY WORKER for sale,' indicated merely another of the piffling sheets put out by labor fakery. They went by without buying."

First Concert by Workers' Symphony Begins on Sunday

The first of a regular series of concerts under the auspices of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America by the orchestra organization of the Chicago Symphony and conducted by Alexander Dukovsky, will be given Sunday afternoon at Ashland Auditorium. Virvillio Lazzari of the Chicago Opera company will render a solo for the concert. Everybody welcome.

North Side English Branch Members!
Our branch meets on Monday, Nov. 3, at 8 p. m., at Imperial Hall, 2409 N. Halsted street. Very important problems will come up at this meeting. Let nothing prevent every member from attending this meeting.

Another thing! This is RED WEEK. Our branch members must distribute literature to put this campaign over big. We have contracted to dispose of a quantity of literature for which you have already paid. Distribute it! Call at 166 W. Washington street at once for your bundle.

On The Vodka Trail.
KHARKOV, Ukraine. — Search and seizure outdoing any campaign against liquor in America, marks the attempt to prevent the illegal sale of vodka here. Nearly 5,000 stills have been seized and 2,000 persons arrested.

CAPITAL HEARS ABOUT THE REDS FROM THEIR STANDARD BEARER, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 31.—The capital of the mightiest bourgeois government on the face of the earth has had the challenge of a Soviet republic of workers and farmers thrown down before it by the message bearer of proletarian revolution in this election, William Z. Foster, Communist candidate for president, speaking here Monday night.

The meeting was opened by O'Hara MacIntosh, acting as chairman, whose interesting introduction was, in part, as follows:

"You have seen the oft-repeated statement in the newspapers to the effect that William Z. Foster is a bolshevik and that the Workers Party is connected with Russia. I am now going to tell you a little secret. We Communists are affiliated with the bolsheviks—and we are extremely proud of that fact. And that is not half of it. When the capitalist editor tells you contemptuously and with a sneer, that the Communists have connections in Moscow, he does not tell you half of it. We workers have a motto, which reads: 'Workers of the World, unite.'"

"If the capitalists would tell you the whole truth they would tell you that the Communists are not only connected with Moscow, but that they are in close connection with Communists in every city of any consequence on the face of the globe. Not only in Moscow, but in Paris, in London, in Edinburgh, in Dublin, Rome, Tokyo, Manila and in Sydney. Wherever the printed word is carried we have representatives, whether it be amongst the multitudes of the metropolis or on the banks of the Wabash.

"You know the records of the candidates of the other political parties; you know that both Coolidge and Dawes are lawyers; you know that Davis is a lawyer and that Bryan is an editor; that both LaFollette and Wheeler are lawyers. The candidates of the Workers Party, Foster and Gitlow, are union working men. They have been union men during all their working lives. You will hear tonight one of the greatest organizers of laboring men and women that has ever lived.

"You know the life histories of 90 per cent of the leaders of organized labor. You know what happens when the union man rises in the ranks of his fellowmen; how he goes to the citadels of the mighty and the corrupt; you know the result of his association with the boss, around the mahogany table in the conference room. You know that the traitor's appointment as secretary to some prominent capitalist or his appointment as commissioner of something or other, is his reward for the betrayal of those who trusted him.

"You know that these rewards are bribes. Now, my friends, there is no man in the labor movement in America that is more feared by the capitalist class than William Z. Foster. But Bill Foster is not made of the stuff that is for sale. Because of his adherence to his principles William Z. Foster is the phenomenon of the labor movement.

"You know that it is the custom at political gatherings to introduce the speaker as a man who is known throughout the length and the breadth of the land; that he is a man of national reputation. I have to vary that description a little this evening. Our candidate is a man who is not only known throughout this country, who has not only a national reputation; he is a man who has an international reputation. In every section of the world, where there is a militant organization of working men, William Z. Foster is known, and honored and respected and loved as a brother."

Comrade Foster was in fine fettle and gave the best speech delivered by any candidate during the campaign. Even the many LaFollette men had to join in the enthusiastic reception accorded Foster's remarks in which he went after the fake progressive hot and heavy.

In spite of the disadvantage of a heavy and continued rain all evening, more than 350 were present, including many political reporters.

HILLQUIT, SOCIALIST, FIGHTS REVOLUTION; PAYS TAX OF \$2,668

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 31.—Income tax reports made public today disclose the fact that Morris Hillquit, socialist leader and supporter of LaFollette, pays an income tax of \$2,668.34. Hillquit's federal tax payment alone, is enough to defray the expenses of an average worker's family. On the basis of these official government figures, Hillquit, would-be spokesman of the American working-class, sports an income of at least \$20,000 a year—an income which entitles him to admission to the first rank of highly paid labor bureaucrats and wealthy middle-class intellectuals.

Much of the money amassed by "Comrade" Hillquit has undoubtedly been obtained by payment of legal fees for services rendered to local trade unions. In other words the bosses exploit the workers in the shop while Hillquit exploits them when they are forced to go to court to plead for capitalist justice.

Another prominent name in the second district list of tax returns is that of Frank A. Vanderlip, millionaire supporter of LaFollette. His income tax return is listed at \$56,704. In his local income Vanderlip lags slightly behind John W. Davis, Morgan's attorney and democratic candidate for president, whose tax is \$84,425.20.

Vanderlip and Hillquit are both leaders of the LaFollette forces and typical examples of the middle class capitalist, non-working class character.

"Those who own the industries will always own the government," said Foster. "To protect their privileges, the owners of the industries will own the press, the schools, the churches and all the other machinery for controlling the minds of the workers. When the workers do become sufficiently aroused to vote against capitalist class rule, and vote for social ownership of the industries, then the old ruling class will fight. They will fight as the southern slaveholders fought—until their power is utterly broken. They will fight as the capitalists of Italy are fighting, thru fascism, when the voice of the people expressed thru the ballot is adverse. In all history, no ruling class has surrendered to a rising class from below without a struggle to the very death. Do not imagine that the strongest, most alert, most fully organized capitalist class in the world, that in the United States, will hesitate to resist the majority. That is why we say the workers must not pin their hopes on a mere decision at the polls."

Foster described the republicans as "the party of the steel trust, the sugar trust, the packing trust, the bankers' trust, with a strikebreaker as its presidential candidate and a fascist as its vice-presidential nominee." The democratic party he described as twin sister to the republican. No working man could support either, without scabbing on his class.

Discussing the LaFollette Movement. He analyzed the anti-war, public ownership and other measures in the progressive program. and showed how each of these would be rendered useless to the working class by the fact of the middle class philosophy of the LaFollette movement. If capitalism is to be saved and strengthened big business will be the strongest element in the "reformed" capitalism, the workers will be cheated again.

GHASTLY ANTI-WAR BOOK SHOWS HORRORS OF CAPITALIST WARS

AMSTERDAM, Oct. 30.—The most terribly eloquent anti-war book ever published, horribly filled with war photographs too nauseating to look at but for their anti-militarist lesson, is making its gruesome way among labor circles in Europe.

The War in Pictures, by Ernst Friedrich, is an international weapon against international slaughter. Each picture has captions and explanations in English, French, German, and Dutch. The conscript volunteer is shown having his picture taken for the folks before leaving for the front. Then a huge mass grave, sides splattered with blood and mud, is reproduced with the soldier corpses thrown into it. Fearfully wounded men, who have survived the war, are shown in hospitals. They have no faces, and have to be artificially fed. Photographs are reproduced of soldiers standing beside army gallows where the victim is still swinging, decorated with a hat placed on him by the soldier who stands below. There are pages of photographs of men hanged on army gallows scaffolds, of which 11,400 were erected.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' AID ADDS NEW DUTY

Political Prisoners to Be Given Assistance

The International Workers' Aid, formerly the Friends of Soviet Russia, in keeping with its aim as published more than a year ago, has decided to enlarge its scope of activity to include aid to political prisoners, their wives and children.

Funds raised for this particular purpose will be remitted to and distributed by the Red Aid International, while funds raised for relief of German workers, will be remitted and distributed thru the International Arbeiter Hilfs Komitee.

Organizations to Co-operate. Mutual trade unions, revolutionary political organizations, sick and death benefit societies, workmen circles, are invited to join in this new undertaking of the International Workers' Aid. The Workers Party of America is the first workers' organization to extend its co-operation in this work. A letter to all Workers Party local central committees advising them to join in this work has already brought several results.

Youngstown, Ohio; Portland, Ore.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; New Haven, Conn., are among the first to reply. As in the past, the International Workers' Aid expects that the reactionaries of the Abe Cahan calibre will again attack it for "using relief funds for Communist propaganda"—because the Communists are the first to enter our activities and help us raise funds for needy workers, their families and children. Instead of joining forces with us in this undertaking, these do-nothing critics will no doubt hold off, and just as soon as things begin to hum and we are actually accomplishing something, they will come out with their attacks.

Xmas Drive Begins. According to Red Aid statistics up to May 1923, there are 333,200 workers imprisoned in European countries. They are the casualties resulting from working class battles for higher wages, shorter hours and decent standards of living. Their wives even can get no work, their children are at the mercy of "charitable" people.

The International Workers' Aid feels it its duty to come to the assistance of these workers. Towards this end a Xmas drive is being initiated with the hope of raising one hundred thousand dollars. It is expected that other working class organizations besides the Workers Party will join in this effort, instead of standing off, doing nothing and then helping the critics.

Campaign Meeting in Cleveland. CLEVELAND, Oct. 31.—Rudolph Lisch will speak on Sunday afternoon, Nov. 2, at 3 p. m. at 5607 St. Clair Ave. on the coming elections. Subject: "LaFollette or Foster?" A large attendance of union men is expected. Comrades and sympathizers are urged to attend this meeting.

EVICT STRIKING WORKERS IN CAL'S STATE FROM COMPANY-OWNED SHACKS

(Special to The Daily Worker) FRAMINGHAM, Mass., Oct. 31.—Eviction of workers from company tenements has begun in the Roxbury Carpet company strike, conducted by the United Textile Workers' Union. Deputy Sheriff William H. Walsh moved furniture and household effects of Charles Armstrong from a company tenement. Other tenement dwellers moved out on the company's order to give up their homes or return to work.

PICKET LINE OUT OF DATE, SAYS HILLMAN

Amalgamated Head for Peace with Bosses

No more picket lines for the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America if Sidney Hillman, president of the organization can help it. The way to better their conditions, according to Hillman, is to vote for LaFollette, join a nice liberal party, deposit their savings—if they have any—in a "labor bank" and build up the co-operative movement.

All in all a nice little scheme of class-collaboration, entirely worthy of the salvation army apostle of that cult, William H. Johnston, but strange to the tongue of Sidney Hillman, who, publicly at least, was known to favor the abolition of the capitalist system but as painlessly as possible, it is proper to state.

On Tenth Anniversary. This new policy was sprung on the Chicago Joint Board a week ago on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Amalgamated. It is not the policy that made of the Amalgamated a fighting organization feared by the capitalists and looked on with admiration by the rank and file of other organizations whose leaders had already knelt down and worshipped the golden calf. Hillman had the reputation of being a revolutionist, the not, of course, to the left wingers in the Amalgamated, led by the Trade Union Educational League, who knew the difference between his words and his deeds.

In the next ten years, he declared, the members of the Amalgamated will not be on the picket line to fight for better conditions, but only in case of need to defend the union. In the coming ten years the main activity will be on the political and co-operative fields.

United Front With Bosses. This means in the language of Hillman, on the bandwagon of an American bourgeois liberal party and in the banking business. Sydney is training fast. He will be seen wearing the mask and taken his place publicly with the rest of the labor lieutenants of capitalism.

He explained the endorsement of LaFollette by the General Executive Board with the flimsy excuse that had the G. E. B. expected the election of LaFollette the action might have been different. The Amalgamated, he added, had to go along with LaFollette or be isolated from the official labor movement, obviously meaning that the endorsement of LaFollette would be looked up on favorably by Gompers & Co. Out of the LaFollette movement, he declared, would come a liberal party not a third party, but a second party since the democratic party was being pushed out of second place by LaFollette.

Hillman declared for tolerance in politics within the union, while at the same time binding the members to LaFollette in spite of the decision of the last convention.

Rank and File For Foster. The right wing of the Amalgamated has failed to swing the membership to LaFollette. Outside of Chicago their efforts have met with comparative failure. Even here Local 269 has declared for William Z. Foster and repudiated the action of the G. E. B. in endorsing LaFollette contrary to the convention decision.

Hillman was scheduled to speak in New York to the members on the LaFollette question, but he decided to come to Chicago, where he was sure of less opposition. The Cleveland joint board of the Amalgamated has endorsed Foster and Gitlow and the locals of the organization in New York have organized themselves to make shop collections for the Communist campaign. The Communists and progressives in the Amalgamated are grateful to Hillman for throwing of his radical mask and coming out in the open as an exponent of class collaboration and peace with the bosses. The fight in the Amalgamated will no longer be so complicated. Hillman has taken his stand openly with the right wing.

Subscribe for "Your Daily," the DAILY WORKER
Vote Communist This Time!

Tammany Hall Again Shows Labor Need of Communist Leadership

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

TODAY, on the eve of Tuesday's elections, the last minute deals are being made; the fixers are busy working overtime.

If there is a trick that can be pulled to win a workers' vote for reaction, it will be put over.

Look at what happened in New York City. Senator LaFollette, who has not missed an opportunity during his campaign to double-cross the Farmer-Labor movement, has himself been made the victim of a double-cross such as only Tammany Hall can be guilty of. The Tammany Hall-controlled executive council of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City and vicinity has repudiated its endorsement of LaFollette, early in the campaign, and is now giving its support to the candidacy of John "Wallstreet" Davis, on the democratic ticket.

All the Tammany Hallites in the New York labor movement, from John Sullivan, president, and John P. Coughlin, secretary, down the list, now discover in Morgan's lawyer all the qualities of a "friend of labor," using this expression as it has become infamous under the tutelage of Sam Gompers. In fact, LaFollette can easily behold Gompers himself in the nightmare that this double-dealing will bring to him.

The Tammany Hall laborites do not hope to put Davis over with their trick. They hope, no doubt, to bring victory to the standards of Al Smith, the Tammany Hall candidate for governor of New York, and to put a goodly gang of Tammany Hallites in the state legislature, maintaining control of that citadel of graft and privilege. Just across the river is New Jersey, also a seat of democratic power.

If Tammany Hall cannot capture the nation for a democratic candidate, it will resort to every possible deal to maintain its prestige in the great center of population at the mouth of the Hudson River.

LaFollette has been made the victim of his own hallucinations, that political victory, even for the small bourgeoisie, can be built on a straddle of the two Wall Street parties.

But the thrust goes even deeper. The Tammany Hall labor gangsters, entrenched by victory on election day, will be in a more formidable position than ever to wage war on the Farmer-Labor Party.

These are the Tammany Hall gangsters, Sullivan, Coughlin, Costello and the rest, with whom Hillquit, the socialist, has been hobnobbing, in the New York Conference for Progressive Political Action. This was the crowd that Hillquit and the socialists joined with to fight the efforts of the Communists, in New York state, to build the Farmer-Labor Party, of the workers and poor farmers. Hillquit's fight on the Communists weakened the class fight of the workers and farmers. It strengthened the Tammany Hall gangsters in the labor movement and made it possible for them to launch their open appeal for votes and support of the Wall Street lawyer, John W. Davis.

The workers of New York City and state must learn the lesson—that they have been betrayed, not only by Tammany Hall, not only by the LaFollette Conference for Progressive Political Action controlled by Tammany Hall, but also by the socialists, Hillquit and Abe Cahan, of the Jewish Daily Forward, and by the LaFollette-loving labor leaders, Sidney Hillman, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Morris Sigman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Morris Kaufmann, of the Furriers' Union, and others.

Only the Communist leadership of the Workers Party points the way to building of the class power of labor.

The effort of Tammany Hall's men, boring within the organized labor movement, on behalf of Wall Street, should again teach this lesson to the workers of New York.

CLEVELAND HOLDS TRIUMPHANT CELEBRATION IN DRIVE FOR HOME FOR OUR JEWISH COMMUNIST DAILY

(Special to The Daily Worker)

CLEVELAND, Oct. 31.—At the banquet room of the carpenters' hall about 300 Communists and sympathizers assembled to celebrate three years of incessant active struggle of the Jewish Branch, Workers Party, towards the abolition of the present system of production and all its evils.

A number of organizations sympathetic to the workers' struggles greeted the branch thru their delegates and pledged full-hearted support to the Workers Party.

Comrade Lunin, national organizer of the Jewish Federation, greeted the branch in the name of the federation and spoke of the development and achievement of our party. When he

announced that the Freiheit in spite of its black and yellow enemies is nearing its third birthday and is in the midst of a campaign for buying a home and press of its own, storm of applause broke out. A few fifties, quite a number of twenty-fives, a large number of tens and still more of fives, demonstrated that the comrades are ready to build the party at all sacrifices. A sum of \$762.00 was thus gathered.

Comrade A. Bittelmann a member of the C. E. C. then greeted the Cleveland branch in the name of the C. E. C. He spoke of the tasks and difficulties of Communists, urging the comrades to strengthen their ranks and

to keep up the fight for a new system of society.

The Freiheit Gezangs Verein as well as their Mandolin Orchestra added to the success of the affair by their singing and playing songs of the class struggle.

Workers Party Sport Activities. Sunday afternoon beginning at one o'clock sharp, a big game between the Workers' Sport Soccer Football Team and the Swedish-American Third Soccer Football Team comes up at Portage Park. This game is one of a series being held in Chicago. Be there to root for your side!

TONIGHT!
FREIHEIT SINGING SOCIETY
DANCE
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 8 P. M.
In new headquarters, 3837 W. ROOSEVELT ROAD
Splendid Music by the Freiheit Mandolin Orchestra.
A good time with plenty of music and lively companionship.

STANDARD OIL JOB KILLS TWO, SIX GO INSANE

Workers Suffer from Lead Poisoning

By ESTHER LOWELL
Federated Press Staff Correspondent.

NEW YORK, Oct. 31.—Two workers are dead and six others lie insane in Reconstruction Hospital as a result of tetraethyl lead poisoning at the Bayway, N. J., plant of the Standard Oil company.

Nearly 20 more workers are under observation for poisoning symptoms. All were employed in the manufacture of tetraethyl lead gas, specially treated gasoline supposed to eliminate "knocks" in auto engines and make possible much more efficient engines than at present used.

Market Dangerous Product. The Ethyl Gas corporation, half of whose stock belongs to Standard Oil of New Jersey and half to General Motors corporation, is marketing the dangerous product in the middle west, Maryland and northern New Jersey. Thomas Midgeley jr., formerly of General Motors Chemical company and now vice-president of Ethyl Gas, is reported to have worked out the process of tetraethyl lead treatment of gasoline.

"Two years ago I warned representatives of General Motors that this substance is not fit for introduction for use by the general public; that lead poisoning is sure to result, not only in garage workers, but in all persons using automobiles," Dr. Yandell Henderson, professor of applied physiology at Yale, asserts in reference to the new cases. "It produces the most dangerous form of lead poisoning. By being volatilized, the lead is introduced quickly into the blood thru the lungs and makes its attack on the brain and nerves." He adds that those poisoned would never fully recover.

Discover Lead Poisoning. Prosecutor A. J. David, of Union county, New Jersey, has found that the workers were employed in manufacture of ethyl gas and not in laboratory experiments as the Standard Oil company first indicated. Dr. Charles Norris, medical examiner, is performing autopsies on the two dead workers in an effort to discover lead in their systems. Standard Oil company officials say that the workers were warned of the dangers and that frequent physical examinations of the men were made.

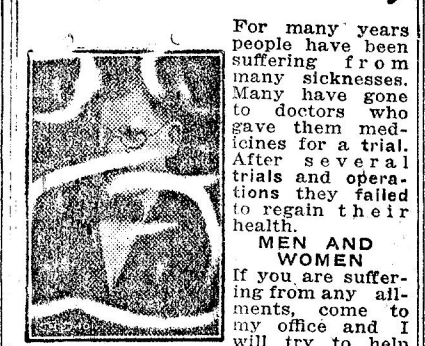
Bernard Rodgers of Elizabeth, N. J., quit work at Bayway three weeks ago because of illness from the poisoning and has been in bed since. He suffers from delusions of persecution and has shown no improvement. Dr. Henderson, who is one of the great authorities on the effect of gases on the human body, says that all these workers show clearly symptoms of tetraethyl lead poisoning and that a similar case occurred recently in New York, although he was not free to discuss it.

Health Department Acts. The board of health of New York will adopt resolutions preventing the sale or use of gasoline compounds presumably containing poisonous ingredients.

Dr. Frank J. Monaghan, health commissioner, announced the impending action of the board shortly before tetraethyl lead gas claimed its fifth life here within a week.

Notice to Cleveland Readers. The DAILY WORKER is on sale daily at Schroeders, East Superior Ave., opposite the post office; and at Bernstein's, 6905 St. Clair.

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SUPPORT THE COMMUNIST TICKET

HOW TO VOTE COMMUNIST ON ELECTION DAY

Instructions Should Be Carefully Followed

1. Vote early.
2. You are entitled to vote if you are otherwise eligible and have registered. Don't let anyone prevent you from voting.
3. If an attempt is made to prevent you from voting, call up the Workers Party offices. You will receive advice and assistance.
4. When you get the ballot do not open it until you get into the election booth. And do not tear it or soil it, as it may be then declared void. Use Booth Pencil.
5. Use only the pencil provided in the booth to mark ballots. The use of your own fountain pen or pencil may make void your vote.
6. In states where the party emblems appear beside the party names at the top of the ballot, look for the Communist emblem of "hammer and sickle." In any case look carefully for the name of "Workers Party of America."
7. When you have found the name "Workers Party of America," in most cases a blank circle appears in front and to the left of the name. Mark a good plain "X" in that circle. This means "voting the straight ticket" of the party.
8. But this is not enough, because crooked election judges can make their pencils do tricks when your ballot is being counted. You must begin at the circle at the top of the Workers Party ticket and go downward, making a "X" in the blank squares set in front of and to the left of every Workers Party candidate. Go Down the Line.
9. Be sure you go down the entire list from the top to the bottom of the column, not stopping at a space where the Workers Party has no candidates, but continuing downwards until the column of names ends. You do not have to vote for candidates for all offices, but only for those where the Workers Party has candidates.
10. Place your "X" mark carefully within the squares. Careless marks reach over and touch other squares, may invalidate your ballot. Make no other marks on the ballot.
11. Fold the ballot before leaving the booth the same way as you received it. Do not give it into any person's hands, but deposit it yourself in the ballot box.
12. In states where the Workers Party is not on the ticket, you may vote the Communist presidential ticket only if you write in on the ballot the following: "For president of the United States, William Z. Foster. For vice-president of the United States, Benjamin Gitlow." And to make it valid you must ascertain the name of one presidential elector of the

NEGRO 'DEFENDER' SLIPPED \$10,000 KAL KOOLIDGE KASH

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 31.—That the great Negro paper, the Chicago Defender, had betrayed the workers of that race by selling out to Coolidge for \$10,000 cash, was the statement made today before the Borah campaign fund investigating committee.

This testimony came from Carl Murphy, editor of the Baltimore American, who, it is stated, was also offered a bribe to betray his race to Coolidge, who is known to be the Ku Klux Klan candidate.

This story, coming over the wire as the DAILY WORKER goes to press, came from the Washington correspondent of the Federated Press. Further details as to this traitorous deal will be published in Monday's DAILY WORKER.

Workers' Party in that state, and write his or her name in after the words, "For electors of president and vice-president of the United States."

Last But Not Least.

13. Lastly, remember that the Workers Party frankly states that the workers cannot emancipate their class from capitalist exploitation by voting in elections or electing candidates to offices. But that it uses the election as a period of intensive education to convince the workers that only by overthrow of capitalist parliamentary forms and a proletarian dictatorship can a Communist society be developed. The Workers Party candidates, if elected, are under the iron discipline of the Workers Party and pledged to expose capitalist

thievery, not only of illegal graft like the Teapot Dome, but the legal robbery of exploiting wage labor and agitate form the rostrum of parliament the overthrow of capitalism and a Soviet Republic in the United States of America.

Apollo Club Opens Season.

The Apollo Musical Club will open its regular season on Monday, Nov. 3, at Orchestra Hall. The oratorios, "The Creation," by Haydn, and the "Requiem," Brahms, will be given, with Olive June Lacey, soprano, B. Fred Wise, tenor, and Herbert Gould, bass, as the soloists.

Members Hirsch Lektors Branch!

All comrades of the former Hirsch Lektors branch of the Young Workers League are urged to attend the first auxiliary meeting on Sunday afternoon, Nov. 2, at 3:30 p. m. sharp, at 2613 Hirsch Blvd. Very important matters will come up.

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OPEN FORUM SUNDAY NIGHT.
Sunday, Nov. 2, 8 p. m., at the Lodge Room, Ashland Auditorium. Alexander Bittelmann will speak upon "Communism versus LaFolletteism." Questions and discussion. Every worker welcome to the floor.

Anniversary Rally

ASHLAND AUDITORIUM

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7th, at 8 P. M.

Speakers:

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| WILLIAM Z. FOSTER | OLIVER CARLSON |
| JAY LOVESTONE | MARTIN ABERN |

Freiheit Singing Society and Mandolin Orchestra
Young Workers League Orchestra

Auspices: Workers Party, Local Chicago

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Engdahl on Eastern Speaking Tour Last Week of Campaign

DETROIT, Mich., Oct. 31.—J. Louis Engdahl, editor of the DAILY WORKER and Workers Party candidate for senator in Illinois, spoke here tonight before a large audience. He left immediately after meeting for Buffalo, N. Y., where he speaks on Saturday, Nov. 1, at 8 p. m.

Engdahl's eastern speaking tour also takes in Boston, Mass., in Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m., at Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton street and Cleveland, Ohio, Monday, Nov. 3, at 8 p. m., at the Bricklayers' Hall, 2105 21st street, south of Prospect.

Percy Ward to Tell About Irish Priests Tomorrow Afternoon

The opening lecture of the Rationalist University Society's seasonal offering will be held at the Garrick Theatre on Sunday afternoon at 2:30. The well-known lecturer, Percy Ward, will speak upon the subject: "What I Saw of Priests and People in Ireland."

Tonight Dance at Freiheit Singing Society Festival

The dance of the Freiheit Singing Society and Mandolin orchestra comes off tonight. It takes place at their new headquarters at 3837 W. Roosevelt road and begins at 8 p. m. Everyone who enjoys good music, dancing and wants to meet who's who in the workers' movement in Chicago will be there. Admission is 50 cents including wardrobe and a good time.

Teachers Suspect Cut in Salaries.

A meeting of the Chicago Teachers' Federation attended by over one thousand teachers, was held at the Capitol building to protest against a new plan submitted by Supt. McAndrew, to reduce school expenses. A questionnaire was sent to each teacher to fill out and submit to principals. The questions contained were such as to determine the financial responsibilities of each teacher. The teachers claim this is another of those brilliant schemes of McAndrew's to meet the deficit in the school money by taking it out of the teachers and children instead of getting after those responsible for the deficit.

RATIONALIST UNIVERSITY SOCIETY OF CHICAGO

Garrick Theatre

This Sunday Afternoon: 2:30

GRAND OPENING LECTURE BY

Percy Ward

"What I Saw of Priests and People in Ireland"

Mr. Percy Ward has just returned from a three month's tour of Ireland and England. This lecture will tell you of his interesting experiences and startling discoveries.

COMING!

Nov. 9. Illustrated lecture by Professor Frederick Starr on "My Experiences of the Japanese Earthquake."

Nov. 16. Great debate between Professor Starr and Percy Ward on "Are the Advanced Races of Mankind Going Backward?"

Watch for announcements of visits of Professor Scott Nearing; Dr. William J. Durant; and Professor Joseph Jastrow.

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Entered as second-class mail Sept. 21, 1923, at the Post-Office at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

290 Advertising rates on application

Welcoming Calles

General Plutarco Elias Calles has just landed in New York. The Reverend Norman Thomas and the remaining few holy socialists, along with a motley collection of liberals, staged a reception for the president as a working class champion.

The Honorable Calles is reported to have told his pseudo-socialist admirers that he was elected by organized labor and that his "first interest is in the labor movement." We know that it was the organized labor movement and the working and farming masses of Mexico in general that were responsible for the election of Calles.

Mr. Calles has nothing to offer to the working class of Mexico. He is in hearty accord with the policies of the present Mexican administration which has been perpetrating travesty after travesty on the hard won gains won by the workers in the various revolutions of Mexico.

While Mr. Calles was boasting of the magnificent social program of the Mexican republic under his joint regime with Obregon, the Mexican government was landing its federal troops to protect the scabs running the refineries of the Gulf Oil corporation.

We have no illusions about Senator Calles. Senator Calles is of one stripe with the Reverend Thomases, the Morris Hillquits, and their European friends in the German social democracy now attempting to crush the Communist Party.

All the Same to Them

The Chicago Daily News is not bothered over the established fact that the alleged letter from Gregory Zinoviev was a forgery and quite likely the work of the British foreign office.

When the news of the "red plot" reached America, the capitalist editors immediately got their pens busy to show that this was another example of Communist duplicity and that Charles Evans Hughes was perfectly justified by events in refusing to have anything to do with the workers and peasants of Russia, who do not seem to hold capitalist governments in high esteem.

The Chicago Daily News had one of its usual stupid editorials in this vein. But when it became convinced that the letter was a forgery it did not turn around and apologize for its offense, but simply said in substance: "Well, what if it is a forgery? Perhaps some Communist to the left of Zinoviev forged the letter.

This is a typical example of the manner in which everything relating to Soviet Russia is treated by the capitalist press. They hate the Soviet government with a hatred that is holy. To be fair to Russia is impossible for them. They are class conscious. They know that every gain made by the Soviet Republic is a gain for the working masses everywhere.

Class conscious workers who know that the capitalist press consistently lies about the workers everywhere, should just as consistently support THE DAILY WORKER, which is concerned with fighting the workers' battle, and never has a kind word to say for the capitalist class or their system.

Answer this Call

Not only in New York City, where the Workers Party campaign committee has put out a call for T. U. E. L. and party members to volunteer for poll service on election day, will such demand be met with enthusiasm.

Workers everywhere who realize the danger of the LaFollette illusion have been fighting tooth and nail with the Communists. Only the Communists have stood out for a real working class program of revolutionary action against capitalism.

Together with members of the Workers Party, these class conscious workers have taken the floor of the unions from one end of the country to another, have furnished much of the agitating personnel and have made it possible for the Communist clarification to penetrate the masses in the unions which the labor fakers had guaranteed to LaFollette, or Davis or Coolidge.

The Injunctionites Win

Considering the I. W. W. convention as a whole, it has exhibited abysmal confusion and irresolution. It has been scared to death of taking a clean-cut and positive revolutionary stand. The very word "revolution" is unwelcome, hated by some who are purely reformists, and avoided by others who fear to face a struggle for a program of revolutionary action in which they believe, but which they do not know how to formulate and fight for.

The revolutionists, grouped around the agricultural workers with scattered additions from other unions, who have built the whole I. W. W., have, indeed, done their utmost to attain unity. But in doing so they have left to chance the equally necessary fight for unequivocal plans for actual revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

For sixteen long days the convention has sat. Time, far in excess of any sensible allotment to conclude similar business, has been consumed in the laborious democracy of using a convention pile driver on a lot of constitutional tacks. If we look for results of a positive nature, we see nothing. Everything done is to avoid doing something. Often something revolutionary. It has not even expelled the injunctionites, but left it to referendum.

For fifteen days the delegates fiddled around waiting for Rowan to give them some chance to compromise. Quite naturally, he told them to go to the devil. Then, since he wouldn't compromise with them, they compromised with him. They will fool nobody by saying, "We expelled the injunctionites."

The reformist job-unionist caucus laid its plans well. The trusting left wing of rebels, unwilling to solidify itself, and unable because of that fact to stiffen the center by demanding guarantees of support on revolutionary issues, went down to defeat and even split on the fine demagogic trick of combining the motion to expel with a motion to leave it to referendum, as advanced by Oates.

Oats is the well-known food for jackasses, and much braying about "democracy" will be heard from the long-eared tribe in every quarter, particularly from those who, by denying all workers' democracy themselves, and by exercising a pernicious personal censorship, have kept and continue to keep the membership from being informed of anything but what they choose to tell them, and therefore unable to decide a referendum intelligently.

The Communists have continually pointed out that censorship, begun against the advocates of the R. I. L. U., was perilous. It has proven so. Yet the convention has done nothing effective to remove this danger. On August 13 the Communists and Red Internationalists insisted that this convention be called before either side would admit it was needed. But it declared in addition that "no mere doctering of constitutions" could settle the issues, and that "unless ideological matters are threshed out, nothing will be settled."

Nothing has been settled thus far, for that reason. Tho in the past the I. W. W. found Sandgren and Varney embarrassing company, it retains the complete counter-revolutionary ideology they advocated, and neither in its press or on its rostrum, does not permit the R. I. L. U. to dispel their lies and the confusion of anarcho-syndicalism. Sandgren and Rowan have won. Will they hold the victory?

Samuel Untermyer is a conspicuous "public citizen." He is helping to get the goods on the G. O. P. in the interest of John W. Davis, Morgan attorney. Getting "goods" is Untermyer's specialty. A stoopgoon employed by the noted lawyer to get the goods on W. E. D. Stokes, millionaire, is suing Untermyer for \$7,500, which the fink spent in getting the stuff for Untermyer. If the G. O. P. supporters were as tight as Untermyer there would not be much need for a quiz.

We note that the Wage Earners' League has endorsed Len Small for governor and the democrat Sprague for senator. Who owns this Wage Earners' League? Len Small, thru Fred Lundin, thru Percy Coffin, thru the labor fakers Quesse and Boyle.

Join the Workers Party and subscribe to the DAILY WORKER.

CONVENTION OF I. W. W. SEIZED BY INJUNCTIONITES

Roll Call Shows They Have Got Control

Late Thursday the I. W. W. convention suddenly came to life and battle when George Speed of 510 moved to rescind Wednesday's action to leave the expulsion of the injunctionites to referendum.

The branded that action as plain support of the injunctionites. But Speed's motion lost on roll call vote, asked for by the lumber workers.

The anarcho-syndicalist center went to the rescue of Rowan and the reformists of the right wing, Weindler and Ruth Rumbough, for example, voting to support Rowan on a roll-call vote. The roll-call was called by Speed, the resource of cowards, as the roll-call, like the referendum, gives the reformist lumber workers the advantage.

Charles Gray of 110, altho stating that he favored the referendum, "because I want to know what kind of an organization I belong to," added, "but in this fight I'll stick with the left wing and make the line-up clear."

This action makes very clear that the injunctionites have got control of the convention, the surface condemnation of them by the right wing delegates being mere stage play.

Foreseen by Communists. This outcome was prophesied by Harrison George of the Red International of Labor Unions Tuesday, after being denied the floor. At that time he said, "There is no half-way ground for workers, who say they are revolutionary, between the reactionary injunctionite elements and the members of the I. W. W. who adhere to the Red International because they adhere to revolution. Refusal to listen to the message of the Red International shows that before the convention is over it will be captured by the injunctionites."

Doyle Finishes His Defense. Thomas Doyle, suspended secretary-treasurer, finished his defense to charges that he violated the I. W. W. constitution, yesterday. Doyle turned his defense into an attack on the injunctionites, and the champions of Rowan, in the convention—Leonard Swanson, Grad, Oates, and especially Erwin, tried by their questions to tone down the offenses committed by the Rowan-Bowerman faction.

Doyle denied that he had forcibly ejected the "rump" general executive board of the national headquarters at 1001 West Madison street. When asked by one of the Rowanites in the convention what was his definition of a "rump" G. E. B. Doyle replied "illegal." He declared "the membership was particularly sore because Rowan and his henchmen tied up the ball fund of \$12,000 by their injunction, and hampered the defense work and publication of the I. W. W. newspapers."

Accuse Bowerman of Shielding Dicks. Doyle repeated his charge that Bowerman wanted the G. E. B. to rescind its former action of expelling two Burns' stool pigeons from the organization. Doyle read a letter which charged B. Raddock with being a former member of the U. S. department of intelligence in the U. S. army. The letter declared that Raddock had tried to go to Russia but the Russian committee examining his credentials barred him from going because he refused to reveal what work he did

Communist Open Air Meetings in Chicago

North and Orchard, North and N. Park Ave., Wilton and Belmont—All in the ninth congressional district. Speakers get in touch with D. E. Earley. 30th and State—Auspices of South Side branch. Speakers: Gordon Owens and Paul Cline. Division and Washtenaw—Auspices of N. W. Jewish branch. Speakers: Al Schaap, Sam Hammersmark and Elsa Bloch. Roosevelt and St. Louis—Auspices of Douglas Park Jewish branch.

as secret service man in the army. He also read a letter written by Raddock to Bowerman, enclosing a letter to Dr. Frederic Blossom.

"Every action of the Rowanites has had the character about it of injuring the I. W. W., and I have tried to protect the principles of the organization at all times," Doyle stated. He told how Joe Fisher had his head laid open with a piece of iron wielded by the injunctionites. Doyle revealed that he has raised \$10,000 with which to finance the present convention.

Welinder Withholds News. P. J. Welinder, the "press committee" of the I. W. W. convention now meeting here, seems to be making it his principle duty to keep news of the convention from getting out to the public. Welinder has refused to give the DAILY WORKER reporter the minutes of the I. W. W. convention on the grounds that we "have not treated the chairman right."

Welinder's duties, as the press committee of the convention, were stated to be the preparing of a daily press dispatch which would be the official press notice of the convention, after they had approved it. In spite of the fact that by the time the press committee had laboriously written up his reports of the convention and had them approved by that body, the news was four days old, the DAILY WORKER has patiently given many columns of space to printing these minutes.

But after Welinder was elected to replace Ed Delaney on the press committee of the DAILY WORKER found it had no space for a particularly badly written and verbose report of Welinder's. Welinder immediately induced the convention to pass a motion to give the DAILY WORKER no more press reports on the grounds that "we were not printing them."

Reports Prepared, But Not Issued. Welinder declined the nomination for an important committee on the grounds that "I am already on the press committee." Now Welinder is seriously going about the farce of preparing lengthy "press reports" every day of the proceedings of the convention, and persistently refusing to give them to the DAILY WORKER. Welinder's main job would appear to be suppressing the news of the convention. His reports, of which he is so proud, are not sought by the capitalist papers, and Welinder refuses the official news of the convention to other working class newspapers.

Play News Suppression Game. The I. W. W. convention, in its rampage of 100 per cent democracy, has ordered that no news except that given out by the press committee is "official." Now they refuse to give out the "official news," and yet take the time of the convention to hear Welinder read to them his lengthy and entirely useless daily "news dispatches."

However, members of the I. W. W. as well as other workers, read the DAILY WORKER, and get the news even tho it has not been sheep-dipped, chemically analyzed, subjected to microscopic examination by the committee on punctuation, fumigated, painted and duly approved by referendum.



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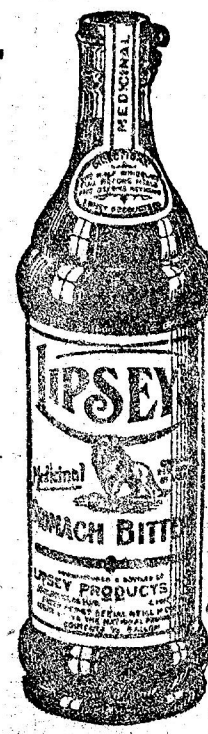
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YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE DRIVE FOR COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF YOUTHFUL MINERS WINS PRAISE

National Industrial Organizer, Y. W. L. of A.) The greatest percentage of young people employed in the mine are trip riders, motormen and the like. A small percentage are actual coal diggers. The tracks in most mines are in bad condition. The hills upon which the cars travel are very steep and if one were to see them outside of the mine, one would be exceedingly hesitant in taking the chance to travel on them.

Many times the motorman is unable to stop his train and is forced to signal the trip riders to jump in order to escape any injuries. Such occurrences are quite common.

The motormen are forced to wear belts to protect their kidneys. Much discrimination is practiced against the young miners in many sections. In Martins Ferry, Ohio, the young workers employed on the tipples, receive less money than the adult workers. They are given what is called "boy's jobs." In accordance with the contract they are paid less. We must abolish once and for all such discriminatory arrangements.

By JOHN WILLIAMSON, National Secretary Y. W. L. of A. The mining industry of America offers a wonderful opportunity for the Young Workers League to accomplish good propaganda and organizational results. The thousands of young workers employed in the mining industry by the coal companies, regardless of state laws which are never enforced, offers a fertile field for the revolutionary propaganda of the American Communist Youth movement.

Knowing this we enter this campaign, the first real industrial campaign conducted in a basic industry, with a knowledge that the demands and program of our movement are immediate and vital issues demanding the attention of every young miner in the country.

This campaign must receive the unstinted support of every member of the Young Workers League and Workers Party in every section of the country. Those units who are not located directly in the mining territory must rally to the support of the League in this campaign.

The Young Workers League of America must become the expression of the millions of young exploited industrial workers in America. By C. E. Ruthenberg Executive Secretary of Workers Party The young workers employed in the mining industry are suffering to a large degree. They are not given the necessary support due them. We find in many sections of the country much discrimination is practiced against them. Due to their age and inexperience they are exploited in

many ways. As a result of the contemptible crooked officialdom of the United Mine Workers of America, we find the young miners are not taking the necessary interest in the union. This is the greatest danger to the union. We must keep the young fighting element and make of them fighters for the workingclass. The campaign of the Young Workers League in the mining industry comes at an opportune moment. Only by organizing units of the league in every mining camp, will the young workers be able to fight for their demands. Work of this nature will contribute more in making the Young Communist movement in this country a mass organization. Every party member is urged to extend the utmost cooperation and support to the Young Workers' League in this campaign. All information on the conditions of the young miners should be sent in to the national office of the Y. W. L. of A. We hope the Young Workers' League will attain the maximum results from this campaign. Yours for a mass Young Communist League in America.

By EARL BROWDER Editor of the Workers Monthly

News that the Young Workers League is making a drive for organization of a nucleus in every mining town of the young workers in the mining industry, is another sign that our Y. W. L. is on the correct road. The Young Workers League has proved by its activities that it is a real young workers' organization, and not a warmed-over, second-hand edition of the boy scouts, Y. M. C. A., or any other of the associations of cake-eaters, lounge-lizards, and dance-hall shiekhs and shebas. Into the mines, mills and factories, to prepare the young workers for their future role as the rulers of society—that is the task of the Y. W. L. and the drive in the mining fields is a part of that great task. Every revolutionary worker will wish every success to the Y. W. L. and give all the assistance in his power.

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Soviet Russia and Oppressed Nationalities

(Continued from Page 4.)

and is the program of proletarian revolution. I recall that one of the best laughs I got while in Leavenworth, was upon reading the accounts, told in the manner of horrified bourgeois, of how the American missionary force in China, had raised a huge fund in America to finance free, wide-spread distribution of the bible printed in Chinese. After millions had been printed and hundreds of thousands distributed, it was discovered that the "heaven Chinese" printers had surreptitiously inserted in the middle of the holy book, the entire Communist Manifesto, bound in and printed in the same type as the gospel!

Again, in the last few days, American imperialism with its Nazarene face, has received a slap by the Shin-to-Fudhist Japan, who, in the contest between its own satrap, Chang Tso-Lin and the American-British hireling Wu Pei Fu, checkmated western imperialists by calmly bribing a "Christian general" to mutiny against Wu and seize the central Peking government.

The policy of the Soviet Union toward the oppressed nations is well illustrated in this same country of China. Since the 1911 revolution when the nation was dismembered by the imperialists, China as a unified nation has not existed. She has been the sport and victim of quarrelling imperialists. The Russian revolution removed the ominous czarist threat, but so firmly had the western imperialists gotten the various Chinese rulers in their clutches, that none would recognize China's only friend—Soviet Russia. Some even did the bidding of the imperialists and sent Chinese troops into Siberia and gave the Chinese Eastern railway over to the white guard Russians.

China and the Soviets.

But the power of the red army soon swept all interventionists into the sea. The magnanimous treatment of Mongolia and the Soviets' offer to renounce all the czarist concessions and extra-territorial rights, so hated by the Chinese, as well as foregoing the Boxer indemnity, was a tremendous pressure. China, even the servile Tsoo Kun, established in Peking by the power of Standard Oil, finally recognized the Soviet Union.

Particularly in South China, where the revolutionary workers and the native intelligentsia have organized with the peasants into the powerful national revolutionary party, the Kuomintang, controlling the Canton government of Sun Yat Sen, is the Soviet Union looked upon with fervid hope as the Great Deliverer.

The anniversary of the bolshevik revolution is a public holiday in South China, and upon the death of Lenin great ceremonies in which the whole populace, with the exception of the Chinese merchant fascist organized by Britain, took part.

Trotsky's Lesson for the Orient. The policy of the Soviet Union is well expressed in the answer of Trotsky to the message sent him by the Oriental Society for Struggle Against Imperialism, which said in part:

"True to the will of the founder, the Union of Soviet Republics will altogether and entirely remain on the side of the oppressed against the oppressors. By their opprobrious work of violence the imperialists are driving the Chinese people to hate every foreigner and everything foreign.

"It is, however, the task of Chinese revolutionists, in order to guard the Chinese people from chauvinism, to teach it to distinguish in every capitalist nation between two fundamental classes—the imperialistic bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat. It is only in union with the workers of the world that the Chinese democracy will repel the new imperialist onslaught on the national independence of the Chinese people."

Leaving China, let us see how the peoples of the Near East are treated. Let us take their own versions of how they "civilize backward nations," and analyze them.

Palestine Grabbed for "Sentiment." Albert Montefiore Hyamson, controller of labor in the government of Palestine says that, while the issue between British and Turkish arms was

still uncertain in that land, the Zionist leaders "especially those who happened to be in England" and who were "not slow in seeing possibilities" opened negotiations with the British government, with the result that by a declaration of Lord Balfour in November, 1917, a practical protectorate was established by Great Britain over Palestine. The motives, says Hyamson coyly, "were complex. Prominent among them were the sentimental and religious interests in the return of the Jews to Palestine. Another motive doubtless (very probable, indeed—H. G.) was the desire for the security of the imperial communications with India and Australia."

His excellency, the controller of labor, goes on to say how native Arab agitation against this state of affairs grew, and he observes this was increased by, of course, "a wrong interpretation" of the "promise of Arab independence made by the British government in 1915. Affairs became worse until anti-Jewish outbreaks occurred in which many Jews were killed at Jerusalem on Easter, 1920." The British, doubtless out of pure sympathy with the Jews and not at all influenced by solicitude for "imperial communications" hastened to declare a military rule under Sir Herbert Samuel, and "the riot was suppressed and punishment meted out."

The Arabs began a non-co-operation movement somewhat flavored with riots. But the league of nations in September, 1923, formally allotted Palestine as a "mandate" to the British crown and covered the whole mass of duplicity and imperialism with an odor of international sanctity. The armed forces of Britain still rule by force over the preponderant Arab population. The bible and the Talmud are in alliance protecting "imperial communications with India," and doubtless, some undeveloped oil fields.

British Bandits in Persia.

In Persia, says Brigadier General Sir Percy Sykes, who was (some of the time) a peace-loving consul general, and sometimes a leader of marauding bands of British mercenaries euphemistically called the "South Persian Rifles," "The policy of Great Britain was and is to maintain the independence of Persia, which has served so long as a valuable buffer between the Indian empire and Russia." He adds as a mere afterthought that the merchants of London and Bombay were deeply interested in Persian trade, and that "the oil resources of Persia are her greatest assets."

Sir Percy did his best to grab these things for England, and even to lay hands upon the Soviet oil fields of Baku. Of course, he found good moral grounds for this. He says that "The collapse of Russia constituted a serious blow to the Indian empire." Besides, the infernal Germans were trying to get Baku first. A brigand crew of mercenaries politely termed a "British Military Mission" dashed across 700 miles of supposedly neutral Persian ground, united with the counter-revolutionary white guard cossacks and seized Baku.

The Red Army Smokes Them Out. These bands were, of course, later put out, together with both Germans and Turks, by the red army of real liberation. But imperialist Germany and Britain continued to use Persia as a bone to quarrel over. The native Persians rose against both and drove back Sir Percy and his "South Persian Rifles." The interest of England in these looting bands of white guards, may well be seen by Sir Percy's own admission that if his forces had been completely routed, "There would have been a rising in the Punjab, which was seething with sedition. As it was, this did not take place until the following year when the war had been won." And, then, we may add, with no democratic pretenses to sustain, the machine guns of the British military suppressed the Indians with barbarous massacres at Amristar, and other points.

At the end of the war, England attempted to use her victory by reducing Persia to a vassal state. She attempted to subsidize Persia to form a white guard base against Soviet Russia, offering to finance a "Persian" army of counter-revolutionary cossacks. But the Soviet policy of real friendship, the surrender of various

concessions forced on Persia by the czar, caused a popular uprising against England and the Persian parliament was forced to denounce this scheme.

The treatment of the people of Iraq, an artificially created nation at the door of Persia, with a "king" who is as servile to British imperialism as Ramsay MacDonald, is well known. Even under the alleged "labor government" the natives who rebel against the satrapy, are massacred—men, women and children indiscriminately, by airplane bombs of the British army. So sickening has been these massacres that the soldiers of the air force protested to the "labor" government at the butchery, but were ordered by these "pacifist" members of the Second International to proceed.

The Ruthless Treatment of India.

The fight of the Communists to bring a real liberation to the oppressed nationalities may be seen clearly in the case of India. We see first the steel-shod feet of England crushing the lives of teeming millions. Without India the British empire would not last a day. For good reason does England send her best bloodhounds and "firmest" statesmen to exercise in India.

One of these, Sir Thomas W. Holderness, tells us in his smug imperialist way of the recent years' relations between India and what he calmly assumes is "the paramount power." He speaks of the "gracious proclamation" of King Edward, of the "notable vice-royalty" of Lord Curzon, of the "courage and tenacity" of Lord Morley and Lord Minto against the "misguided zealots" who answered oppression with tyrannicide, of the "demonstrations of loyalty" upon the visits of the royal family in 1911, strangely followed by "deep-seated anarchy" and attempts to assassinate Lord Hardinge. "Educated" and the "Malcontents"

A new tone comes into Sir Thomas' voice when he discusses the relations of the Indian people and the "paramount power" during and after the war. Subtly, he praises the "military races," the "territorial aristocracy" and the "educated classes" who "in many touching ways" demonstrated their loyalty to "the throne." He adds in the way of ecstatic philosophy, "the personal relation which kingship embodies is of magic power still in the East." True, he asserts, that some Sikhs, "indoctrinated with revolutionary principles," some "malcontents in the Indian army" and so on, did not fully appreciate the blessings of "paramount power." "But," he added, "a vigilant government, armed with sharpened powers" successfully dealt with them.

The war began a great upheaval, in spite of the "touching" demonstrations of loyalty by the "educated classes." India sent—sometimes by plain conscription, and usually with virtual compulsion or purchase, 800,000 combatants and 400,000 non-combatant army laborers to France. India, always with her millions on the edge of famine, was drained of food. Prices rose for the masses while the "ruling princes and territorial magnates" lashed them off to fight for the white overlord and the manufacturers and trade "reaped substantial fortunes." It was necessary that "British freedom" should protect itself with repressive laws, and the Rowlett bill passed by Lord Chelmsford was meant "for dealing with revolutionary crime."

The native capitalists were quick to turn the rage of the masses against the English rule in order to force from Britain their own swaraj or self-government, meaning their right to oppress the Indian masses without sharing the loot with English imperialism. Mahatma Gandhi appeared as the bourgeois-pacifist type, seeking to oppose to British arms the "soul force" of the Indian masses, preaching non-resistance, the boycott and historical reversion to the spinning wheel against the "satanic government" of England.

The Slave Pen Called Africa. There remains the great slave-pen, Africa. In Tunis, Algiers and Morocco, the natives are made into serfs after their lands are seized by the French. In the towns the natives fight with the dogs for garbage cans, in famine years they die by the road-

sides. In west and equatorial Africa a system of "hostages" prevails, old people, women and children are imprisoned in vile barracks to insure the enslaved male workers from running away. If one escapes, the dependents are put to death, and continually they are starved, beaten and treated worse than animals. The unspeakable "civilization" France has given to Africa is vividly pictured in that wonderful book by the French colonial, Rene Maran, entitled, "Batouala." It may be noted that France plans for an army of 660,000 black soldiers to enforce "law and order" at home and in the colonies.

Does the Civil Liberties Union know that no Negro can leave South Africa legally? He must smuggle himself out as a stowaway to escape from the slave pens run by MacDonald's "socialist" government. There, 6,000,000 blacks are bossed by 1,500,000 whites. In the gold mines of the Rand 230,000 black miners toil under 27,000 white overseers.

Oppressed Racial Minorities.

There are, of course, the problems of the oppressed races within nations, such as the Negroes of America, and the various peoples annexed by grace of the Versailles Treaty. But there is not space here to treat of them, tho they are highly important and tho they, too, turn toward Moscow as to the dawn. The story has been told them of the real freedom brought the obscurest and most backward races under the Soviet Union. How unheard of races under the Arctic circle have now schools and their language taught from printed letters for the first time and that, "in the forming of the central organs of the Soviet Union, all national republics, without exception, be guaranteed equal rights and positions, and that all the needs of the nationalities be satisfied." Such was the motion passed by the Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, which administers the Soviet Union.

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—Karl Marx.

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

NOVEMBER 1, 1924.

SECOND SECTION

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

On the Anniversary of the Russian Revolution — — By N. Lenin

(A speech delivered by Lenin in Moscow on the Fourth Anniversary of the November revolution.)

We are approaching the fourth anniversary of the November revolution. The farther we go from this great day, the clearer do we grasp the significance of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and the deeper do we appreciate the experiences of the general struggle. These could be stated in very brief form as follows:

The immediate and direct task of the revolution in Russia, was of a bourgeois democratic nature—that is, to overthrow the remnants of the middle ages, to clear Russia of this barbarism, disgraceful and greatest obstacle to any kind of progressive development in our country.

We have all grounds to be proud of the fact that we in Russia have carried out the abolition of feudalism in a much more radical, determined and sweeping way than has been done by the great French revolution over one hundred and twenty-five years ago.

The anarchists and petty-bourgeois democrats (that is, the mensheviks and socialist-revolutionaries, as the Russian representatives of this international social type) have been saying and continue to say all kinds of things about the relations between a bourgeois democratic revolution and a socialist proletarian revolution. The past four years of the Russian revolution have proved the correctness of our understanding of Marxism with regard to this point. We have completed the bourgeois democratic revolution to its very end. At this moment we continue to move ahead, determinedly and energetically to the socialist revolution, realizing at the same time that there is no Chinese wall between the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, and that only in the process of actual struggle will it be determined, how far we shall succeed in moving ahead, and how much of it we shall be able to retain. We shall live and see. But even now, we already find, that we have accomplished gigantic changes—changes to the better for our ruined and backward country on the road on to the up-building of a socialist order of society.

Marxians should have no difficulty in understanding the significance of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. For further illustration, we should take a few concrete examples. To carry thru a bourgeois-democratic revolution means to clear the social relations of a country from institutions of the middle ages, from chattel slavery and feudalism. Now, what were the main characteristics of these remnants of feudalism in Russia in 1917? The answer is: The monarchy, the then existing system of land ownership, the social position of women, the official status of religion and the position of the oppressed nationalities. Take any of these manifestations of feudalism, which, by the way, can be found in a goodly measure in any of the bourgeois democratic countries which had their revolutions a hundred and twenty-five and more years ago, and you will find that our revolution had cleared these manifestations completely out of existence. In the course of about ten weeks, from November 7, 1917, to January 5, 1918, we have done in this respect a thousand times more than have the petty-bourgeois democrats and liberals during the eight months that they have been in power.

These cowards, empty phrase-mongers, these little stage-Hamlets, arm-

ed with paper swords, failed even to abolish the monarchy, while we, as soon as we got our chance, cleaned Russia of the monarchistic impurities as was never done before in any country in the world. We have left no stone unturned in the old structure of czaristic oppression. We have removed the very foundations of the old system of feudalism, chattel-slavery and land ownership.

Of course, one could discuss without end (and there are plenty of journalists, cadets, mensheviks, and socialist-revolutionists who indulge in this sort of debate) as to what will be the final result of the agricultural changes produced by the November revolution. As to ourselves, we have neither the time nor the desire to indulge now in such discussion. However, there is one fact which cannot be denied, and that is, that the petty-bourgeois democrats have been in power for eight long months without abolishing a single institution of the old feudal order, while we have completely swept feudalism off the face of the Russian earth in the course of only a few weeks' time.

Or take, for example, the official status of religion, or the inferior position in society of the Russian wo-

men, or the oppression and persecution of the non-Russian nationalities. All these are problems of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. But what happened? Our petty-bourgeois democrats spent eight months in mouthing phrases, without producing a single fundamental change in the old social and political relations of Russia. Even in the most advanced bourgeois countries in the world, these bourgeois-democratic problems have not been completely solved as yet. And in Russia the November revolution—only the November revolution—succeeded in completing the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Our struggles against religion are real struggles. Our November revolution has granted the non-Russian nationalities their own republics and autonomous provinces. We in Russia no longer tolerate the disgrace of oppressing women, which, tho it is a remnant of feudalism, still persists in somewhat modern form in every bourgeois country in the world.

All this properly belongs to a bourgeois democratic revolution. One hundred and fifty and two hundred years ago, the leaders of the bourgeois revolutions had promised to liberate humanity from the oppression of feudalism, to do away with the inequality of women, to destroy the privileges of the dominating church and to establish the equality of na-

—that we will continually correct our mistakes always looking after the best and most efficient solution of our problem. But in spite of all our mistakes, we have every reason to be proud of our accomplishments, and particularly of the fact that it was we who started the greatest revolution in human history, which marks the epoch of the coming into power of a new class, whose struggles and victories will eventually relieve humanity of the disgraceful rule of capitalism and imperialism.

Since 1914, the question of imperialism and of its main driving force, finance capital, which is imposing its rule of robbery, plunder, and oppression upon the weak and backward nations—this question has become the central point in the political life of the entire world. It is a question of life and death for tens of millions of people. It is a question of whether we shall again have to pass thru an imperialist war, (which capitalism is preparing right now before the eyes of the whole world) which will again destroy tens of millions of human lives and in this question also, our November revolution opened up a new era in human history.

The servants of the bourgeoisie, such as the mensheviks, the socialist-revolutionaries and the "socialist" democracy of the whole world, have been ridiculing our slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war. And what do we find? That this slogan has proved the only truth in the world of lies spread by the chauvinists and social patriots. These lies are being exposed now. Every day brings new revelations to the masses as to the meaning of capitalist peace and capitalist war. The masses are gradually coming to the realization of the truth of our old slogan—that there is no other way of abolishing the imperialist war except by bolshevik struggles and bolshevik revolutions.

Let the bourgeoisie and the pacifists and all pious Christians and knights of the Second and Second-and-a-Half Internationals keep on condemning the bolshevik revolution. It will not help them. No amount of condemnation and lies will be able to do away with the great historical fact that it was for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years that the oppressed slaves have risen in their anger and have declared that they are not going to fight the battles of their masters. It was for the first time in thousands of years that the vague and blind instincts of the masses found their expression in a clear-cut political program in an organized struggle of millions of oppressed under the leadership of the proletariat, which resulted in the first victory of the working class and the victory of the Russian revolution.

This first victory is not yet the final victory. The Russian masses have paid an immense price for what they have already achieved. We have committed mistakes which we are not afraid to admit. We shall continue to study our experiences soberly and impartially, in order to improve our program of struggle against world capitalism. We know that we have only made a beginning. The triumphant end is yet to come. And also we cannot say precisely when and in what country the proletariat will make the next decisive step, there is one thing we do know—and that is, that the ice is broken, the way has been shown to the workers of the world, how to fight capitalism and establish the rule of the working class.

NOTE.

This speech by Lenin is part of the Workers Party branch program appearing on Page 2 of Magazine Section.



November, 1917

It has been decided that all Workers Party branches that have not taken part in mass demonstrations in celebration of the Seventh Anniversary of the Russian Revolution must turn their next regular branch meeting into such a celebration.

PROGRAM

For Your Branch Celebration

of the Anniversary of the Seventh Victorious Year of the Russian Proletariat

There is one event which every party member and every party organization must celebrate. This event is the anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

The Communist International and the Workers Party by decision of the Central Executive Committee has called upon every party unit to commemorate this SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY of the VICTORY of THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT.

In the seventy largest cities in the United States our party organizations will hold big mass demonstrations in celebration of the seven triumphant years of Soviet Russia.

But the Workers Party has branches in hundreds of cities. The decision made by the Central Executive Committee instructs every branch that has not made itself a vital part of these 70 mass demonstrations to turn its NEXT REGULAR MEETING INTO A CELEBRATION OF THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

This means that in every city where we have single party branches, in every city where we have a City Central Committee that did not organize a celebration—in all these cities THE BRANCHES ARE TO CELEBRATE AT THEIR NEXT REGULAR BRANCH MEETING.

The program for your celebration will be found in this paper. Several verses of the INTERNATIONAL; the MANIFESTO of the Workers Party; the speech in support of the DAILY WORKER; the speech by LENIN made upon the fourth anniversary of the Russian Revolution; the speech entitled, "BOLSHEVIZE THE WORKERS PARTY"—all these constitute your program. Your meeting program should be organized in the following order:

PROGRAM FOR YOUR BRANCH:

1. SINGING OF THE INTERNATIONAL
2. READING OF THE MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS PARTY.
3. READING OF SPEECH ENTITLED: "INSURE THE DAILY WORKER FOR 1925!"
4. COLLECTION: The proceeds of the meetings are to be remitted to the DAILY WORKER.
5. READING OF SPEECH MADE BY LENIN UPON THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.
6. READING OF SPEECH ENTITLED: "BOLSHEVIZE THE WORKERS PARTY!"
7. SHORT SPEECHES BY THE MEMBERS OF THE BRANCH.
8. SINGING OF INTERNATIONALE AND ADJOURNMENT.

The International

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.

REFRAIN

'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The International Party
Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviors.
To rule us from a judgment hall;
We workers ask not for their favors;
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.

Toilers from shops and fields united,
The union we of all who work;
The earth belongs to us, the workers,
No room here for the shirk.
How many on our flesh have fastened!
But if the noisome birds of prey
Shall vanish from the sky some morning,
The blessed sunlight will stay.

Insure the DAILY WORKER for 1925

THE DAILY WORKER is the central organ of our party. Upon it, more than anything else, depends the growth and the strength of our party. If the circulation of THE DAILY WORKER is big, our Party will grow. If THE DAILY WORKER is strong, our party will gain strength.

That THE DAILY WORKER has been able for almost a year to continue its existence without financial help is a testament to the health of our party and to the activity of the membership. Never in the history of the world labor movement has any labor daily been able to exist without subsidy. If, in America, in the face of the enmity of the entire labor officialdom, in the face of the bitter hostility of the capitalist class, THE DAILY WORKER had been able out of its income from subscriptions to pay its own way, that would have been a miracle.

But miracles do not happen. THE DAILY WORKER has gone on for nine months without asking for money. It has not been an easy road that has been traveled. It has meant saving and planning, and ceaseless work. But the achievement has been great. From a weak and tiny

paper, THE DAILY WORKER has grown into a strong and powerful organ of the revolution. But it has not grown fast enough, nor strong enough yet, to make its own way without the financial support of the militant workers, who alone make THE DAILY WORKER possible.

THE DAILY WORKER does not face annihilation if the funds are not forthcoming, but yet it can no longer go on its way strong and becoming stronger unless the money is available. Therefore, we campaign now to make THE DAILY WORKER safe for 1925; to make it possible that during the coming year THE DAILY WORKER may equal its record achievements of the past year and go on to further and greater victory.

Insure THE DAILY WORKER for 1925! In celebrating the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, we not only greet Soviet Russia on the completion of its 7th victorious year, but we also greet THE DAILY WORKER, emblem of victory for the Workers Party and the American revolutionary movement. Upon this anniversary of the Russian Revolution we pledge our utmost support for THE DAILY WORKER and will generously contribute to make our English daily safe for the coming year.

Bolshevize the Workers Party

It was a Bolshevik party which led the workers and peasants in the triumphant struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. When we celebrate this victory we should ask ourselves, "What are the qualities which make a workers' political party a Bolshevik Party?" We must ask ourselves this question and then get to work persistently and systematically to make of our party—the Workers Party—a Bolshevik party.

The basic quality of a Bolshevik party is a clear, fundamental grasp of Marxism and Leninism on the part of its members. A party built upon that foundation cannot go wrong in formulating policies and tactics to fight the class struggle. For this purpose, to create this Bolshevik understanding, we must create party schools, nationally, and study classes in every branch of the party and there teach Marxism and Leninism. Our party members must be encouraged to study the literature of Marxism and Leninism and thus to develop the theoreticians and leaders of our movement.

A Bolshevik party, however, is not only a party of Marxist and Leninist educational propaganda. It must be able to apply the Marxist and Leninist theory to the actual struggle of the workers. It must participate in the struggle using the Marxist-Leninist understanding as the guide to its maneuvers to draw the workers into the mass, class struggle against capitalism. The united front tactics as a means of agitation and mobilization of the masses, maneuvers in relation to other parties and groups, these are part of the tactics of a truly Bolshevik party. A sectarian propaganda organization is not a Bolshevik or Communist party. A Bolshevik party must be a fighting, maneuvering vanguard in the actual struggle of the workers.

A third requisite to make a party a truly Bolshevik organization is the correct organizational basis. This organizational basis is the shop nuclei—groups of workers organized in the factories—who keep the party in touch with the everyday lives of the workers and make it possible to mobilize them from the factories for the struggles against capitalism. Every factory must be a stronghold of the Workers Party.

With these qualities of the party as a whole must go the strictest discipline on the part of its members. In a Bolshevik party, the convention is the highest power. Between conventions, the Central Executive Committee is entrusted with all authority on all party questions. Once decisions of the highest party authorities are handed down, the party as a whole must carry them into effect. Discussion ceases when decisions are made and action is the order of the day. It is only thru such strict discipline that we can build a monolithic party able to act decisively and meet the great problems which it has to solve.

The Communist International, as well as the Workers Party, makes one of the qualifications for party membership active participation in the party work. We do not want a party merely of dues paying members. Such a party is not a Bolshevik party. Every member of a Bolshevik party must be an active worker for Communism. He must be a member of the trade unions and carry on work for Communism there. He must carry on active propaganda among the working masses. He must be ever on watch to recruit new members worthy of becoming part of the vanguard of the working class, must support every party campaign, must endeavor to increase the circulation of the DAILY WORKER, the Workers Monthly, the language press and thus increase their influence. He must lead a Communist life—that is, all the time he does not give to the actual work necessary to secure his livelihood should be devoted to the upbuilding of the party. Communists must even have their social life in the party environment.

These are the qualities of a Bolshevik party. We must try tirelessly to make the Workers Party such a Bolshevik party. We have achieved much in that direction but there is still a great deal to do. Today we celebrate the Seventh Anniversary of the Triumph of the Russian Workers. When we celebrate the Eighth Anniversary we must be able to say that we have made still greater strides toward making our party a Bolshevik party, which means that we will have made greater strides forward towards the day when the Bolshevik party will triumph in the United States.

Program of the Communist International

(Continued from page 6)

gans of the proletarian state everywhere.

The Soviet State differs from bourgeois democracy in that it openly reveals its class character, and openly sets itself the task of suppressing the exploiters in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population.

While bourgeois democracy leaves quite untouched the monopoly of the capitalist class with respect to the means of production, and all material values of decisive importance, and thus reduces the formal rights of the workers to blatant hypocrisy; the Soviet State first creates the premises for these rights by actually securing the liberty of the working class, by rendering of the workers' organizations possible, etc.

For the first time in history proletarian democracy removes the inequality of all exploited citizens regardless of sex, race, religion, and nationality—it establishes an equality which has never been realized in any capitalist state.

Proletarian democracy and its organs, which realize the broadest democracy amongst the workers, are in incomparably closer relation with the masses, and enable them to take part in the administrative machine. The right to elect new delegates, the right to recall them at any time, the combination of executive and legislative power, the arrangement of electoral districts not according to territorial, but according to economic units (according to factories, undertakings, etc.)—all this draws a sharp dividing line between the bourgeois parliamentary republic and the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat.

The second reason is that the proletariat should not provoke antagonism in the intermediate groups. The victorious proletariat must find the right course of action to be adopted towards these spheres of production which can be subjected to centralized and systematic management, and those which would only be cumbersome ballast. The latter must be left to private initiative.

The victorious proletariat ensures to itself the important pre-requisites for the solution of the economic political basic tasks by the accomplishment of these fundamental measures, which have to be fulfilled in the early stages of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The manner and method for carrying out these basic tasks will be determined on the one hand by the attainment of this goal; on the other hand by the long continued or repeated political necessity of civil war or foreign war. According to the concrete demands of the economic and political position of every country and its international relations an economic political system can be proved necessary for a longer or shorter period, which undermines the material basis of the hostile strata, and ensures a rational consumption of existing provisions but ruins productive endeavor of private enterprises (by a system of requisition, etc.). This is linked up on the one hand with proletarian forms of economy and stems thereby the growth of productive forces in a high degree, and occasionally renders them impossible (war communism).

At the close of the open civil war, that is, after the installation of the political rule of the working class, the interests and necessities of the rational economic policy will be determined, whereas the methods of war Communism are pushed aside and finally absolutely discontinued. Thus the economic system in the initial stage of the transition period will be as follows:

There is a large variety of economic forms, extending from socialized big industry and agricultural estates to small artisans and peasants. The more backward the country under the capitalist regime, the more numerous and varied are its economic forms. In conformity with these various economic forms, we find on the one hand, various classes, and on the other hand various forms of economic stimuli, the operations of which determine the actual progress of production, and consequently, the development of the productive forces.

The varying forms of economy and industry, in their turn, inevitably also determine the form of their interrelations. The greater the influence of small private enterprise the more inevitable is the growth of the importance of simple market relations, with

to the peasantry is determined by economic expediency, and by the necessity of neutralizing the peasantry, and by the social-political importance of the peasantry); the organization of credits for agricultural improvements, combating usury and land speculation; the organization of agronomic aid to the peasantry by means of suitable schools, etc.

3. Proletarian nationalization of the banks. Delivery of all gold reserves, etc., into the hands of the proletarian state. Security of the interests of small depositors, centralization of the banks, subordination of all large banking concerns to the Central State Bank of the republic.

4. Nationalization and municipalization of wholesale trade.

5. Annulment of national debts.

6. Monopoly of foreign trade.

7. Monopoly of the most important printing establishments and newspapers.

In the execution of these measures, the following principles must be observed: Nationalization should as a rule not include small and medium enterprises. The chief reason for this is that the proletariat which has just seized power has not the required number of organizing forces at its disposal, especially during the first days of the dictatorship, to enable it not only to destroy the old order, but to bring about a union of the small and medium units of production.

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The varying forms of economy and industry, in their turn, inevitably also determine the form of their interrelations. The greater the influence of small private enterprise the more inevitable is the growth of the importance of simple market relations, with

all the logical consequences thereof.

This determines the fundamental tasks of the economic policy of the proletariat, which holds in its hands the large and economically decisive branches of industry. While taking advantage of the economic power of big industry and transport, as well as of the power of the state machinery, it is necessary to regulate private economic activity in such a manner as to ensure in the long run, the least painful method of removal of these forms. The adaptation to market conditions and the regulation of market conditions are most important in this respect. The proletariat, thru the market relations and thru competition with the backward types of economy, as well as with the constantly emerging elements of the new bourgeoisie, such as tradesmen, capitalists, etc., must abolish these economic forms. Adaptation to the market inevitably entails the adoption of capitalist forms and methods of economic activity (calculation of costs, money payments, organization of commerce, even to the extent of organizing stock exchanges, and banks, etc.). Nevertheless, these capitalist forms as applied in the enterprises of the proletarian state are essentially of an anti-capitalist character in the same way as the formation of the proletarian standing army ensures the strength and growth of its anti-capitalist character. On the other hand, the application of these forms and methods harbors the seeds of their own suppression; the more rapid the victorious progress of large scale proletarian production, the less the importance of the market relations; the larger the growth of systematized economy, the less necessary become the capitalist forms of economic activity.

In view of the survivals of capitalist influences and of the heterogeneity of the working class itself, it becomes necessary for a time to adopt capitalist methods in the socialized enterprises in one form or another (the bonus system, piece work rates, etc., etc.).

On the other hand the proletarian state must do its utmost to support and encourage all and every form of transition to social economy on the part of small producers. The question of the promotion of co-operation among the peasantry is of great importance, and particularly in agrarian countries. If under capitalist conditions and bourgeois dictatorship peasants' co-operatives inevitably become transformed into collective-capitalist organizations, and the so-called "agrarian socialism" is but a miserable reformist utopia, because co-operation becomes merged into the general system of capitalist economy—then under the proletarian dictatorship, under a wise economic policy, under the growth of large socialized production, peasants' co-operation will inevitably merge into the economic system of the proletarian dictatorship.

The class struggle, in the period of the proletarian dictatorship, to a considerable extent assumes the character of an economic fight between the rival economic forms, which may for a certain period grow side by side. The chief task is to ensure the steady removal of the backward economic units which are hostile to the proletariat. In this connection the fundamental policy should be a wise combination of state industry and peasant co-operation against merchant capital and the first seedlings of industrial capital.

It is also necessary to make use of state finances and taxation as to regulate the distribution of productive forces even in those branches of industry which are not in the hands of the proletarian state.

The proletariat must devote particularly careful attention to and the utmost precaution concerning reciprocal relations between city and country, and set up no barriers to the individualistic working motives of the peasantry.

It is natural that the extent of market relations and together with that the application of the methods of the new economic policy depend on the relative extent of capitalist large scale enterprise in comparison with small enterprise, that is, on the degree of national economy under consideration.

(To be concluded next Saturday)

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(To be concluded next Saturday)

THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL POPULARITY

(Continued from page 5)

Turkey and Persia, of Afghanistan and China, of the colonies and dependencies throughout the world. The oppressed masses sympathize with the Soviet Union because they see in it an ally in the cause of emancipation from imperialism. Therefore the growth of the international popularity of the Soviet power signifies the growth of the hatred of the oppressed masses of the world for imperialism. Such are the facts.

It can hardly be doubted that these hatreds will not serve to strengthen the "pacifist-democratic" regime of present day capitalism.

The other day the American Secretary of State, the pacifist and Kolchakist, Hughes, issued a most reactionary declaration against the Soviet Union. No doubt Poincare's laurels do not give Hughes any sleep. But it can hardly be doubted that the reactionary pacifist declaration made by Hughes will only serve to further the influence and prestige of the Soviet Union among the toilers of the entire world.

Next Sunday Night and Every Sunday Night, the Open Forum.

Vote Communist This Time!

New York City Readers, Attention!

ATTEND!

ATTEND!

Entertainment and Dance

BY THE

Greek Branch, Workers Party of New York
Monday, Nov. 10, 1924

AT 8:30 P. M.

TERRACE GARDEN

58th Street, Between Lexington and 3rd Avenues.

Box Seats \$1.50

Orchestra 50c

Ticket for Sale at Greek Branch, 345 W. 39th Street; Jimmie Higgins Book Shop, 127 University Place.

Drama "BLACK AND WHITE," Presented by the Greek Workers' Dramatic Club.

GOMPERS AND RUSSIA

By Earl R. Browder
Editor, "Workers' Monthly."

Enemies of Soviet Russia always delight in pointing out that it is Samuel Gompers, titular head of the American labor movement, who fights against Russia most bitterly. Not even those bourgeois Russians who lost their means of exploiting Russian labor because of the revolution, are able to spit more venomously at the Workers' Republic than Gompers. What is the explanation of this fact, that Gompers, "labor leader," hates the Soviets at least equally as much as does Judge Gary or the Grand Duke Michael?

Can it be that Soviet Russia menaces any interest of the working class? Is that why Gompers hates Russia?

No, that is not the reason. To prove that Soviet Russia is a tower of strength for the labor movement in every country, it is not necessary to believe what the Communists say. Bitter anti-Communists, "labor leaders" of the reformist stripe throughout the world, have acknowledged and publicly stated, that Russia is the one strong bulwark against capitalist reaction and the destruction of the labor movement.

The first desire of all enemies of the struggling proletariat is, to overthrow the present form of government in Russia, i. e., the rule of the Workers and Peasants. . . . The overthrow of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic would be the severest blow which the international working class could sustain. For no matter what the differences dividing the working class internationally, theoretically and organizationally, one thing is certain: Soviet Russia is the last stronghold against the growing international reaction which threatens to submerge the working class.

The above is not a Communist proclamation. It is a document signed in Berlin, in May, 1923, by Edo Fimmen, then secretary of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions (bitterly anti-Communist), and also secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation of the Amsterdam International. It was also signed by Robert Williams, chairman of the Transport Workers' Federation, and leader of the British Transport Workers' Union.

The entire British labor movement is unanimously (and enthusiastically) in favor of recognition of a treaty with Soviet Russia by Great Britain. The British labor movement is ready (no matter how reluctant its leaders) to fight out a general election on this issue. This should be convincing proof that the British working class feels sympathy and even love for the Russian working class and its government.

When Churchill, in 1920, threatened war against Russia, the British working class organized a tremendous "Hands off Russia" movement, set up

councils of action, and threatened a revolution if the war movement was not stopped. That was a convincing demonstration that the Russian Soviet government is known to the British working class as its friend.

But it is not necessary to go to Great Britain to find that the workers feel confidence in Russia, and repudiate entirely the Gompers' hatred of the Workers' Republic. Thousands of local unions and city central bodies in the American Federation of Labor have demanded the recognition of Soviet Russia, in spite of all Gompers' snarls and lies. Such a conservative organization as the American Federation of Teachers has repeatedly adopted such resolutions. The conservative International Association of Machinists, both at its convention in Rochester four years ago and again in Detroit this year, unanimously demanded the recognition of Russia.

Why then does Gompers fight so bitterly against Russia? Why does he repeat every white guard lie against the Soviets and even improve upon them? Why is Gompers a more vo-

for a few crumbs of concessions to small sections of the organized workers and in return for social and political recognition for himself.

What Gompers' policy means, for the workers in the United States, is weakness, demoralization, and a helpless submission to the capitalist class. His opposition to amalgamation, to class political action, the militant policies of every kind, bring about such a condition that The Magazine of Wall Street could say, (August 30, 1924).

"It is evident that this country (read Wall Street) has in no way to fear from such institutions as the American Federation of Labor. On the whole, American business can congratulate itself on the inherent good sense of the average American laboring man."

Domestic policy is but one side of Gompersism. Of perhaps even greater importance in the long run is the support that Gompers gives to American imperialism. And here we can readily understand why Gompers hates Russia.

Soviet Russia has established itself

beat down labor and nationalist resistance to the orders of Hughes, or whoever happens to be the mouthpiece of Wall Street at Washington. Its only activities are in the direction of enforcing Wall Street orders upon South and Central America.

A recent example of this servility is given in the "mission" that Gompers sent to Nicaragua in July of this year. The official report, published in the American Federationist for October, discloses that the whole "mission" had but one object—to force the adoption of an election law "drafted," says the report quite frankly, "by a representative sent down there by the United States department of state." "The U. S. state department is in accord with the legislation proposed and charged de Affaires, Mr. Thurston, so advised the Nicaraguan government when the bill was under consideration. Notwithstanding the congress refused to enact the bill." That was the reason the mission was sent—to try to force the Nicaraguan congress to pass the bill sent down for them by Mr. Hughes. The report threatens "violent resentment" because this was not done. The whole affair is palpably another glaring instance of Gompers filling his classic role of agent of American imperialism.

Gompers hates Soviet Russia, because Soviet Russia is the bitterest enemy in the world of just such imperialist intrigue, such slavish submission to the rule of capitalist imperialism, such arrogant carrying out of the policies of imperialism under the cloak of "labor."

And in the same issue of the American Federationist which reports, thru Gompers, this black piece of treachery to the working class, the old hypocrite howls against the "machination of Wall Street." And his man Friday, Chester Wright, prints an eulogy of "American diplomacy" as "the best brand of diplomacy in the world," remarking that "it is possible for an American to be proud of many American institutions."

Because Soviet Russia is the flaming embodiment of working class revolt against the treacherous policies of all agents of capitalist imperialism such as Gompers, and because Gompers feels the volcano of a similar revolt gathering force beneath the surface of American society also, the head of the American Federation of Labor hates Soviet Russia with a deep and abiding hatred.

But all of Gompers' wild abuse of Soviet Russia has been as futile as the armies of allied capitalism which were thrown against the Workers' Republic. The Seventh Year of Workers' rule is now being celebrated, and to the extent that Gompers curses this glorious day, the workers of America and of the world should rejoice. And for the same reasons Gompers hates Russia because it stands as the guarantee of the complete downfall of the capitalist system. The workers love Soviet Russia for that very fact.



The Beginning of the Bolshevik Uprising in Petrograd

cal enemy of Soviet Russia than even Secretary of State Hughes?

Gompers is Enemy of Workers. The answer to this question is that Gompers has interests, separate from and opposed to the interests of the working class, which are threatened by the rise of revolutionary sentiment among the workers. Soviet Russia is the great center of revolutionary hot and feeling in the world's working class. Therefore Gompers hates and fights against Soviet Russia.

What are these special interests that Gompers represents? They are manifold, but all come under the general heading of "Gompers' policy of co-operation with the ruling class." Gompers' settled policy, in all fields, is to support the capitalist system and American imperialism in its merciless exploitation of the masses of unorganized workers at home and the masses of the population in the colonial and semi-colonial lands abroad, in return

in the hearts of all oppressed peoples as their friend and champion. The example of Russia granting self-determination to all national minorities within the old czarist empire is but one example. The contrast that this policy of the revolutionary workers of Russia makes as against Gompers' policy of echoing the words of Secretary of State Hughes, agent of Wall Street, must make Gompers grind his teeth in rage.

Gompers' role as a servile tool of American imperialism is nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in the functioning of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, a creation of the partnership of Gompers and Morones, chief labor faker of Mexico. This so-called Pan-American Federation is made up of delegates from countries controlled by the agents of the United States department of state, thru intrigue, money, or the rifles of U. S. marines. Its policy is to sabotage,

Program of the Communist International

Draft Adopted by the Fifth Congress

(Continued from last week)
III. THE FALL OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE FIGHT FOR COMMUNISM.

1. General Characteristics of the Transition Period.

Between the Capitalist and Communist systems there lies a long period of proletarian struggle, of its vicissitudes and defeats, a period of continuous decay of capitalist relations with intermittent periods of revival. A period of national wars, of colonial uprising which, although not revolutionary movements of the proletariat as such, are objectively becoming a component part of the proletarian world revolution, inasmuch as they undermine imperialist domination, of armed and "peaceful" warfare of capitalist states against the budding socialist states—a period which comprises temporary agreements between social-economic systems contrary to one another, and life and death struggles. Finally, the complete victory of the proletariat, and the firm establishments of the power which it

has gained through so much suffering and privation will be followed by an epoch of accelerated development of various types of socialist construction in the different countries. The multiplicity of the types of capitalism and of the conditions of the revolutionary process renders inevitable also the formation of a variety of types of new relations—this will be the main feature of the tedious transition period of development. Here the capture of power by the proletariat constitutes the essential preliminary for the peaceful growth of socialistic forms of economy, as well as the cultural development of the proletariat, which becomes transformed, and grows in maturity while in charge of all the spheres of public life, drawing the other classes into this process of regeneration and thereby laying the foundation for the total abolition of class-distinction. In the fight for the proletarian dictatorship, and for the subsequent transformation of the social order, the workers' and peasants' alliance is formed, under the ideological and political hegemony of the

former against the alliance of landowners and capitalists. The transition period on the whole is characterized by the cultural growth of the proletariat and of the entire toiling masses. Not until this epoch has fulfilled this historical task will society begin to become a Communist society.

2. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat: An Unavoidable Pre-Requisite of the Struggle for Communism.

An unavoidable premise for the transition from capitalism to Communism—the starting point without which the further evolution of mankind is entirely impossible, is thus the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois state, and the seizure of power by the working class, which has to set itself the first and most important task of suppressing the enemy and firmly establishing the new regime. Dictatorship of the proletariat—that is the most elementary pre-requisite for social evolution.

The seizure of power by the proletariat is nothing else than the destruc-

tion of the bourgeois state apparatus by the fighting organs of the proletarian class struggle, and the organization of a new proletarian class power by those organs.

The form of proletarian state power generally best adapted to its purpose is that of the type of the Soviet State. This has been demonstrated by the experiences of the Russian and Hungarian Revolutions, which greatly extended the experience gained by the Paris Commune in 1871. It is precisely this type, arising immediately out of the broadest mass movement, which assures the greatest activity of the masses, and consequently the best guarantee of ultimate victory.

The Soviet type of state is flatly opposed to bourgeois democracy, which is invariably a veiled form of bourgeois dictatorship. The mass organizations of the workers, which are at best merely tolerated under bourgeois dictatorship, form in the proletarian democracy the main supports and or-

(Continued on next page)

Workers Party Educational Department

Conducted by James P. Cannon, Educational Director

"Without a Revolutionary Theory a Revolutionary Party is Impossible."

Principles of Communist Propaganda

Adopted by Fifth Congress of Comintern

(Continued from last week.)

III. The Tasks of Organization of the Various Sections on the Field of Propaganda.

9. Agitational and propaganda activity must be regarded as a special branch of work of every party, if possible, or at least, the most highly developed Communist mass parties. Within the central apparatus, a special body must be set up for party training (propaganda) and to guide agitational and propaganda activity. This body must guide Marxian-Leninist propaganda, must work out the system and method of conducting this propaganda, and furnish propaganda literature for educational work in Marxian-Leninism.

10. One of the pre-requisites for organized propaganda activity and systematic development of party training, is to register all propagandist schools in Marxian-Leninism, to specialize and secure a continuation of their education, and to support them in the educational work of the party. New cadres for propaganda must be formed and the old ones must be revised in the spirit of Leninism. In view of the scarcity of propaganda specialists, they must be used not only for teaching directly, but also for instructing lecturers who do not concern themselves specially with propaganda activity. Moreover, they must be organized into permanent commissions, or into commissions that meet periodically under the auspices of the departments for agitation and propaganda, the task of which will be to render assistance to the party members in their Marxian-Leninist education by word and deed, and to organize the work of education.

11. It is the duty of every party to awaken interest this autumn in the theoretical, political, tactical and organizational questions of Marxian-Leninism by an as extensive campaign as possible. This campaign is to be carried on in connection with the death of Lenin, with the new program of the Communist International, and with the actual political and internal questions of the Communist International and the parties. This campaign must also serve as the starting point for the systematic training of the parties.

12. It will be necessary to raise the question of imposing on all elected officials the duty of study. A special body must be formed within the training apparatus, which will offer the party officials an opportunity to extend and intensify their theoretical knowledge. Wherever possible, education days must be introduced for the party officials after the pattern of weekly party conferences. Every party member must be required to become acquainted with a certain minimum of political and theoretical knowledge at least to such a degree that the masses of the party members will be able to answer the questions of the non-Communist workers on the program, the aims, and the tactical principles of the Communist Party, and to combat the most flagrant petty bourgeois and social democratic prejudices of the working class.

13. The party press must be utilized for awakening interest in the work of party training, in self-education, and in the problems of Marxian-Leninism. The Communist periodicals must intensify the theoretical discussion of the actual political and tactical questions without impairing the clearness of the discussion in general.

The daily press of the party must not refrain from discussing theoretical, questions, but only in connection with the political everyday questions and the economic everyday struggles of the proletariat. The daily press must give carefully assembled bibliographical guidance. Every political question and every political event, every important anniversary must be utilized

for popularizing Marxian-Leninist literature by linking them up with the minimum knowledge which every Communist worker must possess in those questions. The daily press must also support the efforts of self-education of the party members with advice and in agreement with the departments for agitation and propaganda of the party. The bibliographical sections of the daily press, which must be enlarged for this task, must announce as completely and attractively as possible the appearance of Communist literature and Communist periodicals. The bibliographical sections of the periodicals must confine themselves merely to announcing and criticizing the contents of the literature, but must discuss the ways and means of utilizing the literature in propaganda work. The Communist bibliography must be developed into one of the most important means for awakening a desire for Marxian education among the party and non-party masses.

14. A thorough discussion of the library question is also absolutely necessary. Marxian-Leninist libraries must be established in the party organization. Those who have charge of the libraries must be put at the service of the workers who are trying to educate themselves, and must be instructed for this work. The party must pay attention also to the public libraries (trade union and community libraries) and gain influence in these libraries wherever possible so that they can be put at the service of Marxian-Leninist propaganda.

IV. The Methods of Marxian-Leninist Propaganda Institutions.

15. The methods of propaganda must be adapted to the conditions and stage of development of the various sections. The following suggestions, may serve as a common principle for all countries and parties:

a) Party education must be so organized as to absorb, in some form or other, all the members of the party. The parties must see to it that each one of their members obtains at least a thorough knowledge of elementary Marxian-Leninist propaganda. But even the higher party officials must continually refresh their political education to add to their knowledge and intensify their organizational and agitational activities.

b) Every department of the Communist educational institutions and propaganda organs must be directed towards practical and definite aims, and must be composed of students of a similar level of education. When forming classes, drawing up programs, and selecting methods, the guiding principle for all propaganda institutions must be to train the students for a definite form of party work and for the solution of definite and practical questions.

c) Each department of the educational propaganda institutions must represent an independent whole, having definite tasks to fulfill. It must not be regarded merely as a stepping stone to higher education.

16. In order to benefit as many party members as possible (in spite of the paucity of intellectual and material means), the two forms of education should be adopted in the Marxian-Leninist propaganda institutions, viz, party schools and self-education.

17. In connection with the former, the two poles of the party school system should be:

a) Central party schools.

b) A network of elementary evening classes or Sunday schools.

18. The central party schools must bring together for shorter or longer periods (according to the financial resources of the party) advanced party workers (and eventually members of parties of the same language groups) well versed in the principles of Marxian-Leninism. The aim of these central schools must be—to systematize, extend and render more

profound the student's knowledge of Marxian-Leninism, and thus train fully qualified party workers and new and strong bodies of propagandists for the development of our propagandist activities.

19. The principle aim of the elementary evening classes (Sunday schools) must be to impart elementary political knowledge to our party members by teaching the first principles of Marxian-Leninist theory and method. The curriculum of these classes must be based on the program of the Communist International. These classes must aim at making party members fit to take up active party work and to carry on individual propaganda among the masses inside and especially outside the party.

20. Between these two poles of the party school system various other forms of party education may be organized and adapted to the conditions prevailing in the respective countries and parties. These forms of education can range from Sunday schools and short local study courses to district party schools, able to cater to more advanced students and calculated to turn out local organizers and officials. Special efforts should be made to institute continual courses for propagandists in order to add to their knowledge and to keep them in practice.

21. Communist Parties must not neglect to make their influence felt in labor colleges, factory council school, trade union educational institutions, etc. They must endeavor to get these institutions under their control with the object of using them as Communist education centers.

22. Neither the funds nor the intellectual material of the parties are sufficient to carry out the ambitious scheme of establishing a network of Marxian-Leninist schools wide enough to cover the overwhelming majority of our membership in the near future. For this reason, and also because the school system alone cannot give to students a thorough and complete knowledge of Marxian-Leninism we must rouse the interest of our members in self-education which must be organized on a large scale. In this connection special attention should be paid to the group system of self-education (workers' study circles). Every party must endeavor to set up a network of Marxian-Leninist study circles. The central agitation propaganda committee of the party must appoint a committee organized of comrades well trained in propaganda work and having pedagogical abilities. This committee must promote self education in Marxian-Leninism by giving advice to individual members and self-education groups by correspondence and thru our various organs of the press.

23. Organization of propaganda must not be limited to the higher party organs, but must be also extended to the larger factory nuclei of the party as well as to the smaller territorial party organizations. In all these organizations propaganda organizers must be selected whose business it must be to develop propaganda activities and to arouse the interests of the workers for party education, in accordance with the instructions of the propaganda organs of the party.

24. The executive of the Communist International must see to it that in the course of the next twelve months a model school and several model evening classes (Sunday schools) be established at least in the most important parties for the dissemination of Marxian-Leninism. If desired by the central committee of any party, the executive must establish direct connection with these model institutions in order to give them ideological and material support by providing them with books, appliances, etc. The central committees of the parties must also maintain direct

contact with the propaganda institutions and Marxian-Leninist study circles in the most important working class districts in their respective countries. The Communist International must also be the medium for establishing connection between the Communist universities, party schools, Marxian-Leninist study circles of the Russian Communist Party, and the corresponding institutions abroad.

25. Party organs must take an active part in the establishment of similar educational institutions for the youth, in providing them with propagandists and by drawing the youth into the educational institutions of the party.

26. Communist Parties must also concern themselves with the higher education of Communist students and other intellectuals. Students' organizations must not be allowed to remain in a state of splendid isolation. The existing Communist student groups or fractions, which hitherto have been self-education circles without any particular system, must be transformed, under the direct guidance of experienced party workers well versed in Marxian-Leninism and familiar with the labor movement, into educational bodies capable of turning out fully qualified propagandists. Moreover, members of these student groups must be induced to take part in the propagation of Marxian-Leninist ideas among the workers.

27. All Communist Parties must place the question of the development of Marxian-Leninist propaganda and of the party institutions engaged in it on the agenda of their next party convention.

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Answering Call of the Russian Revolution

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

IT was late in reaching our shores, but when the call of the Russian Revolution finally came into our midst it found the soil ready for a new beginning in the history of the American labor movement. That beginning was made and it found its immediate expression in the revolutionary left wing inside and outside of the socialist party of America. A little while later, after an intensive process of internal clarification and cementation, this left wing definitely crystallized into the Communist movement of America. Thus did the militant workers of the United States answer the clarion call of the Russian Revolution.

From Opportunist Socialism to the Revolutionary Class Struggle.

We have been moving for quite a while from opportunism to revolutionism, from class-collaboration and reformism to class struggle and Communism. As far back as 1911 and 1912 there was already in existence in the American labor movement a widespread feeling of discontent with the opportunist and reactionary policies of Gompers, Berger, Hillquit, etc. Even in those pre-war days, when the Russian Revolution was yet to come, when the world looked so deceptively peaceful, and capitalism quite secure, even then there was already in the making the elements of militancy from which we were to form later on the Communist Party of America. These working class elements in the trade unions and in the socialist party were painfully struggling for a clear revolutionary ideology and a consistent revolutionary leadership. Bolshevism and Communism were as yet very little known in the United States. Still the process of differentiation and crystallization was slowly going on thereby preparing the ground for the stormy, and creative days of 1918-1919 when the Communist movement of America had finally come into existence.

Two Tendencies in the Left Wing.

Prior to the November revolution in Russia the left wing could hardly be spoken of as something definite and homogeneous. The lefts, the militants, and the rebels were united only on what they opposed, namely, opportunism, reformism and class-collaboration. They were united on the things that they didn't want but there was not a single common conception among them of the things that they wanted to be done.

There were really two basic tendencies in the left wing of the American labor movement in the days before the Russian Revolution. One was the anti-political and syndicalist ten-

ency which tho it served as the basis of the I. W. W. was in fact much wider than the I. W. W. in scope and in volume. The second tendency was the left wing socialist tendency which operated mainly within the confines of the socialist party of America.

The tendency which produced the I. W. W. was a healthy proletarian revolt against the deadening and stultifying influences of Gompersism on the one hand and against the futile, petty-bourgeois parliamentarism of Berger and Hillquit on the other hand. It was quite natural, in view of the conditions that prevailed in America in those years, that the rank and file revolt which crystallized in the I. W. W. should assume the objectionable features of anti-politics and syndicalism generally. It was also natural and unavoidable that the "working class" politics practiced by Berger and Hillquit should produce among real proletarian militants a feeling of revulsion against all kinds of political action. And only later, when the thundering voice of the Russian Revolution began to reverberate thru the immense spaces of our own continent, these anti-political proletarians got their first inkling of what real proletarian politics mean. It then became clear to many of these rebels that

working class political party, these were the two fundamental conceptions that were brot home to large numbers of anti-political labor militants by the November revolution of the Russian masses. Since the memorable days of 1917-1918 these two ideas have been making their way into the minds of ever larger numbers of workers in the United States. And it was these two conceptions that have mainly contributed towards clarifying the anti-political tendency in the left wing and finally crystallizing a good portion of it into an organic part of what later became the Workers Party of America.

A similar process of differentiation and clarification was taking place in the ranks of the political tendency of the left wing. This latter group, which had been growing mainly within the socialist party, had been moving for a number of years in the right direction, namely, away from parliamentary opportunism and toward a revolutionary conception of the class struggle, but it lacked clarity, consistency and determination. Besides it manifested the same indifference toward the economic struggles and mass organizations of the workers as did the right wing of Hillquit and Berger. This left wing in the socialist

wave of the Russian Revolution reached our shores, has the political tendency in the left wing come to appreciate the vital importance for the social revolution of a revolutionary proletarian mass party, rooted in and supported by the economic mass organizations of labor.

Both Tendencies Merged Into One Party

Then came the merger of the two tendencies into a Communist Party. This merger would have been forced upon us by the logic of the class struggle in the United States, but instead of three years it might have taken three decades. The Russian Revolution accelerated the process.

It is true that both tendencies were substantially the same. They were moved by the same basic forces in the American class struggle. But they had different origins, and different experiences, which made all the difference in the world between a rebel in a trade union and a left wing socialist. The former was concerned exclusively with the building up of militant revolutionary unions, while the latter had nothing else in mind but the revolutionizing of the political parliamentary tactics of the socialist party. Both these tendencies had been developing for years along side of each other without ever realizing that there is a common basis for the two upon which to unite into one harmonious whole.

The Russian Revolution, which, in the words of John Reed, shook the world to its foundations, has also shaken the left wing of the American labor movement, purifying its ideology, strengthening its will, and cementing its various elements into one homogeneous body of revolutionary workers. Under the stress of the Russian upheaval, the shapeless discontent of the labor militants in America has taken on definite revolutionary form. Anti-political rebels became convinced adherents of class political action and of a revolutionary political party of the working masses. Socialist left-wingers came to realize more fully the basic and organic connection between the economic struggles of the unions and the political struggles of a working class party. As a result of these changes in the ideology of both tendencies in the left wing, changes which were produced mainly by the powerful hammering of the Russian Revolution, these tendencies moved closer to each other until they met on the common basis of international Communism. It was the merger of these two tendencies that produced the Communist movement in the United States and later on the Workers Party of America.

THE FIRST DAYS OF THE REVOLUTION



Attacking the Police

there is a sort of working class political action which is the very essence of class struggle and without which no effective struggle against capitalism is possible, the sort of political action that has been practiced by the Bolsheviks in Russia.

Revolutionary working class political action, led by a revolutionary

party was hardly aware of the truth, which later became part and parcel of Communist tactics in the United States, that it is the duty of Communists (revolutionary socialists) to engage and lead the everyday struggles of the workers and to win their economic mass organizations for the social revolution.

Only later, when the great tidal

Soviet Russia and Oppressed Nationalities

By HARRISON GEORGE

Out of the peculiarly complex struggles going on all over the world three major conflicts stand out, according to G. Chicherin, commissar for foreign affairs in the Soviet Union. These are—first, the world-wide struggle between capital and labor; second, the antagonisms between the great powers, and, third, the increasing struggle between the mother "robber" countries and their colonies.

These are often intertwined. It may be said that the greatest conflicts between capitalist powers arise, during this period of historical decline of capitalism, over the struggle for colonies. The great powers seek not only to snatch from each other the prize of colonial plunder, but to crush and subjugate each other. Germany, we see, has become a colony of, first, the entente, which, in turn, has been subjugated to the suave but arrogant imperialism of America thru the Dawes' plan. Germany definitely enters the list of oppressed nationalities.

But, laying aside the enslavement of Germany and its political consequences, we see that the position of

the colonial oppressed peoples are of tremendous importance, particularly as a strategic position in the class struggle of the proletariat against the forces of imperialist capitalism.

The Great Slave Empires.

The nine colony-holding countries, England, France, the United States, Spain, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Portugal and Holland, hold in colonial lands five times their own area, and, with their own total population of 320,657,000, hold as colonial slaves no less than 560,200,000 people. Britain has a colonial population eight and a half times her home population, while France exploits a colonial population of 16,600,000 more than the population of France itself.

The Balkans and the Near East are imperialist satrapies. The continent of Asia (leaving out Soviet territory) has been a bound and blind victim of the vultures of the Occident. Africa from end to end, from "Cape to Cairo" is a vast slave pen. With whiskey and opium, the bible and the repeating rifle, the black and brown and yellow millions carry the burden of imperialist exploitation, of industry seeking raw material and cheap labor, of traders seeking markets, of di-

plomats looking for oil and man power, of bankers seeking export of capital, of all of these seeking super-profits from subject nationalities in excess of the profit rate in domestic production.

The program of the Communists is comparatively simple. The solution of exploitation, of misery and oppression can be shortly stated, even if the accomplishment is long in reaching. It is, in one word—"revolution." But before elaborating upon it, a view, or a review, is necessary of the methods of imperialist capitalism in the oppression of what are called "backward peoples."

The favorite weapon of imperialism is plain brute force. It does, of course, moralize in the home country and before the world. It is always "advancing civilization, developing the country, building good roads (a favorite pursuit of General Wood), stopping the slave traffic, (in the name of wage slavery), forwarding Christianity (and the opium trade) and liberating oppressed races (from other "liberators")."

The Missionaries of Imperialism.

The American imperialists have their peculiar method. Kalinin, presi-

dent of the Soviet Union, speaking last year in Eastern Siberia, upon the expulsion by the red army from that region of all invading armies, including the American, mentioned the saintly imperialism of American interventionists. "Not without reason," he said, "did American capitalism appear as in the highest degree religious, bringing into the occupied territory the bible, with America's own preachers, including Baptists and Methodists."

"What led Americans to do all this? The only reason is the following: Thru these preachers America established her first advance posts, thru which she will in the future exert influence and develop her commercial business. America takes this line not only with us, but in China. American capital in China has developed a whole series of institutions making easier the obtaining of profit by American capital, chambers of commerce, missionaries' organizations and so on. To outside appearances these serve the Chinese populace, but at bottom they follow economic interests."

Marx Versus the Gospel.

The chief counter-action against this sanctified imperialism, has been (Continued on page 8)

The Growth of International Popularity of the Soviet Union

By I. STALIN

Secretary of Russian Communist Party

ONE of the surest signs of the stability of the "pacifist democratic regime," one of the most undeniable symptoms of the fact that this regime represents the froth on the surface of the deepest revolutionary processes taking place within the working class, is the decisive victory of the revolutionary wing in the Communist parties of Germany, France and Russia, the growth of the left wing activity in the British labor movement, and finally, the growth of the popularity of the Soviet Union among the toiling masses of the West and of the East.

The Communist parties of the West developed under peculiar conditions. First they are not homogenous in their makeup, for they comprise former social democrats who had gone thru the old school, and of new members who have not sufficiently been hardened in the revolutionary fire. Second, their ranks are not purely Bolshevik, as the leading positions are held by former members of other parties, who have not yet completely broken with the social democratic traditions. Third, they are confronted with such an experienced enemy as the social democrats, who have gone thru fire and water, who still represent a tremendous political force among labor. And finally, they are confronted also with such a powerful enemy as the European bourgeoisie, for having arisen before the socialist parties and developed without their aid, they have become used to flaunting their "independence" to put their craft interests above class interests, and to recognize nothing but penny-raises. Secondly, they are conservative in spirit and hostile to all revolutionary beginnings, for they are headed by an old, mercenary, bourgeois-led trade union bureaucracy, always ready to put the trade unions at the service of imperialism. And finally, they, the trade unions, being united around the Amsterdam reformists, represent the very same million strong army of reformism upon which the present capitalist system leans.

This was the situation within the Communist Parties of the West only a short while ago. But during the last half year things have been changing definitely for the better. The last half year is remarkable in the respect that it has produced a radical change in the Communist parties of the West in the sense of their break completely with the social democratic traditions, in the sense of the Bolshevization of the party ranks, in the sense of the isolation of the opportunist elements. What a great danger to the revolution the social democratic traditions in the Communist parties may represent has been clearly demonstrated by the sad experience of the labor government of Saxony, when the opportunist leaders attempted to change the meaning of the united front idea from revolutionary mobilization and organization of the masses into social democratic parliamentary combinations. This was the turning point which opened the eyes of the Party masses and aroused them against the opportunist leaders. The second question which undermined the authority of the right wing leaders and brot on the scene new revolutionary leaders was the so-called "Russian" question, i.e. the discussion in the Russian Communist Party. As is known, the Brandler group in Germany and the Souvarine group in France, resolutely supported the opportunist opposition in the Russian Communist Party against the basic ranks of the R. C. P., against its revolutionary majority. This was a challenge to the revolutionary working masses of the West, who were clearly sympathetic to the Soviet Communist Party. This was a challenge to the party masses and to the revolutionary wing of the Western Communist Parties. It is no wonder that this challenge ended in complete defeat of the Brandler and Souvarine groups. It is no wonder that this

movement found a response in all the other Communist Parties of the West. If we add to this the complete isolation of the opportunist tendency in the Russian Communist Party, then the picture becomes complete. The Fifth Congress of the Comintern only consolidated the victory of the revolutionary wing in the main section of the Comintern.

No doubt the mistakes of the opportunist leaders have played a very important role in the acceleration of the Bolshevization of the Western Communist parties. But it is just as doubtless that other deeper reasons also operated here: the successful capitalist offensive of the last few years, the lowering of the workers' standard of living, the presence of a huge army of unemployed, the general economic instability of capitalism, the growth of revolutionary unrest among the great working masses. The workers are moving towards the revolution and they want revolutionary leaders.

Conclusion. The process of the final formation of genuinely Bolshevik parties in the West, to serve as a basis for the coming Revolution in Europe has begun. This is the summary of the developments during the last half year.

Even more difficult and peculiar are the conditions of the development of the western trade unions. Firstly, they are narrow in their "tried" craft practices and are hostile to socialism, for having arisen before the socialist parties and developed without their aid, they have become used to flaunting their "independence" to put their craft interests above class interests, and to recognize nothing but penny-raises. Secondly, they are conservative in spirit and hostile to all revolutionary beginnings, for they are headed by an old, mercenary, bourgeois-led trade union bureaucracy, always ready to put the trade unions at the service of imperialism. And finally, they, the trade unions, being united around the Amsterdam reformists, represent the very same million strong army of reformism upon which the present capitalist system leans.

This was the situation until very lately. However, the last years have seen a gradual change for the better. The home of isolated reactionary trade unionism is England, which had once been the industrial Colossus of the world. The collapse of British monopoly was connected with the development of financial capitalism, which has been marked by a struggle of the biggest countries for colonial monopoly. The imperialist phase of capitalism has brot with it an extension of the territory for the narrow reactionary unions but also a contraction of their material base for the imperialist super-profits are the bone of contention of a number of countries while the colonies become less and less inclined to remain in the position

of colonies. It should also be remembered that the war has greatly undermined European industry. As is known the present total of European production does not exceed 70 per cent of the pre-war level. Hence the limitation of production and the successful capitalist offensive against the working class. Hence the reduction of wages, the actual abolition of the eight-hour day, and numerous unsuccessful defensive strikes, which again demonstrated the treachery of the labor bureaucracy to the working class. Hence the colossal unemployment and the growth of discontent of the workers with the reactionary trade unions. Hence the idea of the united front in the economic struggle of the working class and the project for the unification of the two labor internationalists into a single international, capable of resisting capital. The reformist speeches at the Vienna congress of the Amsterdam International (June, 1924) about negotiations with the Russian unions and the appeal for unity of the British Trade Union Congress (September, 1924) are only a reflection of the growing pressure of the masses upon the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. The most remarkable thing about it was the fact that it is precisely the British unions which have been the nest of conservatism, and the basic nucleus of Amsterdam, that have taken the initiative for the unification of the reactionary and revolutionary unions. The appearance of left elements in the British labor movement is the best proof of the fact that there, at Amsterdam, "something is rotten."

Some think that the unity campaign is wanted precisely now, because a left wing has developed in Amsterdam, and it must be supported by all means and efforts. This is untrue, or to be more precise, it is only partly true. The Communist parties of the West are becoming mass organizations. They are becoming truly Bolshevik parties. They are growing and moving to power space with the growth of the discontent of the great working masses; hence we are moving towards the proletarian revolution. But it is impossible to overthrow the bourgeoisie without first depriving it of its buttress in the face of reactionary Amsterdam; it is impossible to establish the dictatorship without winning over the capitalist stronghold. However, this cannot be done by one-sided work from without. This object can be achieved at present only by combined activities within and without, along the line of establishing unity in the trade union movement. That is why the question of unity and of affiliation to the industrial internationalists has become a vital issue. Of course the lefts should be supported and pushed on. But, real support of the lefts will be obtained only if the banners of the revolutionary unions continue to fly, if the reactionary Amsterdam leaders continue to be scorned and denounced for their treachery and splitting activities, if the left leaders are criticized for their half heartedness and indecisiveness in the struggle against the reactionaries. Only by such a policy can real trade union unity be brot about. Otherwise we may get a picture similar to that in Germany last October, when Levi's left group was successfully used by the reactionary right wing of the social democrats to envelop the German revolutionists.

Finally, as regards the growth of the popularity of the Soviet Union among the masses of the capitalist countries. Perhaps the best indicator of the instability of the "pacifist democratic regime" is the undeniable fact that the influence and prestige of the Soviet Union among the toiling masses of the West and East, far from weakening, continues to grow from year to year and from month to month. It is not the "recognitions" given to the Soviet Union by the different bourgeois states that we refer to. Of course these "recogni-

tions" represent nothing special in themselves, for they are dictated firstly by the competition of the capitalist states, anxious to find a place on the Soviet market and secondly by the program of pacifism which demands the establishment of "normal relations" with the Soviet Republics the signing at least of some agreement with the Soviet Union. The point is that the present "democrats" and "pacifists" defeated their bourgeois competitors in the parliamentary elections, thanks to the Soviet recognition plank, that the MacDonaldis and Herriots came to power and can remain in power, thanks to their lip service and "friendship" to Russia; that the prestige of these democrats and pacifists is a reflection of the prestige of the Soviet power among the great masses. It is characteristic that even such a well known "democrat" as Mussolini considers it necessary to display at times, before the workers, his "friendship" for the Soviets. It is no less characteristic that such well known characters of other people's property as the present rulers of Japan cannot get along without "friendship" for the Soviet Union. We do not speak of the immense popularity of the Soviet power among the masses of Turkey, Persia, China and India.

How are we to explain this unusual prestige and this unusual popularity among the masses of other states of such a dictatorial and revolutionary power as is the Soviet power?

Firstly, by the hatred of the working class for capitalism and by its anxiety to free itself from it. The workers of the capitalist countries sympathize with the Soviet power primarily because it is a power that has overthrown capitalism. The president of the British railway men, the not unknown Bromley, recently said at the Trade Union Congress: "The capitalists know that the eyes of the workers of the entire world are turned upon Russia, and that if the Russian revolution wins, then the conscious workers of the other countries will ask themselves 'why cannot we too also destroy capitalism?'" Bromley, of course is not a Bolshevik. But what he said was an expression of the throts and longings of the European workers. For, why indeed, not overthrow European capitalism if the Russians have now been getting along for seven years without capitalists? Herein lies the source of the vast popularity of the Soviet power among the broad working masses. Therefore the growth of the international popularity of the Soviet Union signifies the growth of the hatred for capitalism on the part of the workers of all countries.

Secondly, by the hatred of the masses for war and by their anxiety to thwart the military schemes of the bourgeoisie. The masses know that the Soviet power was the first to open an attack against imperialist war, and by opening the attack has undermined war. The masses see in the Soviet Union the only country struggling against the recurrence of wars. They sympathize with the Soviet power because it is the standard bearer of peace among nations and a true bulwark against war. Therefore the growth of the international popularity of the Soviet power testifies to the growth of the hatred of the masses of the entire world for imperialist war and its sponsors.

Thirdly, by the hatred of the oppressed masses of the dependent countries and colonies for the yoke of imperialism, by their anxiety to break that yoke the Soviet power is the only power which has broken the chains of "native" imperialism. The Soviet Union is the only country building its life upon the principles of equality and cooperation of the nations. The Soviet government is the only government in the world championing the complete unity and independence, freedom and sovereignty of (Continued on page 7.)