

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

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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SECOND SECTION

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The Communist International

By JOHN PEPPER

THE Communist International was born in March, 1919, in Moscow. Now, in March, 1924, it is celebrating its fifth anniversary.

The Communist International was born in bloody and stormy days. Kolchak from the east, Denikin from the south, were approaching dangerously near to Moscow. In Germany Spartacus received one bloody blow after another upon its body. In Hungary the proletarian revolution lifted its head, victorious and full of promise. Everywhere on the whole long front of the world revolution—clash of arms and bloody struggles. The capitalist class disorganized by the world war, and the working class awakened, stretching out its limbs everywhere.

Moscow itself, the capital of the first victorious proletarian revolution, was in danger in March, 1919; the dictatorship of the capitalist class was menacing Russia; but the Communist International blew mighty notes thru the trumpets of the world revolution and its bugle call was heard everywhere, wherever workers were struggling.

Mighty slogans came from the Communist International to the masses.

We are living in the period of the world revolution!

Upon the ruins of deceptive capitalist democracy we must establish the dictatorship of the proletariat!

The workers must employ the mighty weapon of civil war against the capitalist class!

The victorious working class must destroy the capitalist state and set up its own rule in the form of the Soviets!

The laboring masses can venture the final struggle only when they drive out of their midst the treacherous labor bureaucrats and yellow socialists, the agents of the capitalists, and choose a new revolutionary leadership!

The Third International was born in the fight against the Second International, and its first cry was the battle call of revolution, the cry against the socialist lackeys of imperialism, the outcry against the opportunism of the social traitors. The Third International took the name Communist International because the word socialist had become the word of shame, of betrayal, of selling out to the capitalists.

The Communist International can only be conceived of, as the successor and the contrary of the Second International.

The Second International was and is the international of words and phrases. The Third International is the International of action. Kautsky revealed the real essence of the Second International when he declared that it is only an instrument in time of peace, which means, in other words, that it sells itself to the various national capitalist classes in time of war, when the capitalist class has reached a crisis. The Third International is the revolutionary instrument of the working class in time of war as well as peace, and it seeks to utilize the crisis of the capitalists by converting imperialist war into civil war and victory of the workers.

The Second International was and is the International of the labor aristocrats of the various nations, and was always under the leadership of conservative socialist parties and trade union bureaucrats. The individual parties of the Second International had interests in common with their national capitalist classes, and betrayed the interests of the working class over and over again, not only on a national, but also on an international scale. The Third International is the organization of the real working class, the International of the lowest strata of the exploited and suppressed; and it is under the leadership of professional revolutionists. The Third International represents the total interests of the proletariat class as a world class, as against the special interests of individual occupations, regions, or nations.

The Second International was a loose organization. Every party in it did what it wished. The decisions of its international congresses were never binding. The Second International sailed under the slogan of "complete democracy." The Third International is a real, centralized and disciplined organization. It is not a conglomeration of parties, but is a real world party with forty-two sections in forty-two countries. The Communist International has unmasked the swindle of "complete democracy," and its slogan is democratic centralization.

The Third International is born from the womb of the Second International, but as its antithesis and as the direct heir of the First International of Marx. The Communist International is and could become the general staff of the world revolution because its strategy is nothing else than the application of

the first period, from its foundation in March, 1919, till the middle of 1921. This period was the time of immediate, direct, advancing onslaught of the working class. The capitalists were disorganized. The laboring masses everywhere were filled with the will for power. The tactics and slogans of the Communist International, in keeping with the period, were the direct, revolutionary, armed fight for the dictatorship of the working class.

The second period began in the middle of 1921, and lasted to the summer of 1923. The collapse of the offensive of the Italian workers in September, 1920, and the failure of the March action in Germany in March, 1921, showed clearly that the offensive of the working class was at an end, and that a world offensive of the capitalists was in the

first period we conducted a direct fight against the Second International only from the bottom. In the second period we employed the tactics of the united front which aimed at the winning over of the majority of the working class, not only thru a direct attack on the yellow leaders from the bottom, but also thru negotiations and compromises with them from the top.

But they are greatly mistaken—those who believe that the tactics of the second period are a negation of the tactics of the first period. They believe that the "too stormy" Communist International had now become more "sensible," that it abandoned the revolutionary tactics and was employing opportunist tactics.

The Communist International in the second period was just as revolutionary as in the first period. The task of winning over the majority of the working class for the revolution is just as revolutionary a task as the carrying out of the revolution itself.

And the opportunists who were glad that the Communist International had become "sensible," and the sectarians who accused the Communist International of having become opportunist, both experienced bitter disillusionment as the third period began in the tactics of the Communist International.

The third period of the world revolution is marked by an ebb of the offensive of capital and new attempts at offensive on the part of the working class. The offensive of the working class makes its advent everywhere again. The events in the second period of 1923 in Germany, the armed fighting in Bulgaria and Poland are just as much stations of the advancing working class as are the growth of the Labor Party in the United States, the great election victory of the Labor Party in England, and the arming and increased consciousness of power of the workers in Mexico as a result of the De la Huerta counter-revolution.

In the first moment that the new wave of world revolution became apparent, the Communist International changed its tactics. As the Fascists in Bulgaria overthrew the peasant government, the Communist International immediately issued the slogan of armed alliance of workers and farmers, and criticized severely the Communist Party of Bulgaria because it had remained neutral during the civil war and did not take up arms. As in Germany the laboring masses awoke, as the Ruhr occupation by the French and the driving out of the Cuno government by the general strike created a new revolutionary situation, the Communist International issued the slogan of armed struggle, and criticized the German Communist Party severely because its tactics were not sufficiently aggressive. The lying opponents say that the Communist International is only an instrument of Soviet Russia, and that it buried the tactics of the world revolution long ago in the grave of the New Economic Policy. But the truth is that the Communist International in which the Russian Party plays, of course, the leading role risked every acquisition of the Russian revolution, and was ready to mobilize all the forces of Soviet Russia and of the whole International for the support of the German revolution.

The Communist International, in all three periods of the world revolution, has shown itself the real general staff of world revolution. Offensive or defensive, or again offensive, the tactics of the Communist International are always based on the correct concrete analysis of concrete situations. That is the real secret of the leadership of the Communist International. Fighting against opportunism and eliminating it from our own ranks, correcting sectarianism, the Communist International, the general staff of the world revolution, shows us the true road of revolutionary realism.

Foster Calls on All Workers To Follow Communist International

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman of the Workers Party.
(By telegraph) New York City, March 4, 1924.

THE birth of the Communist International five years ago was an event of first magnitude in the historic struggle of the world's working class.

For many years the Second International had attempted to lead the international proletariat in the battle against capitalism, but its betrayal of the workers in the war, and in the revolutionary events ensuing, tore away its mask and showed it to be not an enemy of the capitalist system but its effective defender.

Then came the formation of the Communist International and the rallying of the scattered forces of revolutionary labor betrayed by the yellow leaders of the Second International.

The Communist International is now marshalling its forces for the final assault upon capitalism. Its advent marks the beginning of the end of the capitalist system. All revolutionary workers must and will support the Communist International.

Marxism to our present period. The real cementing stuff of the Communist International is not Moscow's money, as the calumniators say it is, and not simply the prestige of the victorious Russian revolution. The discipline in the Communist International is a voluntary discipline but an iron one, because the Communist International has proven its real leadership on the field of battle itself. Under the intellectual leadership of Lenin and Zinoviev the Communist International analyzes correctly the world situation and the situation in the various countries with the aid of the Marxist method, and proposed again and again the correct tactics.

The Communist International changed its tactics when the situation changed. But it never changed its correct Marxist, Leninist method and in every situation its tactics remained the revolutionary one.

We can see three big periods in the history of the Communist Inter-

ascendancy. The great masses of workers were no longer actuated by the desire for seizing power. They wanted to fight for a bigger piece of bread. The Communist International grasped the new situation immediately. It perceived that the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, would be lost if it dared to undertake the final struggle without the active support of the broad masses. The Communist International recognized that the new period called for new tactics, that the Communist parties must begin a tenacious, systematic fight to win over the majority of the working class.

The first period was the direct struggle for power. The second period was the struggle to win over the majority of the working class. The slogan of the first period was the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the second period there was born the transitional slogan of workers' and farmers' government. In the

For the World Soviet Republic

By BENJAMIN GITLOW

Editor, The Freiheit, Jewish Communist Daily

(By telegraph) New York City, March 4, 1924.

WORLD capitalism is tottering. The World War has completely demoralized capitalist society and has created unsurmountable difficulties for the ruling capitalist powers. The situation for the workers is continually becoming worse. In Germany alone 25,000,000 members of the working class are starving. Capitalism, unable to assure peace, is heading the world into another bloody catastrophe. Capitalism is bankrupt.

This capitalism with its bloody militarism and savage exploitation of the workers has given rise to the proletarian revolution in Russia and the establishment of the Third (Communist) International.

The Communist International was born five years ago out of the revolutionary struggle of the workers against the intolerable conditions of capitalist society. The Communist International is the revolutionary center of all workers of the world. It is the center from which is directed the world's struggle on the part of all workers to free themselves from the bloody, brutal regime of capitalism.

The Communist International is the guiding star to freedom for the exploited masses, poor farmers and workers everywhere. The revolutionary workers of America hail the fifth anniversary of the Communist International. May it live to welcome the union of Soviet Republics of the whole world!

The Communist International in America

By C. E. RUTHENBERG
(Member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International)

FIVE YEARS of work are behind the Communist International. What relationship has the Communist International had to the workers of the United States during those five years? What has been its contribution to the struggles of the workers here? What has it achieved in this country?

Has the Communist International been merely a name here, to be applauded by the revolutionary workers and hated by the reactionary labor leaders, or is it a living force, leading the struggles of the workers as it does elsewhere in the world?

These are questions which may well be asked on this Fifth Anniversary of the founding of the Communist International. It is a fitting thing that in celebrating the Fifth Anniversary that the workers here learn that the Communist International is not an organization of Russian, German, Italian, or even of European workers, but a world organization which is guiding the struggles of the revolutionary movement in the United States as it does elsewhere in the world.

To make this clear it is necessary only to review some of the main developments of the Communist movement in the United States. These will show, what every worker in this country should know, that the Communist International is the general staff, the leading organization of the struggle to free the American workers from exploitation and oppression of capitalism; that the American workers may look to it for help and guidance as to the workers the world over.

When the news reached the United States about the historic meeting in the Kremlin in March 5, 1919, at which the Communist International was organized, a well-defined Left Wing was already struggling for control of the Socialist Party. The manifesto of the C. I., calling upon the

revolutionary workers in every country to unite under its auspices gave a tremendous impetus to the Left Wing movement. The Left Wing immediately initiated a referendum in the Socialist Party for affiliation with the Communist International, which received the overwhelming support of the membership. At least three-fourth of the close to one hundred thousand members of the Socialist Party supported this referendum, only to have their decision sabotaged by the ruling bureaucracy of the Socialist Party.

In the months which followed there came into existence the Communist Party of America, with over fifty thousand members, which openly announced its affiliation with the Communist International. At the same time the Communist Labor Party was organized, which, while it did not as directly state its affiliation, was equally a supporter of the Communist International. Only four months of open work were permitted these organized answers to the appeal of the Communist International, until the government loosed its terror against them in an effort to destroy them.

It Brings Unity.
In the bitter factional struggles which tore asunder the Communist organizations during 1920 and 1921, it was the Communist International which appeared as the unifying influence. It was the demand and influence of the Communist International which unified the United Communist Party and the Communist Party in 1921. It was the representative of the Communist International who in 1922 led back into the Party the opposition which split away in the struggle over the founding of the open party.

Had there been no Communist International, no deciding and directing body with authority to pass upon question of the principles and tactics for the revolutionary workers in the United States and to direct their movement into the right channels, the factional struggle might well have resulted otherwise than it did. It is

not an exaggeration to say that if there is today in the United States one party—the Workers Party—in which all the Communist groups are united, it is because of the persistent effort and tactful guidance of the International.

Establishes Correct Policies.
The contribution of the Communist International, however, has not been limited to solving the problem of factional divisions. It was the guiding influence of the Communist International which helped the Communist Party in this country to formulate those policies which during the last year have enabled the Party to make such great gains in establishing its influence among the workers and farmers.

It was the Communist International which impressed upon the party driven underground thru the Palmer raids the need of again fighting its way into the open. The Workers Party was established and the underground Communist Party was liquidated with the aid of the International. That so fundamental a change in the policy of the Communist Party in this country was achieved without a split was due to the fact that the International clearly saw the need of the movement in this country and used its disciplinary power to establish what probably not a single member of the Workers Party now doubts was the right policy.

On the trade union field the Communist International was the deciding factor eliminating the dual union tendencies from the Communist Party in this country, and in securing the adoption of the policy of fighting within the existing unions for amalgamation and revolutionary tactics and leadership.

In the United Front policy adopted by the Communist International in 1922, it made its greatest contribution of the strengthening of the Communist party in the United States. During the last two years of work of the Workers Party, its guiding principle has been the United Front policy of the C. I. It is thru

the application of this policy that it has won its successes in crystallizing the movement for independent political action by the workers and farmers, which in the present year will find its expression in the organization of a mass farmer-labor party—an event of the most vital importance in the development of class action by the workers and farmers of the United States.

In its letter to the Third National Convention of the Workers Party the Communist International called attention to a phase of work neglected by the party here—agitation against American Imperialism and for freedom of its colonies—work, which has since been begun.

Leads Revolutionary Struggle Here.
In guiding the Workers Party the Communist International is guiding the struggles of the American workers, for it is upon the principles laid down by the Communist International and policies it has enunciated as the means to win the support of the workers for those principles, that there will develop the mass movement of the American workers thru which the struggle against capitalism will be won in this country.

For the American workers, even today, the Communist International is not a far-away abstraction but a living, fighting organization which influences their struggles and guides them along the road to victory.

Today the slogan of the Communist International for the masses of workers and farmers of the United States is, a mass Farmer-Labor Party fighting for a Workers and Farmers Government. To this slogan hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers are responding. On the morrow, when the time is ripe, the Communist International will raise the new slogan of a Soviet Government and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and lead the workers in their final struggle for power, even as it today leads them in preparation for that struggle.

Hail to the leadership of the Communist International.

Five Years of the Communist International

By EARL R. BROWDER

ON March 5, 1919, the Communist International was formed in Moscow by delegates of the Bolshevik Party, newly come to power in Russia thru the October revolution, and representatives of the left-wing factions of Socialist parties over the world. That date marked not alone the burial of the dead Second International, killed in 1914 by the treachery of Social-Democracy; it was also the symbol of the international proletarian character of the Russian revolution and a call to the entire working class of the world to turn from the corruption of death, embodied in social reformism, and engage in the struggle for the establishment of a working class society thruout the world.

Foundation of First World Party.

A profound cleavage took place thruout the labor movement from that moment. Almost all the opportunistic, power-seeking careerists at the heads of the working class parties, together with the timid and pacifist elements, rallied to fight against this "menace" to their comfortable positions as agents of capitalism; while the healthy revolutionary elements everywhere responded to the call of the Third International with tremendous enthusiasm. A bitter struggle began, with the class-conscious working masses everywhere as the partisans of the Bolsheviks. Fearful of the surging rank and file beneath them, and uncertain as yet whether or no they might not be able to turn the new-born Third International into a duplicate of the Second, and thus satisfy their followers while sabotaging again the revolution, many reformist leaders, Hillquit in the U. S., Dissman and Haas in Germany, Longuet in France, etc., formed "center" groups which broke with the Second International and temporized with the Third.

Meanwhile the first great wave of revolution was sweeping Europe. Communist parties were being formed in every land. In Germany the Spartakusbund united with the left Independent Socialists to form the Communist Party of Germany; in the United States the vast majority of the Socialist Party, faced by the disruptive expulsions of the right-wing reformists, split and formed two

Communist parties, later united and merged in the Workers Party; in Italy and France the Socialist Parties, yielding to the mass pressure, affiliated to the Third International while retaining their reformist leadership intact; in almost every country of Central Europe, Communist parties were formed. Between the First and Second Congresses there was a mighty mobilization of the revolutionary masses of the world in response to the manifesto of the Congress of March 5, 1919.

Mobilization, Organization, Action.

If the First Congress mobilized the world party of the workers, the Second is equally memorable as firmly advancing the next step of revolution—organization. Within the parties and groups that professed adherence to the Third International were many reformists, opportunists, and careerists, merely carried along by the mass movement and but awaiting an opportunity to betray it. The Second Congress laid down the famous "21 points" as the basic principles of organization of the world party. A

cry of rage went up from the yellow leaders everywhere; they were to be denied power to dispose of "their" workers as they saw fit, their sacred nationalism was violated; they must proclaim a holy war against the "Moscow dictators" or they were lost. So they began the campaign of slander against the Third International that continues unabated to this day. But the "21 points" against which they fulminate have proved to be the armour-plate of the world party against the treachery of the agents of capitalism within the working class. The Second Congress definitely broke the power of all the social traitors within the new international.

Again the Communist International proved that it embodied within itself the virility, intelligence, and iron will of the revolutionary proletariat, when the Third Congress met in 1921. Faced by the bitter fact that Social-Democratic treachery had gained a temporary breathing-space for capitalism, and that the International must prepare for a protracted and bloody

struggle, the Third Congress clarified the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement; formulated the trade union program that has since, crystallized in the Red International of Labor Unions, shaken the labor bureaucracy; sealed the alliance between the revolutionary proletariat and the suppressed peoples of the East; and established the basis of the United Front program that has since penetrated the whole working class with Communist thought.

In December, 1922, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International found the world party mobilized, organized, and in action all over the world. No longer were there questions that threatened the fundamental solidarity of the International. The army of the world revolution was consolidated; the problems were the myriad questions of strategy and tactics to fit the multitude of situations facing the workers in the 49 countries where the Communist Party is established. And from the Fourth Congress went forth a great inspiration that, in the year 1923, carried the world party onto a new stage of struggle. The German Communist Party gained almost a majority of the German proletariat during 1923, for example, and in the tremendous strides forward of the Workers Party of America we see another witness of the vitality of the Communist International.

Now, on the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Communist International, it is hard to realize that it is but five years ago that a little group of hardened revolutionists, most of them exiles and some, like Boris Reinstein from America, Russian revolutionists returned to their native land after years of wandering, gathered in the Kremlin to found the World Party of the workers. Only five years—but what tremendous years they have been. Thru those five years the working class of the world has reached its maturity and prepared itself to govern the world.

The Road to Power

By LUDWIG LORE

Editor, The Volkszeitung, German Communist Daily

(By telegraph)

New York City, March 4, 1924.

THE International that will serve the interests of the proletarian cause can be born only out of the self-criticism of the working class, out of the realization of its own power, of that power which was broken and shattered on August 4, 1914, but which yet will be called upon to cut down the centuries-old oaks of gigantic growth and strength of social injustice. The road to this power is the road to the re-establishment of the International."

Thus wrote Rosa Luxemburg, February, 1915, and her prophetic eye saw the truth. The self-criticism of the class-conscious workers and their organizations made a new International possible. It created a new power. It builds the young, strong Communist movement with its International that will finally cut down those imposing looking trees of class privilege, class exploitation, oppression, social injustice, corruption, rottenness and misery untold, in order to make possible a new world of happiness and equal opportunity for all humankind. On this Fifth Anniversary of our International, we feel deeply the loss of the great founder and teacher of Communism in action, Nikolai Lenin. We send greetings of true comradeship to his co-workers, promising to work with all our energy for the happy realization of our common aims in these United States.

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The Third Communist International

By NICOLAI LENIN

(From a speech on March 6, 1920 before the Moscow Soviet)

COMRADES, since the foundation of the Communist International a year has gone by. In the course of this year the Communist International won victories which we would have never expected, and it may be said that at its foundation no one expected such tremendous successes.

At the beginning of the Revolution many cherished the hope that the Socialist Revolution in West Europe would begin at the moment that the imperialist war would come to an end, for at that time, when the masses were armed, the Revolution could have gone ahead in a few countries of the West with the greatest success. This could have happened if it had not become evident that the split of the working class of Western Europe was deeper, that the betrayal of the former Socialist leaders there had taken on greater proportions.

If the International had not been in the hands of betrayers, who in the critical moment saved the capitalist class, there would have been many a chance for the revolution to follow very quickly in many of the warring countries and in a few neutral countries where the people were under arms, and then the outcome would have been entirely different. . . .

Comrades, before the war it seemed as if the essential division in the labor movement was the division into Socialists and Anarchists. And it did not only seem so, but it was actually the case. For a long time, until the imperialist war and until the revolution there was no objective revolutionary situation in the great majority of European countries. The task was to utilize this slow work for preparing the revolution. The Socialists set about this

work, the Anarchists had no understanding for this task. The war created a revolutionary situation, and it became evident that this old division died away. On the one hand the elite of Anarchism and Socialism had become chauvinist, showing what it means to defend one's own capitalist robbers against other robbers of the capitalist class for whose sake the war snatched away millions of people. On the other hand, in the lower strata of the old parties new currents were formed—against the war, against imperialism, for the social revolution. Thus, as a consequence of the war the deepest crisis arose, and the Anarchists as well as the Socialists split because the elite of the parliamentary leaders of the Socialists proved to be with the chauvinist wing and only a constantly growing minority held back and began to go over to the side of the revolution.

Thus the labor movement in all countries entered upon a new road, not the road of the Anarchists and Socialists, but the way which led to the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . .

This split had made itself felt and had made its advent throught the whole world even before the creation of the III International.

If we have had success that was because we came when the situation was revolutionary and there was already a labor movement in all countries, and that is why within Socialism and Anarchism there has come a split. This leads throught the world to the co-operation of the Communist workers in the creation of new organizations and their unification into the III International. This is the way the work can best be understood. . . .

If we take into consideration the present state of affairs we can say that the III International is dead and that the laboring masses in Germany, England and France are going over to the side of the Communists. . . .

The collapse of the capitalist governments is inevitable. For everyone sees that a new war is unavoidable if the imperialists and the capitalist class remain in power. . . . No one knows where and how

the outbreak (of a new war) will come, but everyone sees and knows and says that the war is unavoidable and is being prepared anew.

This fact in the Twentieth Century gives us the assurance that there can be no thought any more of the old Reformism and Anarchism. They were killed by the war. To reshape capitalist society thru reformism—of that there can be no thought. Whoever speaks and thinks that way loses all significance for us.

The Communist International is strong because it is based on the lessons of the imperialist world slaughter. In every country the correctness of this stand is being born out thru the experience of millions of people, and the movement towards the Communist International is now a hundred-fold broader and deeper than hitherto. In the course of one year it has brought to maturity the complete collapse of the III International.

In the whole world there is not a single country so backward that all thinking workers in it have not entered the Communist International, have not adhered to it ideologically. Therein lies the full guarantee that the victory of the Communist International in the whole world will come after a not too long interval—that this victory is certain.

CURRENT FICTION.

(The Week's Best Smeller.)

"We tell every Jew to live according to the highest teachings of his rabbi. We encourage every Catholic to respond to the spiritual summons of his priest. We tell every Protestant to measure up as far as he can to the appeals of his pastor. We desire to strengthen in every young man the moral and spiritual forces within his reach."—William J. Parker, Secretary, Chicago Y. M. C. A.

On the Death of Lenin

Dear comrade of the lowly ones of earth,
Today, upon your bier, you passed me by
With cold face upward turned to a cold sky.
The gilded trappings could not cry your worth
So surely as the tears that came to birth
In grief-clenched hearts and sprang from every eye.
The comrades that you loved,—they bore you high
On straining breasts, to give you back to earth.

'Twas so you bore upon your grieving heart
The sorrows of the toiling multitude . . .
They mourn your loss, who glimpsed the rosy dawn
Of Freedom thru the gates you flung apart.
Now, rest you for a gentle interlude,—
The love you loosed on earth flows swiftly on.

BEATRICE CARLIN,
Moscow, Jan. 23, 1924.

The Rise of the Third International

By JAY LOVESTONE

IN ORDER to understand the historical significance of the Communist International, it is necessary to know the background of its development.

When the war came the Second International with its powerful national organizations collapsed. Except for the Italian and Russian parties, the leading national units of the Second International fell an easy prey to the capitalist imperialists.

For some time there was no sign of the Second International ever having existed, except for the occasional effort of the Belgian, Huysman, secretary of the bureau.

Then came the unofficial Zimmerwald conference in Switzerland. This gathering was almost exclusively pacifist and not revolutionary. It was the first cry against the war that assumed international dimensions.

The Kienthal Conference.

As a result of this conference, there was called the Kienthal Congress, in April, 1916. Here the master hand of Lenin was plainly evident. One need but read the Kienthal manifesto to find the first invigorating breath of Bolshevism in the stifling atmosphere of imperialist world slaughter. Here we have proclaimed the solidarity of the proletariat, a scathing denunciation of the great betrayal of the social-democrats and a rousing call for united working class action for peace and socialism. "The conquest of political power and the ownership of capital by the people themselves; the real durable peace that will be the fruit of triumphant socialism"—these were the essence of the proposals of the Kienthalists.

But the revolutionary and pacifist forces were still closely interlaced. Then came the first decisive battle of the mighty Russian Revolution, the overthrow of the Czarist regime in March, 1917. The collapse of the Czarist Government had an immeasurably wholesome effect on the international movement of the working class. Millions of working men in Russia and elsewhere were now advocating the peace program of the Kienthal Conference. The Second International itself thru its Bureau, was again making an attempt to hold a conference, but the French Socialists of the stripe of Thomas and Mr. Vandervelde of Belgium

succeeded in preventing such a gathering.

The Stockholm Call.

The Russian Revolution, however, was not taking notice of these Thomases and Vanderveldes. On May 9, 1917, the Petrograd Soviets issued a call for the convening of all socialist parties at Stockholm on July 8. A rift in the war clouds was noticed by the imperialist clique strangling the various suffering countries. Forthwith, the capitalist governments began to rush socialist jingoes to Russia to convince the masses of the war-stricken countries to remain in the war and discontinue their agitation for world peace.

Thru the interference of such social patriots as Renaudel in France and Thorne in England, the Stockholm Conference fizzled out. The imperialist governments of England and France, with the able assistance of these renegades, prevented holding of this convention. On Sept. 12, 1917, the Zimmerwald Commission met and decided that a new International was necessary. Soon the Bolshevik Revolution came and all this delay in the international organization of the proletariat was ended. The Russian Communists having conquered the state power of Russia immediately issued a call for the holding of an international congress of the revolutionary workers of the world on March 2-5, 1919.

The Third International.

At the first congress of the newly organized, the Third Communist International, there were gathered mainly the Bolshevik Party of Rus-

sia and the small communist groups of the nearby countries. One month before, Feb. 3, the Berne Conference of the Second International was held with all but the Italian and Russian Parties participating.

The differences between the two Congresses and Internationals at this early, formative period of working class reorganization after the war foretold the fate of the two bodies. At the Congress of the Third International there were gathered the revolutionary workers; at the Berne conclave the revolutionists were banned. Now that the war was over, the Berne social-patriots wanted peace and unequivocally declared themselves against proletarian revolution. On the other hand, the Communist International emphatically declared and pledged itself for the inclusion within its ranks only of revolutionary workers, and the substitution of relentless class war for the national imperialist capitalist wars.

Within one year the Second International became a "decrepit relic." All the parties, except the British Labor Party and the German Social Democrats, deserted it. The German Independents, the French Socialist Party and the Independent Labor Party of England detached themselves from this corpse. Then came the winning over of a large proportion of the masses of these centrist bodies by the Communist International. The desperate attempts of the Centrist leaders to hold their followers by an effort to maintain an International

of their own, the Two-and-a-Half International, failed. The subsequent attempts to reunite all the social-patriotic groups into one international against the Communist world party of revolutionary workers and to galvanize the dead Second International into life once more have not succeeded. The Hamburg Congress of the Second International was more a gathering of the ghosts of the old association than of living groups in struggle against the capitalist class.

Significance of Communist International.

Today the Communist International is the mightiest political organization that the world has ever seen, the Third International counting its millions of adherents in practically every country on earth is based on the international mass action of the working class.

The Communist International, unlike the group still adhering to what is left of the Second International, bases its tactics on the fundamental recognition that capitalism has reached and is today in its final stage, the imperialist stage.

The tactics of the Communist International in the united front, the struggle of the Communists to organize the oppressed colonial peoples for a war against their capitalist imperialist oppressors, the insistent demand of the Communists International that the workers must unite with the expropriated, dispossessed farmers against the big capitalists dominating the gigantic basic industries of the country, the organization of the proletarian dictatorship thru the Soviet State—these are but a few of the outstanding features of the Communist International's tactics arising from its fundamental recognition of the imperialist stage of capitalism under which the workers of the world find themselves today.

It is these tactics that strike terror into the hearts of the imperialists. It is just these revolutionary tactics that have established the historical significance of the Communist International—its role of undisputed leadership of the exploited working and farming masses of every country struggling against capitalist oppression and for the organization of the Communist Society.

Sentiments on Fifth Anniversary

By ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN
Secretary, Jewish Section, Workers Party

(By telegraph) New York City, March 4, 1924.
PRIDE, happiness and unbounded determination to fight for the final liberation of the working class—these are the sentiments of every Communist on the Fifth Anniversary of the Communist International. On this day, the Workers Party takes an honorable position in the proletarian family of International Communism. With intensified devotion and redoubled energy, we shall continue our activities until the working class of America has been won over to the ideas and principles represented by the Communist International.

Stalin Discusses Tasks of Russian Communists

NOTE:—Today the DAILY WORKER begins the publication of the speech of Stalin, one of the most prominent of the Russian Communists, on the big problems now confronting the Russian Communist Party. This address was made before a selected audience of Russian party workers. There will be another installment tomorrow.

WHAT STALIN SAID:

COMRADES, I must above all emphasize that I speak here on my own behalf, and not in the name of the Central of the Party. If the meeting decides to hear my address, I am at its service. (Please go on!)

This does not mean that I differ in opinion in any way to the Central in this question—not at all. I speak here in my own name solely for the reason that within the next few days the commission appointed by the Central to work out measures for the improvement of the inner political situation will be submitting its results to the Central.

These results have not yet been laid before us, and thus I have not yet a formal right to appear in the name of the Central, although I am fully convinced that that which I am about to say, will be at the same time essentially the expression of the attitude adopted by the Central in this question.

Discussion—A Good Sign.

The first question which I should like to raise here is the question of the meaning of the discussion being carried on at present in the press and in the nuclei.

What is this discussion about, and what does it signify?

Is it not a tempest which has broken into the peaceful life of the Party; is this discussion not a sign, as some say, of the disintegration and decay of the Party, or, as others say, a sign of degeneration of the Party?

I believe, comrades, that neither the one nor the other is true, there is neither a degeneration nor a disintegration. The fact is that the Party has grown of late, that it has unburdened itself of a considerable amount of ballast, that it has become more proletarian.

You are aware that two years ago we had no fewer than 700,000 Party members. You are aware that several hundreds of thousands of one-time Party members have left the Party or have been expelled.

The Party has further improved in its component parts, and has attained a higher qualitative level during this period as a result of the improvement in the material situation of the workers, of the uplift of industry, of the return of the old qualified workers from the country, and of the fresh wave of cultural uplift among the industrial workers.

In one word: all these conditions have tended to the growth of the Party, to its qualitative progress. Its requirements have become greater, its demands are higher, it wants to know more than it used to, and it wants to decide more than it has hitherto decided.

The discussion which has arisen is no sign of weakness in the Party, and much less of degeneration; it is rather a sign of strength, a sign of power, a sign of the improvement of the elements composing the Party, a sign of its increased activity.

Causes of the Discussion.

The second question with which we have to deal is the question of why precisely this moment, the autumn of this year, has happened to be the period in which the question of inner Party policy has assumed so acute a character? How is this to be explained? What are the causes?

I assume, comrades, that there are two causes at the bottom of it.

The first cause is the wave of ferment and strikes, in connection with working wages, which passed over some districts of our republic in August of this year. This strike wave showed that our organizations are faulty, that some of our organizations—Party and state organizations—possess inadequate contact with the events going on in the works and factories, and it also showed that some illegal organizations have been existing within the Party, anti-communistic in their essential character, and striving to divide the Party.

All these deficiencies thus brought to light by the strike wave have

thrown such a bright light into the eyes of the Party, have flooded it with such a blaze of sobering illumination, that it recognized the necessity of inner changes in the Party.

The second cause rendering the question of the inner Party policy so acute at precisely this moment, has been the extensive leave of absence permitted by our Party comrades. We can well comprehend their doing this, but the mass character of the leave taken, had the effect that the pulse of Party life was considerably weakened just at the moment when fermentation began to be apparent in the workshops and factories, so that the manifestation of the defects which had arisen was greatly facilitated at this period, the autumn of this year.

bership of the Party is necessary, it is not needful for an election actually to take place.

The Party has laid down the rule that the masses in the country must be kept informed of the work done by the economic organs, by the undertakings and trusts, for our Party nuclei are naturally morally responsible to the non-partisan masses for deficiencies in the works and factories. Nevertheless, the Party administrators have been of the opinion that since we have a Central, and this gives instructions to the economic organs, and the economic organs are further bound by these instructions, that the instructions thus passed on shall be also carried out without the control of the Party masses from below.

The Party has laid down the rule

the economists for the Party workers, so that alienation and lack of contact is inevitable among the different categories.

This is, in general, the character of the contradictions existing between lines laid down by the Party and their actual execution.

It is far from my intention to accuse the local organizations of being to blame for this deviation from Party lines, for, when the matter is regarded in its true light, it is not a case of anyone being to blame, it is rather a natural evil arising from our organizations in the provinces. The root of this evil, and the remedy for it, I shall refer to later.

I wish first to establish this fact, in order that the contradictions may be explained, and shall then attempt to propose measures for removing the evil.

And it is equally far from my intention to regard our Central as entirely blameless, for it has its small sins, like any other organization or institution, sins composed partly of faults and partly of natural evil. Some blame is deserved, if only for the fact that the Central, for some reason or another, did not observe the growing inadequacies and take timely measures for their removal.

But this is not the question at the moment; what is of importance at present is to get at the causes of the inadequacies of which I have just spoken.

(To Be Continued Thursday)

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WORLD'S YOUTH AND THE INTERNATIONAL

By MARTIN ABERN

Secretary, Young Workers League

THE Communist International has captured the minds and bodies of the exploited young workers of the world. The Comintern is the "friendly word" that unites the toilers of the earth against capitalism. The ranks of the youth, the Young Communist International, are unbroken in defense of the World Communist Party.

The young workers, the revolutionary youth, were the first to raise a cry and demonstrate against the imperialist war. The revolutionary youth, meeting at Berne, Switzerland, in 1915, revived the drooping class spirit of the workers, benumbed by the betrayal of Social-Democracy, by raising the battle-cry of "War Against Capitalist War!" It was the red youth who were in the forefront in aiding to build the revolutionary international, the Communist International.

The American Red Youth, the Young Workers League of America, greets the Fifth Anniversary of the Communist International. By organizing and educating the exploited American youth for and in the struggle against American capitalism, we will best carry on our work in the spirit of the Comintern.

Defects of Inner Party Life.

What are the faults and failings of our inner Party life? Is it that the line taken by the Party has been wrong, as some comrades think, or is it that the line was right in itself, but has been departed from in actual practice, and has been adjusted in accordance with certain subjective conditions?

I believe that the essential defect of our inner Party life consists precisely of the fact that the line of the Party has been right as expressed in the resolutions passed by its congresses, the actual practice in the provinces (not everywhere, of course, but in some districts) has been wrong.

Altho the proletarian democratic line held to by our Party has been correct, its execution in the provinces has created facts and experiences which are a bureaucratic distortion of this line.

This is the essential defect. The existence of contradictions between the fundamental lines laid down by the Party, as established at the X, XI and XII Congresses, and the actual practice of our organizations when endeavoring to act on these lines in the provinces. This is the substance of all the inadequacies evinced by our inner Party life.

The Party had laid down the rule that the most important questions of our Party work, naturally with the exception of urgent matters, or of affairs involving military or diplomatic secrets, have to be brought up for debate at the Party meetings. This is absolutely demanded by the Party. But in the provinces it has been the practice, tho, of course, not everywhere, to consider that there was no particular reason why a number of questions of inner Party practice should be dealt with at the Party meetings, as the Central and other leading organizations decided these questions themselves.

The Party has laid down the rule that the official persons of our Party have to be elected, and that this rule has to be unconditionally followed unless the nature of the Party membership, etc., offers some insuperable obstacle.

You know that according to the statutes of the Party, a secretary of the governments Party organization has to have been a member of the Party before the October Revolution, a secretary of the district organization has to have been a member for three years, a secretary of a nucleus one year. In actual practice the Party has not seldom decided that where a lengthy mem-

that the responsible functionaries of the various groups of work, whether Party workers, economists, trade unionists, military, are despite all specialization arising from their inseparable components of a whole, for they are one and all working for the cause of the proletariat, and this cause is an inseparable whole.

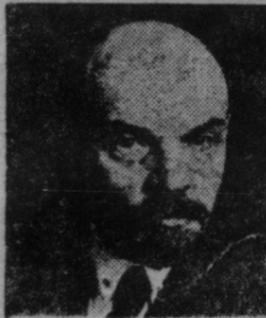
The actual practice of the Party has been such that where there has been a specialization in work, a division of work into that of the actual party workers, economists, military, etc., then the Party workers are not responsible for the economists nor

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 Ludwig Lore, Thursday, Mar. 6
History of the American Trade Union Movement,
 Solon de Leon, Wednesday, Mar. 5
 Marxism Herman Simpson
Literature ("Don Juan," "Up Stream," by Ludwig
 Lewisohn), E. B. Jacobson, Friday, Mar. 7

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