

Greetings to the Ninth Year of Soviet Rule!

THE DAILY WORKER

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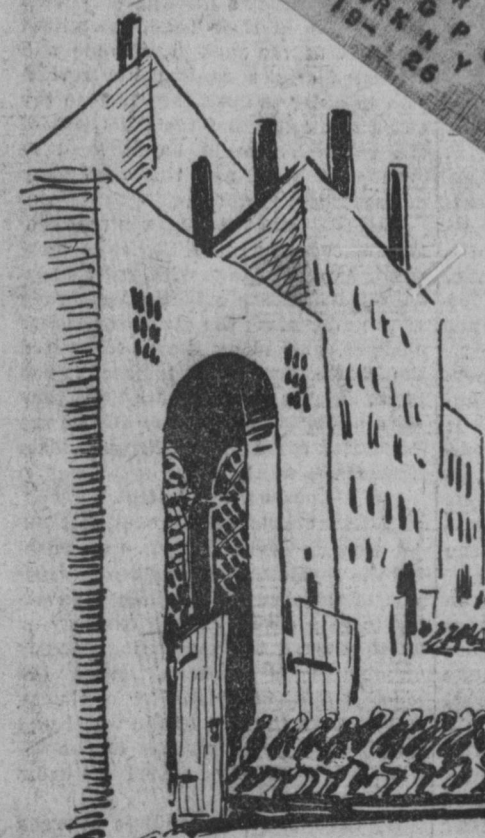
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Saturday, Nov. 7, 1925

Section Two

ORGANIZE THE REVOLUTION!

LENINISM is the organizing of revolution. Bolshevism is the unlimited devotion of the revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat, combined with unwearied, tenacious work for the preparation of the revolution.—Manifesto of the Communist International.



FORWARD TO WORKERS' RULE!

Manifesto of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party on the eighth anniversary of the establishment of the workers' and peasants' government of Russia.

EIGHT years ago, on November 7, 1917, the workers and peasants of Russia threw their exploiters from their backs. They formed a Soviet government and established the workers' rule in Russia.

For eight years the workers and peasants of Russia have defended their government and their right to abolish the exploitation and oppression of the capitalists. They have fought to establish a new social order in which the product of their labor would be used to give them a higher standard of life, in place of enriching a few capitalists and landowners.

To maintain their workers' and peasants' government they were obliged to fight armies of the czarist generals who sought to re-establish the rule of robbery and autocracy in Russia. They were forced to fight the imperialist capitalist governments—England, France, the United States—which sought to destroy their government because the capitalists feared the effect of the example of workers' rule in Russia upon the workers these capitalists were exploiting at home. They were compelled to fight the socialist mensheviks who conspired with and acted as spies for their enemies.

The Russian workers and peasants were compelled to overcome the blockade through which capitalism was seeking to strangle their government. They were obliged to overcome famine and hunger which followed the destruction wrought by counter-revolution and their imperialist enemies.

Against all these enemies the Soviet government of the workers and peasants has triumphed. It has maintained the rule of the workers and peasants in Russia and is creating a social order which is putting to an end the oppression and exploitation of the workers by capitalists.

Achievements of the Workers' Republic

WHILE in all capitalist Europe the standard of life of the workers has been reduced to below what it was in 1914, before the war began, in Soviet Russia, the standard of life of the workers has been improved over what it was in 1914. Capitalist society has made worse the lot of the workers; the Communist government has against great obstacles improved their lot.

The workers and peasants of Russia are no longer ruled by agents of the capitalists, who use the government to fight the workers. Injunctions are not used to force workers into submission when they go on strike and enemies of the workers. The courts are not used to oppress the workers; the courts safeguard the right of the workers. The police and soldiers are not used to force workers into submission when they go on strike and fight the capitalists; they are used to protect the workers.

The capitalist employer no longer rules in Russian industry. There is no boss who hires and fires the workers at will. The Russian industrial unions have by law the right to represent the workers in the industries. They make the agreements in regard to scales of wages and the workers' right to work. The workers' shop committees represent the workers in the management. The workers of Russia are no longer the slaves of the capitalists; they have won their right to full participation in every phase of the work of production.

The Soviet government protects the workers against injury in industry, it protects them against unemployment; it is creating educational op-

portunities for young and old; it is creating the opportunities for recreation and the broadening of the life of the workers and peasants of Russia.

Thus there is being built a new social order in which the hardship and evils, the exploitation and oppression of capitalism are being ended and the opportunity for a finer, happier life created for the workers.

The Danger to Capitalism

THE Soviet Union which the workers and peasants of Russia have created is a dagger thrust at the heart of the capitalists' social order. The capitalists know that the success of the Russian workers and peasants in building a new social order means the death-knell of capitalism. The capitalists know that the workers of the capitalist countries will follow in the footsteps of the workers and peasants of Russia; that they will overthrow their capitalist rulers and set to work to create better conditions of life for themselves.

The Soviet Union is an inspiration to all oppressed peoples of the earth. They find in the workers' and peasants' government an ally and supporters in their struggles for freedom. The people of China, the people of India, the people of Africa, the people of Morocco are inspired by the triumph of the Soviet Union to take up the struggle against the imperialist capitalist countries which are robbing them.

The labor unions of the Soviet Union have taken the initiative in uniting the trade unions of the world against capitalism. They are seeking to draw together in one great international organization all the organizations of labor. The capitalists see in this movement for trade union unity a new danger and threat against capitalism.

Because the Soviet Union is the inspiration of all oppressed peoples in the struggle against imperialism, because the labor unions of the Soviet Union are creating a mighty weapon against capitalism in trade union unity, because of the glorious example of a workers' government creating a better life for the workers and peasants which exists in the Soviet Union, international capitalism is again moving to destroy the achievements of the workers and peasants of Russia.

The New Attack on the Soviet Union

THE negotiations now under way between Great Britain, France and Germany for the creation of a "security pact" is an effort to clear the way for an attack upon the Soviet Union. What Great Britain, France and Germany want is the security of capitalism, which can only be gained by destroying the Soviet Union.

The debt negotiations of the United States government are an effort to settle the European problems in order to pave the way for the struggle against the Soviet Union. Through the Dawes' plan in Germany and through debt settlements, new loans and investments, the American capitalists are becoming the exploiters of the workers all over the world. The American capitalists cannot take payment of their profits and interests in goods; they can only secure payment through greater investment. Thus the interests of the American capitalists in other countries grows.

American capitalism is seeking to protect its billions of investments against the danger of revolt of the oppressed peoples and the exploited workers, which the existence of the Soviet Union inspires, and it therefore follows the policy of the most irreconcilable enemy of the Soviet Union. It refused to recognize the Soviet Union.

It misses no opportunity to make an attack upon the Soviet Union. The exclusion of the Communist member of the British parliament from

the United States, Saklatvala, and the threat of new persecutions against Communists coupled therewith, is a sign of a coming attack upon the Soviet Union.

Attack Upon the Soviet Union Attack Upon all Workers

THE attack upon the Soviet Union is an attack upon all workers. If the imperialist capitalist powers can destroy the Soviet Union, it will mean a wave of reaction and effort to destroy the labor movement the world over.

The workers of the United States will find that with the danger of the Soviet Union removed the capitalists will launch an even greater attack than that through which they drove down wages, lengthened hours, and destroyed many unions in the open shop drive of 1921-1922.

Capitalism, freed from the obstacles of the Soviet Union in its exploitation and oppression of colonial peoples, will drive unchecked into new imperialist struggles and a new imperialist world war.

American capitalism will be free to use its investments in European industry as a means of forcing down the wages of the American workers and forcing upon them the low standard of life which it is compelling the slaves of the Dawes' plan in Germany to accept.

Fight for the Soviet Union and the Workers' Interests

THE American workers must unite with the workers of other countries for defense of the Soviet Union and the workers' interests. The interests of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are the interests of the workers of every country. They are fighting against the same capitalist enemy. The same capitalist enemies which seek to destroy the Soviet Union are seeking to further oppress and exploit the workers of the United States.

Every workers' organization must place itself on record for the defense of the Soviet Union. In every city the trade unions, the co-operatives, the workers' fraternal and political organizations should send delegates to a conference to unite for defense of the Soviet Union and to fight for the workers' interests. Form a united front of labor for defense of the Soviet Union and the workers' interests.

Down with American imperialism and its looting of the peoples of Mexico, South America, China and the Philippines.

Down with the Dawes' plan and the enslaving of the German and American workers.

Down with American militarism and its sacrifices of the workers' lives for the capitalist profits.

A united front of the workers to fight for labor's interests. Forward to a labor party to fight labor's political struggles.

Forward to world trade union unity for the fight against the capitalists.

Rally to the defense of the Soviet Union.

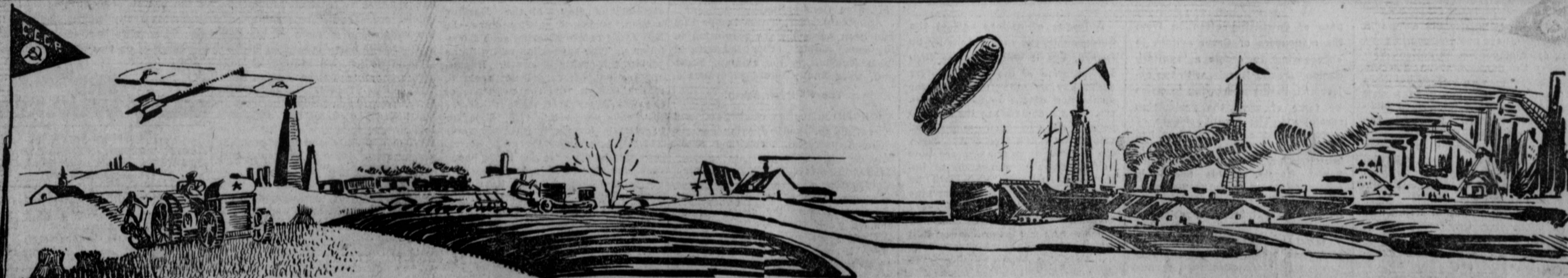
Join in the celebration of the eighth anniversary of the Soviet Union. Recognize the Soviet Union.

Stand by the workers' and farmers' government of Russia.

Forward to the workers' and farmers' government of the United States.

Central Executive Committee,
Workers Party of America,
C. E. Ruthenberg, General Secretary.

THE SUNRISE OF THE NEW DAY SHINES STRONGER THAN EVER ON THE EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF SOVIET RULE IN RUSSIA



COLONEL WILLIAM N. HASKELL, director of American Relief in Russia in 1921-22, returning recently from inspection tour of the Union of Soviet Republics declared, "Today there is food for everybody in Russia. In fact, I believe there is more food there than in the United States, and the prices are much lower. The population that was standing in line waiting for bread in 1921 and 1922 is now well fed. The destitution and suffering of those black years is now only a bitter memory."

From Brest-Litovsk to Locarno, 1917--1925

By H. M. Wicks

TWO treaties, Brest-Litovsk and Locarno, depict the advance of the proletarian revolution the past eight years. The first, in the early days of the revolution, found the Soviet government at a disadvantage, compelled to make a retreat and yield to the humiliating demands of General von Hoffmann, representing the imperial government of Germany. At that time Russia was unable to fight any country, even tho that country itself were in the midst of an imperialist war that finally culminated in defeat.

The second treaty, that of Locarno, was called at a time when for nearly eight years Soviet Russia had defied the whole world of the bourgeoisie. From a weak nation, scarcely able to maintain itself against one European nation, it had grown to be the most formidable and most feared power the world has ever seen.

At Brest-Litovsk Russia was a nation embracing millions of disillusioned and undisciplined workers, soldiers and peasants, whose one impelling motive was peace, bread and land, who had been cemented together in one common mass of misery to make an end of czarist despotism and who later rallied to the leadership of the Bolsheviks and crushed the bourgeois aftermath of czarism.

After the desolating years of war exhaustion and after fighting thru two revolutions in eight months the Russian masses could not fight longer. There had to be a respite from the agony and bloodshed. A party that could not understand that fact could not consolidate the revolution.

The First Step.

THE czar of all the Russians, during the tempest of war, had boasted that he would sacrifice every man and every ruble in order to win the war. Twelve million Russians were hurled into the abattoir of the world war; sacrificed for the czar and the imperialist butchers who backed him. In the spring of 1917 the workers at the front and at home decided that they had been sacrificed long enough. Instead of being sacrificed by the czar they proclaimed that the time had come to sacrifice the czar. And they did so. When the various governments under the leadership of the bourgeoisie elements, culminating in the rule of Kerensky, endeavored to continue the war on the side of the entente, the workers, rallying to the clarion call of the Bolsheviks, determined to sacrifice Kerensky.

Brest-Litovsk came soon after the triumph of the Bolsheviks. It was impossible to drive the Russian masses into further warfare, even to resist the imperious demands of the German general staff. At Brest-Litovsk was revealed on a broad scale the practical application of the Marxian formula that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class; that it does not merely defend the immediate interests, but the historical interests of that class. The interests of the working class as a whole come first. And, although some contended that it was an act of self-abasement to yield to the arrogance of Von Hoffmann, the old Bolshevik guard of the party considered that it was far better to accept temporary defeat and humiliation and misunderstanding on the part of the rest of the world, than

to make a futile but heroic gesture and shatter the revolution.

Eight years pass and we consider Locarno, when the revolution had become so powerful as a world force that the European capitalist nations, both victors and vanquished, who participated in the world war had come together for the purpose of trying to create a "security pact" against Bolshevism conquering the world.

What happened in the interim to produce this transformation? Hundreds of volumes have already been written describing certain events of these eight years, and thousands more will be written before it is all recorded. Within the confines of one article it is quite impossible to give but the most fragmentary outline of the events.

First and foremost we must deal with the organized power of the Soviet government. The victory goes to those who have the power to take and hold it.

A Master Stroke.

AT Brest-Litovsk the Bolshevik diplomats were confronted with a situation where the enemy was powerful, relentless and astute. Behind them was no army, only an undisciplined mass of workers just struggling out of an age long servitude, who knew only that they were weary of fighting. The problem there confronting the Bolshevik leaders was to gain time, to get a breathing space, so that the victory of the revolution could be consolidated.

The humiliating peace was signed and the strategy proved a master-stroke for the revolution because it enabled it to survive; to hold the support of the peasantry and to begin to weld together an army out of the amorphous mass of humanity in Russia. It gave the revolution the necessary time to expose to thousands of German workers the predatory designs of the imperial government; it enabled the Bolsheviks to exploit the conflicts between the imperialist nations and to begin to train a Red Army based upon the indomitable Red Guard, that had gone thru the revolutionary upheavals, preparatory to the armed struggles against Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, and other white guards.

Thro the victory for the proletariat of Russia was realized thru the application of Lenin's formula, "turn the imperialist war between nations into a civil war against capitalism," the terrific impact of the war made the maintenance of an army sufficiently strong to defend the proletarian rule a gigantic task. To firmly establish the dictatorship of the proletariat demanded the building of an army that could defy the white guardist adventurers within and the imperialist invaders without. Never at any time did the Bolsheviks have any illusions regarding this necessity. They yielded to no soft, sentimental yearnings for peace. They faced the grim realities of the struggle. As Lenin, in those days, emphasized:

"Dictatorship is an authority resting directly upon force, and not bound by any laws. The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is an authority maintained by the proletariat by means of force over and against the bourgeoisie and not bound by any laws."—The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade.

On Guard Against the Imperialist Robbers



The Red Army Class of 1903 Comes to Take Up Guard Duty Against the World Imperialists Organized in the Robber Clique of Nations.

ian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade.

Arm the Revolution.

THE first task of any revolution is to disarm the former ruling class and its supporters and arm the revolution. At the time of Brest-Litovsk the workers had not recovered from the shock of the war sufficiently to engage in a further struggle. When the question of defiance to the demands of the German imperialists came up, those who favored a continued struggle said to Lenin who favored making a strategic retreat to gain time: "How do you know the workers will not rally to a further struggle? Can you answer that?"

Lenin replied that he did not need to answer, that the peasants in the army had already answered "with their feet" as they ran away from the front. So at Brest-Litovsk the proletariat of the world learned from the Bolsheviks that there are many sides to a revolutionary struggle. In this concrete instance they learned that not only is a determined offensive necessary, but that it is equally important to understand just when it is necessary to make a strategic retreat. They learned that retreat, no less than the offensive, is a part of the science of revolution.

Lenin's Strategy Wins.

AFTER Brest it was much easier to convince the workers of Germany and Austria-Hungary that they were fighting a war of imperialist conquest. A terrific propaganda of exposure, laying bare the designs of the central powers flooded the armies of Germany and her allies, causing disintegration in the ranks, and doing far more to defeat Germany than would have been possible even tho Russia could have

remained in the war. When the imperialist war came to a close the Red Army of the revolution was being formed, preparatory to defending the triumph of the Russian proletariat against the world. No sooner had the echoes of the last guns died on the imperialist front, than the hiring of entente imperialism, Admiral Kolchak, with a bandit gang, armed by France and Britain, started a drive against the revolution and boastfully announced that he would wear the crown of the czars of Russia in a few weeks.

The first recruiting day for the Red Army was called and the streets of Moscow and Petrograd (now Leningrad) swarmed with workers and peasants anxious to defend the revolution. When Leon Trotsky looked upon the masses in the streets struggling to enter the ranks in defense of their revolution he said "If Kolchak ever wears the crown of the czars he will wear it in a Siberian forest, but not in Moscow."

These raw troops after a hasty preliminary training were attached to the army, the nucleus of which was the old revolutionary fighters of the Red Guard. Into the Urals marched a large part of the new army and, under the command of Comrade Frunze, after months of bitter fighting, Kolchak's forces were cut to pieces, and Kolchak himself shot by one of his own men.

Red Army Triumphant.

AFTER Kolchak came Denikin. After Denikin came Yudenich. Wave after wave of invading hordes were beaten back and the Red Army was becoming ever more powerful. Then came the French-inspired drive of Poland against the revolution, and the troops of the Red Army thundered toward Warsaw and were only stopped by the throwing of French recruits onto Polish soil. The Polish white guards under Pilsudsky had invaded Russian territory, but this time, instead of a Brest peace, the Bolsheviks retaliated by hurling them back across the border and driving them into their own capital city with such terrific force that their sympathizers thruout the world held demonstrations against the "savagery" of the revolutionary forces.

All the counter-revolutionary ventures were financed by France, England and the United States. Even after these lessons the imperialists were not convinced that the revolution was impregnable. They secured another "white hope" in the person of General Wrangel, who from the Crimea, in 1920, began operations against the revolution. He was soon removed from the scene of activity. The whole force of the victorious Red Army was hurled against his mercenaries with such fury that after two weeks' steady retreating he found himself bottled up near Sebastopol and in order to save his own neck ran away on a French warship under cover of darkness, where he found refuge in Constantinople.

American and Japanese troops that had been harassing the revolution in the east, aiding every adventurer from Kolchak to the ataman, Semenov, were finally forced to evacuate.

The First on Earth.

FORGED in the fire of civil war and revolution the Red Army had become a powerful, disciplined force, capable of defending its victory against the world. It was a new army, representing a new victorious class, fully conscious of its mission. For the first time in the history of the modern world the class that made up the army realized the fruits of victory. It was the armed force upon which rested the authority of the revolution.

Not merely was this army trained to fight, but an intensive educational campaign was carried on until on May 1, 1922, there was not a single

member of the army who was illiterate.

Famine Stalks.

ADDED to the throes of the civil war the revolution was faced with a devastating famine in 1921-22. Grim death stalked thru the Volga region and millions perished before relief could arrive. The recurring droughts that have frequently thruout written history depleted the population of this region caused the almost total failure of crops. Here was a new enemy confronting the revolution. But the reserve forces of the revolution, the proletariat of other lands, rallied to the famine relief work and helped make it possible for the Soviet government to survive even that calamity.

Russia was faced with still another problem, the difficult task of reviving the economy of the nation. At the outbreak of the revolution it was hoped—and all signs indicated the probability of aid from other countries thru revolution—that the workers of other nations would be able to furnish the machinery and technical instruments necessary for the industrial revival. But the tempo of the movement slowed down, and in order to obtain necessary equipment an economic retreat, similar to the military retreat at Brest, was necessary. With the same superior statesmanship that motivated his stand on the question of Brest, Lenin boldly enunciated the new economic policy (N. E. P.). Some super-leftists, calling themselves Communists, charged that this retreat was a betrayal of the revolution. But the Bolsheviks pointed to the fact that it was possible to permit foreign capital to enter and participate in the development of the country if the political power to determine the limits of this participation remained in the hands of the proletariat.

It was a necessary retreat and although it involved dangers, those dangers were not so great that the revolution was endangered. The power of the revolution embodied in the Red Army made unthinkable a return to the old conditions. The years since the enunciation of that policy have proved its correctness and vindicated again the diplomacy of the revolution.

Try Other Methods.

BUT the defeat of the allied aspirations to crush by force the power of the revolution, did not destroy their hope of crushing it by other methods. The new economic policy and the famine were viewed as opportunities for obtaining, thru the slimy diplomacy of Europe, the victory they could never hope to obtain by force of arms.

Numerous efforts were made to involve Russia in a diplomatic net that would open wide the gates for capitalist penetration. The most ambitious of these projects was the Genoa conference in 1922.

Britain, France and Italy arranged the conference to which it invited Soviet Russia and the United States. Charles Evans Hughes, the bungling secretary of state of the Harding cabinet, proposed cutting down the Red Army before entering such a conference. This suggestion met with the contempt it richly deserved. Hughes and his supporters did not seem to realize that it was the existence of the Red Army that made necessary the Genoa conference. The endeavor to throttle Russia by military force had failed so under the guise of "reconstructing Europe" the allies hoped they could force wide open the door to the vast resources of Russia, already slightly opened to admit the functioning of the N. E. P.

When their motives were known, Lenin rudely slammed the door in their faces. On his first public appearance on his return from a vacation where he had gone to recuperate from a siege of illness, Lenin, in a speech before the Congress of Metal Workers in Moscow, said: "Soviet Russia's economic retreat has ended

and will go no farther in its concessions to capitalism. If these capitalist gentlemen think they can obtain more by continuing to squeeze us, we will reply: 'Enuf. You shall get nothing.'"

Lenin Hurls Defy.

LENIN, who was invited to the meeting at Genoa and would have gone had his health permitted, said that he hoped to talk to Lloyd George personally.

"I shall tell him," he said, "that he can't scare us with trivialities, after cannon have failed to frighten us. It is no good to threaten us with little things, because in so doing the threateners might lose their prestige. Attempts to put us in the position of a conquered country are nonsense. We, as merchants, know what we owe you and what you owe us, and also what should be your lawful profit."

The speech of Lenin cast gloom over Genoa as the giants of allied imperialism opened their conference. It dispelled any hopes they had entertained of economically enslaving Russia, thereby winning on the economic field the victory that was snatched from them by the Red Army on the sanguinary field of civil war.

Leon Trotsky, at that time war minister, in a public address asserted that if any attempt were made by those nations represented at Genoa to take from Russia by force what they could not achieve thru diplomacy "it might be necessary to tip the balance with blood."

The splendid battalions of the Red Army that had been built up in four years time from the shattered and undisciplined remnants of the fighters of the early revolutionary period were a guarantee against further military designs that might have been formulated at Genoa.

Treaty of Rapallo.

AT Genoa the allied statesmen had the audacity during the first week to propose absurd demands; that, if accepted, would have reduced Russia to a state of vassalage comparable to that of China, with all the powers having a free hand to plunder to their heart's content. To flaunt the open contempt of the revolution in the faces of Lloyd George, Poincaré, Barthou and company, the Soviet government met with Germany at Rapallo and concluded a treaty that wiped the slate of their mutual war obligations clean, while the allies were striving to force Russia to recognize the absurd debts of the Czar. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk was officially abrogated by the two nations involved, though as a gesture the treaty of Versailles had already declared for its abrogation.

For more than a month at Genoa the allied powers struggled to create a basis for united action against Russia, but their own irreconcilable contradictions defeated their purpose and it dissolved with no permanent results achieved.

The S-R Trials.

ACCOMPANYING the efforts of the allies at Genoa the social-democrats of the world tried to alienate the class conscious proletariat from support of the revolution by publishing reams of hysterical documents appealing to the "civilized world" to come to the aid of the social-revolutionaries who were then on trial in Russia, charged with every crime

from conspiracy against the revolution to actual assassination and accepting money from the French military mission.

While in the throes of revolution and civil war these reptiles, under the direction of the executive committee of the social revolutionary party, with Victor Tchernoff, a hireling of French imperialism at their head, committed a series of the most loathsome and repulsive crimes against the revolution in order to open the gates to the allied armies so that the defenders of the revolution could be drowned in oceans of blood and the supremacy of capitalism restored.

This malignant throng was decisively silenced when the Soviet government, after proving, with unimpeachable documentary evidence, that they were guilty of all the atrocious crimes charged, and many more, commuted the death sentences imposed upon them. Rather than execute them they were permitted to live and endure the execration of all sincere revolutionists thruout the earth.

Locarno the Latest.

OTHER efforts of the capitalist nations to devise a method of crushing the revolution; the arbitrary creation of little ententes, the maneuvering to gain advantages in one way or another over the revolution, finally culminated in Locarno, where the most ambitious plan for isolating Russia from the rest of the world and forming a bloc of nations to destroy the revolution by armed invasion came to naught.

By exploiting the conflicts between the various imperialist nations, Russia has, thus far, been successful in preventing an armed invasion. But those sinister forces represented at Locarno are still at work, and as long as they exist they will menace the revolution.

But Russia need have no fear of them, for there is a tremendous potential reserve force in India, Asia and Africa, where the exploited colonial masses, groaning under the burdens of imperialism are even now stirring restlessly. When the time for war between the outpost of the world revolution and the capitalist nations of the earth comes, in addition to the iron battalions of the proletarian Red Army there will be the vast masses of colonial slaves brought into the conflict on the side of the revolution.

Then the imperialist nations themselves have still to reckon with the class conscious proletariat at home, under the leadership of the Communist International, who will throw all their might into the scales on the side of the Union of Soviet Republics and tip the balance for the revolution.

Revolution Defiant

LET the imperialist nations hesitate before letting loose upon their heads certain annihilation, for such it will be if ever they dare step one foot of a hostile army on the soil of the revolution.

From Brest-Litovsk to Locarno; from the first feeble steps on the path to revolution to the day when the imperialist world stands appalled before the might of that revolution. After eight years Soviet Russia is still holding aloft the torch of world revolution and every passing year it grows brighter; its rays penetrate ever darker recesses of the earth until all the exploited and oppressed are turning their eyes toward it as the beacon that will light the path to freedom.

EUROPE FEARS NEW LEAGUE



In order to justify the campaign of frightfulness being waged against the colonial peoples in nations bordering the Mediterranean sea, the propagandists of the allied butchers have created the legend of a new league of eastern nations to challenge the western league of European nations. The dark-shaded nations are supposed to indicate the boundaries of the potential league, while the light shaded portions represent those nations sympathetic to the scheme.

A fable is current in London to the effect that Dr. Tewfik Pasha, Turkish foreign minister, has approached the powerful eastern chieftains with the proposition and is sounding out the Asiatic powers. Soviet Russia is reported to have expressed its willingness to join such a league.

This propaganda is for the purpose

of detracting attention from the maneuvers of Great Britain in endeavoring to create a "sanitary cordon" around Russia, with the object of isolating and trying to crush by force of arms the proletarian revolution. The recent seizure of power in Persia by Riza Khan has baffled Great Britain, as Khan is known to have been friendly toward Soviet Russia. If his friendship continues, and it is reasonable to expect it will, he may set up a republic and enter into closer relations with Russia. Britain fears that Tehran may become a strategic spot from which Bolshevik propaganda may more effectively permeate Iraq, Afghanistan and India. It may also endanger British oil interests in the south, as the Persian gulf has long been regarded as a British preserve.

A league of nations against the European league may eventually be formed, but it will not come thru the initiative of the present rulers of Turkey or other nations under domination of the imperialist powers. It will come when the colonial peoples rise in their might and scourge from the face of the earth the despotic invaders who are now holding them in subjection to imperialist nations. Then will be formed a great anti-imperialist bloc whose blows will shatter to its very foundations the European league of nations and the governments that support it, and at the same time will send American capitalism reeling mortally wounded out of the Near and Far East.

At home the American proletariat will have to finish the job and give it a proper burial.



Baron Wrangel at the End of His Bloody Adventure Against the Soviets Is Trying to Sell His Soldiers to the Belgian Government: "They Are Cheaper Than the Blacks, Your Honor," He Says.

BRITISH INTELLIGENCE CHIEF BOASTS HOW GERMAN ATROCITY STORIES WERE MANUFACTURED

NEW YORK, Nov. 6.—General J. V. Charteris' admission at a New York banquet that as chief of intelligence for the British army in war time and official propagandist he manufactured German atrocity stories has aroused the indignation of many of his listeners. They were particularly aroused at Charteris' naive boast that he switched captions on two photographs, one of dead bodies and another of dead horses going behind the German lines.

The horse caption explained the bodies were going behind the lines to be bolted down for fat. Charteris said he switched this caption to the dead men picture and then sent the photographs to China to create anti-German sentiment.

The stories of the pseudo fat rendering methods of the Germans were broadcasted during the war and obtained a wide circulation in America, even Billy Sunday shouting them from his evangelistic pulpits. "The matter most certainly will be taken up in parliament," declared two British labor members of parliament, now visiting in America following the inter-parliamentary union congress held at Washington, D. C.

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Task for Ninth Year: Demand Soviet Recognition by U. S.

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

ON the threshold of the ninth year of the Union of Soviet Republics, the United States alone of the so-called "great powers" withholds its recognition of the workers' and peasants' government. All the others have surrendered, as Wall Street's puppet power in Washington ultimately will.

During the eighth year of the Soviet Union, two more of the world's leading imperialist nations were forced to bend their knees and accord recognition to the workers' republics.

In western Europe, the Herriot government put France in line with the capitalist governments of Germany, Italy and Great Britain, so that not a major nation on the continent was left out of the procession that had recognized the everlasting stability of Soviet rule.

In the far Pacific, the Mikado's government at Tokio also surrendered the hope of overthrowing the workers' power, gave it recognition instead and opened extensive trade relations with it.

SOVIET recognition by France and Japan clearly showed the turning of the tables in the conflicting relations between workers' rule over one-sixth of the world, and capitalist rule over the other five-sixths of the earth's land surface.

Soviet rule was on the defensive when the Mikado's armies were penetrating the Far Eastern Republic, supporting the Kolchak white guard counter-revolutionaries. The struggle was difficult when the United States joined in the growing invasion of Soviet soil, with Vladivostok in the hands of the enemy, and the pirate flag of the bandit oppressor being carried to the borders of Soviet Russia in Europe.

Soviet rule was on the defensive in Europe, with imperialist France, and England, and the United States, with all the other capitalist foes of workers' rule developing every possible opportunity to place a dagger at the heart of the youthful and vigorous proletarian power that called in its turn for their extermination.

Soviet rule was on the defensive when Yudenitch was knocking at the gates of Leningrad and Baron Wrangel, from the south, was pushing his way, with murder, and pillage and fire, towards Red Moscow.

BUT the picture on this year's eighth anniversary of the Soviet Union is a different one. The workers' republic is on the offensive. The capitalist world is on the defensive.

In the Far East the oppressed nations, especially the Chinese republic, look to Soviet rule for inspiration and leadership. Facing an industrial depression at home, Japanese capitalism feels its power weakening on the continent. China and Korea prepare for greater liberating struggles. Gone are the days when Kolchak could

UNITED STATES ALONE AMONG POWERS DODGES SOVIET RECOGNITION

The complete list of countries that have recognized the Union of Soviet Republics up to the present time follows:

1. Estonia, Feb. 2, 1920.
2. Lithuania, July 12, 1920.
3. Latvia, Aug. 11, 1920.
4. Finland, Oct. 14, 1920.
5. Persia, Feb. 26, 1921.
6. Afghanistan, Feb. 28, 1921.
7. Turkey, March 16, 1921.
8. Poland, March 18, 1921.
9. Germany, April 16, 1923.
10. Great Britain, Feb. 1, 1924.
11. Italy, Feb. 7, 1924.
12. Norway, Feb. 13, 1924.
13. Austria, Feb. 20, 1924.
14. Greece, March 8, 1924.
15. Sweden, March 15, 1924.
16. China, May 31, 1924.
17. Denmark, June 18, 1924.
18. Mexico, Aug. 24, 1924.
19. Hungary, Sept. 18, 1924.
20. France, Oct. 26, 1924.
21. Japan, January 20, 1925.

United States?

promise the Japanese Mikado one-half of Siberia. The last soldier of Nippon has instead trekked his way out of the Isle of Sakhalin, rich in resources and commanding in location, a valuable but lost prize, to Japanese capitalism. The Soviet Union in the Orient hurls its challenge to the whole capitalist world.

FRANCE recognized Soviet rule. No promises made to pay the czarist debts. No surrender of any of the elemental rights of the workers and peasants. Recognition came as the seventh anniversary was being celebrated one year ago. There was the Franco-Russian alliance of the czarists with the great profiteers in Paris. There is now another Franco-Russian alliance, the unity of the liberated Russian workers and peasants with the revolutionary workers and peasants of France, not only struggling for their own emancipation, but also allying their battles with those of the colonial slaves in Morocco, in Syria and elsewhere that discontent may flame and challenge the foreign master.

Altho the French imperialists, in their efforts to bulwark "the empire," have almost emptied their treasure chests in Paris, nevertheless funds are still found to subsidize the military budgets of Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic states and other border enemies of Soviet rule. Thus does bankrupt France seek to strengthen its military sway over capitalist Europe, and to build for new and more ambitious attacks against the Soviet Union. All this in spite of the fact that the franc is falling in price while capitalist America is be-

coming more niggardly with its loans, fearing for the billions already advanced, while the wars in North Africa and Asia make continued demands upon the depleted French treasury, no matter what government is in power.

SO does capitalist Europe fear Soviet Russia. It is this capitalist fear of the Red Giant in the East that forced the Locarno conference; an effort of the capitalist nations to rally every ounce of strength for new attacks against the workers' power, while at the same time maintaining its increasing oppression over their own workers and farmers at home. Yet the hysteria in the league of nations council, called to consider the hostilities between Greece and Bulgaria, shows how the capitalist structure creaks in every timber.

WHAT an inspiration for the workers and farmers of the United States to wage greater efforts demanding the recognition of the Union of Soviet Republics by this nation. That should be a task to be accomplished during "The Ninth Year."

Altho recognition has not yet been granted, nevertheless, the builders of the power of the workers and peasants are continually visiting this classic land of capitalism, purchasing the things that they need, getting the information that will help them or offering facts to break down the wall of prejudice built up by the lies of a well-nigh all-powerful profit press. Soviet representatives purchase tractors and ploughs from the farm implement industry in the north; cotton in the south; cattle, sheep and hogs of special breed in the west; spending tens of millions of dollars. Soviet Russia is building. But the workers and peasants want to build faster. They want to open up the lanes of commerce that will unleash the flow of goods that they need, that will put their products on the markets of the world. They are not begging, but demanding credits from capitalist industry and getting it. But they want more. Russia was backward under czarism. The Russia of the workers and peasants strides forward, registering new achievements with each passing month, an invitation to labor throughout the world to follow in its footsteps.

IT should be enough for this short article to call the attention of America's toiling millions to the findings of Colonel William N. Haskell, of the United States army, director of the American relief administration in Soviet Russia during the famine of 1921-22, who has just returned to this country after another tour of investigation of the Soviet Union.

Colonel Haskell is an imperialist soldier, graduate of West Point Military Academy in 1901; director for several years in Wall Street's armed forces in the subjugated Philippines; commander of a regiment along the

Mexican border in 1916-17; who went to France in the great war to help make the world safe for Morgan's millions, then to superintend "relief" in Roumania and Armenia, to help save these nations for capitalism after the war. Armenia went Soviet and remained so. Roumania just manages to hang onto the end of Wall Street's bread line.

COLONEL HASKELL tells in his own words how he was sent to Soviet Russia "when Herbert Hoover's highly philanthropic impulse moved humanity to the relief of poor Russia." It is not necessary here to argue again that Hoover's every impulse grows out of the profit hunger of the American dollar. This was proven conclusively by the story of the part played by his "relief forces" in the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. It is merely necessary to point out that Colonel Haskell has no cause to be prejudiced on the side of Soviet rule. He is merely pointing out indisputable facts when he says:

"Today there is food for every-

body in Russia. In fact, I believe there is more food there than in the United States, and the prices are much lower. The population that was standing in line waiting for bread in 1921 and 1922, is now well fed. The destitution and suffering of those black years is now only a bitter memory."

That gives the lie to the stories recently circulated by the Chicago Tribune that famine is again devastating Soviet Russia. Again Haskell says:

"Today the Russian rouble is quoted at 51 cents and is on a parity with the English pound and the American dollar. Moreover, it has been there more than two years and is backed by a gold reserve. All the old money has been wiped out and there is plenty of silver and copper money around. The stores and markets, except for a few articles, are plentifully supplied with goods."

All this while the franc in France and Belgium, and the lire in Italy, with the moneys of other capitalist lands drop in value, while the return

to the gold standard in England only increases the cost of living for wide masses of labor. But again, quoting from Haskell:

"Today the Russians are sufficiently if not fashionably clothed. The streets of Moscow and other cities hum with traffic."

Then this contrast:

"The working man is no longer hungry or oppressed. His is the preferred class."

"Contrast this with the popular conception of the old, old Russia—the Russia of the faded opulence and magnificence of the upper class, of religious oppression and cruel class distinctions, the Russia of the knout and the cruel landlord."

"All that, of course, has faded into the past. The once proud nobles of Russia are scattered over the world, some serving as butlers and waiters."

"The working man, who was once less to them than the dust beneath their haughty feet, now has the first consideration."

REMEMBER that the above is the confession of a man who not only believes in the rule of the landlord, the banker and the great exploiter in this country, but has joined the military arm of the profiteers' social system in order to protect the plunder of these business bandits. He does not yet realize that the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are striving to abolish all classes; so he still talks of classes. Thus he admits that children are having their first real chance in Russia under Soviet rule when he says:

"The working man's children, who never had a chance in the old days, are now also in the preferred class. The government owns everything, and everything is conducted with special reference to the working man."

And again:

"I believe that the men who are running Russia are working earnestly for the common good of their country, without that of graft."

This shatters another whole barrage of kept press propaganda, as does the following:

"The government fosters no religion, but every man may worship his own god in his own way. There are no longer any restrictions on the Jews. Many of them are members of the government."

Once more:

"A light of hope indubitably gleams ahead for the country they used to call the land of the white czars."

Some more of Haskell's conclusions are as follows:

"I was particularly interested in seeing the hospitals of today in Russia, because in 1922 they were stuffing wounds with newspapers and sewing them with thread picked from old cloth. They had no

anaesthetics.

"Now the hospitals in Russia are clean and sanitary, and fairly well equipped with modern appliances."

"The streets of the big cities, which were in filthy condition in 1922, are now as clean as New York and considerable attention is paid to municipal sanitation."

COLONEL HASKELL, of course, does not admit that it was the futile attack of world capitalism against Soviet Russia that produced the untold agony and misery of the first years of Soviet rule, an attack egged on by the United States government.

It is to this land, with its Soviet rule that the profiteers tried to overthrow, that Colonel Haskell now refers as a "land full of hope and vigorous activity, politically tranquil, but badly in need of capital and equipment."

IT should not be difficult to pin great significance to this report by Colonel Haskell. He is a representative of Herbert Hoover, secretary of commerce in Coolidge's cabinet, which means that he is a business getter for American capitalist industry. Hoover's agent does not talk of the "economic vacuum" that Soviet Russia was supposed to be in the days when the trio, Harding, Hughes and Hoover, fought against Soviet recognition.

Secretary of State Kellogg has taken Hughes' place and Coolidge has become accustomed to Harding's seat in the white house, but still the diplomatic wing of the government continues to attack the workers' and peasants' republic, giving little hint of any change in policy, not even to its labor wing, the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor, that continues its bitter onslaught. But there is a different breeze blowing in the department of commerce, if any value is to be placed at all upon Haskell's declarations.

AMERICAN workers and farmers can speed the day of Soviet recognition by bringing their power to bear upon the capitalist government at Washington.

They can help develop those relations between Soviet Russia and the United States that will help flood the Soviet Union with the equipment that the Russian workers and peasants need to build mightier their new social order.

American workers and farmers can win a great victory during the ninth year of Soviet rule by forcing recognition by the United States of the first workers' and peasants' government, the hope of the workers and farmers throughout the whole world. Stand by the Soviet Union by demanding Soviet recognition.

EIGHT YEARS AFTER—AND PURCELL

By H. D. WENDELL.

EIGHT years after the Russian revolution a man comes to America. Standing before a gathering of four hundred delegates of organized labor he spoke a few simple truths about the workers' and peasants' government. This was not all he said. He said much more and said it well. But it was what he said about the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics that frightened the greater part of the 400. It frightened them so that they sat perfectly still and were not relieved until their spokesman, President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, got up and did what the 400 wanted him to do and which he knew they wanted him to do.

Green made a speech against the Soviet Union. It was a rabid, vicious speech. Secretary Kellogg, Sir John-Hicks or Baron Wrangel could have done no better. The 400 were relieved. They could breathe more easily. The icy sweat into which the speech of this man from Europe had plunged them gave way to the hot vapors of their leader outdoing Abramowitz at his best.

To Arthur A. Purcell, fraternal delegate of the British Trade Union Congress, it must have been at once a ludicrous and sad spectacle. Perhaps it wasn't. Perhaps he had heard his own British Mr. Green, the Hon. J. H. Thomas M. P., make a similar speech much more cleverly. But he must certainly have been sad to note that in that sea of faces there was no one to challenge the chauvinism, the social patriotism, the utter demoralization of this labor convention of which Green's speech was the epitome.

Purcell is not a Communist. He is a British labor leader of many years standing and much prominence. He has been chairman of the British Trades Union Congress. He is now vice-chairman. He is President of the Furniture Workers' Union of Great Britain. He is a labor member of parliament. As the representative of the British unions to the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Amsterdam International, he was made president of that body. All this stands him in good stead and these honors alone would have given him the kind of welcome in American

labor circles that an arch-duke gets in Newport. But he is more than that.

PURCELL headed the British trade union delegation to Soviet Russia. The delegation went to the forbidden land. It came back and made a lengthy report. This report was sympathetic. It recommended the recognition of Soviet Russia. It broke down the tissue of lies about the U. S. S. R. that had been laboriously built up by the London Times with the able assistance of certain silk-breeched labor ministers working hand in hand with their Tory opponents. It blasted the myth of the "Zinoviev letter." In a word, it told the truth.

This earned Purcell a bad name among the elite, the silk-hatted gentry, of his own labor movement. It made him a dangerous character at Atlantic City. But it didn't prevent the rank and file of the British trade unions from endorsing the report and sending him as their fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. convention.

More than that. The British trade unions entered into an agreement with the Russian unions. They both pledged themselves to work for the world unity of all trade unions. J. H. Thomas didn't like this. He did all he could to prevent it but could not. The social-democratic leaders of the German trade unions didn't like

it, Jouhaux of France didn't like it, it got under Oudegeest's skin and drove President Green to make the frantic speech loudly applauded by the New York Times and the Bankers Association. Purcell had a lot to do with the agreement. He was in favor of it. He worked for it. He is working for world trade union unity now. That's the second reason why Purcell is feared.

THE prejudice of Atlantic City could not help but spread through the movement. But the farther down it goes the less virus there is in it. Thousands of trade unionists want to hear Purcell talk. They want to know what his message is. Purcell is talking to them now. In eight of the biggest cities of the country trade unionists have arranged mass meetings at which Purcell is speaking. He is telling them the truth about Soviet Russia. He is telling them why American labor should also send a delegation to Soviet Russia. He is telling them what world trade union unity means. And they are listening.

Columbia-Ecuador Break

BALBOA, Panama, Nov. 4.—An impending rupture between Ecuador and Columbia is indicated in a dispatch received here from Bogota stating that the Ecuadorian minister has been withdrawn from Columbia as a protest to Columbia's approval of the recent boundary treaty with Peru. Ecuador holds, it is said, that the treaty was approved without proper regard for Ecuador's interests.

If you want to thoroughly understand Communism—study it.

A Cradle Chorus

(Schools for baby "Blackshirts" are the latest Fascist innovation in Britain—Daily Herald.)

ROCK-A-BYE, Baby, in your Black Shirt, You must begin early your creed to assert; We'll read you no longer mere nursery rhymes But Morning Post leaders and pars from the Times; We'll teach you to lisp, in a shrill treble clef, The new A. B. C. of the Little B. F.

No bright B. F. babies are safe in their beds While all propaganda is left to the Reds; So pick up your rattles, while all the world harks, And drown with their thunder the doctrines of Marx; Their echo a mightier babel shall be Than the gospel put forth by the C. P. G. B.

So battle your babel, brave babes one and all; Till the Bolshy battalions of Muscovy fall. Grow up to be girls, or alternately boys Who know that the world can be conquered by noise—Continue your antics till everyone's deaf, And the Earth's Pandemonium brand-ed "B. F."

—The Infant.

Gary Workers to Celebrate Russian Revolution, Nov. 8

(Special to The Daily Worker)

GARY, Ind., Nov. 4.—The workers of Gary, Indiana and Lake county are going to celebrate the eighth anniversary of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics at the Croatian Hall at 23rd and Washington Ave. on Sunday, Nov. 8th by a mass meeting in the afternoon and concert and dance at night. The following comrades will speak: J. W. Johnstone, secretary of Trade Union Educational League and Albert Gallatzky, ten years old, junior, will speak in English, Comrade Devetkin in Russian and Comrade Loyin in South Slav. Admission to the mass meeting is free. Admission to the concert and dance is 25 cents for ladies and 50 cents for men. Meeting will open at 2:30 P. M. Concert and dance will open at 7:30 P. M.

RUSSIAN BRANCH TO CELEBRATE 8TH YEAR IN CHICAGO, NOV. 8TH

A mass meeting and concert in honor of the eighth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution is arranged by the Russian Branch of the Workers Party for Sunday, Nov. 8, at 6 p. m., at the Workers' House, 1902 W. Division St. Admission free. Come and bring your friends. Russian speakers, a musical program.

CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION

By JAMES H. DOLSEN.

IT was in Shanghai in 1923 that Dr. Sun Yat Sen met Adolph Joffe, Soviet ambassador to China. What the Chinese nationalist leader learned at first hand from this representative of Bolshevik Russia made a deep impression on him. He discovered that the natural bond of interest which unites the oppressed peoples of subject and colonial countries with the workers revolutionists and formed an important tactic in the work of the Third International.

Thereafter, Dr. Sun came increasingly under the influence of Communist theories, strengthened by his visit to Moscow where he met Lenin. When he died at Canton March 11th of this year his last wish was to be buried "beside his great friend Lenin."

THE treaty negotiated between the Soviet Union and China marked the first recognition of the latter country as a nation of equal rank with the great powers. Its conclusion had a tremendous effect upon the Chinese inclining them to broaden their friendly relationships with the workers' republic to the north and west, and creating grave problems for the grasping statesmen of Europe and America to face.

It was a realization of the unity of interest between the workers and peasants of the two nations that led the Kuomintang, carrying on the struggle against foreign imperialism in China, to make a historic declaration of their attitude towards the Soviet Union thru a public manifesto of their national executive committee, issued May 21st of this year.

In speaking of the way China has been treated by other countries, this statement thus refers to the Russian attitude: "As to the nations which treat us on a footing of equality, we declare, as we have stated in our manifesto on the Sino-Russian agreement, that only Soviet Russia deserves the name of an equal partner."

And farther on, it virtually binds the party to an alliance with the Soviets: "This party (Kuomintang) should, therefore, continue hand in hand with the Soviet Republics to struggle against imperialism for the realization of the national revolutionary movement."

"Red" Canton to Commemorate

Eighth Anniversary. WHILE countless celebrations of the eighth anniversary of the Soviet Republic will be held in China, the greatest outpouring will doubtless be witnessed in Canton, the capital of the Southern republic and the former home of Dr. Sun Yat Sen. Since the more radical elements in the Kuomintang got control last spring, the tendency has been increasingly to the left with the result that Chinese Communists are in virtual command of the city today.

A correspondent of the North China Daily News, Shanghai, writing in the Kolnische Zeitung, of Cologne, Germany, characterizes the Communist domination of Canton as "an experiment which the whole of Asia is watching." Its international aspect, he goes on to explain, "is crystallized in an embittered struggle between England and Russia, the outcome of which cannot be foreseen." He boasts however, that "Everything is being done by the British with intellectual and material means to starve out Bolshevik ideas in Canton."

THE commemoration of the Soviet anniversary in Canton will not be merely by enthusiastic speeches of eloquent orators at mass meetings.

An army of Chinese mercenaries, with the financial and moral backing of Great Britain in particular and of the other powers as well—including, we may be sure, this country—is marching on the city. Perhaps the booming of cannon and the sharp staccato of rifle fire, with the groans of the wounded, will mark the day.

Whatever happens our heroic comrades of the Red Corps of China can be counted on to carry the working class banners to eventual victory. The grasping ambitions of the capitalist nations cannot permanently be reconciled, any more than a crowd of thieves can live in security.

More and more the masses of Chinese workers and peasants will come to realize their unity of interest with the workers and peasants of the Union of Soviet Republics as it is and the world union it is destined to become. Therefore they greet with renewed hope and courage their Russian comrades at this eighth anniversary of the Communist revolution.



Eight Years of Growth Brings Prosperity to Soviet Union

By EARL R. BROWDER.

ALL the world is interested in what is going on in Soviet Russia. And especially all the world's workers. Every bit of news that comes, registering the victories and the setbacks of the first workers' government, is eagerly read by millions. Because every one knows that a tremendous and epoch-making step was taken when the Russian workers and peasants under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, took power in October, 1917, and every development since that time is either a step forward for the whole working class of the world or a defeat for the whole working class. For good or ill, Russia has for eight years stood as the vanguard of the proletarian revolution. The evidence that accumulates every day, that the defeats and hardships have been passing and temporary, while the victories and material benefits have been constantly growing greater and more permanent, heartened the tolling millions of every land for new struggles against their exploiters.

The Organs of Workers' Rule.

THE working class cannot rule unless it is organized. Under czarism, the Russian workers were denied the simplest rights of organization, and could act only in secret, conspiratorial, underground organizations. How have they fared in this respect since they broke the power of the bourgeoisie?

First, let us examine the growth of the political party of the workers—the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social-Democratic Party which became the Russian Communist Party. In 1903, the Bolsheviks had 825 members; after the 1905 revolution it rose to 46,146 members; then until the 1917 revolution it lived an underground existence during which it could not even register its membership. Beginning with 1917, the party increased its membership by leaps and bounds, in spite of the severe obligations of membership, the rigid discipline, and the most careful scrutiny and examination of candidates. Today the Russian Communist Party numbers 850,000, every one of whom is a picked man or woman, pledged under the highest degree of discipline to the cause of the proletarian revolution and the service of the working class.

The exact figures of the growth of the Russian Communist Party are as follows:

Year	Members
1903	825
1905	5,150
1906	13,800
1907	46,146
1917	172,625
1918	148,000
1919	313,766
1920	611,978
1921	705,245
1925	850,000

(Figures to 1921 from Wm. Z. Foster's "The Russian Revolution," page 35, Chicago, 1921; for 1925, from Reports of the Statistical Department of the R. C. P. No. 134.)

EVEN more striking is the tremendous youth movement. This is reaching truly phenomenal proportions. The growth of the Young Communist League is aptly described by N. Bucharin, (in "The International Bourgeoisie and its Apostle Kautsky"), as "an unparalleled stormy and extraordinary organizational development." Developed entirely since the revolution of 1917, the Young Communist League (not counting the very young people who are organized in the "Pioneers") has in 1925 more than a million and a half members. Its course of

development is registered in the following (from "The Young Communist League of Russia in Figures, Moscow, 1925, page 7):

Young Communist League Membership	Ship
1922 Oct. (5th Congress)	206,000
1923 January	303,944
1924 January	500,700
1925 January	1,140,706
1925 April	1,432,608

Where else in the entire world has the working class youth found such a free and rich social life that would result in such a truly magnificent organizational growth? Surely not in the United States, where even the bourgeois-endowed boy scouts, backed by the untold wealth of the richest country in the world, gathers in little more than the children of the middle class.

But if the growth of the youth organization is remarkable, what then shall we say of the organizations of the children (of 12 to 16 years), called the "Pioneers"? This wonderful body, of which there is nothing to compare in other countries, increased its membership more than one million in less than a year and a half. It is training the children of Russia to take their positions as responsible members of the ruling class of Russia—the working class—to become the administrators of the future socialist state, and the builders of the Communist society.

The growth of the Pioneers is shown in the following figures (from "The Communist Children's Movement in Figures, Moscow, 1925.):

Year	Number of Groups	Number of Members
1924 January	3,000	161,349
1924 July	3,704	200,000
1924 October	12,000	760,000
1925 January	19,814	1,000,032
1925 April	25,866	1,299,519

IN the question of the organization of labor unions, the Russian working class has been able, thanks to the revolution, to rise from their complete suppression under the czar, in the course of the eight years of work-

ers' rule, to the position of the most complete and scientifically organized working class in the entire world. In the first years of the revolution, every worker automatically became a member of the union. This fact was seized upon by the enemies of Russia and of the working class, in order to claim that the union membership did not mean anything. But since 1921, membership is purely voluntary, and requires the continuous and conscious action of each member to maintain membership fees being paid individually. And still the union membership continues to grow.

The first period of this growth is shown by Foster (in "The Russian Revolution, Chicago, 1921.):

Year	Members
January, 1917	1,385
June, 1917	1,475,429
January, 1918	2,532,000
January, 1919	3,638,812
April, 1920	4,262,000

AFTER the inauguration of the New Economic Policy, the course of development is described by N. Bucharin (in "The International Bourgeoisie and Kautsky's Apostle," as follows:

"A long time ago we left the method of automatically organizing the working class in the trade unions; as we did during the period of war Communism, and went over to the method of individual voluntary membership. Nevertheless this did not result in a decrease in the numbers of the union membership, but on the contrary, it resulted in an increase. On the 1st of January, 1923, the percentage of the entire working class organized in the trade unions was 95.9 per cent.

"At the time of the Fifth Trade Union Congress, the unions had a total membership of four and a half millions. And the Fifth Trade Union Congress was able to show an increase in the total membership of 30 per cent, the total membership then being over six millions."

Surely there has never been before a working class which was so thoroughly and completely organized, that wielded such enormous power in society,

as the Russian working class—thanks to the Bolshevik revolution.

Growth of Culture.
THE tremendous development in organization has been accompanied by a parallel development of culture among the workers. Whereas under the czar and the petty-bourgeois provisional government, the working masses had been denied largely even the opportunity to learn to read and write, under the Soviets, on the contrary, the workers thru their organizations and led by the Communist Party, have developed a rich and active intellectual life. This is reflected in the reports of the trade unions, and particularly in the institution of the Workers' Correspondents.

The general level of culture is shown in the great growth of newspaper circulation. The comparison shows:

Year	Daily circulation before the revolution	Daily circulation in 1925
1917	2,500,000	5,000,000
1925	2,500,000	5,000,000

Thus it is seen that the proletarian revolution gave to millions of workers and peasants in Russia their first opportunity to participate in politics, to know what is going on in the world, to read and to think, and thus to act with intelligence and power. And, quite to the contrary of what exists in the United States, every copy of the papers is written by workers, for workers, and does not consist of the intellectual poison of the Chicago Tribune or the Hearst papers, of which the more the workers read the more confused they are made.

TO show that these papers are actually written by and for the workers and peasants, one needs only look at the institution of the Workers' Correspondents. As an institution, with its own congresses and officials, its movement was only launched in late 1923. Already it has become a great national institution. Witness the following figures, reported in Pravda on the occasion of the second congress of workers and village correspondents, and also contained in a

report by the Publishing House of the Journalists' Institute:

Worker Village	Correspondents	Total
March, 1924	32,570	24,800
August, 1924	43,200	57,500
Dec., 1924	63,280	79,780
		143,060

Accompanying this development of the regular press, with its hundreds of thousands of worker-editors, there has developed (due to the lack of printing presses and paper to fill the tremendous demand for ever more publications) the so-called "Wall Papers," newspapers which are written out by hand and pasted on bulletin boards, in the shops, mines, and villages. These "wall papers" are numbered at present in tens of thousands.

The part taken in this work, directly by the trade unions, is growing ever more important. A short section of the report of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions for 1924 (pages 86-87), is so much to the point, and so brief, that it must be reproduced here:

"The educational work of the unions is based mainly upon the factory club. Of the 1,572 workers' clubs (in 62 provinces), 1,049 are located in factories, the others being local and central clubs.

"The unions pay special attention to the workers' libraries, which constitute an important part of their educational activities. The results of an examination of the educational activities of the unions carried out in 62 provinces showed that in 1923 they had 1,608 union libraries, with 332,000 permanent subscribers, of whom 50 per cent were manual workers, 35 per cent clerical workers, and 15 per cent members of their families. The libraries had about 3,000,000 volumes." (This was more than two years ago, and has been multiplied several times since then.)

"There are at present (first part of 1924) in Soviet Russia a total of 835 factory apprentice schools with 60,000 students, 301 technical courses with 10,000 students, and 30 evening courses

with 60,000 students.

"It should also be pointed out that the unions are taking an active part in the selection of students for the universities, and that workers' aid members of trade unions are given a higher education." (Trade Unions of U. S. S. R., in 1922-24, Moscow, 1924.)

The unions themselves directly publish 24 newspapers and 63 magazines, with a circulation of about 735,000. The biggest circulation is that of the Gudok (The Whistle), organ of the Railwaymen's Union, which has a daily circulation of a quarter-million copies.

Conditions of Living.

THE Russian workers are as yet far from having achieved a comfortable standard of living. Inheriting a backward country, in which industry was only beginning to develop; with even the backward industry completely ruined by the war, the blockade, and the civil war; being largely cut off from access to the resources of the rest of the world; with all of these tremendous handicaps, it will take the Russian working class some years to realize the full possibilities of a Communist development of economic life.

It is absurd, however, to compare the material conditions of the Russian workers with some "ideal." The measure of the revolutionary achievements must be measured by comparison with what the workers had before. And from this standpoint, the progress of the working class is great indeed.

Production of the Russian industries is rapidly approaching the pre-war level. And this production, instead of as formerly being largely for the benefit of the exploiting class, is now all for the benefit of the workers. Today, in spite of the shortage of many necessary commodities, the Russian workers are not only living on a higher scale than ever before in history—they are also, as a whole, living on a higher level than the working class of Central Europe.

(An excellent summary of current

economic developments in Soviet Russia is to be found in the article of N. Bucharin, in International Press Correspondence, Aug. 27, 1925, Vol. 15, No. 67.)

The Workers' Rule.
FIGURES are dull, dry things. They give no adequate idea, of course, of the tremendous changes wrought by the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. For the greatest achievement, and the greatest change, was not the immediate material and organizational benefits that came from the revolution—it was rather the reversal of the old order of society, the transformation of the subject class into the ruling class. Even the conservative British Trade Union delegation to Russia understood this, as was shown in their report when they said:

"A report on labor conditions in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics must begin by pointing out that in Russia the workers are the ruling class. For unless the reader bears this in mind throughout he will be misled by much in the Russian labor conditions that at first sight seems very much the same as with us. Really everything is quite different; because in Russia we have a regulation of the workers' rights that they have put upon themselves for their own well-being. Elsewhere we have a restriction of the workers' rights put upon them by the wealthy. . . . No one who grasps this will ever be misled by the lies he can read almost daily that the worker in Russia lives a life as limited as, and with even less liberty than, with us. The Russian workers are the ruling class of Russia. They enjoy the rights of a ruling class. They are beginning to exercise its responsibilities. They still have much to learn, but they have made a start. In a village school visited by one of the delegates the children were learning to write in copy books in which over 'God save the czar' had been pasted. 'Once we were slaves, now we are free.'"

The Bolshevik Revolution and the Peoples of the Colonies and Semi-Colonies

By G. VOITINSKY (Moscow)

IN the eighth year of its existence the importance of the Bolshevik revolution for the oppressed peoples of the East stands out with greater clearness than ever. China with its population of many millions, rent asunder by world imperialism more than ten years ago, is now in the eighth year of the revolution experiencing a great revival among her population, who are uniting in order to resist the intervention of the imperialists of America, England, France, Japan and other countries. With an unprecedented absence of concealment, the great capitalist powers have undertaken a grand attack upon the toiling masses of China.

At this moment the only ally of the Chinese masses and the Chinese people as a whole, the only defender of their interests, is the Union of Soviet Republics. This fact is now known to the population of Southern, Northern and Central China as well as to the peoples of outer China—Tibet, Chinese Turkestan and outer Mongolia.

The treaty concluded by the U. S. S. R. and the Chinese republic has shown to the Chinese people that the new state is inspired by the spirit of real national equality in its relations to a people oppressed by imperialism. The enslaving treaties which were violently enforced upon China by the

imperialists of all nations and by the former czarist government, were disclosed to the Chinese masses by the Chinese-Soviet treaty and the great danger menacing China by further penetrations of imperialism became obvious.

OUR treaty, which once and for all abolished the shameful privileges which permitted the czarist government to have its own streets (extraterritorial concessions) on Chinese territory, its own courts, its own armies, and its own laws, aroused a wave of enthusiasm among the Chinese masses. It also intensified the hatred of these masses towards the imperialists, who still continue to exercise these privileges.

The annulment by the treaty of the Russian portion of the Boxer indemnity, the annulment of an imposition of many millions, laid upon the Chinese people in favor of the imperialists as a sign of the latter's victory over the Chinese people in 1900-1901, will have great influence in bringing the Chinese masses nearer to the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat.

THE Chinese people are beginning to understand the duel between our Red diplomacy and world imperialism on the territory of China. In the heart of China, Peking, after a bitter struggle, the red flag was finally hoisted in the stronghold of the imperialists, the legation quarter. The stone wall surrounding the imperialists' quarter in Peking, thru the openings of which guns bitterly menace the Chinese people, has collapsed where the concession of the czarist government was originally; from this side the Chinese people have secured

the possibility of entry into the stronghold of imperialism. Here the memorial of Lenin, whose name is honored by the entire Chinese people, will serve as an inspiration to the toiling masses of China and as a symbol of our great Bolshevik revolution.

The Chinese Eastern railway, which was constructed by the czarist government with the object of enslaving the Chinese people, and which later served as the highroad for the plundering expeditions of world imperialism, has at last been torn from the clutches of the imperialists, and will henceforth serve as the highroad for the victorious proletariat marching to the aid of the oppressed masses of China.

AT the other end of Asia, the small country of Afghanistan, heroically fighting for its independence, and struggling desperately to rid itself of the remnants of medieval feudalism, finds in the U. S. S. R. a trusty ally and a comrade who is prepared to defend it from aggression of British imperialism. The insurrections inspired and nourished by the "labor government" and headed by Prince Kherim Khan, who is aiming at the throne of Afghanistan, is serving still more to unite the Afghan people with the Union of Soviet Republics, which for many years has proved its sincere desire to help the people of Afghanistan to liberate themselves from the chains of feudalism and foreign intervention.

The flight of the red airmen, who, with the audacity of eagles crossed the Hindu Kush into Afghanistan, serves as a symbol of the assistance which the victorious proletariat is prepared to lend the oppressed peo-

ples of the East in their struggle against imperialism.

THE people of Turkey, who experienced the revolution of 1908, the impulse to which was our revolution of 1905, who suffered from the intervention of imperialists after the world war, and who from peasant Angora fought for the independence of Turkey, found a trusty ally and a friend in the U. S. S. R. in every stage of its struggle.

With the aid of the Soviet diplomacy, and thanks to the firmness of Soviet policy, on questions of the Near East, the struggling Turkish people succeeded in retaining their independence at the Lausanne conference. The Turkish people know that their only friend both in the fight for political independence and in the future struggle for economic independence, is the Union of Soviet Republics.

OUR neighbor, Persia, who for long years has been the prey of the imperialist powers of England and czarist Russia, has since the revolution entered on the path of national independence. At the present moment, when British imperialism, backed by the flag of the Second International, is instigating insurrections in southern Persia with the object of overthrowing Riza Khan, the leader of the national-revolutionary movement of Persia who succeeded in securing the independence, the mighty influence of the Soviet Union is a wall against which the British schemes of plunder are being smashed.

The innumerable millions of toilers of India have since the revolution ceased to feel that they are alone in their fight against the British oppres-

sors. They know that in the north a powerful force has sprung up and is ripening, a force capable of inspiring fear even in the heart of "invincible" British imperialism. The toilers of India know that the country of the Soviets is their one true and unselfish ally.

It is not therefore surprising, that at the trade union congress in 1921, the Indian proletariat declared its fraternal solidarity with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia.

It is not surprising therefore that on the death of Lenin the oppressed masses of India united with the general mourning of the toiling masses of the world.

It is not surprising therefore when the blind hatred of the British bourgeoisie towards the Soviets is urging them to break the agreement with Soviet Russia, the Indian revolutionaries are defending the Soviet Union against the attacks of British imperialists, even bourgeois and Indian newspapers, such as the Bombay Chronicle, are obliged to admit this fact.

The idea of the revolution is becoming familiar even to the most backward and oppressed peoples of the Near, Middle and Far East.

KOREA, a country with a population of 15 millions, struggling in the iron clutches of Japanese imperialism, has since 1919, and under the influence of the revolution, made heroic attempts to liberate herself; she has been swept by a revolutionary wave coming from the west, from the

Amur and the maritime regions.

The cry "Hands off China" is being carried from the country of the Soviets thruout the whole world and will without doubt find a response in oppressed Korea, the fate of which is so closely bound up with China, and will serve as a further stimulus to the Korean liberation movement.

THE peoples of Arabia and the African colonies who are fighting an unequal duel with the armies of the imperialists, are turning their eyes more and more to the Soviet Republics, feeling that they are their sole friend and protector in their struggles.

These peoples have found the way to Moscow, and on the eight anniversary of the revolution the representatives of Arabia will be able to celebrate with us the victory of the working class over the deadly enemy of the peoples of the East—czarist Russia, and over international capitalism.

Greater and greater divisions of the oppressed sections of mankind are marching under the banner of the Bolshevik revolution. All forms of struggle against oppression are being dedicated to the great idea of the revolution; whether the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat in the capitalist countries, of the national-emancipation movement of dependent peoples or the struggle against theocracy, against religious oppression—all these are becoming identified with the struggle of the vanguard of the world proletariat, the Union of Soviet Republics.

The Locarno "Peace" in the Making



Chamberlain Pulling the String in the Fake Locarno "Peace" in Which Germany Was Trapped.

NOVEMBER SEVENTH

By MORITZ J. LOES.

VICTORY! The Greatest Victory! The first of a series of victories which will end "the final conflict." November seventh!

In every part of the world where workers strain against the chains of oppression and slavery, November seventh thunders to them, "The victorious Russian revolution means not only the liberation of the Russian masses but also the liberation of the toilers of the whole world. To the depth of every mine pit, thru and louder than the roar of blast furnaces, into every factory, into the fields and forests, into the high seas, November seventh calls, "It is the beginning of the building of a new world."

Into marble pillared structures where "statesmen" do the bidding of their masters, into the skyscrapers from where bankers and capitalists of industry rule with the lives of thousands in balance, November seventh comes to warn, "For you and your power over mankind, this is the beginning of the end."

ALL over the world on November seventh workers pour into the meetings of celebration, to greet the Russian revolution on the day of its anniversary, to greet Soviet Russia and the world proletariat and to pledge themselves to the task of

world revolution.

In America for the past years November seventh has meant all this and something more; something that symbolizes the growth of the American party of the workers, that which is dear to the Workers Party above any of its other possessions.

November 7, 1923. . . . Tens of thousands of workers in every part of the country coming together to greet Soviet Russia with a powerful new weapon of the class struggle. The final effort being made to bring into existence THE DAILY WORKER. From thousands of throats a greeting to the world proletariat, to its leader, the Communist International, to its front line troops, the Russian working class. From thousands of pockets the funds which were to make possible the first English Communist daily paper in the world.

November 7, 1924. . . . Again the thousands assembled. Again our greetings, again our efforts for THE DAILY WORKER, to insure it for 1925, to make our paper stronger and better for the fight in the year to come.

THE year has come and now draws to a close. For THE DAILY WORKER it has been a year of great achievement, but also a year of desperate and bitter struggle. THE DAILY WORKER has passed thru try-

ing times and into a period of crisis. Danger threatens ominously. We may lose our paper; it cannot last long without immediate and substantial support.

Save THE DAILY WORKER! Like a stream of fire the slogan spreads thru the militant working class. What we worked for and sacrificed for in 1923 that we might establish our daily, what we have supported with all our strength in 1924, we will not give up in 1925.

November 7, 1925. . . . meetings arranged everywhere. We will celebrate the eighth anniversary of the Russian revolution. We will, we must utilize this day of greatest working class celebration to bring the campaign to save THE DAILY WORKER to its height.

WHEREVER there is organization of militant wage workers there will be meetings this next week-end. If there are workers who willingly stay away from these celebrations they do not belong in the ranks of the proletarian vanguard.

November Seventh, Nineteen-Twenty-Five!
Save THE DAILY WORKER!
Hail the Russian Revolution!

Put a copy of the DAILY WORKER in your pocket when you go to your union meeting.



The Eighth Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution

Speech Delivered by Gregory Zinoviev in Leningrad.

If I were asked, what is the most important result that we have attained during the eight years since the Bolshevik revolution, in November, 1917, I would reply: The most important thing is that today, all working men and women of the Union of Soviet Republics are supporters of the revolution.

We have followed the right path and if we have not completely attained that form of life which the working class must create, the fault is not ours. If we still have difficulties, it is because we have years of severe fighting behind us, during which the whole bourgeois world was proceeding against us.

General Results of Eight Years.

I BEGIN with the question of our home policy. I still have a vivid recollection that on the eve of the revolution one of the most powerful arguments against it was the meager bread ration in Petrograd. The town was only provisioned with bread for two days. If the revolution is carried out, said many, then tomorrow Petrograd (Leningrad) will be without bread, and the already existing starvation will be increased tenfold.

I recollect that on the first anniversary of the revolution our speakers pictured the time when we would be able to revert to white bread. For years there was no more urgent and actual question for our city, and for all the workers of Russia, than the question of the bread ration. Now it no longer troubles us.

There were times when the question of fuel was for us literally a question of life and death, when everything hung by a hair, and when we had to send the best workers of Petrograd to the Donetz Basin in order that they might be able to obtain for us some meagre consignment of fuel. Later we were cut off from the Donetz Basin; Russia began slowly to freeze before our eyes, one after another the factories closed down. Daily we received reports as to children frozen in our children's homes. Nowhere was there a ray of hope of our ever being able to escape from our situation.

At present we have difficulties of quite a different nature; we do not know where we shall dispose of our coal and our naphtha. The comrades from Baku who yesterday brought us 50,000 rubles, on behalf of the districts damaged by inundation, related that the productivity of the naphtha industry is steadily growing, but it is difficult to find markets for it. This, however, in my opinion, is only a temporary difficulty.

You remember the fate of our Soviet money. Recently many of us were millionaires, even milliardaires, as our salaries were reckoned in hundreds of millions. But as millionaires we had a fairly hard time. We are no longer troubled with the question of stabilizing our currency. We have now a real genuine Soviet currency.

Call to mind the turn of affairs in 1921: the transition to the New Economic Policy, to the so-called Nep. That was a time of great uncertainty. Many workers stood at the cross road and hesitated. It was not only the non-party workers who vacillated, but many Communists too. It must now be understood that by means of the Nep we shall arrive at socialism and the complete emancipation of the working class.

Even a superficial glance at the events of the last seven years show

that we have a considerable balance to our credit.

Among the questions of our inner political life there seems to me to be two of very great importance:

Our Tasks in the Village.

THE first question is the village, the peasants and our relations with them. The second is the raising of the productivity of labor.

The working class cannot maintain power without the support of the peasantry. And it is not sufficient when we speak of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry as being the most fundamental of all questions. The working class cannot raise the national economy, it cannot start with socialist construction, if we have no real union with the peasantry.

The working class, as the class which possesses power, must judge the situation from the standpoint of its rule. It must continually keep in mind that if the many millions of peasants are not perfectly clear as to what is taking place in the Soviet Union, we shall meet with innumerable difficulties.

We cannot stabilize our budget, our economy, and the wages of the workers merely by what is being done in the towns. We must always remember that side by side with us there live millions of peasants who carry on their undertakings in the most backward manner. Therefore we must get into closer contact with these backward sections of the peasantry.

War and other calamities have hitherto prevented us from engaging in building up the Soviet power in the village to the extent which was necessary. We have now taken the thing in hand; we shall attract more non-party peasants into the work and we shall devote much more attention to their opinion.

When, therefore, we consider the question of our inner political life, we must say that there is no more important question today than the necessity of promoting the work in the villages, of linking up the village with the Soviet constructive work, or raising the activity of the non-party peasants, of abolishing bureaucracy, and wiping out bribery and intemperance.

Increasing Productivity of Labor. THERE was a time, let us say in 1920, when we issued the slogan of increasing the productivity of labor. But how was it then with the productivity of labor? Wages were either not paid at all, or when they were paid the worker received worthless money, and if the money still had

some value, he was not able to buy anything with it. At that time the campaign for raising the productivity of labor was more or less futile. Today it is otherwise.

Today there exist the prerequisites for raising the productivity of labor.

At present we must somehow work with the machines which we have and carry out every possible technical improvement. For this we need thinking people. If we employ specialists, if we pay them better, then they must be really valuable workers, who are of indispensable benefit to the production. The increase of the productivity of labor depends, at least 50 per

The situation of the international revolution was at that time really desperate. Nobody knew what the morrow would bring. We were surrounded by enemies on all sides. Everyone of us still remembers the German airplanes which appeared over Petrograd; we still recollect the occupation of Pskov, the occupation of the Ukraine, and of the Don area by the Germans, the capture of the Caucasus and of Archangel by the English.

Let us call to mind our relations with Germany. At the time of the revolution our chief enemies were the German imperialists. Their troops,

our country (and also for the French people). It resulted in that the interest alone on the loans which the French bankers granted to the czar, in order that he might maintain his secret police, and his dungeons, and to enable him to conduct the war against Japan, amounted to many millions of rubles. We do not need such an alliance as this. By means of the Communist International we maintain connections with the French workers and peasants, as a real friendly bond between two peoples, which is independent of our recognition by the capitalists.

Even the most reactionary French

of Archangel. It was with his active participation that the blockade was organized.

You are aware of the recent dispute between the leader of the English liberals, Lloyd George and the leader of the English mensheviks, MacDonald. MacDonald is prepared to guarantee a loan to us of 300 to 500 gold rubles, under conditions advantageous to both parties. Lloyd George, however, the representative of the "liberal" bourgeoisie, says: I will grant nothing, they must do without it. Thereupon the menshevik MacDonald replies that he, Lloyd George, has spent a hundred million pounds (\$500,000,000) on interventions, in interfering in Russian affairs, and now he will not grant 30 million pounds (\$6,000,000) under advantageous commercial conditions.

When the mensheviks and the liberals quarrel, we learn a piquant detail, we learn the exact figures: a hundred million pounds (\$500,000,000) has been expended in order to fight against our revolution. The English imperialists considered no sum too great in order to annihilate us.

Revolution Demonstrates Its Power.

THIS shows how the power of the first proletarian revolution is growing in the international arena. We were told at first: "If you attempt to seize power, it will not help you, because on the very next day the English, French or Germans will force you to restore power to the bourgeoisie," and now you see how the attitude of the foreign powers towards us has changed.

Today, nobody can force the working class of our country to hand back power to the bourgeoisie. In addition to this I must tell you that the English and French, as well as the German and Japanese bourgeoisie, are now in a position when they must rather think of saving themselves than of destroying others. They must take care that they do not lose power themselves. There has been an exchange of roles. At the beginning of the revolution they expended hundreds of millions of rubles in order to help the Russian counter-revolution overthrow the Soviet order; today the situation has changed considerably.

Our Soviet Union is the friend, the brother and the teacher of the workers of all countries.

Our Soviet Union, by means of the Communist International, has become the friend, the brother and the teacher of the working class of all countries, and also of a considerable portion of

the peasantry. The best representatives of the working class of the whole world look to us for help and brotherly support.

It was a hard task for us and for the international working class to make the first breach in the capitalist front. The beginning was difficult. We have made the beginning and we have maintained power under such conditions as we never even thought. It is hard to enumerate those difficulties which our revolution has overcome since the blockade, up to the epidemics and famine of the year 1922, when it almost came to cannibalism. Nevertheless we have overcome them. Why? Because we relied upon the broad, powerful, iron foundation of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry; because the revolution revealed such powerful creative forces of which the boldest revolutionaries never ventured to dream; because the revolution has stirred the deepest strata of the people; because the working women, the peasants, the Communist youth and our entire generation have taken up the cause of the revolution.

The workers of all countries are interested in our success. In the difficult famine years of 1919 to 1922, the social revolutionaries daily prophesied our downfall. Now it is different. Now every worker in all countries feels instinctively that our cause is marching on, and that our revolution has become the tocsin rousing all workers of the world to struggle.

The Idea of Lenin Will Be Victorious Throughout the World.

THERE was a great man in our midst who, in the most difficult time for the working class, when the Russian workers hung their heads and the English and Russian capitalists danced for joy, was firmly convinced that the working class would be victorious. I speak of course of Comrade Lenin.

The result of all we have passed thru is:

When we perceive how passionately and enthusiastically the working masses and huge masses of peasants are supporting our cause, when we perceive how, in spite of the desperate situation in which we have been not so long ago, a splendid young generation of workers is growing up before our eyes, who regard the cause of the state as their own, then we say: "Comrade Lenin is no longer with us, but his cause lives and will be victorious thruout the whole world."

Workers of All Countries! Conduct Your Own Revolutionary Struggles!

FROM THE SOVIET ANNIVERSARY MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

PROTECT the Union of Soviet Republics from the intervention policy of the imperialist powers which is still being carried on. Prevent the encirclement of the Soviet Union by the Locarno pact diplomacy. But you cannot better conduct the struggle against a new capitalist attack upon the Soviet Union than by preparing, organizing and conducting your own revolutionary struggles and, in alliance with the broad masses, leading them to victory.

cent, not immediately upon the workers, but upon the government, upon the administration, and upon the trade unions. The other half, however, depends upon you, yourselves, comrades. This is what you must bear in mind.

Outer Political Situation of the Soviet Union.

WHAT was our international situation at the time of the revolution? We were in a desperate position. People said to us: Let us suppose that a miracle occurs, that you win the majority of the workers of Petrograd, of Moscow, and perhaps the whole of Russia; let us suppose that you seize power and drive the bourgeois government out of the Winter Palace; let us further suppose that you form a Soviet government—but don't you understand that that will be an absurdity, that the foreign bourgeoisie will drive you out, if not today, then tomorrow, if not the German, then the English, if not the English then the Japanese bourgeoisie? What will you do, with your inexperienced Red Army, with your feeble working class, against the English ironclads, against the German guns, against the French tanks?

who were armed to the teeth, were two steps from our frontier. We were compelled to accept the humiliating Brest-Litovsk peace, in accordance with which we had to pay a great indemnity in gold and to give up a whole number of provinces. Our workers had to accept this treaty, while they gritted their teeth, with the expectation that times would alter and that in any case we should not pay the indemnity.

Are we threatened today with any sort of immediate danger on the part of the ruling class of Germany? I think not. Their arms are too short. Of course there still exist in Germany the landowners, the fascists and junkers who would like to encompass our downfall. Now their only concern is how to retain their positions against their own workers.

Our Relations with France.

Let us consider another power which is hostile to us, bourgeois France.

We have already had a Franco-Russian alliance (an alliance between the czar and the French bankers) which only resulted in creating misery in

bourgeois no longer dreams of compelling us to pay the old czarist debts. Of course they remain our bitter opponents. But behind the imperialists there stands an army, the army of their "own" workers, at the head of which there stand such comrades as Comrade Marti, who was ready to risk his head for the sake of the Russian workers, in the same way as our workers are ready to support the French workers with all their power. The old times are past.

Our Relations with England.

THERE was a time, it was some years ago—even before the revolution, when there was no other dictator in Petrograd than the English Ambassador Buchanan—the Russian workers know this name very well. At that time the English government held everything in its hands: first, the czarist government, and then the provisional government of the Russian bourgeoisie. Before the revolution the workers did not know that the English ambassador lorded over everything. The Bolsheviks were persecuted. After the revolution, Buchanan sent warships against us and took possession

Eight Years of Proletarian Dictatorship---Seven Years of So-called "Democratic Government"

I. THE proletarian dictatorship on the territory of the old Russia has now been in existence for eight years. Eight years of "experiment" as all bourgeois, learned and unlearned, choose to express it. Eight years of "dictatorship of an insurrectionary clique of conspirators, of a minority, over the great Russian people, which groans under its yoke," as all democratic, autocratic and social-democratic worshippers of capitalism have declared for the past seven years.

In the course of these years—a complete change of stage and scenery over the whole globe. 1917-1918, an apparently victorious German-Austrian alliance; advance into the Uk

raine, into the Caucasus, carnage in the Ukraine, in the Baltic provinces—the formation of which into an independent unity with constantly modified frontiers, was the invention of a German or Austrian Pole—the claim of the Duke of Urach to Lithuania (on the grounds that he was of equal stature with the Lithuanian princes of the seventh century); the democratic apostle Wilson with the well-managed steel trust, which supplied munitions, guns, railway material, whilst Wilson supplied the necessary cannon fodder; the campaign of honest old England for self-determination of the nations (those which were not under the sphere of influence of honest old England); France playing the part of the noble martyr in the cause of civilization and culture; Italy as a champion in the fight for democracy (after it had become clear whose "democracy"

would be victorious); the Second International in favor of war to a victorious end in their respective countries; German social-democracy suddenly against annexations (which they accepted with pleasure at the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest) after they had got scent of the fact that things were going amiss for Germany.

THEN the bacchanal of the peace treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, Neuilly, Trianon; the orgies of "democracy" and "self-determination" thru the Balkanization of Europe, annexations on a most liberal scale, tributes, wars of intervention, secret treaties, military alliances, colonial intrigues (think only of Syria, Silesia, Mesopotamia, Armenia).

Added to this the change of scene in the governments: Wilson, the democrat followed by the republican Harding; his successor Coolidge already fighting against a new movement; Lloyd George replaced by the conservative Bonar Law and he by Baldwin, he again by MacDonald the labor leader who, in his turn, has been overthrown by the conservatives—all this in democratic England, where, as class antagonisms intensify, a fascist movement will no doubt not arise spontaneously, but be created.

In France the change from Clemenceau via Deschanel and Poincare to—alas, only to Doumergue the "brave garcon" of whom the best that can be said is that he has a "sweet" smile. An external change from Briand to Millerand. A change of ministers from Poincare to Herriot, to Poincare. But all along the supremacy of de Wendel family and M. Loucheur.

In Italy—from Nitti, the sighing hanger-on of liberalism, to Mussolini the whilom socialist, now a fascist.

In Germany and Austria the whole gamut of "socialist" (the lord preserve us!) governments down to the reactionary combinations of priests, generals and—"socialists" of course.

Everywhere unrest, lack of equilibrium, problems for which a new "patent solution" is found every three months, which holds good for exactly three weeks.

Colonial risings, new wars and dangers of war in the Far East and the Near East, in the Balkans. Germany a colony of a syndicate which is disunited in itself. No rest anywhere, not even a stable government anywhere, everywhere bankruptcy of fascism in Italy, Spain, Bulgaria, bankruptcy of the ideology of the Second International which differs in every country, is in every country, as occasion demands, nationalist, defends the "just" war of its "own" country, enthusiastically acclaims reparations and sanctions, praises or disapproves of the Dawes plan as occasion demands, works in close alliance with or loyally opposes fascism, as occasion demands (Bulgaria, Italy, Germany).

At the same time, everywhere, growth of the influence of the Communist International. In the colonies increasing anti-imperialist movements. Among the proletariat a growing deep longing for unity and revolutionary class-war, realignment of that proletariat which from the political and ideological point of view is most backward, the English.

ONLY on the territory of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics do we see quite another picture. A picture which to the fools of the bourgeoisie and their heralds, the reformists, is still an insoluble riddle.

At the time of the blockade it was possible with a serious face to say to one's neighbor: "Do you know that in Russia the Bolsheviks only rule with the help of the Chinese; they have simply chopped off everyone else's head?" but nowadays it is hard to palm off such nonsense. It is, however, tried, even if without success.

But not a single reasonable person believes a word of such silly fables.

On the contrary, every sensible being must ask himself: How is it in reality possible that 130-150 million people, of whom all the workmen carry arms, are indeed systematically armed (not only compulsory military service for all those who do not exploit the labor of others, not only a system of militia for them but also compulsory training in arms for the young), who have created a voluntary air force, who are creating a voluntary chemical (gas) war association, allow themselves to be "ruled" by a party of not more than about 500,000 members? And how is it that this rule, under exactly the same government, is again and again "tolerated," nay, accepted with enthusiasm or at least with confidence by Soviet congresses, conferences and peasants' organizations, without any disturbances or difficulties?

The "riddle" is easily solved; the answer is that the Soviet government, this dictatorship of the Communist Party (as the "democratic" fools say: "over the proletariat") is that form of government which best suits the transition from capitalism to Communism. THE demagogic talk of the dictatorship of the party "over the proletariat" is easily refuted. The Communist Party is the party of the proletariat. The essence of Leninism is that it theoretically propagates and practically realizes the thesis: there is and can be only one party, the party of the revolutionary proletariat. Events in Europe have fully confirmed this doctrine. Wherever it has been disregarded (as in Germany in 1923) the proletariat has experienced a defeat. The reformists who claim that their party also is a proletarian party, know very well why they do it. As long, however, as the proletariat

does not treat the reformist parties as enemy, bourgeois parties, it will enjoy the advantages of a "democracy" of a German, English, French, Italian or Bulgarian cut which, as occasion demands, will make use of martial law, special powers acts and fascist government monopoly, but will still remain a dictatorship of the bourgeois leaders over the proletariat and lower middle classes.

But this already shows the difference between the two dictatorships. The dictatorship of the proletariat (the government affairs of which must naturally be organized; this is of course the party of the proletariat and as its party relies upon its sympathy and active help) is the dictatorship of an enormous majority over a very small minority. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which calls itself democratic, is always the dictatorship of a small clique over a vast majority.

But there is nowhere a party of the bourgeoisie. For the bourgeoisie is in itself split up and therefore often consists of many not organized, but disorganized parties (Germany, France, Poland with its national minorities, also Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Finland). Parliament, with its lack of definite grouping and majorities, only reflects this splitting up while it conceals the important fact that hardly anywhere in the bourgeois democracies does party rule, only marionettes in the hands of quite small cliques of the capitalists as in America, Germany, France, to say nothing of the small new states.

III.

THE other objection, that in Russia the proletariat represents only a small fraction of the population, only points out the particularly fine achievements of the Bolsheviks. Russia is, it is true, a land with an immense peasant majority but, in contrast to the reformists, the Bolsheviks realized that it was necessary to make an ally of the peasant population.

The proletarian dictatorship has only become possible thru the agrarian and peasant policy of the Bolsheviks which gives the dictatorship of the Communist Party the firm hold which it has. No serious student of Russian conditions, no matter to what camp he may belong, has been able to deny that the Soviet government is thus firmly rooted in the broad masses of the peasantry. All enemies of Communism regard with indignation, astonishment and a lack of understanding this hegemony of the proletariat, rule of the Communist Party (dictatorship of the proletariat) which at the same time is a stable, reliable alliance of proletariat and peasantry. This is the solution of the riddle.

On the other hand, in no country does or can the bourgeoisie understand how to keep even the bour

geoisie together. If we consider the occurrences in Germany in 1923, the pitiless expropriation of the people with small possessions thru inflation and, instead of talking of the Dawes plan in empty phrases, seriously consider its consequences, it is easy to see that the governing cliques of the bourgeoisie themselves split up and differentiate the bourgeoisie and cannot fail to proletarianize a portion of them and to drive some into the Communist, some into the fascist sphere of influence. This is true, on the whole, of all European countries and of the United States. The present desperate cry of Germany "co-operation of all classes," the symbol of which is a coalition of all parties from the German nationalists to the social democrats, has no more value than the hue and cry of pacifism; when wars are being prepared, the clamor for peace is loudest; when class structure is crumbling to the ground, the howl for solidarity of the people is wildest.

The process of differentiation is developing fast in Germany. It will also be accelerated in England and France. In England the way leads via class solidarity, but as class contrasts increase (which will result from the Dawes plan), the bourgeoisie even there will cry for solidarity of the people (in order to save the empire).

THE balance of the eight years of Soviet Republic is easily drawn. Thru all imaginable difficulties, the economics, culture and physical health in the Soviet Union have gradually and steadily developed, in spite of all natural catastrophes (famine in 1921, partial failure of the harvest in 1924), in spite of all the destruction thru war and civil war, in spite of all the evil which arose from the low level of culture of the Russian population.

And Europe? Its peoples are fed with promises while the difficulties increase. The Dawes plan will help—so say the promise-mongers in France and Germany, patented and "approved" for the last ten years; the league of nations will help—as those fools profess who will not see that the league of nations will soon help Europe onto her feet thru general mobilization for a war in which more or less all towns have the prospect of being exterminated by means of gas, like nests of vermin. The uncle from America will help—as those swindlers whine who have not yet had enuf of the American "help" of the late man of honor, Mr. Wilson. Oh yes, America will help, with fire and sword and the ledger of the chief agent for reparations.

Only the proletariat will and can help. For it must help itself and only itself. The eight years' balance of Soviet Russia is proof enuf that this is the case.

WORLD OF ISLAM CHALLENGES IMPERIALISM



The savage repression under which the peoples of the Moslem world are held in subjection to the great powers has lately been challenged in Syria. This nation is a French mandate under the provisions of the treaty of Versailles. Instead of treating it as a mandate, the French has literally enslaved the people of Syria. France, in a military alliance with Spain, already had a colonial war on its hands in trying to subdue Abd-el-Krim in Morocco. The refusal of France to allow native representation in the government of Syria and its dispatching an army corps there to wreak vengeance upon the inhabitants for daring to ask a voice in control of their own affairs, resulted in the French army being chal

lenged. Reserves were sent from France, and Damascus was sacked and burned amidst scenes of indescribable horror.

Already the news of this vandalism has been carried to other parts of the Moslem world and the vast numbers of Moslems back of Syria, in the territory bounded on the east by the Persian gulf and on the west by the Red Sea and on the south by the Indian Ocean are beginning to stir restlessly.

The above map explains the outstanding strategic points in the struggle that is impending, when the colonial peoples of the territories bordering the Mediterranean will arise and challenge the imperialism of Europe and America.

1.—Left arrow from this point indicates the military advance in Morocco against Abd-el-Krim. The

right arrow traverses the Mediterranean Sea and points to Damascus where French forces razed the town, murdered the inhabitants and near where the natives are mobilizing their forces to fight back. This territory is held under mandate by France and is at present the sore-spot in the Mohammedan world.

2.—Arrow indicates the scene of activity of the Spanish troops against Morocco.

3.—The arrow indicates the path of the Italian forces in their drive against the Senussi, who inhabit the regions of Sahara and Cyrenaica.

4.—Arrow indicates Mosul where the British strive to control output of oil in the struggle of the Royal Dutch Shell against Standard Oil and where the natives resent the enforcement of its Versailles treaty mandate over Iraq and Mosul.

The Red Union and the Black Union

By Jay Lovestone

TWO hostile armies are massing against each other on the international political front.

On the one side we have the gathering hosts of imperialist reaction, the black united front. On the other side we have the growing armies of the proletariat led into struggle against capitalism by the revolutionary party of the world's working class—the Communist International.

There may be peace in the newspapers of the bourgeoisie. But every "peace" move of the imperialist powers only cloaks a war maneuver. Today, these "peace" moves are mainly war maneuvers against the rising prowess of the Soviet Union. The security pact, the Locarno conference and the other much-heralded "pacifying" agreements and conferences are, to a large extent, treaties and agreements entered into by the world capitalists to mobilize all of their resources for a war against the Soviet Union.

What is behind these feverish war preparations of the black union against the red union? What forces constitute the black united front? Who is to be found in the ranks of the red united front? What is the role of the American capitalists in this attack being planned by the forces of capitalist reaction against the forces of proletarian progress?

The Phantom Stabilization.

THE bourgeoisie may have succeeded in temporarily stabilizing to some extent their economic order through the Dawes plan, thru the partial restoration of the system of international exchange, and thru a temporary improvement in the world agricultural conditions. But no one knows better than the imperialist junta itself the shaky foundation on which even this very limited improvement rests. The bourgeoisie realize full well that these over-advised "reconstruction" efforts have not succeeded in removing any of the inherent contradictions of capitalism which were intensified by the world war and its aftermath.

But the international imperialist clique realizes even more the fact that their most dangerous foe is the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has been making tremendous progress in economic reconstruction despite the financial blockade still maintained against the workers' and farmers' republic by the international money lords. The Soviet Union is winning the confidence of the many millions of oppressed colonial masses thru its unflinching fight against the imperialist maneuvers of the capitalist powers in the Far and Near East. Africa, the "Dark Continent," is also beginning to see the light. Then, the Soviet Union is winning an ever-increasing hold on the minds and hearts of the proletarian masses of the countries today dominated by the capitalist class.

Soviet Stabilization Real.

THESE assets of the Soviet Union overwhelm the small stabilization gains made by the international bourgeoisie.

Each progressive step of the Soviet Union is substantial and paves the way for more and greater far-reaching permanent steps of building the workers' and farmers' Soviet republic on a sound, on an impregnable basis.

Each instance of friendship between the Soviet Union and a colonial country or an oppressed nation serves only to cement the relations between the Soviet Republics and the suffering national groups and only adds to the prestige of the Soviet Union amongst all colonial peoples.

Every occasion that the proletariat of other countries has to see the Soviet Union as it is, to come in contact with the workers' republic, to have dealings with the Soviet Union only brings these proletarian masses closer to the Soviet Union and makes out of these workers champions of the cause of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics which is the cause of the working class of every country.

Capitalist "Reconstruction."

NOW let us look at the asset side of the bourgeois ledger. What do we find?

Take the Dawes plan. It has been called the panacea of capitalist panaceas. But the bacillus of the transfer problem is rapidly eating the heart out of this life-saver of the bourgeoisie. Secret negotiations are already reported to be under way to revise fundamentally this "Made in America" enslavement plan of Germany. Besides, the Dawes plan whose aim was to bring peace to Europe and the world is only sharpening the antagonisms between the United States and Great Britain over the question of who shall exercise financial hegemony over Germany and hence on the continent outside of Soviet Russia closed to the rapacious capitalist exploiters.

Let us glance at the vexing question of international debts. The failure of the Franco-American debt negotiations is of paramount significance. Of course, the French bourgeoisie will make another desperate effort at funding their debt to Wall Street. But there is an unbridgeable gap in these negotiations. France cannot fund its American debt and at the same time wage its war against the Moroccan and Syrian peoples. A debt agreement may be patched up but the fundamental economic contradictions of imperialism cannot be overcome.

Germany may be "restored" economically. But the "restoration" of Germany brings in its wake the forces making for an intensification of international trade rivalries. Germany's capacity to pay is almost synonymous with Germany's unwillingness to pay.

These are only a few of the outstanding economic reconstruction steps so loudly commended by the

bourgeois statesmen. Each of these steps has within itself the germs of deepgoing economic disintegration.

Can Not Fool Colonies.

EVERY attempt of the imperialists to fool the colonial peoples with fraudulent concessions is meeting with failure. The wave of Chinese nationalism is a fitting answer to the manipulations of the imperialist consortium. The present so-called Chinese tariff conference is much more than a mere tariff conference. It is the beginning of a new wave of disillusionment on the part of the hundreds of millions of Chinese with the

Red Unity Against Black Unity. A labor bureaucracy, every "treaty of peace" signed for the working masses by these labor lieutenants of capital turns out to be only a scrap of paper in the class war between the proletariat and the exploiters.

At the very moment that the bourgeoisie is straining all its resources to buy off sections of the working class itself against the other workers of the Soviet Union, the proletariat of an increasing number of countries is drawing closer and closer to the workers' and farmers' Soviet republic. We need but look at the increasing number of workers' delegations coming to the Soviet republics from the various countries in the clutches of the imperialist clique.

At the very moment that the European bourgeoisie are celebrating their supposed unification at the Lo-

carno conference, the progress of international trade union unity is going on apace. Then, the Locarno "peace" conference is actually laying the basis for new strife between the imperialist national groups and letting loose new forces of disintegration in the political parties at home. A "united" continent of Europe promotes the antagonisms between American imperialism and among the European imperialist cliques.

Scarcely had the ink dried on the Locarno pact when the powerful German nationalist party enters upon a new crisis, the Luther cabinet is endangered, the Communists make tremendous gains in the German elections, the Callaux cabinet falls, the flames of revolt envelop Syria, the Greeks clash with the Bulgars and the Balkans, the cockpit of Europe, are again seething.

Role of American Imperialism. IN this international drama American imperialism plays a major role as the leading banker and manufacturing nation of the world. It is true, there was no American observer at Locarno playing the role that Colonel Logan played at the London conference of July, 1924. But it was only the heavy financing of the European governments by Wall Street that made possible this effort to unify the capitalist governments of Europe against the working class government of the Soviet Republics.

America is today the buttress of capitalist reaction. American capitalism is the mainspring of opposition to the Soviet Union everywhere. This is as true in the Far East as in Europe. In the Far East American imperialism is particularly irritated over the stinging defeat administered Wall Street, hypocrisy, and Washington "humanitarianism" by the Soviet Union. The latter fact accounts in a large measure for the apparent sharpening of the American anti-Soviet policy at a time when many superficial observers believed that the United States was already on the verge of Soviet recognition.

What the Fakers Are Up To. WITH this as a background, it is not difficult to understand the why and the wherefore of the hostility of the American labor bureaucracy to Soviet recognition. The trade union bureaucracy is an integral part of the imperialist machinery of oppression. The American trade union bureaucracy being part of the most imperialist coterie, being a section of the capitalist group most bitterly opposed to Soviet Russia, is naturally and logically the most reactionary trade union bureaucracy in the world—the most bigoted enemy of the working masses of the Soviet Union.

No doubt the opposition of the American Federation of Labor leadership to Soviet Russia is an important factor in the determination of American capitalist policy towards the So-

FACTS TO BE REMEMBERED ON THE EIGHTH (1925) ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

THE profit press is nowhere this year predicting the "early overthrow" of workers' rule in the Union of Soviet Republics.

THE armies of 14 capitalist nations (Great Britain, France, the United States, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Japan, Poland, Roumania and many others) have participated in the military attacks on the Soviet Union.

THE Bolshevik revolution raised the Russian women from their former conditions of slavery and brought working and peasant women into the Soviets and trade unions as men's equals.

INSTEAD of the false bourgeois "democracy" acting as a screen for capitalist dictatorship (the Kerensky regime), the revolution has built up a power based on true democracy, on Soviets of workers', peasants', and Red Army deputies, elected every year by the masses.

THRU the Soviets hundreds of thousands of the foremost workers and peasants are brought straight from the bench and from the plough into the Soviets, the Communist Party and the trade unions, where they take a direct part in the administration of all the branches of social and economic life in the immense Soviet country.

THE Soviet Republic is steadily going forward with its task of reorganizing society on a socialist basis. It has expropriated the expropriators. It has declared factories, workshops, mines, means of communication, banks, and land, the property of the working population, and has handed over their administration to the Soviets.

THE Soviet power is concentrating all its energy on the development of state industries and trade and is building up co-operative trade under the control of the proletariat, in order by such means to secure complete state control of the economic activity of the country and its complete reorganization on a socialist basis.

THE revolution has put an end to national oppression. It helped people which but a little while ago were oppressed by czarism, to establish their own independent national Soviet Republics, and united all of them into one powerful "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics." The peoples of the Moslem East: Tartars, Bashkirs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks and Turkomans, brothers to those who are brutally oppressed and exploited by the governments of Great Britain and France, and by fascist Italy, have become full-fledged members of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Republic has stretched out a helping hand to all colonial and semi-colonial peoples (to Turkey, China, Afghanistan and Persia), thereby giving powerful support to the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the east against world imperialism.

EDUCATION and the press, which previous to the revolution were the monopoly of the capitalists and landowners, and were used as a means of fooling and doping the masses, are now as a result of the Bolshevik revolution under the control of the victorious working class and are being utilized for Communist education and training.

Red International of Labor Unions and Soviet Russia

By HARRISON GEORGE

AMONG the many outstanding products of the Bolshevik revolution of eight years ago, not the least important was the surging demand that arose within the trade unions all over the world for a world-wide unity of all trade unions on the basis of the class struggle, for a united fight against capitalism.

The formation and phenomenal growth of the Russian labor union movement, born in the cradle of revolution with arms in hand and the international on its lips, posed the question of this movement's international connections.

BUT the war which had brot the revolution also brot an increase in reaction and its desire, by working thru the agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of labor, to prevent the workers of the world, instinctively turning toward the fabulous "Mos-

cow," from doing as the Russian workers had done. The labor unionists of the world were demanding, moreover, some international center that would insure them against a recurrence of the horror thru which they had just passed.

The reformist socialists who had betrayed the masses in war, answered to the call of the ruling class and betrayed the masses again in "peace." While the Russian unions and the new revolutionary unionists of all the world were demanding an international center and the foundation was being laid for the Red International of Labor Unions, the reformists were laying the foundations of an international center of class collaboration.

THIS was the Amsterdam International (the International Federation of Trade Unions) formed upon the basis of the "victory" of the allied arms over Germany and, therefore, the victory of the allied social

patriots over those of Germany. Amsterdam took the most reactionary position, identified itself with the Versailles peace and set up organizational connection with capitalism thru the international labor office of the league of nations.

Small wonder, therefore, that those organized workers of the world who felt the urge of class struggle to overthrow capitalism, demanded a center of revolutionary unionism, to clarify and unify the working masses upon a basis of class struggle on an international scale.

AND if the latest developments of this world movement for unity and struggle, which is the establishment of the famous Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Commission, has shaken the world and frightened the capitalists into a panic, it must not be forgotten that this latest forward step was built upon years of earlier struggle and arose out of the revolu-



tion which set up the Soviet power. In the years from 1921 onward, this struggle had been carried into every land and every union by the Red International of Labor Unions, launched at a provisional conference in July, 1920, of representatives of the unions of Russia, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria and minorities of the French and Georgian labor unions. The first congress was held in Moscow, July, 1921.

BUT at the first congress the British and Italian unions had already weakened under the tremendous assaults of the bourgeoisie. The Italian unions were in battle and their leaders were surrendering to the fascist. The British workers had just been betrayed in the memorable Black Friday. Russia had just experienced the Kronstadt events, adopted the new economic policy and was facing the problem of famine. It was seemingly the lowest ebb of the revolutionary labor movement. Under pressure of these events, the

weaker partners in the original pact of unity gave up and did not come to the first congress of the R. I. L. U. Standing with the R. I. L. U. in those dark days, even more than now, was no task of weaklings.

YET from the deliberations and decisions went forth a great rallying cry, and a process of clarification and organization, which brought into existence as a conscious world movement the revolutionary unionism of today.

The Second World Congress held in November, 1922, saw the R. I. L. U. exerting a most powerful influence in Europe, Asia and America for working class unity and struggle against capitalism. The center of revolution was being established for the labor unions of the world.

BY the Third Congress in July, 1924, the movement was prepared to lay down new tasks for completion of the work begun in the first two world gatherings, by reaching out for the working masses in the trade unions still adhering to Amsterdam. To this end proposals for world trade

union unity were set forth, proposing the calling of a unity congress with the Amsterdam unions and pledging all unions to submit to the decisions of the unity congress.

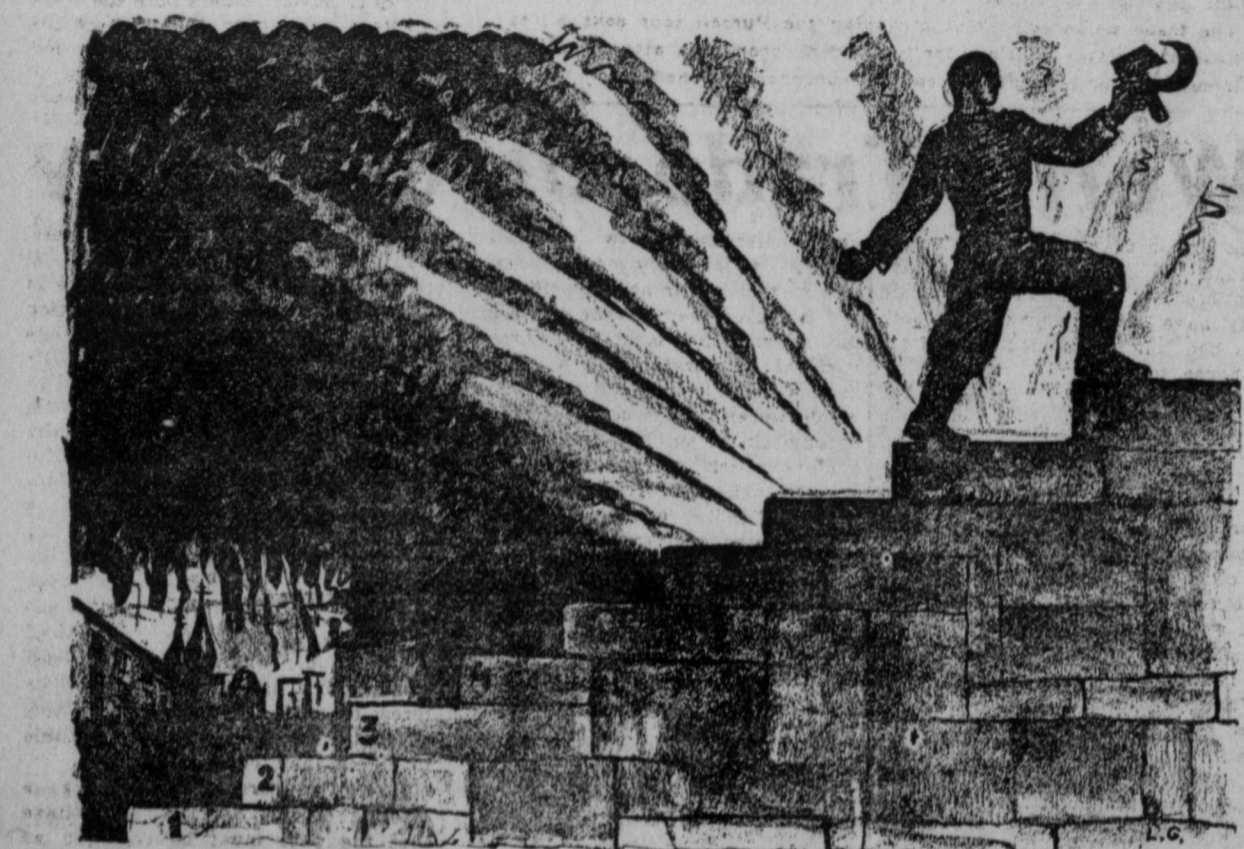
The yellow Amsterdamers rejected the proposal. Then followed the growth of relations between the British and Russian unions, which culminated in the recent formation of an official joint committee, approved at the Scarborough congress—the Anglo-Russian Unity Commission. It is in behalf of this commission and its program that A. A. Purcell is speaking in his present tour of America.

UNQUESTIONABLY the growing power of Soviet Russia has aided the unity movement thus begun by the R. I. L. U. The many delegations of trade unionists, of reformist and syndicalist unions for the most part, which have visited Soviet Russia and inspected the conditions of the workers under Soviet power, have brought back such favorable reports that the whole labor movement has been no-

ticeably turned to the left and the revolutionary element strengthened. No instance proves this case better than the report of the British delegation to Russia headed by Purcell as chairman of the British Trade Union Congress.

The great work of uniting the trade unions of the world was thus launched as a result of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. And this is one of the reasons why the name of Vladimir Lenin, the organizer and leader of the Bolshevik revolution, has been engraved in the hearts of millions of revolutionary unionists who fight under the banner of the Red International of Labor Unions.

IT is one of the reasons why every worker who looks upon the Red International as the leading organization of revolutionary unionism makes his or her most enthusiastic holiday the day on which the ragged Red Guards of Leningrad seized state power in the name of the workers and peasants and lit the fires of world revolution.



Climbing Up with the Sunlight of the New Day.



The Eighth Anniversary Arrives with the Help of the Communist Party