

The World Situation at the **Opening** of the New Year

By KARL RADEK

'HE election victory of the republican party in America was the result of the improvement in the economic situation which took place last summer and autumn. This victory in turn cause a further improvement in the economic situation. An American journalist who belongs to the democratic, that is to the defeated party, wrote: "Our generation knows no other president in whom the financial circles had such great confidence as they have in Coolidge."

The capitalist world is assured of a government which will be its blind tool.

In order to gain an idea as to the industrial situation in America, we will quote the most important statistical figures. About 2 million shares of 555 industrial and commercial concerns change hands every day on the stock exchange. These are the high-est figures since 1896. The clearing. house figures in October reached 40 milliard dollars. This again is the highest sum since March 1920 We see along the whole line a reduction in the number of bankruptcies and an in creased trade turn-over. The steel industry, which on the 1st of July was working forty-six per cent under its normal capacity, has reduced this difference to fourteen per cent. The price of steel is rising.

High Price of Corn a Factor

The cause for this revival is to be seen in the high price of corn, which in turn is due to the bad harvest in Canada and in Russia. The price of wheat has reached 1.62 dollars. The question has even been discussed in some newspapers, whether we are here confronted with a temporary overcoming of economic depression or with the commencement of a great industrial boom.

A great quantity of the capital accumulated in America is not only seeking for new markets for the products of American industry, but also for markets for the direct export of capital. In the year 1923 London Issued securities to the value of 2 million gold roubles; thirty-eight per cent English, forty-one per cent colonial and twenty-oue per cent foreign. During the year 1923 the United States exported capital to the value of 1200 million gold roubles. In the first ten months of 1924 London issued securities to the value of 1400 million gold. roubles: of these, 300 million went abroad. During the same period New York issued securities to the value of 5 milliard roubles, of which more than 2 million went abroad. In the search for markets for the export of capital American finance capital has already left English capital behind.

ing glance at the places to where American capital is being exported. During the first ten months of 1924 the United States lent (reckoned in gold roubles): 80 millions to Argentina, 300 millions to Japan, 60 millions to Switzerland, 80 millions to Holland, to Czecho-Slovakia about 20 millions, to Hungary 18 millions, to Norway 50 millions, to Belgium 60 millions, to Canada 280 millions, to Germany 220 millions, to France 200 mil lions,-besides a whole number of municipal and private loans. It is not surprising, therefore, that Coolidge, after his re-election, declared :"We cannot hope that we shall always remain an island of the blest which will live apart from the rest of humanity. If we were unable to avoid participation in the war, with the causes of which we had nothing to do (!) how could we think of avoiding responsibility for other world questions which are to be solved in the atmosphere of peace and goodwill?"

England Exports Goods present occupies the forefront posltion in America, in England it is the question of the export of goods which is engaging the greatest attention. The statistician, Edgar Crammond, calculates in his recent work that, as a result of the war, the national income of England has become considerably reduced and that from 1914 to the present day-if we take into consideration the reduced purchasing power of money-it has fallen from 24 to 21 milliards (reckoned in roubles). The present national income is about equal to that of 1907. It is upon this reduced national income that there lies the heavy burden of the enormously increased national debts, with the result that the budget has to be increased fourfold. In consequence of this England, who in the year 1907 was able to devote about twenty-four per cent of her national income for the

China and to open the Russian mar-If the question of capital export at kets. And as the consolidation of the capitalist order in the whole world is equally necessary for the export of capital as for the export of goods, the whole of the year 1924 was characterized by the co-operation of England and America.

Competition Between Both Countries The relative weakness of England in the sphere of capital-export, her close relations with the European markets, is rousing great uneasiness among the English capitalists with regard to the difficulties which English capitalism will encounter in the event of the strengthening of German industry. Hence a number of vital questions regarding the reconstruction of capitalism assume another form to the United States than to England. These differences show the varying degree of interest which England and America have in the colonial questions. The Anglo-American co-operation, in spite extension of the influence of her capi- of all the compliments of the English



The U.S. Has Coolidge; England Its Baldwin; Germany Its Stresemann.

We will leave the "peace and good- | tal at home and abroad, is now only, statesmen to the United States, has will" of Mr. Coolidge aside. The presi dent of America, who was returned to this purpose. power with the aid of a party which in the year 1920 defeated Wilson un- tion to compete with America as reder the slogan of isolation from the of the world, expresses in these

As English capital is not in a postgards the export of capital for the a of capturing m mrno no a market as America as would permit it to reduce the cost of production, and in addition is suffering from the industrializing of its own colonies, English capitalism is faced with far more serious difficulites than is American capitalism. The above mentioned Mr. Crammond calculates that the share of England in the trade of the world increased in the period from 1912 to 1922 from 13.8 to 17.3 per cent. This increase in the share of England in the world's trade (in the first place at the cost of Germany) does not, however, correspond to the increase in the total sum of English trade. In 1922 it was 25 per cent lower than in 1912. The necessity for creating the pre-conditions for normal trade was the driving force which caused England to participate in the attempts to solve the reparation question. It is his also which is causing England to strive to restore a firm regime at all

able to employ about ten per cent for not led to the disappearance of the profound antagonisms between these two powers. One must, however, for the time being reckon that the efforts -arising from the greater strength f Amer ital rom the deep

American Capital in Europe

Another very import fact is that this exported capital is not only in the hands of a few bankers or financiers, but that the loans find subscribers among the ranks of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. The Austrian loan, amounting to 50 million gold roubles, found 9,000 subscribers. the Japanese loan, amounting to 300 million gold roubles, 44,000 subscribers. The low rate of discount of the American banks has overcome the "fear of the unknown" existing among the middle and petty bourgeoisie; the latter are investing larger sums of money abroad every year. It is interesting to cast even a fleet- | willingly granted hitherto.

words the fact that American capital it does not possess such a big home has already penetrated into all countries of the world to such an extent, that today it has become one of the most important factors in world politics. The American newspapers are full of articles dealing with the trade of America with the whole world, with the question of the export of capital and with all the conflicting questions of world politics. This is a complete change of front which only becomes intelligible when one has studied the attitude of America to world questions in the period from 1919 to 1922. The United States, after having protected her industries by enormously high tariff walls, is now competing to an ever greater extent with all the other countries of the world, and for this purpose is employing her enormous accumulated capital, the export of which constitutes nothing else than the powerful weapon of long term credits, which America had very uncosts in her colonies, to "pacify"

crisis of English capitalism--to create favorable conditions in shattered Europe, in the colonies and in the semi-colonial countries for the absorption of goods and for the investment of capital, will not only lead for the time being to the solidarity of these powers against the Soviet Union, as well as against the colonial and semicolonial peoples, but also to the attempt to create favorable pre-condi tions as quickly as possible for the penetration of English and American capital into these countries.

American imperialism is striving to conquer the world; English imperialism is striving to maintain its conquests. A collision between these two will take place in the future. Today. however, they both require at all costs an extension of the world market. These efforts of the two imperialist powers constitute the most charac teristic feature of the international situation at the opening of the new year.

Communist Work Among Women

annot conceive of special work among women by a Communist Party. Many women comrades do not take part in this special work, because they fear that they will be considered feminists. Comrades would not take this attitude, if they really did understand what this kind of work means for the party. It is true that our knowledge and experience in Communist work among women here in America is very limited and we must look for guidance to our comrades abroad with their mature knowledge in this kind of work.

The reasons which compelled the Communist International to give special attention to work among women are easy to find. The contrasted experience of the two revolutions in Russia and Hungary of themselves give reasons. In Russia the active support of the women helped to save the revolution, in Hungary their passive resistance helped to destroy the revolution. Capitalism has perfected its machinery so, as to make women in the mass a bulwark of conservatism and reaction.

Situation Among Women.

First, the women are mentally and emotionally separated from the men; then their isolation is used to intensify the economic subjection which they share with the men; their inferior po sition is used as a means of setting them into antagonism against the men: finally their separation as a sex is used to make them active for reaction against the workingmen active in the class struggle.

The weakness of the mass of women from the point of organization makes them a serious menace in almost every fight, as the capitalist ideology imparted to them from the school, pulpit and press fosters a parasitical outlook which leads to the acceptance of low wages. The woman tramping in search of work is threatened with danger from which men are free and more easily submit to exploitation. The thought of her children going hungry also compells the mother to accept low wages. Add to this the jealousies and distikes arising from their sex competition with each other for marriage mates-itself a by product of their economic conditions, the comparative inactivity of women in the trade unions and their. easy delusion by bourgeois agencies is all too terribly explained. The maternal functions of women place then in a position of utter dependence and very often into humiliation unspeakable.

Women are very susceptible to influence by the bourgeois feminist or ganizations. These feminist organizations are a machine for manufacturing counter-revolutionary psychology which the women in turn impose upor their children and men folks. The bourgeoisie see the importance of spe cial work among women. The bour geoisie are exerting much effort to divert the proletarian women from their class interests thru these feminist organizations. We, the Workers (Communist) Party are only now waking up to the realization of this important work. The workingclass possesses in its women powerful forces which are

THERE are many comrades who the door of marriage. She must be made to understand that by acting as strikebreaker, she is helping those who are fighting against the workingclass for the preservation of the bourgeois social system. The Workers (Communist) Party must do its utmost to overcome the sluggishness, the individualistic psychology of the working women and to awaken feelings of class solidarity among them. Because of the peculiar situation of women, because of their political backwardness, a special means of approach must be used. We have a special department of youth (the Y. W. L.) because we know that in this way our Communist work will be more efective among the young workers. The Y. W. L. constantly brings before the party special plans for more effective work among the youth of the country. We organize unemployment councils during acute unemployment periods; we organize protection of foreign-born councils, etc. Acute unem ployment comes with the re-occurring capitalist crisis, but the problem of the women of the working class is continual. It is necessary to have a special apparatus in this work. In Russia, after the overthrow of the bourgeoise, we see the important and effective work carried on by the special women's departments of the Rusian C. P. The fact that the C. I. has nstructed all of its sections to create a apparatus for work among women, n itself is evidence enough to prove the necessity for special work among women. The women's department in the party will take the initiative in pressing for action on questions relating to Communist work among women.

Do We Need a Separate Women's Organization?

Some of us believe that the Communist message applies to women in a very peculiar way. "The women of the workingclass will not enter a Communist Party, but they will become members of a separate women's or ganization independent of the party,' say some of our comrades, "therefore, it is necessary to carry on our Com munist work among women thru such a separate women's organization.' First, a separate women's organization cannot have the will to action, the centralized organization as that of a Communist Party. Second, how can we expect to win the sympathies of the women of the workingclass for our party, if we (the party) work with these women on issues related to their very life in the name of an organization other than the Workers (Comnunist) Party? This separate organzation will absorb all the sympathies and gain all the influence of these wo nen, because it will take up the issues elated to their very life. It has been he experience of our comrads in oth r countries, that women become the rdent advocates of Communism, onc hey realize that the Communist Par ty is with them in their daily needs. The Comintern is opposed to the formation of separate women's organizations. The following is an extract from the theses of the Third Congress of the C. I. on women's work: "Being earnestly opposed to the separate organization of women into all sorts of

the mightiest form of organization to be the centralized organization closely bound with the working masses and having its basis in production, that is in the workshops and factories." Our party is starting out to make this the laboratory for mass work of the party-we are beginning to reorganize the party on the shop nuclei basis. The starting for mass work among women should also be in the factory and shop. Our shop nuclei where ever organized, should have an organizer for work among women. Our trade union groups must have a comrade responsible for work among womento get the women into the left wing in the trade unions, etc. Women workers' committees may be organized in the shops and factories. Where there are existing shop committees the women must be organized into such committees and no separate committee must be organized. All this work must be carried on in collaboration with the general party women's departments having jurisdiction. Some of the slogans for work among the women in the shops and factories may be: Equal wages for equal work in every branch of industry; abolition of piece work; employment of women in all branches of industry except where it is detrimental to their health; aboli tion of night work and overtime; pro tection for women workers, mothers and infants; working wages to be paid in full during absence because of confinement; against dismissal during pregnancy and nursing; against the dismissal of married women, etc.

Work among the housewives. The housewife. is an important factor in the class struggle. The housewives are not in the trade unions, nor are they organized politically. The cooperative is the organization capable of comprising these masses of women of the workingclass, it will also bring the women in the factories and shops into organization with the housewives. The co-operative movement will draw the proletarian women into the whirlpool of political and economic activity. It is the task of the party to direct the proletarian women, to make it their endeavor to make the co-operatives a weapon for the interests of the working class. The party should stand for carrying out initiative proceeding from the women organized in co-operatives and aiming at a Communization of daily life. As for instance, the establishment of dining halls, kindergartens, nurseries, etc. We shall work for the realization of the active participation of the co-operatives in class warfare by means of opening of dining halls for strikers, unemployed, provision for their wives and children, etc. Our women comrades in Coney Island are preparing to carry on work of this tind. Care' must be taken that this arian character. As fer instance, the eding of the unemployed must be ealt with in relation to the general question of unemployment.

Fight for Everyday Needs.

The party will not limit its work to the factory and the home. We must carry on propaganda by written word and by personal contact. The party must take the initiative in raising slogans on burning issues that will apBy MARGARET UNDJUS

formed when the situation demands. (Such as the control councils in Germany during the economic crisis). We must establish united fronts by calling local conferences with delegates from existing women's organizations, shop committees, trade unions, co-operatives, local councils, Workers Party, etc. We must have these conferences take up questions that will appeal to the working women generally, such as unemployment, high food prices, high rent, child labor, etc. All these questions must be taken up at the time the Workers Party launches united front campaigns on these issues. It is the duty of the W. P. members in these conferences to see that work on these issues is based on the W. P. program for that specific issue. We must always have a comrade deliver a Communist talk at these conferences. We must acquaint the women attending these conferences with what the Soviet governmnt of Russia has done to improve the conditions of the working women in Russia and compare same with their own conditions both in the factory and home. We must see that these conferences accept resolutions of greeting to the women in Soviet Russia. We must always keep before these women the fact that all the improved conditions for women in Russia came about thru the work of the Communst Party of Russia. The work of relief for the workers and their children in other countries and for relief of political prisoners should be taken up at these conferences. Where appropriate, we must have women representatives at these conferences from the farms. These conferences are called when ever necessary. They must be representative conferences. By no means must we allow these conferences to develop into a separate individual membership organization. These local conferences will be under the leadership of the Workers Party.

Simultaneously with this work, we must immediately start building the party machinery for work among women. Every unit of the party must establish its own women's depart-ment. The C. E. C. of the party is preparing a special program for this work. We must be ready to give life and flesh to this program. It is very important that the women comrades be fully aware of the fact that it is they who will have to play the role of intermediaries and interpreters between the Workers (Communist) Party and the masses of working women. To give these women's committees a non-feminist character, men comrades must be appointed on these commit-To carry on this work more eftees. fectively, our women comrades must be drawn more into the general parfy work. In the course of our work new methods of work must be elaborated. Account must be taken of our xperiences. Our progress will be lower than we wish, but it will be sure. We will gain influence and members for the Workers (Communist) Party.

"Ido for Workers" (Textbook in German or Russian). .50c

"An Elementary Grammar" (In English)

150 The Workers' Ido Federation



Our Party's Press and Literature

By N. LENIN.

The socialist proletariat has got to consider the basic principles of the literature of the workers' party, in order to develop these principle and express them in their most complete form. These principles are in contrast with bourgeois customs, with the commercialized bourgeois press, with the individualism of the ambitious adventurers of bourgeois literature and their "splendid freedom," and with the scramble for profits.

What do these principles consist of? Not only that the literature of the proletariat should no longer be a means of enriching groups or individual character nor be independent of proletarian control. No more "nonparty" writers; no more literary supermen!

Literary activity should be a part of the whole work of the proletariat. It should be a cog in the great machine which will be put in motion by the whole vanguard of the working class. Literature should become one part of the work of the party, organized, thought out, unified, and revolutionary.

"All comparisons limp," says a German proverb. It is so of my comparison of literature with a cog in the machine of the movement. There will be no lack of hysterical intellectuals to yelp in distress at this conception. which, according to them, will debase, will destroy, will "bureaucratize" and make mechanical the free "struggle o minds," free criticism, free "literary endeavor," etc. Their laments will be nothing but an expression of bourgeois intellectual individualism.

Obviously, literature is the last thing to be treated mechanically; it cannot easily be graded by, or submit to, the decisions of the majority. In this matter, one ought, undoubtedly, to allow a great deal of scope for individual initiative, for personal inclination, for inspiration and imagination, in form and content.

All this is indisputable, but it proves only one thing; that the literary side of the party's work cannot be me-chanically identified with the other sides of proletarian activity.

This by no means destroys the truth-incomprehensible and strange as it may seem to intellectuals and bourgeois democrats—that literary work ought to be most strictly bound to the rest of the socialist work of the party. Writers ought to enter the party without making any stipula-tions. Publishing establishments, bookshops, reading-rooms, libraries, everything to do with literature ought to be placed under the control of the party.

The organized socialist proletariat ought to supervise and control all this work; it should infuse into it the vital spirit of the workers, and in this sphere, should throw off the outlook of the mercenary bourgeoisie, who see in the writer only the man who sells his writings to earn his living. and in the reader simply a customer who brings in money.

Naturally we do not imagine that this change in literature can be

doubtless exclaim; "Good heavens! | organization, and at this period many | You want to submit to the masses a thing so subtle and so personal as literary workmanship, . . . You want workmen to decide, by the majority of votes, high questions of philosophy, science, and taste. That is the way you suppress the spirit's freedom to work, which is essentially individual.

Don't be alarmed, my friends!

First of all, this concerns the literature of the party, and its place in the party, of control of the party. Every one is free to write and say what he wants to without the least restriction. But every voluntary association-and the party is one of them-is free to expel from its ranks members who use its organization to preach opinionsagainst the party. Freedom to write and to speak should be as complete as possible. In the name of free speech, I should give you the whole right of shouting, lying and saying all that you want to. But in virtue of art"? the freedom of association, you must concede me the right to maintain or to break my alliance with people who write in such and such a fashion.

The party is a voluntary organization, that will inevitably fall in ruins, first spiritually, and then materially, if it does not take care to decide the position of those people who propagate opinions against it. And to fix what is for and what is against the party we have the program of the party as a criterion, its tactical resoutions, its statutes, and finally the xperiences of international socialism, he whole experience of voluntary as-

sociations of the proletariat. Our party is becoming a party of the masses; we are in an epoch of rapid transition towards open legal

useless people (from a Marxist point of view) and perhaps a few who are Christians or mystics as well, join us. But we have a strong digestion: we are Marxists hard as adamant. We shall assimilate all the confusionists. Partisans of the freedom of association we still fight unmercifully to purge the party of confusionist elements.

Furthermore, may we inform our friends the bourgeois individualists that their talk about "absolute liberty' is nothing less than pure hypocrisy?

In a society which maintains itself by the power of money, and where the mass of the workers lack the necessities of life, there is no real liberty. Are you free in relation to your bourgeois publisher, my writer friend? Again, are you free in relation to your bourgeois public, which demands from you pornography and prostitution as a supplement to "sacred dramatic

Absolute freedom is a bourgeois or anarchist fiction (for anarchism is a bourgeois theory the wrong way round). One cannot live in society and be free towards society. The freedom of the bourgeois writer, or artist, or actress, is a mask of independence concealing a real dependence on the money of parasites and souteneurs.

We socialists tear aside this hypocrisy and unmask their false standards. not to arrive at a literature "above class" (that will only be possible in a socialist society, in a society without classes), but to oppose to this socalled free literature, which is really allied with the bourgeoisie, a literature bound openly to the proletariat.

This will be a literature truly free,

because corruption and ambition have no place there, and socialist ideals and sympathy with the oppressed will continually bring into it new forces and new groupings.

This will be a free literature, for it will not depend on the blase heroine nor the tenthousand bored and fattened high-brows, but on the millions and millions of workers who are the pick of the country, its power and its future.

This will be a free literature, which will enrich itself with the latest creations of revolutionary thought, with the experience and living work of the socialist proletariat.

Get down to the job then, comrades We have before us a great and difficult problem: we must create a rich proletarian literature, narrowly and indissolubly bound to the socialist workers' movement.

All the journals, all the periodicals, all the bookshops should immediately harness themselves to the task of reorganizing in order to become the organ of one or other of the organizations affiliated to our party.

It is only after this work that socialist literature will deserve the name; it is only then that it will be capable of carrying out its tasks; it is only then that even within the framework of the bourgeois society, it will be able to free itself from bourgeois bondage and bind itself to the movement of the truly revolutionary class.

(The above article first appeared in the "Novaia Jhizn" of November 13, 1905, and has been translated from a French version appearing in the "Cahiers du Bolshevisme" of December 19, 1924).



Drama in the New World

By T. F. MEADE.

IN New York there are about one thousand theaters or places of amusement coming under the head on drama in the new world. Probably seven million people avail themselves of opportunities to visit these theaters to find diversion and food for thought. in the portrayal of life buzzing all around them. Yet, in these thousand theaters where is represented as decisively as in any capitol of any nation, the level of culture of the nation there are scarcely half a dozen plays, which may really be considered as representing any serious thought or

phase of life. Music is the most emotional of the arts and the drama the most animating perhaps, and probably, many agree the supreme form of cultural development in its presentation of actual life in its multitudiously varied tones and forms.

In James O'Neill's dramas we know brought about at one swoop; in this we'll see gripping life that disturbs great metropolis. is an us. His "Desire under the Elms" and other and perhaps the profoundly "S. S. Glencairn" are now playing here grees side of the drama-that which and many people are visiting and utters the joy of life. On this side "Peter Pan" tells us merrily, and apstudying them. Shaw always inspires thought and pealing strongly to our imagination of often drives us right alongside a rag-SCIENCE, LITERATURE that splendor of child life of which we ECONOMICS, HISTORY, feel so little in America. Here is a play world and if there is some Any Book in Print at Once. sombre coloring in the pirates and in he usual bourgeois attitude towards inimal life, they are enlivened and 127 University Place the gloom is dissipated by the fun all NEW YORK CITY is a most interesting game . A Workers Party Book Shop around them which continually keeps and labor politics is more so. us in the humor of brightness and ****** You will learn many angles of keen appreciation of life being worth if from living. How many children and women and "A Conference of Progressmen have not even the opportunity to ive Reactionaries see such a play? The struggle for a **Book Shop** living is so sharp and oppressive, monby Alexander Bittelman ey is so hard to get, time is so devourin the February issue of the ed by daily essential routine that Workers Monthly. If you don't many of the working class cannot possubscribe-you surely will after sibly take advantage of such plays, even if they lived near or in a city reading this article in order to get others of such interest. where they may be given.

ing fire, scorching the soul, where we must act, where we must take sideseither by boldly pushing forward, affirmatively, or negatively, by cowardly retreating. Shaw's "Candida" and "Man of Destiny" may now be seen. Both are well given.

"What Price Glory" is one of those accidental dramas given at times which 100 per cent "cultural" and patriotic America considers too strong, useless and even effronting. But the innate fineness of human nature prompts them to accept such works as part of the philosophy of life, even tho it hurts and they become students of psychology for a time, tho soon off on something else. But the leaven has worked a little and this is what counts much, for the drama, in every phase of life, among all peoples, is destined to prove, is proving a mighty psychical force in attaining that de-

sired, destined end toward which the work-a-day world is striving. These are about all the serious

Little, often no effort is made to

with adequate presentation, or even with poor equipment. Bourgeois culture is conventional. It has no place for that breadth of thought which might tempt the imagination to roam afield, or out of those limits set by the powers that be, with Sunday school ethics and standards. New York forces on one, very quickly, its provinciality. It is not possible to live in it long without seeing the obvious narrowness of its life in the vast majority of its forms. It, therefore, expresses itself in its art; necessarily in reflections of that life and its drama takes on the same dull hues.

The hopeful signs are the demand for better drama. It is always evident among the people but the production of drama is in the hands of those who follow the American ideal of progress, to make money.

A few are making splendid efforts to get such pictures of life to the people as will satisfy, in part at any rate, this demand for better drama so that the producers will soon be forced to accept such plays.

It will be a remarkable step fordrama presented in our cities. The drama representing culture in the Communist has a magnificent phase of propaganda in such portrayals of life. We shall take advantage of it. **BOOKS FOR THINKERS** Jimmie Higgins Book Shop The Walden **307 Plymouth Court** (Between State and Dearborn Just South of Jackson)

Russian literature, which has for so long been crippled by an "Asiatic" censorship, and corrupted by a Europeanized bourgeoisie. We are far from expecting any panacea whatever in the shape of decisions and resolutions settling the whole thing in an arbitrary manner. That is not the point. What concerns us, is that our class - conscious proletariat should understand that here is a new problem that has to be faced frankly, and everything possible done to solve it.

After having delivered ourselves from the chains of censorship, we do not want to be the captives of bourgeois commerce and its relationships. We want to create a press that is freed not only from police control, but also from the influence of capital and from private ambitions, and above all freed from anarchist-bourgeois individualism.

These last words will be an object of derision to the reading public. "Good heavens!" some burning apos-tle of "intellectual freedom" will,

CHICAGO

Czarists in Chicago Rape Trut

By M. A. SKROMNY.

THE local Russian counter-revolutionary sheet pretends not to understand why Communists are against militarism in the capitalist countries and at the same time in favor of arming the workers in Soviet Russia. In an editorial attacking the DAILY WORKER and the Communists in general, the emigre czarist officer who is editing the sheet exclaims: "We are also against militarism, but why not protest against the militarism of Mos. cow? A Communist should preach peace and brotherhood among nations. He should protest against militarism always and everywhere."

Thus we are getting a lesson in Communism from a counter-revolutionist. There is one thing certain about it. This former officer of the czar's army has learned a lesson from the Communists and that is the reason why he keeps at such a distance from Russia. An armed class conscious proletariat is quite a dangerous thing for capitalists and their tools and henchmen. Therefore this editor "is also against militarism, and every where.'

But this kind of bunk will not foo' the workers. They know too well from the lessons received in Germany Hungary, Finland and other countrie that as soon as they are disarmed the capitalists will crush them. And tha is exactly what this "lover of peace" wants to see in Russia.

But we are not a peace society for darning socks, in times of war. It is true that we are for peace and brotherhood among nations, but we are also for war against the capitalists, always and everywhere! That is why we are for the armed forces defending the revolution in Soviet Russia and against the armed forces defending capitalism in the United States, Japan and other bourgeois countries. We are for the arming of the proletariat and for the disarming of the bourgeoisie.

The counter-revolutionary editor claims he does not understand this, even after receiving a practical lesson from the Russian revolution! This isn't the first lie printed in that paper, and the Russian workers know it. So does the editor himself. It is just one of many devious forms of anti-Communist propaganda.

In another editorial this newspaper deliberately misquotes the DAILY WORKER as stating: "All power in

Soviet Russia belongs ONLY to the Communist Party," and goes on to tell the readers that the DAILY WORKEP is spilling the beans by telling what the Russian Communists are denying In the issue of last Monday, Comrade Engdahl in an editorial ridiculing the capitalist journalists, stated: "The ruling power today in Soviet

Russia is not lodged with any indiv-

Idual, or even group of Individuals. "The dominant power in Soviet Russia today is the Russian Communist Party. It rules thru its hundreds of thousands of members directly affiliated with It.

"Neither Trotsky, nor any other Individual, at any time, ruled the Red Army. It was ruled at all times by the Communist Party; especially.

Those Terrible Bolsheviks!



(By Boris Efimov, in Moscow Izvestia.) Under the smoke-screen of attacking Bolshevism the British imperialists are crushing the subject nations of Africa and Asia.

A Letter from an Egyptian Worker in Moscow.

WITH hasty steps I go on my way to the factory. It is early, and the stillness of the streets is seldom broken by the rattling of a tram-car carrying the workers to their work.

When L get into the tram-car, which is already crowded with workpeople hurrying to their work, I look out of the window. The tram-car runs its usual course thru the old familiar streets with the same old houses and innumerable Moscow churches, which I pass on my way to work every day. Yet this particular morning my thoughts are somehow carried far away from these sights that have become so familiar to me. My mind wanders back to far-away Egypt, and in my fancy.

I behold the sights of Egyptian build- about my work in a somewhat absent

ings and mosques, and instead of the minded manner, which is altogether (the agricultural laborers) the severe ket, I dream of seeing Egyptian my mate: "Hand me over that ham- class, th

the news, but after a while his face flushed and assumed an angry expression.

A few minutes later an improvised meeting was organized by Volodya. With the newspaper in his hand, he told the audience about the stirring events in Egypt. As soon as he finished his speech I got up on the platform where I was met by a storm of applause, which betokened everybody's sympathy for the Egyptian workers. In broken Russian I described the untold sufferings of my Egyptian brothers, the terrible oppression of the hard working felahs tal oppression by imperialism, the mockery of the socalled "Independence of Egypt" the importance of the Suez Canal, the Nile and the Sudan to the British imperialists and so on.

thru the Communists who were the leading and most self-sacrificing spirits in the Red Army.

"The Communist Party rules in industry thru its members in the shops, the mills, the mines and the factories. That was the strength of the Russian Communists, even before the revolution; that they were able everywhere that labor tolled to create their nuclei, and keep in the closest touch with the everyday aspirations of the workers at their work places, leading them to vio tory.

"Just as the kept press plcures-Trotsky as usurping power without the aid of the Communist Party, so It claims that the Communist Party maintains a dictatorship over the workers and peasants in spite of their opposition. This is also a phatastic dream. The Communist Party rules thru the dictatorship of the workers and peasants, and It maintains its ruling position because the masses of workers and peasants support its policies."

By deliberately misquoting these paragraphs and cutting them up in such a manner as to suit the purpose of the counter-revolutionists, the editor of the white guard sheet is trying to create hatred against the Soviet government and the Communists in general.

But again the czarist editor knows perfectly well that he is lying. It is not only a habit, it is in the nature of these blackguards of journalism to lie.

When we caught him with the goods in connection with the "quoting" of a non-existing editorial from the Odessa Izvestia the editor retreated coving himself with another fib: he claimed that we promised to send him the copy of the Odessa Izvestia, but we did not do it, therefore he is not able to convince himself that he was lying. The thousands of readers of the DAILY WORKER know that there isn't a word of truth in this statement. We never promised to send him this or any other copy. Neither do we intend to prove anything to him or his kind. One may attempt to prove something or convince one who is hon est but mistaken. But to try to prove anything to an editor who is covered with lies as a solider in the trenches with cooties, is an utter waste of time.



The mock trial held last winter in the Soviet School where Prostitution Muscovite women going to the mar- unusual for me. Instead of saying to distress of the Egyptian working and interest in the Russian colony. British It was an interesting and useful discussion. At present the society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia is arranging another such trial on the more interesting subject, The Counter-revolution will be put on trial at the Soviet School, 1902 W. Division St., Sunday, Feb. 8, at 5:30 p. m. There will be ten defendants representing many phases and parties of the counter-revolution. There will be many witnesses for the defense and the prosecution. Many documents will be read. The prosecutor will be the actor Luganov. The defense will be represented by the actor DeModov and another person who does not care to reveal his name at present. The Russian workers of Chicago are aroused and it is expected that the hall will be packed.

Insure The Daily Worker for 1925

women with veiled faces.

From my lips involuntarily the words escape: Lee Stake ultimatum". . . Zaghul Pasha . Sudan . A Revolt. My neighbor stares at me in surprise, thinking, no doubt, day's Pravda which announced in that I am raving mad.

At last I arrive at the factory. I am working at a big aeroplane factory the "Duxe", which employes fifteen hundred workers. It is a factory of great renown throughout Russia, I have been working here already for some time, and have become quite skilled in my work. Here I am met by the friendly welcome of my mates, who are already gathered in groups, waiting for the whistle. In a corner I see a group of young Communists of the Young Communist League, and the girls with the red kerchiefs, talking gaily and smiling, seem to breathe the very vigor of life. Suddenly the whistle blew. Everyone rushed to the place of work. Yet I am still a prey to my involuntary musings, and I go first he looked quite cursorily through for the DAILY WORKER.

mer," I say: "Hand me over that ultimatum."

The whistle blew again for dinner, and before taking my meal I rushed to our club, where I eagerly read tobig headlines: Anglo-Egyptian Conflict. Revolt in Sudan. Five hundred thousand pounds sterling fine. Demonstration at Alexandria: and so on A cold sweat covered my face, and with bated breath I read again and again the telegraphic news from my far away home.

In the adjoining rooms one could hear an amateur play on the piano, and the clatter of hundreds of workers enjoying their meal.

A light touch on my arm called me back to reality. I turned round and saw Volodva, a general favorite of the place. He asked me: "What is the matter with you today?" In reply I showed him the paper containing the news which had disturbed me. At

The meeting ended in loud cheers and cries: Down with British imperialism! Hands off Egypt! Long live the Egyptian workers and felahs!

In a happy mood I leave the place. I feel that the whole of my fellow workers here are in hearty sympathy with the cause of the people of Egypt, which has no friend elsewhere in the world, not even in the so-called League of Nations. And I turn to the workers of western Europe, particularly of England, with the question: What was your response to the news of the latest events in Egypt?"

Hilel Mahmud, Moscow, December 11, 1924.

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Bolshevism or Trotskyism? By G. Zinoviev

(Continued from last Saturday.) V.

Whither is the Present Development of Trotsky Leading?

Comrade Trotsky, as an obvious in-dividualist, has of course many features of character which are only characteristic for him personally. Comrade Trotsky often sets up such a political platform that only one per-son can stand on it: Comrade Trotsky himself, as upon this platform there is no room for anybody else. It would be a mistake, however, to see in this standpoint of Trotsky only the individual. There is no doubt that he represents a fairly broad section of the factor of our situation.

Since 1922, but even more since 1923, there has been an indisputable increase in the prosperity of the country, an indisputable improvement in the material situation and the mood of the workers. At the same time we see from all the expressions of Conrade Trotsky that precisely during these years his political mood has become worse. The curve of the political mood of the broad masses of the workers of our country is in an upward direction, the political mood of Comrade Trotsky is in a downward direction.

Comrade Trotsky is beginning to see things in ever darker colors. He prophesies the decline of the country on the eve of an indisputable improve ment in the economic situation, he makes false diagnoses and proposes wrong remedies, he loses more and more of his followers, etc. Let us call to mind that Comrade Trotsky, at the time of his first encounter with Comrady Lenin and the Leninst C. C., at the time of the dispute over the Brest peace, still had a considerable portion of the party on his side. At the time of the second encounter with Lenin, in 1924 (trade union discussion), Comrade Trotsky still had about a fifth of the delegates to the party conference on his side, and this in the presence of Lenin. During last year's discussion Trotsky's following was already much smaller, but nevertheless there were still hundreds of comrades who were prepared consistently to defend his platform. In the present attack of Comrade Trotsky against the C. C. the comrades defending the platform of Comrade Trotsky can be counted on the fingers. And

this is not a mere chance. This fact alone shows that Comrade Trotsky in recent years, of course without wishing it himself, has given expression, not to the mood of the proletarian masses, but often involutarily to the mood of other sections of the population.

If we pursue the line of develop-ment of Comrade Trotsky, if we test his latest political evolution in all its details during the last two or three years, it is not difficult to encounter apparent contradictions; and some-times it may seem as if ComradeTrotsky were criticising the C. C., not from the right but from the left. Was it not Comrade Trotsky who accused the C. C. and its representatives in the Comintern that they had "missed" the German revolution? Is that then not a "left" criticism? But when we bear in mind that along with the "left" phrases of Comrade Trotsky there stands the fact that Trotsky, during the whole of 1923, supported the right wing of the C. P. of Germany, and on the other hand the fact that the right elements of all sections of the Com-

that Comrade Trotsky's political de-velopment is not yet ended, and that it is taking place in a time of transition, in the period of the new Economic Policy. Through all the variety, through all

the improvisations of Comrade Trot-sky there comes to light one definite tendency.

Let us imagine for a moment what would be the state of our country if our party, instead of energetically resisting the proposals of Comrade Trotsky, had accepted his most important proposals since 1921. This would have meant:

1 The trade unions would have become state institutions, there would have taken place the notorious "fusion" of the trade unions with official state and economic organs. The trade unions, which today constitute our broadest basis and embrace 6 milion workers and employees, would have been converted into a bureaucratic appendage of the official machine. In other words, we would have created a basis for menshevism and undermined with our own hands the dictatorship of the proletariat.

2. The party would have become excluded from the immediate leadership of the economic and state organs. The Soviet apparatus would have become more independent. "The emancipa-

64-PAGE PAMPHLET-ON LENINISM OR TROTSKYISM NOW IN PREPARATION

This installment is part of a pamphlet"Leninism or Trotzkyism" now in preparation. It includes articles by three outstanding figures in the Russian Communist Party: G. Zinoviev, I. Stalin and C. Kamenev. to form a most timely and important contribution to a discussion of world interest. The pamphlet will be of 64 pages, selling at 20 cents and will be ready at the conclusion of this serial publication.

tion of the Soviets from the party" would not merely have remained on paper, in the writings of the emigrants, but would have been partly realized. It is hardly necessary to point out to a Bolshevik that such a tendency would have had innumerable fatal consequences.

3. The bourgeois specialists would have won a far greater influence in all branches of our work, and not only on the military field. It is almost superfluous to point out that that was one of the most important features of political platform of Comrade the Trotsky, and one of the most important points of his differences with our party.

Of course it is absolutely necessary that we attract honest specialists into our work, and that we create such an atmosphere as will enable them to ender useful service for our cause. f, however, the question of specialsts had been solved, not according to Lenin but according to Trotsky, it could have meant the greatest political concession to the new bourgeoisie

6. As regards the question of our

4. In the questions of the inner life of the party we would have had to recognize that, not the workers at the benches but the youths in the high schools constitute the barometer of the party; the youths in the high schools, among whom there are exsupported the standpoint of Trotsky cellent proletarian elements, but then the question is seen in quite among whom there are not a few peoanother light. When we remember that even in January, 1924, the draft resolution of Comrade Trotsky, Radek ple who are connected by a thousand social ties to the petty bourgeoisie and, through them, to the Nep and the and Piatakov contained passages, acnew bourgeoisie.

we have invented the above six points. Every serious Bolshevik will have to admit that the struggle between the Leninist C. C. and Comrade Tretsky turns precisely upon these points, and not upon the question of "personal prestige", as the philistines think.

What would be the state of affairs in our country if, in these six ques-tions, we had followed the road urged by Trotsky? It would have become a Russia of the Nep, in the sense and to the extent which the ideology of the new bourgeoisie reckoned upon. And the prospects of the transformation of Russia of the new economic policy into a socialist Russia would have been very remote, and would even

have entirely vanished. If we add to all this the opportunist errors of Comrade Trotsky in the questions of international politics, (over-estimation of the democraticpacifist era, over-estimation of the miraculous peace-making quality of American super-imperialism, under-estimation of the counter-revolutionary nature of social democracy, underestimation of the duration of fascism) and the fact that he supported all right, semi-social democratic elements in the various sections of the Comintern, then it is clear in what direction Comrade Trotsky is drawing our party.

In this heaping up of one error upon another Comrade Trotsky has his own "system". As a whole that system is: right deviation.

The new bourgeoisie of our country s precisely a new and not the old bourgeoisie. It has seen a variety of things and has also learned something from the "Lessons of October". It saw the masses in action. It saw the ruthless handling of the bourgeoisle by the Bolsheviki in the first period of the October revolution, and the concessions of the Bolsheviki to the bourgeoisie in 1921, when these same ruthless Bolsheviki were compelled to introduce the new economic policy. It now knows the value of the real relation of forces which, among others consists in the international bourgeois environment of the first Soviet country. It has its new intelligenzia, educated for the most part in our educational establishments. It has learned to penetrate into the struggle of tendencies within our own party, it has learned to take advantage of Soviet legality.

It is a bourgeoisie which has passed through the fire of the greatest revolution; a bourgeoisie which understands how to bring about its alliance with the leaders of the international bourgeoisie. In one word, it is a bourgeoisie with a keen class-consciousness; an adaptable bourgeoisie, which has become more clever through the experiences of the revolution and better understands the importance of the workers' party and the currents within this party.

We must not disguise the fact: the social composition of our state apparatus is such, that an important part of the personnel of this apparatus must be considered as an agency of this new bourgeoisie. The same must be said regarding a certain section of the students and of the intelligenzia in general.

To demand from the Bolshevist Party in the years 1921 to 1924, in the period of transition, the before mentioned six points, means nothing less than to help, even if unwillingly, the new bourgeoisie.

Comrade Trotsky has taken a wrong turning. He wants to fight against the exaggerated "sectarianism" of the old Bolsheviki, which appears to him as "narrow-mindedness", and in re-ality he is fighting against the bases of Bolshevism. As a matter of fact, of course without wishing it, he is rendering the class enemy an invaluable service.

No comrade will be able to say that | when Comrade Trotsky was an open opponent of Bolshevism. He must cease from stirring up periodical "crises", with the regularity and the punctuality of a calendar, every year, and recently every six months. and recently every six months. He must understand that nobody will succeed in crushing Leninism by force under Trotskylsm. In one word, it must be understood that Bolshevism remains Bolshevism.

What is to be done? Split? Nonsense! There can be no talk of such a thing! Our party is more united than it ever was.

Disciplinary measures? That is also absurd! Nobody needs this; something else is necessary at present.

It is necessary that the party secure itself against a repetition of the "attacks" upon Leninism. Serious party guarantees are necessary that the decisions of the party shall be binding for Comrade Trotsky. The party is not a debating society, but a party, which moreover is in a very complicated situation. The slogan of the present day is:

Bolshevizing of all strata of the partyl Ideological struggle against Trotskylsm!

And before all: enlightenment, enlightenment and again enlightenment!

Our party consists for the greater part of relatively new members. It is necessary that the party study the question of Leninism and Trotskyism. It is necessary that the party clearly see that here it is a question of two fundamentally different systems of tactics:

It is not merely a question of the past history of the party. It is here a question of two methods of dealing with present-day politics, which are closely connected with such cardinal questions as the question of the relation between the working class and the peasantry. And we cannot avoid thanking Comrade Trotsky that he has at any rate provided the party with a good opportunity of analysing a deviation from Leninism and thinking more deeply into the fundamentals of Leninism.

Of course, the party must insist that party discipline is also binding for Comrade Trotsky; and we are convinced that the party will be able to insist on this. The more clearness there is in the party regarding the question of Leninism and of Trotskyism, the less ground there will be for such an attempt as Comrade Trotsky has undertaken. The less response there is in the party to this attempt. the less desire he will have to repeat it. And the response this time is very small. Comrade Trotsky has so changed the form of his "platform" that there is only room for one man upon it—Comrade Trotsky himself.

During the last discussion Comrade Trotsky declared the student youth to be the reliable "barometer". We did not agree with him then and we do not agree with him now. But it must be stated that even this, not entirely ideal, barometer has not responded this time as in recent years, which proves that the student youth do not wish to replace Leninism by Trotskyism.

The best means to hold Comrade Trotsky back from further errors, which will estrange him still further from Bolshevism, is for the whole party as one man to repudiate his deviation, and then we hope he will soon retrieve his errors.

It is to be hoped that Comrade Trot-sky, when he perceives the harmful-ness of this tendency and the unanim-ity of the perceives the harmfulunst his enormous errors, will turn back from his wrong path.

cording to which if the C. P. of Ger-5. We should not have carried out many in October, 1923 had entered upon a revolt it would today be a heap of ruins, then it becomes clear that Comrade Trotsky here, as in all the other questions which he deals with in the "Lessons of October", has the currency reform because, accord-ing to Trotsky, "first" industry had to be restored, and then the currency reform was to be taken in hand. It is not necessary to mention that if we had accepted this "ingenious" pronot been in any way consistent. In the activity of Comrade Trotsky posal, the weight of the socialist element upon the economy of our coun-try would only have been reduced and

there is much that is individual, much the new bourgeoisie would have therethat is the mere reflection of passing moods, much that is brilliant. His by become stronger. platform is not yet finally settled. His political standpoint shimmers in all the colors of the rainbow. Our task relation to the peasantry, we should have committed the greatest errors. consists in understanding what sub-Instead of the beginning of an alliance stance there is in all this, what is the with the peasantry, we should be albasis of all this; and we maintain that ogether estranged from them. The

the basis consists of something which is not Bolshevist and not Leninist. From whence comes this variety of form? It has its basis in the fact

We ask the former and present followers of Comrade Trotsky, whether they are aware that every attack of Comrade Trotsky against the Bolshevik C. C. since 1921 has been hailed throughout the whole of the non- bolshevik camp with ever-increasing joy?

Marx has already said that one can express the feeling of the petty bourgeoisie without oneself being a small shop-keeper. Of course, Comrade Trotsky has the best intentions. But the way to hell is paved with good inten-Comrade Trotsky must once tions. and for all give up "saving" our party from alleged errors. He must under-stand and admit his own political errors, which for the greater part arise from the remants of his political ideology of the time from 1903 to 1917,

Comrade Lenin more than once formulated the "law" of the political evolution of Comrade Trotsky. If things are going well, Comrade Trotsky approaches the Bolshevist line; when things are going bad, then Com-rade Trotsky inclines to the right. In order to keep him back from turning to the right, the ideological defense of the whole party is necessary.

The party will say its final word, and once again the premature hopes of the enemy will be disappointed. The Bolshevist party will receive a new and more powerful steeling, and true Leninism will become the ideological equipment of the whole party down to the last member.

Your Policy hust Be - Buy a Policy -

The Anarchists and the Left Militant

By ROSA LUX.

Yonofsky as the first speaker, who among others stated, "The masses are not interested in our (anarchist) activities, do not read our literature and do not come to our conventions." This was well known to the delegates and Yanofsky could safely have omitted this part of the speech. He continned as follows: "As anarchists, we do not oppose order and leadership, on the contrary, the way to achieve anarchism will be possible only thru the leadership of capable and trust-worthy persons." But, he added, it is not the rank and file that can assume leadership, for that must come from "above" and not from "below."

To mention all his empty and highsounding phrases is useless; the essence of his speech was, that it is the labor movement which offers the anvantageous field to work in. Most o' the delegates did not understand wha' ficialdom." he was driving at. Some were innocent, others were naive and therefore could not read between the lines of the treacherous speech delivered by those who were not as foxy and clever together." as Yanofsky and partly because they could not do otherwise, showed themselves in their true color which is yellow.

THE first session of the Jewish Fed. does not seem so to me for no one as ers shall look after their own affairs erated Anarchist Convention took yet has mentioned a word about the and was therefore considered a real place at the Forward building, with miserable lot of the workers." He left. He gave this excellent "educapointed out, "The labor leaders are not tional" advice to the ignorant workinterested in the life the workers are compelled to lead, therefore it is up to participate in union affairs; to do to us to take matters in our own hands." This delegate was looked upon as a "left," and consequently as a dangerous element. The chairman, on some technical ground or other cut Arbeiter Stimme is supported largely him short and prevented him from concluding his remarks.

But when Mr. Loy, the former man ager of Local 2 of the I. L. G. W. U., took the floor not as a delegate, but as a mere visitor only he was given the privilege to speak as long as he pleased. He was, of course, in agree ment with the policy of the corrupt union officials and labor fakers, and also with the officers of the anarchist federation. He stated, "The rank and file members are not capable of takarchists the most important and ad- ing care of their own affairs, they must entrust the leadership to the of-

Another delegate rose and criticized the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. He had a constructive nature was recommendproofs that the above mentioned pa |ed to this convention. Some one sug per, "does not represent the working Yanofsky. Especially the cloak of an- class, especially during strikes does archistic idealism in which he tried it ignore the battle field of the workto wrap himself was misleading. But ers. It ignores the class struggle al-

This critical delegate was the subject of a vicious attack by the representative of the Freie Arbeiter Stim- anything that we can accept or reme. He spoke heatedly and among

Some of the delegates felt they other things said, "We have noticed or reject nothing." were misled and after listening for long ago that this delegate has a three days to hollow phrases of this 'touch' of 'leftism.'" But he did not kind began to protest vigorously have the audacity to deny the facts, able to recognize the agents of the Union, and their allies and lackeys, against all this "speechifying." One he could only say, "Such matters are "labor" wing of American imperial the for example, asked: "Will this con- not supposed to be brot up at a con- ism, who were making a bold pre- tion.

vention concern itself with the prob- vention." Then he attacked the delelem of working class conditions? It gate who was in favor that the workers by stating, "It is not for workers so one must graduate first from Brookwood College." His attitude was like an open book which everyone could read. It was evident that the Freie by bureaucratic union officials, espac ially by those of the L. L. G. W. U.

Yanofsky, the former editor of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, is today editor of Justice, the official organ of the I. L. G. W. U. Thus they all work hand in hand to betray the workers in every way.

To sum up the convention in brief one can say that it consisted of the adoption of a meaningless "resolution." This "resolution" contained the usual formal praises of the officials and their organ, stated vaguely as to the future growth of the federation and in a hidden manner attacked the left elements. Absolutely nothing of gested that those who want the floor should speak on the resolution only 'That is exactly what I want to do... replied a delegate and he began there ad then in the following manner: This resolution is a meaningless scrap of paper; it does not contain ject; it would mean to accept nothing

This convention had some purpose hough, and the careful observer was "labor" wing of American imperial the leaders of the anarchist federa-

tence of representing the anarchist ideal.

It was the militant workers or the 'lefts" and progressives who realize that the well paid leaders and officials cannot represent the interests of the workers. The corrupt leaders on the other hand are aware of the fact that labor all over the world is awakening. This awakening they try to prevent. The main purpose of this convention was to propagandize the workers so that they do not turn "left."

As to the definition of leftism, we need no go into details, for the representative of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme made it clear to us that those who were critical minded were the ones who turned left.

But who are the lefts and what do they want? Why are all reactionary union officials and the anarchists so much against them? It is the left and militant workers who favor the new type of organization, the shop-delegate system, who tries to infuse new life into demoralized trade unions, which are ideologically bankrupt, organizationally stagnant. The lefts cannot expect that someone besides themselves will bring about the liberation of the workers, the militants alone are determined to take the inititative for their emancipation. This the anarchists were fully aware of, and hence stified every and any attempt on the part of the few militants in their ranks to give expression to the cause of the working class.

Slowly but surely does the militant worker realize who are his enemies. And he discovered that among the greatest are the leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers'

What a Negro Says of Russia

WE print in full a letter from a Ne | college). I tramped to Gloucestergro Communist to the Workers' Weekly, a London Communist paper. -Ed. Note.

Dear Comrade Campbell,-With the greatest pleasure and warm -greetings, I am writing to you these few lines to say that there are many folks who would stand by your side always.

I want to express my wishes and desires fully and boldly, but I am not such a grand writer. But some day as the times go by, I might be able to address a few gatherings in our Communist fashion in some odd corner in the East End or Manchester.

I am a regular reader of the Workers' Weekly, which reaches us in our independent libraries, in all Russia, and everybody is eagerly wishing you great success in your endeavours to bring the working classes of all nationalities in the heart of the British Empire to learn who are their common enemies.

I am a born Communist, a negro from British Guiana. I was born in a lonely forest, but the English exploiters forced me to leave my home and country. Others who are not fortunate enough to run away must die under the yoke of the sugar planters, the rubber collectors, gold grabbers, and all sorts of foreign exploiters.

shire and had to work a few days sawing timber, and go to church compulsory. Then I tramped to Cardiff without any money, and got to Barry Dock, where I managed to get on a Greek ship.

Heart's Desire

At last, with lots of other adven tures, I came to Russia, and now I have found a home, and my heart's desire, and a working man's paradise.

No more to remember the Liverpool riot, where the coloured men were stoned to death with bricks in the River Mersey, swimming from an angry mob. But I was just sorry until tears came to my eyes, that the working class people who caused the riots follow still the very capitalists who brought the niggers for cheap labour during the war.

May Not Go Home

They will not allow Negroes who have lived in England to land in their respective native lands, for fear that they might preach propaganda, and open the eyes of their darker brethern, and there will be no one to plant rice and sugar, hunt for elephant tusks,

To the Teachers of the World!

Comrades, Colleagues!

'He Congress of the Teachers' International which was held at Brussels is now over. We have consolidated our organization and have become clear as regards the way which lies before us.

We now send out to you the appeal: Join your national Teachers' Trade Union organisations!

See to it that your organisations affiliate to our Internationale des travailleurs de l'Enseignement (International of Educational Workers) the only Teachers' International Trade Union organisation in the world!

Is it necessary for us again to say why this joining of forces is necessary and will become more so with every day?

In all countries we teachers are experiencing more and more the pressure upon us, upon the youth and upon the school, of international combined capital, which rules the world according to its will and is now endeavouring, by means of the Dawes Plan and of the London pact. to cenvert the world into a gigantic trust for the exploitation of all workers. Against this international power it is necessary to set up an international

class struggle: for then we should be incapable of fighting both as a trade union and as pioneers for a new ideal of school and education.

The main pillars of our international were set up in 1922. Today ten countries are affiliated to us, comprising about 600,000 teachers. We ask the comrades of those teachers' organizations who are still waiting for instructions from the Amsterdam Trade Union International: How long will you stand aside?

Where is there room for another International beside us?

What basis shall it have if not ours? But there is a place for you in our ranks:

Follow the example of the Belgian comrades, who have broken the ban! Show that the teachers are capable of creating the International which is desired by all workers, and which is absolutely necessary for the prosecution of class struggle!

Show that it is possible to combine organisations which are affiliated by their national centers either to the I. T. U. F. or to the R. I. L. U. in one united organisation.

Comrades, Colleagues! Recognize the dangers which threat-

During the War

In the 1914 war, I refused to go to sea, and was contented with a job in Manchester, but they grabbed me by conscription to the army where I thought my career was ended, but I came back alive and damned poorer than I went in, with a pension for a week or so. I could not get an old or new job, and I visited every institute in England, from the lodging houses to the Poplar Farm Colony, touching the workhouse for a few weeks.

I was then promoted to Brixton prison, and when released, went to the colonial officer for a breakfast. He refused me one, and we had a fight, and I was recommended to the Bromley padded cells for examination. How I got rid of the asylum it is not easy to say, but I found myself in the railway riding to Cardiff, where I was put in prison for not paying for my ticket. Then they kept me for two

d, or gather monkey nuts.

I can remember when I was a soldier we landed at Cape Town from a troopship in order to embark in another for India. But they would not et us pay a visit to the museum, and they told us that the Zulus, Kaffirs, and the various tribes of our nation might us un.

But thanks to Russia, the famous Soviet Republic, for trying to bring the world's unity together, where all men and all tribes shall have peace and prosperity. Dear Comrade Campbell, I cannot express my feelings so fully, but you may judge I am one of your comrades, and a true Russian black bolshievickoo; and the quicker England does away with capitalism the better the world_will be, with peace and unity .-- Yours fraternally, M. K. (Kerson, Russia).

(P. S .- Long live the Red International and the Soviet Republics!)

"The Beauty and the Bolshevik" is weeks in Oxford (the prison not the coming to Ashland Auditorium Feb. 5. organisation those who reject the 5-day week.

organisation for the maintenance and improvement of our material and social position.

We are an autonomous organisation, independent of the two trade union centres of Amsterdam and Moscow. We are autonomous because the conditions in the international labor movement still compel us to be so. We wish nothing better-and we will fight for it, not only by our example -than the setting up the unity of the international trade union movement.

But in spite of this independence, our International is not lacking a firm ideological basis. As teachers of the people and as employees, we see our natural allies in the organised working class, which fights as a class against exploitation and suppression and for the socialist order of society. Only prejudice and the intrigues of the ruling class separate us today from these our fellow class-fighters. Our patience does not extend so far that we accept in our international

en you from the forces of capitalism and of reaction! Join us and strengthen the front of the fighting teachers and workers!

Long live the Teachers' International labor movement!

Long live the International of the Educational Workers!

> The International of the Educational Workers. (Paris) The General Secretariat.

Painters Push Health Bills. PHILADELPHIA. - Prohibition of the Pennsylvania legislature by the paint spraying machines is sought of eastern conference of painters, decorators, and paperhangers. Other health measures in the interest of the public as well as of the painters are being pushed. The conference is seeking industrially to put thru a standardized wage and hours agreement in the eastern district and the in a last and the second

Purcell Replies to Abramovich

By MAX BEDACHT.

RAFAEL ABRAMOVICH, the men-shevik emissary, who is at present rehashing all the old lies about Soviet Russia in order to show the dangers of American recognition of Soviet Russia, has as one of his pet subjects the "Bolshevik outrage" committed in Georgia.

He pictures the Georgian workers and peasants as ardent adherents of the menshevik brand of socialism, for which the Georgian masses are persecuted by the Bolshevist authorities. A regime of blood and iron alone can keep the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic of Georgia from overthrowing the Bolshevist yoke and embracing the blessings of menshevist rule for English oil capital.

Altho these lies have been dealt with repeatedly we take them up again and again. The paid scribes and socialist mercenaries of capitalism, such as Abramovich, insist on rehashing old lies in the hope of reaching a new audience that has not yet been made immune against their poison by a knowledge of the truth.

To meet these campaigns we have no choice but must repeat again and again that the "reports" of Abramovich and his menshevist disciples are poisoned arrows directed against the first workers' and peasants' govern ment; that these reports are no les: damnable attacks on the existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics than the poisoned bullet was, that a disciple of the Abramoviches fired into the body of Lenin in the Soviet Republic's darkest hour.

As against the lies of the Abramoviches it is interesting to learn what unbiased observers have to say about the Soviet Republic of Georgia

At the session of the Enlarged Trade Union Council of Georgia, held on Dec. 2, last year, Comrade A. A. Purcell, on behalf of the English trade union delegation in Georgia, conveyed the fraternal greetings of the English proletariat and said:

"It is our task to annihiliate that abominable campaign of lies against the Soviet Union and that net of lies which entangles the working class of the whole world. The working class demands a final solution of the question of the unity of the labor move ment. I believe that the self-sacrifice, the discipline and the steadfastness of the working class of the Soviet Union will help to realize this unity in order to conduct the fight against world capitalism with united forces."

Comrade Ben Tillet declared:

"When the delegation set out for Georgia, some of my nearest friends said that Georgia at present presents a picture of anarchy and murder, that 500,000 members of the Red Army are suppressing the liberty of Georgia threatening women and children with the bayonet, and that as a result al Georgia is seething with discontent.

"After having become acquainted with the situation in Georgia on the spot, we became convinced that the bourgeois lies emanate from white guardist sources.

"For Curzon and Churchill the Russian revolution is an outrage. They represent the Bolsheviki as brute beasts. But we found them to be hu man beings. Instead of the 'national ization of women,' we find that nowhere is the woman so protected and nowhere does she enjoy such rights as in the Soviet Union. The Russian proletariat is engaged in such a work of reconstruction as we have never been able to find outside the frontiers o' the Red republics. The Russian trade union movement is full of life and energy. The great solidarity upon which your work is based will conquer the whole world." On Dec. 3, the English trade union delegation had an interview with a group of former mensheviki, among them being: Farinv, Ruchadez, and Dzamanashvilli.

'MacDonald, Snowden, Tom Shaw, workers cannot accept any responsi- membership contribution to the Sec Vandervelde and others in 1920, and bity for what they said. We, however, ond International. In 1918, Zerețell' afterwards." Thereupon Bromley deare the representatives of these workclared:

ers, representatives of their trade un-"Neither MacDonald, nor Snowden ions, and declare that we are for sup International. It is clear that their nor Shaw were representatives of the porting the Soviet power."

English workers, they were rep-To the question of Comrade Purcell Jordania was only sent to the league resentatives of the Second In- Farinev replied that in 1920 the of nations by a small group of memternational. Therefore the English Georgian mensheviki paid their last



made a profound impression upon the delegation. Bromley declared: "I bow to your courage. You have perceived your errors and have cour ageously and honestly come over to the side of the working class." After his departure from Georgia, Purcell sent the following telegram to the Tiflis paper, Sarja Wostoka (The

Dawn of the East): "We are tremendously sorry to have to leave Georgia, but at the same time we greatly rejoice that we are able to express our exceedingly great and enthusiastic satisfaction over the Sovist discipline and over the great devotion of the population to Soviet Georgia which we have witnessed. The efforts of Soviet Georgia for economic reconstruction testify to a profound belief in the final victory of the Soviet system. The result of these efforts also proves the great capability of the working class to administer the state, when it has succeeded in capturing state power.

and two other mensheviki were elect-

ed as representatives to the Second

mandates have long since expired.

The English comrades still showed

interest for a number of economic and

political questions. The interview

bers of the central committee.

"With fraternal greeting in the name of the delegation,

"A. A. Purcell, "Chairman of the Delegation."

As against the fictitions fabrications of the Abramoviches, concocted in Paris, London and Berlin, here is the testimony of non-bolshevist representatives of the English workers, who investigated the conditions in Georgia, not in London, but in the Soviet Republic of Georgia itself. Their testimony belies statements of Abramovich. The American workers will let Abramovich know what they think of him and the likes of him.

In this way the movement is aleady capturing international pesitions.

The experiences of a whole year ave, before all, fully and completely ustified the attitude of the first conlerence regarding organizatory questions. The non-binding character of the decisions, the fact that the correspondents must not be elected or appointed, the non-recognition of the correspondents, the peculiarity of the organizatory form as the best guarantee against officialism and bureaucracy-all these principles have stood the severe test of practice.

The conference has now continued the line laid down: organizatory connection with the newspapers, leadership of the workers' correspondents movement by the party newspapers and by the editors; immediate specific party political education (history of the party, program and statutes, tactics, Leninism, etc.); exact definition of the functions of party political work, and of the work by the newspapers; detailing of the organzatory mutual relations in the direction indicated by the first conference. The situation is different with the village correspondents. Here the first steps have yet to be taken. All the participants in the conference, all comrades have thoroughly understood what enormous and general political importance the village correspondents will have in the future. All have recognized the general political importance of the problem at the present moment. And therefore they have proceeded with such deliberation and such caution to the laying of foundation stones for the village correspondents' organization.

How We Live and Work

Editor's Note:-This paper is printed for the workers, poor farmers and those who worker and sweat under the present system of society. It is a paper of the workers, by the workers and for the workers. We want to reach every corner of this country where labor is being exploited for private gains, for profit. We want the workers and farmers all over the country to read the DAILY WORKER. In order to make it more interesting and be able better to reflect the life of the wide laboring masses, WE WANT OUR READERS TO WRITE TO US. This new department "HOW WE LIVE AND WORK" will appear as often as there will be sufficient letters from our readers about the life and working conditions under which our masses struggle. Try to make the letters interesting bringing out facts which may not be known to workers in other sections of the country. Try to make them short and to the point.

THE NEW BIG INITIATIVE.

The Second Conference of the Workers' Correspondents of the "Pravda."

"HE delegates had come to the conference from all parts of Russia; from sunny Georgia with its eternal summer, from far-off Siberia, from the Caucasus, from the Ural and Taschkent,-over 300 men, the representatives of 50,000 workers' and village correspondents.

'Last year only a few dozen were assembled here," said Maria Iliynitchna in her speech of welcome.

And comrade Katayama, as if he wished to continue her line of thought, added in the name of the young revo-land, from the east and the west, they are all endeared to the proletarlutionary journalists of Japan: "You indicate the way and we follow." ian Pravda of Lenin. Comrade Hesse, the representative A pile of letters-a heap of presof the C. P. of Germany hastened to ents which have been lovingly farejoice our workers' correspondents shioned by the workers in the various factories and workshops in their leiwith the successes of their brothers sure hours. in this time of black social democratic The conference of the workers and reaction. "I am glad to be able to inform village correspondents which was you," he said, "that we already posconvened by the Pravda undoubtedsess 600 factory nuclei which already ly constitutes a very important stage issue a kind of wall newspaper; with in the development of the workers us, however, they are newspapers and village correspondents movement. which are passed from hand to hand." A whole year has elapsed since the All speeches of welcome were short first conference. But in this year but they came from sincere and warm the movement has grown and has obhearts and were full of revolutionary tained a sure and firm foothold. It has created the basis of its organizazeal, full of fighting spirit, full of profound belief in victory. They all form tion, attained international importanice and found a response in a whole to a certain extent a continuous recnumber of countries.

The members of the delegation questioned them regarding the cause of their leaving the menshevik party. To the question of Comrade Bromley, as to who had promised them support

ord of the past days, of the days of struggle and of the strengthening of the proletariat, and with the revolutionary Pravda. It seems as if there would be no end to the greetings and from abroad, Dzamanashvilli replied; congratulations-from the capital city 'our footsteps.

There has not only begun an exchange of information between our workers and their comrades abroad some parties are already following elastic in order to serve new cultural

Beside the question of the workers. the village and the army correspondents, the question of the youth correspondents was also dealt with. The new form of organization, which has proved itself to be sufficiently aims, is proceeding to victory.

The I. W. W.'s Highest Official---Pro Tem!

By HARRISON GEORGE

T is said, and it is probably true, that "It takes all kinds of people to make a world." But that appears to be no good reason for the 16th general convention of the I. W. W. having picked out a poor fish to be the general secretary treasurer pro tempore of the organization.

Unless, of course (and I have some suspicion that 'tis true), the fellow workers who placed him in the seats of the mighty, expected that said poor flish would, in his anxiety to make the most of his little "brief authority," swell up with a desire to hear himself talk as the REAL THING IN WISE GUYS, and, naturally, while talking, expose to all the world that he has too little sense to advise the workers to come in out of the rain, and a confused idea of utopian dogmas which he grandiosely imagines is a revolutionary theory.

Expectation Realized

If the fellow workers expected this, they were not mistaken, nor disappointed. The poor fish has not ceased to be a poor fish because he became a big fish, and in a lecture upon the subject of "Dictatorship or Liberation" recently reviewed in the DAILY WORKER, completely expose his theoretical nakedness.

This horrible example of anarchosyndicalism is probably -wholly un aware that he made a fool of himself and doubtlessly thinks that his evasion of logical points, his distortion of both the facts and the theories of the Russian revolution, and his pompous fulminations agains "politicians," served well enough as a substitute of sense, proletarian truth and a desire to clarify and inform. But there were many good wobblies in the audience who were not so sure of that, in fact some say so.

For the benefit of those who could not attend the painful affair, and as a faithful characterization of what anarcho-syndicalist ideas are, whoever speaks them and whenever or whereever they are spoken, I have translated from the official organ of Local No. 1, of the Carpenters' and Helpers' Union of the Railway Workers' Confederation of Mexico, the following dialogue between a syndicalist and a sensible worker.

The Muddle-Head International

Some will cavil, I presume, that a "foreign" argument should be brought in to explain the lecture at the I. W. W. forum in Chicago on "Dictatorship or Liberation," but anarcho-syndicalist theory is the same the world over and foolishness is foolishness regardless of geography. There is, it will be seen, an internationalism even among muddle-heads. And as this little dialogue illuminates so precisely the foolish arguments of the lecture against dictatorship, which took no ac. count of what class may hold the dictatorship, I give it to the reader with the explanation that opens with the sensible worker asking the syndicalis the following question:

'So, then, you are a syndicalist, and a libertarian?

- Exactly.
- "Both at once or successively? "Both at once.

'Surely! Do you doubt it? "By no means. But, what would this revolution consist of?

"The suppression of the wage system, of the bosses and of the state. "Very good. And who will suppress all that?

"We, the workers, the unions.

"Perfectly. And while all that is going on, the bourgeoisie will, doubtless, be reading the "Arabian Nights?"

"They will exist, naturally. But we are not cripples, and they will have somebody to deal with them. . . "Very good. And who will direct

the action against them?

""The unions, that is clear.

"Perfectly. That is to say that the unions will then exercise the power? "Just as I said before--'All power to the unions.' Don't you hear me, then, when I speak?

"I hear all I am able. And from as much as I hear, it appears to me that I heard you say that you were against all power . . .

'That's a tough head you have. I am against all po-lit-i-cal power, because I am against all politics, against the tricky politicians. But the power of the unions means e-cono-mic power. Do you begin to understand?

"All that you tell me I understand! ... And what would you do with the bourgeoisie, who will murder your fellow workers and try to hang you all?

"What a question! We will have them forget the taste of bread.

"And what do you call that? Is that not politics?

"It is revolution!

"There is nothing better than to first understand the meaning of words. And while you will be beating the dirt out of the bourgeoisie, will not your position be-pardon my gall -a dictatorship?

"Nothing of the kind. That will be direct action!

"Fine! After all we are ... almost ... agreed. But I am one who yet does not dominate the vocabulary and I do not know the value of words ...

"By no means do we agree, because you want a dictatorship of a minority over a majority. While we want the contrary.

"We are going to see about that shortly.

"It is seen already.

"One moment. How many are there of you syndicalists?

"Somewhere around 30,000. When we get all the other organized workers to leave their unions and come to us, we would have three or four million. But, naturally, when the proletariat understands better, we will be more numerous. There are twenty millions of wage workers in this country. A day will come when these workers understand their rights better, and that day ...

"Meanwhile, you will not expect that all the workers will be organized in unions in order to make the revolution?

"Of course not. With a good active minority ...

"You admit, then, that for a long time yet, the unions will embrace but a minority of the workers?

"And why will those fifty impose cisions!... eir will on the forty-nine? "I don't deny that. But listen to their will on the forty-nine?

"Well... because ... there has to be a majority that decides. How would you want it

"I want nothing. I am only proving that you are an advocate, not only of the dictatorship of a minority, but also of a fraction of that minority.

"But is there any other Way of ...?

"And that consequently you arrive in some cases to delivering dictatorship to only one man, whose vote may swing the balance to one side or another, according ...

"But, what do you propose, then?

"I propose nothing. I am asking questions. And I am not finished with that, yet. Suppose that among the hundred organized workers, the result of the vote might be as follows: forty in favor, thirty-nine opposed, and twenty-one abstensions. Which makes the effective decision?

"Naturally, the forty. "That is to say, the minority of the

minority. You are, then, an advocate of the dictatorship of the minority of the minority!

"The twenty-one have no right to abstain. What kind of poor dubbs are those who abstain in the present

two words more. Suppose the hundred might all be decided, resolved. Only we must admit that many times there are not only two opinions present. There may be, and let us suppose there are, three. Then the vote gives some result like: thirty-five in favor of one proposal, thirty-three in favor of another, and thirty-two in favor of a third. Which opinion prevails?

"That of the thirty-five, evidently. "However, those who oppose that opinion number sixty-five... And you impose upon them the will of the other thirty-five ...

"They can do nothing else but agree! Well, it needs somebody to decide!

"All right. But-pardon my gall-I note that you are for a dictatorship of a minority.

"Well, what of it?

"You have poor reason to say-Well, what of it?"-because a little while ago you were condemning the dictatorship of a party, of a minority, even of a majority. And now! ...

"You make me tired!

"How so? How so?

"And I'm going to bust your nose! "Go easy, go easy, friend ... Don't moment, that is, the moment of de- | forget that you are a libertarian! ...



What's Your Hurry?

LENIN.	rades w
	these fe WORKE
fought h! beloved one you have not died for naught.	for you

ill find a little space for w words in the DAILY ER. On January 19 I read munist Children's Column ohnny and Billie. Hurrah Johnny! You did good capitalist Billie!

	 ers! "Agreed. But, now you are advocating a dictatorship of a minority of organized workers over a majority of unorganized, and over all the unorganizable: small farmers, petty bourgeoiste "It isn't possible to work any other way! Whose fault is it if? "Certainly. But you are an advocate of the dictatorship of a minority. However, you were saying just the opposite a minute ago. "At least that minority is formed of a majority of class conscious producers "One minute Suppose you take a union of one hundred members which has to make an important decision. General assembly. In the voting, there are fifty votes in favor, forty-nine opposed and one abstension. Which opinion has the force of 	Lenin! your duty you have done; Some day our victory shall be won Let us get our enemies even with a rope The world victory is our best hope. A dear and brave leader was he, This every Junior worker can see, Your name in the workers' history shall run And our victory some day will be won. From a Fellow Worker. My dear Comrades: I am not a subscriber of the DAILY WORK- ER, but I read it every day. As soon as spring comes, I am going from house to house and get customers for the DAILY WORKER, and I hope all the other young comrades and Juniors	CLEVELAND.—Altho plasterers and lathers voted in favor of the fire day week, a majority of the unions in the Cleveland Building Trades Council wil' maintain the 44-hour week for another
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