

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

Special Magazine Supplement THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION

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Unemployment in the United States

Statement adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party.

UNEMPLOYMENT is a constant scourge of the workers under capitalism. It is ever present in some degree, except in those periods when rival groups of imperialists whet the workers to murdering each other and when production of war materials temporarily absorbs the full labor forces; in "normal times" it is the so-called industrial reserve army, while in times of acute crisis, unemployment throws millions of workers upon the streets takes on a mass character it but brings into bold relief the inherent problems that face the working class at all times.

Mass unemployment, however, does present its own distinctive problems in the character of the immediate struggle of the workers, particularly of those directly involved. It, therefore, becomes of vital importance for our Party to have exact knowledge of the growth and extent of unemployment, its sectional and industrial variations, its tempo of development, and to prepare definite lines of action for the workers in their struggle against its devastating effects.

Immediate Cause of Present Unemployment.

The capitalist system of the world has, since 1919 and up to the latter part of 1923, presented a spectacle of constantly declining production and growing unemployment. It is in the throes of the most profound crisis of history. Many millions of workers are deprived of all chance to make a living, and those who work have their wages constantly driven down. The United States is an integral part of world capitalism, and it is impossible that it should escape participation in this crisis.

In 1921, when the first big drop in exports to Europe from the United States occurred as a result of Europe's bankruptcy, there were 5 to 6 millions of workers thrown out of employment in the resulting depression. But in spite of the fact that in 1922 and 1923, exports declined still more, yet American capitalism was able temporarily to recover itself, increase production to new high levels, and generally to restore "normalcy."

The principal factor in this temporary recovery, in the face of lost export markets was an unexampled domestic market, created by great capital expenditures, chiefly in the tremendous boom in the building industry, great replacements and extensions on the railroad systems of the country, and also in the unheard-of expansion of the automobile and oil industries. More than ten months ago, however, Roger Babson was pointing out what the Communists knew, that "Many of the men now getting an increase in wages will be out of work before 1924 is ended."

The domestic markets could not continue indefinitely to absorb the high production of American industries under the limitations of capitalism. The turning point came in May, 1923, and industry has been on the down-grade since that time with a growing accompaniment of unemployment. This downward tendency will, in the not distant future, develop again the phenomena of mass unemployment in the United States.

Present Extent and Rate of Unemployment.

We are certain that unemployment on a mass scale will face the working class in the near future. That does not mean that we can say positively that it will be in the summer of 1924, or the winter of 1924-25 or even that it may not be held off until the summer of 1925. The tendency is fixed by broad underlying factors which do not admit of unemployment being prevented, but

the tempo of development is subject to variation by many minor factors.

Thus at the present moment there has been a distinct check in the downward trend, with many factors in the industrial situation registering an appreciable improvement. As an example of the facts that substantiate this observation may be cited the record of car-loading for the week ending March 1st, which exceeded by a wide margin the loading record for any week in January, February or March in history.

So eminent an economist as Eugene Varga has said, in his review of the economic situation of the world for 1923: "Production and the whole economic life of the United States and Canada continue on a fairly good level, without so far showing any clear signs of an approaching crisis. We do not wish to say that this crisis will not soon arise. In accordance with the general experience of capitalist production this should be the case in the not distant future, but so far as we

ber of employed 2,835 during the year in the centers covered by the report or a little over 1 per cent while the operations of the industry, by volume of production, decreased in percentage of capacity from 74 to 63 in the same period, indicating much partial employment.

Bituminous coal production fell (comparative figures based on the 1913 index) from a peak production during the year of 126, and a yearly average of 114, to but 101 in December, 1923. The building industry estimates a 10 per cent to 15 per cent reduction in operations for 1924. Railroad construction and replacements, optimistically estimated some months ago at two billions of dollars for 1924, has not materialized and will doubtless not be realized in anything like that sum. The railroads have reduced their operating forces by 175,000 during the latter part of 1923 and since. The trend toward unemployment has been accentuated by the hundreds of thousands of farmers driven from the land and into the cities by the agricultural crisis. These are but

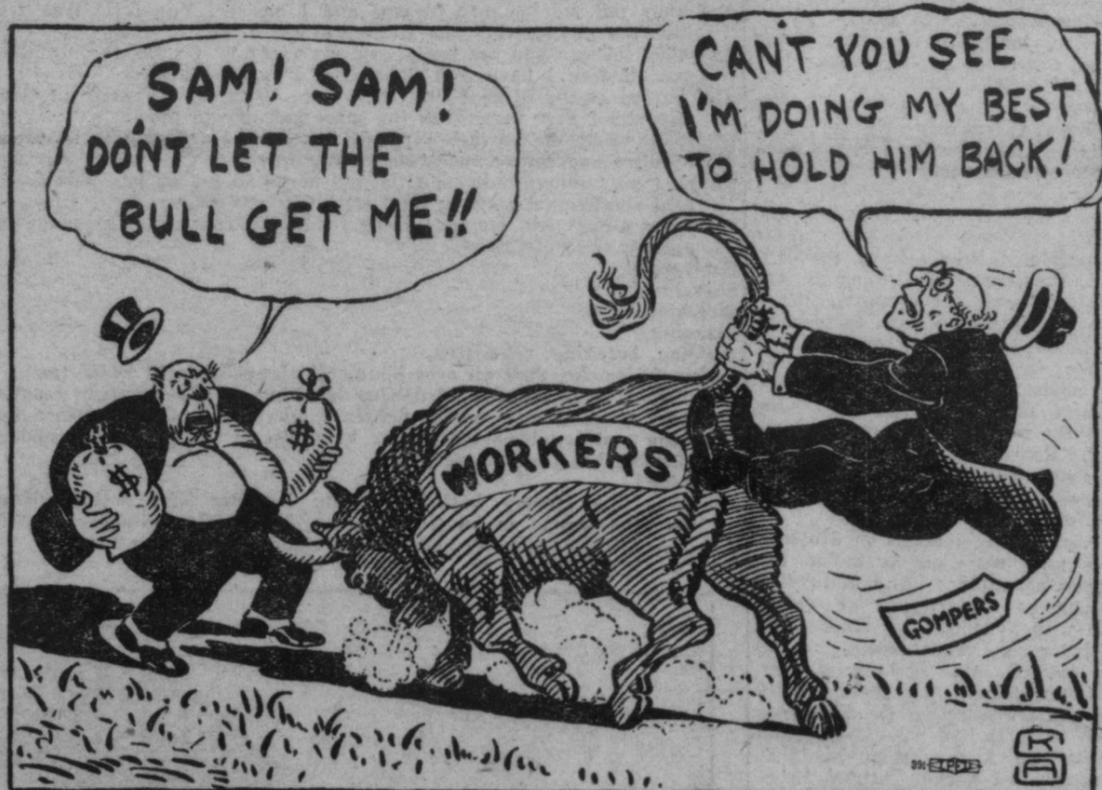
capital which are shifting the center of gravity of the industry toward the new fields, and thereby displacing labor and creating unemployment.

These industrial and sectional problems of unemployment require special programs of action for the workers in the respective fields, coordinated and included in the general struggle, adjusting to local conditions the fight against imminent impoverishment and unemployment; they cannot alone, however, be made the basis of a general program to fight unemployment, which must be built upon the situation of the American working class as a whole. On this general situation at this time, we can say that unemployment is increasing and threatens to assume a mass character sometime between the summer of 1924 and spring of 1925, but it has not yet reached that stage.

Program for Fighting Unemployment.

The Workers Party shall take a leading part in the fight against unemployment in all its phases. The

HE'S DOING HIS BEST



But He Can't Hold on Much Longer.

can observe there are no objective visible signs at present."

In this judgment the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party agrees with Comrade Varga. The United States is not yet suffering from an acute industrial crisis. The situation has not fundamentally changed since Comrade Varga wrote his report. Unemployment has not developed a mass character in the United States.

The downward tendency of production and the growth of the number of unemployed is, however, distinctly marked and threatening. While it would lead to serious error to overestimate its immediate significance as a national problem, it is still a fact of the utmost importance in its implications for the future. Many facts are at hand to point this out.

For example, in the textile industry (See note on Textile Industry—last page) there is, according to the figure of the U. S. Bureau of Census, (report covering key centers of the industry), a decrease in the number of persons employed from December, 1922, a total of 264,752, to December, 1923, the number of 261,914, or a decrease in the num-

a few of the objective facts that point to the unquestionable growth of unemployment.

Along with this gradual trend in the general situation goes more violent displacements within certain industries and localities. Thus the coal industry is in the midst of a most difficult readjustment which is throwing large numbers out of employment in the entire industry, while in certain restricted fields the industry is flourishing. Coal mining was so expanded under the necessities of war, that it has a productive capacity 40 per cent above the needs of the domestic market in times of peace. Operators are taking advantage of this fact to shift production from union fields and high-cost mines, to non-union areas and low-cost pits.

This internal adjustment, involving the expulsion of 200,000 miners from the industry by force of starvation, creates a major crisis in the coal mining industry. The copper industry presents a somewhat similar situation, with an industry keyed up to war needs, now cut off from European markets, and with the added complication of new low-cost ore fields recently opened to exploitation with great expenditure of

following general considerations will guide our participation in such struggles:

Unemployment is an inevitable accompaniment of capitalism, and can only be abolished with the system that produces it. The struggle against unemployment must be calculated to enlighten the workers to this fact, without dampening the ardor of their struggle but rather intensifying it. To this end, practical sets of demands must be formulated and a program of action established, designed to weld all manifestations of protest against unemployment into a national movement; this must in turn be adjusted to each local and industrial situation in a practical manner.

The slogans and practical actions of the struggle will follow two general channels, the political and industrial; they will be directly against the government as the representatives of the capitalist system, and against the industry and individual employer as the immediate exploiter. These two aspects will often be intertwined and interchangeable, but for clearness are considered separately. They will

(Continued on page 8.)

How the Communists Keep Power In Russia

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG (Anise)

IF TROTZKY and Rykov, and Zinoviev and Kameneff, and the dozen chief men in government in Russia were to die tonight, blown up in some explosion in the Kremlin, the government of Russia would go on without a break. This is what the capitalist groups of earth do not realize, tho the workers of the world know it very well. There would be another great funeral in the Red Square, there would be a confusion of detail in many government offices where the organizing head was gone. But the successors to these men would step automatically into office, or be selected by the appropriate committees, there would not be even a new election needed. The form of government and all its major policies would be untouched.

The Communist Party.

The governing power in Russia lies in the Communist Party, of half a million men and women. They continue from year to year to govern one hundred and thirty million people. Longer than any government in the world they have held power. Cabinets and thrones all over Europe rise and fall, in our own United States we have the periodic shifting of parties, as accumulating discontent throws out the party that is "in," and gives a chance to the party that is "out," until it in its turn disillusiones the people, and is replaced by the ever-swinging pendulum of our two-party system.

The Communist Party of Russia, ruling by a one-party system, does not worry about accumulating discontent. It has grown stronger year by year. It expects to keep on growing stronger. It makes plans for five, ten, fifteen, twenty years ahead, expecting to hold government for an indefinite period. As far as observations over a thousand miles of Russian territory and continuing for two years indicate, it has a good chance of doing so.

How does it keep control? The answer is not to be found in the annual elections. Once each year the people of Russia have, theoretically, the chance of electing an entirely different government. Ever from week to week any factory of five hundred workers may recall and replace its representative in the city soviet, the only body to which it elects directly. Practically, however, the results are known beforehand. Representatives change, delegates are recalled and replaced, but the control of the Communist Party goes on.

I visited two elections in Moscow. They take place not by ballot, but in open assembly. Any factory or government department or enterprise with five hundred workers is entitled to one representative in the city council, the Moscow Soviet. Elections last for an entire week, each factory selecting the afternoon which suits it, holding its election meeting on factory time, so that practically all workers attend, hearing reports and choosing representatives.

How They Vote.

I went with the employees of the Foreign Office to see them vote. They had less than 500 employees, so they combined with the State Bank and a few little factories to choose their representatives. They gathered in a central hall: they sang the Internationale and heard reports. A man from the Communist Party made the first report, telling what last year's program had been and how far the government had fulfilled it; what next year's plans were, in city taxes and water supply and municipal repairs, as well as in national issues. His chief appeal lay in pointing out that everyone got more wages this year than last and had better food, more clothes, better living. "The rest of Europe is growing continually worse; Russia is growing rapidly better; vote for the Communist Party which has improved your conditions." Such was the theme of his speech.

The audience was obviously in control of the meeting. They determined how long he should speak, granting him at first twenty minutes and then extending the time. Disappointment swept the hall when no opposition candidates declared themselves. "How dull," said a

Communist sitting near me. "Can't they even give us a debate?"

The factories that had an opposition bragged about it. "We had the best election in town," said the Amo Auto Factory. "Three different candidates and lots of attacks on the government. A Social Revolutionary denounced the Communists for failing to keep their promises. 'Five years ago they promised you a new world,' he jeered. 'Now they offer you a better water-supply and a few more electric lights.' . . . There is interest in that kind of election." Yet here also the election was merely an interesting debate; nobody doubted that the Communists would be returned to power.

Is It By Terrorism?

Is it by terrorism that the Communists keep power in such elections? Certainly none was visible on the surface. The audience laughed and asked questions and made comments for and against the speaker. There was no sense of constraint, a good time was had by all. Half a million men do not terrorize one hundred and thirty million by mere openness of discussion unless some other more subtle form of control lies behind it. The Communist control goes farther back into industry and life and is more permanent than

any election day meeting.

It is a very remarkable organization—this Communist Party of Russia. Millions of votes are cast for it each year, but these voters do not rank as Party Members. Voting is incidental expression of approval; to be a Party Member is a life-long job. It is to be organized into a compact unit whose purpose takes precedence over every other interest. You are a Communist first and everything else afterwards. You are on call always, to go wherever you are sent in Russia.

It takes from six months to three years to join the Communist Party. You state in your application the kinds of work you are fit for. You go into regular classes to fit yourself; you attend discussions on economics and international relations and internal problems of Russia.

In the far north I met Rimpalle, organizing mica mines and feldspar quarries in an undeveloped region. Hiking ten to eighteen miles daily, wading thigh-deep in swamps, organizing unlettered peasant labor to develop little mines. At the summer's end he brought back from his prospecting one hundred thousand dollars worth of mica; he checked it up in a barn behind the statehouse in the little provincial capitol, and

then turned back three days northward to his job. He got for his summer's work "my food and one resoling of my boots." . . . I asked him if he were a Communist, and he smiled shyly and said: "A candidate." When Rimpalle has worked like that for a year or two, he will be admitted to the Party.

Sever Discipline.

All Communists go under severe discipline which enters into their pay envelope and the kinds of work they are allowed to do. They cannot make money by private trade or by exploiting the labor of another. If they get a wage higher than a certain sum, which was once almost nothing, but is now about fifty dollars a month, they must divide the surplus with the Party treasury, which maintains hospitals, day nurseries, sanitariums for the sick and dependents of the Party. If they get even as low as twenty dollars a month, they find it attacked by famine assessments and other emergencies, as well as by ordinary party dues. I know men and women who gave their wedding rings to the famine, because it was voted by the local branch of the party.

Thus the Party builds itself into one solid family, pooling its resources and uniting its forces. This organized force is always ready for action; it can be cast at a word into any part of Russia. When shock troops were needed to stiffen the battlefield, when men were needed to stem typhus epidemics, or to fight famine, or to increase production in some ruined factory or flooded mine—Communists were mobilized and sent to these jobs. The Communists talk always in terms of "fronts." First, there was the war on many fronts; then there was the "famine front"; then the "front of industry," and now the "front of education." This means that, lacking sufficient men for all the jobs of rebuilding Russia, they attack one after another the most important and crying needs, and throw their organized force for a time in that direction.

A girl of my acquaintance was "commissar" of a typhus hospital during the height of the Polish war. She told me how a thousand men were brought in and laid on the floor in the commandeered high school building. They had no soap, no beds, no bedding, no change of underwear for sick, lousy men from the front. "But we mobilized beds and bedding and underwear," she said.

"How does one mobilize underwear?" I asked in curiosity.

"It was a town of sixty thousand souls," she answered. "We sent word that every family should give us one suit of underwear. Of course we could not compel them; we had no authority; it was a voluntary tax. Except for the Communist; Communists are not permitted to refuse. We Communists are making the Revolution; we must give whatever is demanded."

How Graft is Punished.

Week by week the Communists of my acquaintance receive orders to go on certain evenings to teach reading and writing in factory night schools, or to give certain Sundays to community work. In return for this discipline, this giving up of all human rights, Communists get the job of ruling Russia. They are given trusted posts and job preference in high offices. They do not get as high pay as the experts and technical men employed under them, but they get more honor. The experts are supposed to be working for money; the Communists are supposed to be working for loyalty.

The temptations such men are exposed to can be easily imagined by anyone knowing the ancient habits of bribery in Russia, or even the ordinary desires of human nature. But the Party keeps close watch of its members. Their wages are known; their style of living is apparent. If a Communist is caught in crime against the Republic the penalty is more severe than for the ordinary man. Graft in office, which in others might be merely the bad habit of old Russia, is in him treason to the Revolution. High Communists have been shot for graft in office.

For lesser offenses he may be demoted, or transferred to some harder, less comfortable job in the provinces or even "cleaned out" of the Party. There was a great "clean-

(Continued on Page 8)

Chicago

By CARLS RG

Hog Butcher for the World,
Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat,
Player with Railroads and the Nation's Freight Handler;
Stormy, husky, brawling,
City of the Big Shoulders:

They tell me you are wicked and I believe them, for I have seen your painted women under the gas lamps luring the farm boys.

And they tell me you are crooked and I answer: Yes, it is true I have seen the gunman kill and go free to kill again.

And they tell me you are brutal and my reply is: On the faces of women and children I have seen the marks of wanton hunger.

And having answered so I turn once more to those who sneer at this my city and I give them back the sneer and say to them:

Come and show me another city with lifted head and singing so proud to be alive and coarse and strong and cunning.

Flinging magnetic curses amid the toll of piling job on job, here is a tall bold slugger set vivid against the little soft cities;

Strong as a dog with tongue lapping for action, cunning as a savage pitted against the wilderness,

Bareheaded,
Shoveling,

Wrecking,
Planning,

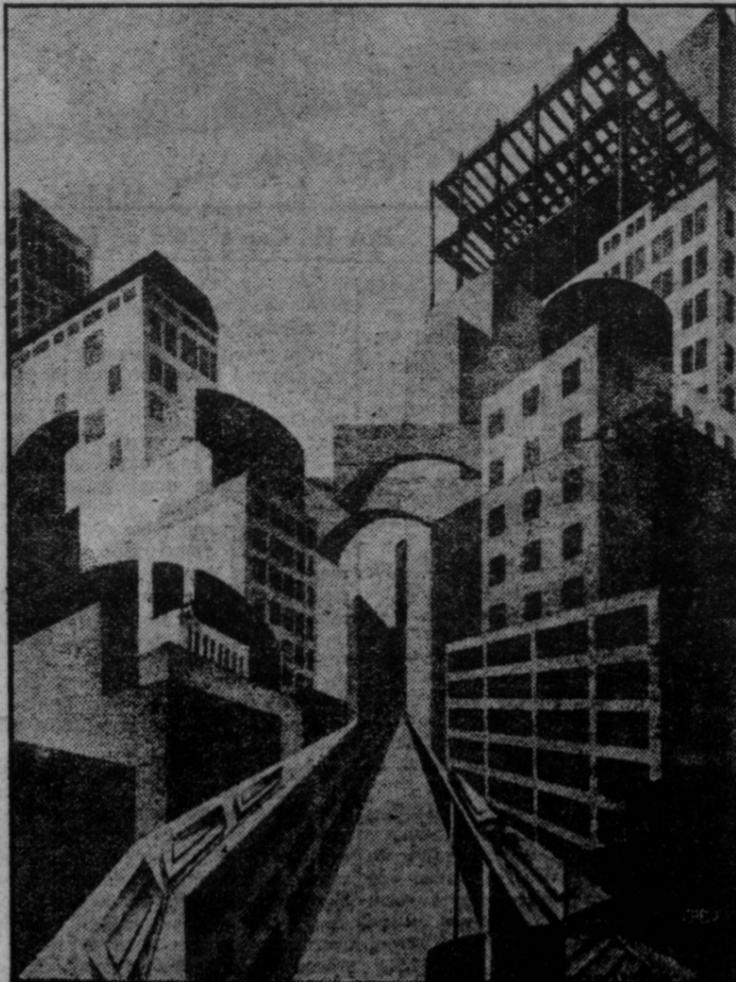
Building, breaking, rebuilding,
Under the smoke, dust all over his mouth, laughing with white teeth,

Under the terrible burden of destiny laughing as a young man laughs,
Laughing even as an ignorant fighter laughs who has never lost a battle,

Bragging and laughing that under his wrist is the pulse, and under his ribs the heart of the people,

Laughing!

Laughing the stormy husky, brawling laughter of Youth, half-naked, sweating, proud to be Hog Butcher, Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat,
Player with Railroads and Freight Handler to the Nation.



ECONOMIC FORCES DISMEMBERING THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By SCOTT NEARING
(Federated Press Staff Writer)

Economic forces are at work that are destined in the not distant future to dismember the British empire.

Superficially these forces appear to be the mad scramble for fuel oil; in the smothering burden of unemployment; in the huge debt of seven billion pounds sterling (one pound is \$4.22 present exchange) carried by the Mother Country; in the heavy taxes that must be paid in spite of the trade depression. But underlying these threats, and overtopping them in importance, is the economic development that has taken place during the past decade in Canada, Australia, India and South Africa.

British imperial policy has been built on the theory that raw materials produced in the dominions and colonies would go to the British isle duty free; would be fabricated in British industrial establishments, and would then go back, in the form of finished goods to the colonies and dominions from which the raw material had been secured. Thus the cotton of India, the wool of Australia and the hides of South Africa would travel half around the world to be manufactured and would then find their way back half around the world again, in the form of calico, worsteds and shoes.

Under this plan British ship owners would secure a profit both on the outgoing and on the return voyage, British jobbers would take their toll on both the raw and the finished product; British manufacturers would add a "reasonable return" on capital; British insurance would "carry the risk," and British bankers would "advance the credit."

This was all very well at the outset, while the dominions were economically under-developed. The richness of the newly tapped resources, a little extra effort on the part of colonial workers and the absence of any large parasitic class in the now countries made up the difference between the amounts received for raw material shipped to the Mother Country and the amount paid for the finished products sent back in British ships.

But the colonies and dominions gradually matured economically—that is, they developed facilities for converting raw materials into finished products right on the spot where the raw materials were produced. Thus they saved the cost of shipping them half way round the world and back again.

Bankers Dig Own Grave.

In this work they were greatly assisted by British bankers, who, all unwittingly, were busy cutting their own throats.

British bankers took the money which British manufacturers and traders had made out of the manufacture and transport of colonial raw materials and invested it in the colonies—first in the production of raw materials (mining and lumbering); then in public utilities (railroads and electric light plants), and finally in manufacturing establishments that competed directly with similar plants in Britain.

When the war broke out almost half of all the British overseas investments was placed in Canada, India, South Africa and Australia. This policy of developing colonial industry was destined, in the long run, to destroy the colonial market for British goods and thus overthrow the

For information concerning the Young Workers League of America, address Y. W. L., 1009 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.

economic system which was making the investments.

The war created such an immense home demand for steel, chemical, textile, leather and other products that the British manufacturers were temporarily unable to supply the colonial markets. Indeed, the demand became so great that the colonies and dominions found a market in Great Britain for the steel, chemical, textile, leather and other manufactured products which they were able to produce.

Thus overnight, the tables were turned and colonial manufacturers were called upon, not only to supply the home market, but to supply the

market of the Mother Country as well. The process is well illustrated in the experience of Canada.

Example of Canada.

The manufacturing industries of Canada were carried on in 21,306 establishments in 1915. Two years later, the number of establishments had jumped to 24,392, and in 1919 it stood at 33,344, or nearly double the number for 1915.

During these four years the amount of capital invested in manufacturing increased from \$1,994,000,000 to \$3,230,000,000 and the value of the product from \$1,407,000,000 to \$3,520,000,000. Those increases are accounted for, in part, by the increase in prices, but the

number of workers engaged in the manufacturing industries rose, during the same four years from 497,190 to 682,434. Here is evidently a growing volume of manufacturing, which may be disposed of thru home sales or thru exports.

There are no figures available giving the changes in home consumption, but the export figures are contained in the Canadian Year Book. Two or three illustrations will serve to establish their relation to British production.

Canada exported 365,081 yards of cotton fabrics in 1914. In 1917 the figure stood at 846,099 yards. The value of woollen manufactures exported in 1914 was \$81,555, and in 1917 \$725,148. In this connection it is worth noting that the exports of Canadian woolsens to Great Britain in 1914 was \$26,542; in 1915, \$113,629, and in 1917, \$294,886, or nearly 12 times the value of 1914.

The same thing holds true of the iron and steel industry. The value of exports in 1914 was \$2,809,000, of which \$441,000 went to Great Britain. By 1917, Canada was exporting \$41,840,000 in steel and iron, of which \$22,900,000 went to Great Britain.

Here was an immense productive machine, built to supply war demand, and producing those very textile and steel products which made up the bulk of the British manufacturing enterprise.

Australia, India, South Africa.

The same thing that happened in Canada happened in Australia, and for the same reasons. Like Canada, Australia had a rich local market, largely supplied by British goods. When this supply was curtailed, the Australians began making their own textiles and shoes.

The Australian Year Book reports 3,090 employes in woolen, cotton and tweed mills in 1913, turning out a product valued at 926,000 pounds. By 1919 the number of workers had increased to 4,087 with a product valued at 2,330,000 pounds. The number of boot and shoe workers was 13,436 in 1913 and 15,960 in 1919. During the same years the value of the product rose from 4,000,000 to 7,100,000 pounds.

Similar facts might be cited from India and from South Africa.

Beginning under the pressure of war necessity, these colonial and dominion industries taught the local populations:

- That it "makes work" and "circulates money".
- That the cost of domestic manufactures is equal to the cost of imported manufactures minus transportation, insurance, jobbing, and banking charges.
- That domestic industry keeps manufacturing profits at home where they are reinvested.
- That the local groups thus created have a vested interest in home industry which provides the basis for a local industrial society.

This is the new-old lesson of economic independence—the lesson that Carthage learned from Tyre; that the English colonies in America learned from this same Great Britain and that the present British colonies and dominions are now learning. When the lesson is thoroughly assimilated, the British empire of 1924 will have lost some of its most important economic units.

JOIN THE JUNIOR SECTION

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SCHOOLGIRL BOLSHEVIKS.

By STELLA JACKSON (Age 12)

"Oh, my," said Pippin, for the fiftieth time that evening, "What a dense, stupid, thick-headed lot they are." She was curled up on a sofa, gazing at a copy of THE YOUNG COMRADE, but thinking of her school mates. When she arrived at school, the day before, she had been greeted quite enthusiastically, but when Pamela Ford saw her read THE YOUNG COMRADE she had stood transfixed with amazement, her eyes like saucers. The others gathered round to stare in their turn. Pippin looked up, stared also, saw that her eyes were fixed on the paper and said, "Want to read it, any of you?"

"Are You a Bolsheviki?"

"Are—are you—a—a Bolsheviki?" asked Trix, the monitor of the class, incredulously.

"Yes, ra-ther!" replied Pippin, with a laugh.

"Philippa Moore! Well!" exclaimed the monitor and half the girls rushed outside to spread the news and talk it over in horrified whispers. The other half stayed and told Pippin what they thought of her. She was a silly dunce; she was mad; she couldn't help it, it was her parents' fault; she was a wicked person; she had bats in her belfry; these were some of the opinions. When they had been given the girls turned and marched away. Since then Pippin had practically been sent to a school for bad girls, by her teachers. The girl whose room she had been sharing in the school had packed up and gone away. So there she was—on the sofa. Suddenly a timid sort of a knock came on the door; it opened, and a girl's face peeped in. When she saw Pippin she gave a merry smile and came in, shutting the door behind her.

"I'm so glad you've come to this school," she said. "I'm a young Bolsheviki, too!"

"What!" gasped Pippin. "Well, I don't suppose this stuck-up lot of idiots will stand for more than one."

"Won't they?" chuckled her visitor. "I've converted three already; and each of them has converted one—that makes seven—no, eight of us. How old are you? Have you a nickname? What shall we do next?"

A Meeting Is Called.

"I'm thirteen. They call me Pippin at home. Shall we call a meeting?"

"Yes, do lets—I know! One of

our band, Sylvia Green, shall make a speech protesting against the meanness of sending us Bolsheviki girls to the 'Bad girl schools' without any cause. Then you can answer questions at this meeting. If you have some more copies of THE YOUNG COMRADE we can distribute them."

"Yes, I've plenty."

"That's good."

Next morning a neatly written notice appeared on the school bulletin board, reading: "A meeting will be held in the school playground immediately after lunch. You'll discover the subject when you get there."

"They say 'curiosity killed the cat,' but this is a case of 'curiosity will fill the playground with students,'" laughed Yetta (Pippin's visitor) as she and Sylvia watched them pouring in.

Sylvia's speech was very successful; she told the students that the reason why they wanted to send the girls away from the school was because they were fighting for the workers. The capitalist newspapers, because they were afraid of the Bolsheviki, said that they were bloodthirsty, wicked, horrible people.

Then Pippin, in answer to the question, "What are the Bolsheviki?" said: "Bolsheviki is the name given to the great party which now rules Russia. The word Bolsheviki really means 'majority.' In order to free themselves from the tyrannical reign of the Czars, the Russian workers and peasants rose in revolt and there was a revolution. Now, there are no rich, there is no tyranny. Furthermore, the children of Russia today do not have to slave away in the mines, mills and factories like they do in this country in many cases. The children of Russia have their own organization called 'The Young Pioneers' and they play, study and work for the good of the workers' government and the working class."

Pippin sat down amid a storm of cheers.

The Group Functions.

Yetta then produced a sheet of paper, pen and ink, and said: "Will those of you who agree with us now, sign their names here?"

Nearly everybody signed, and those who did not were laughed at. And that is how the little band of schoolgirl bolsheviki grew to be a Junior Group of the Young Workers League, functioning right in the school.

UNCLE WIGGLY'S TRICKS



A LAUGH FOR THE CHILDREN

John Campbell

The Development of the Teapot Dome Campaign

Statement of the Daugherty investigation adopted by the Central Executive Committee Workers Party.

THE investigation of Daugherty and the Department of Justice growing out of the Teapot Dome situation affords the Party a splendid opportunity to draw the whole labor movement into a big political campaign.

There is no man more hated in the whole labor movement, there is no other individual in the whole government bureaucracy against whom an attack can be centered as effectively by the entire labor movement, regardless of differences of political opinion that may prevail amongst the workers, than Attorney General Daugherty.

The Wheeler investigation of the Department of Justice has only begun. It has already proceeded far enough to show that the disclosures in this instance will be at least as significant in its effect on the political situation as the Teapot exposure has been to date.

The Wheeler investigation affords the Party an opportunity to draw the organized labor movement into the role of being the most active and dangerous opponent of Daugherty.

Towards this end we propose the following policy of the Party.

1. The Party must do everything possible to have the Wheeler committee investigate and make public the high handed deeds of the Department of Justice and the Burns Agency in the last national strike of

railway shopmen and in other struggles of the workers.

2. The Party members should immediately secure the adoption of resolutions in such labor bodies as Minneapolis, Detroit, Buffalo and Chicago Federations of Labor calling upon Senators Wheeler and Brookhart to investigate the conduct of the Department of Justice and the Burns Agency in the last big strike.

3. These central bodies should ask the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor to insist on being heard on the experiences of its membership with the agents of the Department of Justice and the Burns detectives while on strike.

4. That the Party call upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to demand that it be given a chance to divulge all the information in its possession about the criminal activities of the Department of Justice and the manipulations of Burns and Daugherty against organized labor, particularly insofar as its right to strike and organize have been flagrantly violated by these department and bureau heads.

5. That our members in all local labor unions shall secure the adoption of resolutions calling upon the executive council of the A. F. of L. to accept the above policy and calling upon the Wheeler committee to go to the bottom of the record of the Department of Justice and its bureau of investigation in strikes, in disputes between the employers

and the workers, and in its general activities against working men trying to organize.

6. That the Party take steps to have such bodies as the Civil Liberties Union demand a thoro investigation of the forces behind illegal conduct of the Department of Justice and its raid on the Bridgeman convention and the Trade Union Educational League office in 1922.

7. That mass meetings be arranged by the Party in co-operation with labor unions, farmers' organizations, farmer-labor parties and general organizations of labor on the Daugherty investigations.

8. Tho the Party will undoubtedly be the dynamic force in this movement which must be part of our general Teapot Dome campaign, it would be best to arrange these meetings in accordance with the above policy along the widest possible basis of the united front.

9. That the DAILY WORKER concentrate its greatest attack on Daugherty and Burns from the labor angle. This is especially necessary since Wheeler and his committee are planning to keep the working class angle as much as possible in the background.

10. That the Young Workers League get into the Teapot campaign by making this issue its next major campaign organizationally and in the press.

11. That the National Defense Council map out a program of action whereby it can be linked up with the campaign against Daugherty and Burns.

Conclusion.

One of the main weaknesses of the Party's campaigns to date has been the fact that we have not thrown out sufficient slogans to appeal to all workers, regardless of their differences of opinions, to struggle against the employing class.

The great interest aroused in governmental affairs by the Teapot Dome investigation and the special opportunity afforded us thru the Wheeler investigation to intensify this great interest amongst the laboring masses by giving our appeal a strong labor color enables us to throw fundamental slogans of the following nature which tend to unite the workers as a class against the capitalists as a class and hence against the government as their agency:

(a) Down with the use of government force in strikes and labor disputes.

(b) Down with government by injunction.

(c) Down with the employers' private armies of detectives and gunmen.

(d) Down with all interference with the right to strike and organize.

(e) Out with Daugherty and Burns. Punish them by imprisonment for their high handed violations of the above-mentioned elementary rights of the workers as prescribed even by present laws.

(f) Let us organize and get together politically to make impossible the rule of other Dughertys and Burnses. This is the Farmer-Labor political slogan in effect.

The Party of Lenin

By H. GERISH

SINCE the existence of the Soviet government the capitalist, as well as the so-called "socialist" press, has tried to impress upon the minds of the workers of the world that the Communists in Russia are maintaining power only because of the "bloodthirsty Cheka." The proletariat of Russia more than once proved their loyalty to the Soviet government and the Communist Party. The more the capitalist press and the heroes of the Second International raved about "persecution of workers," "jailing of socialists," "suppression of democracy," etc., the more did the workers rally to the support of the Communist Party. For the proletariat of Russia realize that it is due to the leadership of the Communist Party that they were able to come out victorious in the battles against all white guard generals, who enjoyed moral and financial support of the world bourgeoisie and its lackeys of the Second International. The laboring masses of Russia know that it is due to the leadership of the Communist Party, that the Soviet government was able, in 1921, so successfully to liquidate the famine.

Toiling Russia Supports Communists.

The least sign of danger always served as a signal for the whole of toiling Russia to rally under the banner of the Communist Party. Those who were fortunate enough to be in Moscow last summer and witness the great demonstrations of the workers in reply to the Curzon ultimatum will not fail to appreciate the fact that the Soviet government and the Communist Party enjoy the full confidence and support of the whole laboring population.

The mere publication of the Curzon note was sufficient for the workers and peasants of Russia. Without any agitation of any kind, the workers left their places of work and flocked into the streets in hundreds of thousands. Was there any agitation necessary? Not at all. For the workers and peasants of Russia know what war against the Soviet government means. The spontaneous demonstrations thruout the union proved the strength of the Soviet government and the Communist Party. It proved that while the workers and peasants of Russia do not want war they are, nevertheless, prepared to defend the victories of the revolution with the last drop of their blood. They demonstrated to those who were still in doubt, that a threat against

the Soviet government is a threat against them—the workers and peasants.

With the death of Lenin the Communist Party suffered its greatest loss. In every difficult situation the Party could always depend upon Lenin. He could always foresee in advance the difficulties that would face the Soviet government and the Party, and he was always able to adapt the tactics of the Party and the government to the given situation.

Party Membership Increases.

Now, Lenin is no more. The Party will have to carry on the difficult tasks ahead without the aid of his clear mind, and exceptional insight of its great leader and teacher. That the Party will succeed, in spite of all difficulties, there can be no doubt. Lenin has left us a strong, centralized and disciplined party which is supported by the whole of toiling Russia.

Do the workers of Russia realize these difficulties? The best answer is given by the workers themselves. Whole factories of workers thruout the country have sent in applications for joining the Party. Reports to date show that over 120,000 workers have applied for membership in the Party. In Moscow alone over 34,000 applications have been received. In Leningrad over 31,000 workers have applied for membership. And Moscow and Leningrad are no exceptions. From every nook and corner of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic reports are coming in that the workers are

flocking into the Party in thousands. The Russian proletariat is sending its best sons to fill, by their collective work, the vacancy left by Lenin.

It should be remembered that these applications for membership into the Party, come exclusively from workers from the bench.

In conformity with the decision of the Party conference, held in January, only this class of workers are at present accepted into the Party. In order to strengthen the proletarian kernel of the party, the conference resolved to draw into the Party 100,000 workers from the bench within the next year, for the same period closing the doors for all others.

100,000 Members In Six Weeks.

Only six weeks have passed since that conference, and not only must we not wait a whole year in order to add 100,000 workers to the Party, we are already far ahead of that goal.

One illustration will be sufficient to give the reader an idea of the present frame of mind of the Russian workers:

At a meeting of one of the factories in Moscow, at which applications from the workers of that factory were discussed, one of the applicants, an old man of about 58, who has been working at that factory for the last 25 years, was asked: How does he explain the fact that in all these years he did not join the Party, and now has finally decided to apply for membership. The old worker with a determined

look in the face replied: "I am an old man. I don't know very much about politics. I only know that my best years I have spent at this factory, and it's only since the October revolution that I felt that my work is worth while. I did not join the Party till now because I considered myself to be too old to be of much use. At the same time Ilyitch was alive. Now, Ilyitch is dead. It is the duty of every honest worker to join the Party of Ilyitch and continue his work."

The last words of the old worker were spoken with tears in his eyes. At the same meeting 56 workers handed in their applications for membership. After the meeting the secretary of the factory committee said: "If this number is not sufficient, we will give more. We will send to the Party the best among us."

Build the Party of Lenin.

These words are repeated in Moscow, as well as in Leningrad, Nizhni-Novgorod, Kharkov, Odessa, Kiev, Tiflis, Vladivostok, Samara, and thruout the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

At the grave of their dead leader and teacher, the workers of Russia proclaim: We shall build and strengthen the Communist Party—the Party of Lenin.

Moscow, Feb. 29, 1924.

CIVILIZATION

Morning:
The city groans,
Embowels, amoeba like, its heritage of putrid living.

Evening:
The city grows dark under a sky of graying blue.
Crevices, between houses, crevices long and narrow
Seep in the darkness.
The groaning of street cars,
The shuddering of a galaxy of whirring wheels,
Factory whistles, clamoring with its insistent
Cry of pain and unwillingness to grant men their
Brief nightly parole.

Night:
The city vomits forth a part of itself,
And ashamed at the paleness of day, with a subdued growl,
Folds a curtain of night on the weary deeds of the bed.

HERMAN REINSTEIN.



The Poor Fish Says: I have nothing against pacifists but they should confine their anti-war activities to other countries. Then they would be all right.

FASCISM; A LETTER FROM ITALY By G. MASCI

AT the Conference held on December 19th under the direct auspices and in the presence of the Prime Minister Mussolini, between the leaders of Italian industry and the principal leaders of the Fascist Trade Unions, the complete failure of the programs and the practice of Fascism in the spheres of Trade Unionism had to be recognized.

The feverish attempts made by Fascism, before and after having obtained power, to create a trade union movement which would be at its service, are well known. It is also known, how these attempts, while succeeding to a rather considerable degree in the agrarian field, have failed almost completely in the industrial sphere. It was easy for the Fascisti, in view of the life and working conditions of the poor peasants, and of the rural workers dispersed in a great number of villages with feeble ties between the Trade Unions, to destroy the Socialist organizations of the land workers and to force the rural masses by means of physical terror and of the economic boycott, to enter into their corporations. It was otherwise in the industrial sphere, except with the railway employes, amongst whom much can be obtained by state coercion and by the ever threatening menace of discharge, and also with the dockers who had already their strictly guild-like organization determined by the conditions in the traffic at the Italian ports which is developing very spasmodically, in relation to the preponderance of exports and imports and to the seasonal activities for grain, coals and coffee.

Made Up of Criminal Elements.

In the large industrial towns, the Fascists only succeeded in gathering inconsiderable groups, consisting nearly everywhere of unemployed and of criminal elements, who, by means of the Fascist party ticket obtain impunity for sabotage, theft in work-shops and personal violence against foremen. And yet it was necessary for Fascist politics to win the masses at any price.

The Fascist Government can only maintain power so far as it renders life impossible to other organizations which are not Fascist. Mussolini bases his power on large strata of the petty bourgeoisie, which (since they have no function in the productive life and hence do not feel the antagonisms and the contradictions resulting from it), in fact believe the class struggle to be a diabolical invention of the socialists and communists. The entire so-called hierarchic conception of Fascism is dependent upon that fact. It is indispensable for this conception that no independent organization of a typical class character exist and that the modern social life be organized in a series of petty corporations subject to and controlled by the Fascist elite, being the concentrated expression of all the prejudices and utopian visions of the petty bourgeoisie. Hence the necessity for Integral Trade Unionism, which is a revised conception of the Christian democratic Trade Unionism, substituting the deified nation for the religious idea.

Opposed by Industrials.

This program was resolutely opposed by the industrials, who refused to enter the Fascist corporation, to allow themselves to be controlled by Rossoni and his like. The Fascists, some months ago, in face of the repulses by the industrials, began a demagogic fight, which went so far as their announcing and propagating in great style a general strike of the metallurgical and textile workers. The campaign against the industrials culminated immediately after the visit paid by Mussolini to the Fiat works of Turin on the anniversary of the Fascist "March on Rome." The workers of the Fiat, six or seven thousand of whom had been gathered in the courtyard of the factory in order to hear a speech by Mussolini, received the leader of the Fascists in a hostile manner. The Fascists accused the Turin industrials of having fostered the anti-Fascist spirit of the masses, of preferring to treat with reformist organizations instead of with Fascist ones, of discharging from the Works the Fascist workers, thus preventing the development of the corporations and so on; they went so far as to attack personally in a coffee-house the chief of the

Fiat, Senator Giovanni Agnelli. The situation became very serious for the industrials as well as for the Government.

Communist Opposition Voiced.

The Communist Trade Unions Committee intervened in the agitation, inviting the working masses to take part in the struggle against the industrials in order to enlarge the movement, even tho the struggle had been engaged in by the Fascists. The agitation was stifled by the central leaders of the Fascisti, and the Conference held on the 19th of December was convened. In the speech Mussolini delivered there, he recognized, that it is impossible to organize workers and industrials in one and the same trade union. Integral Trade Unionism, according to Mussolini may be applied, only in the sphere of agrarian production. The Fascists have to respect the organizational independence of the industrials and have to work only in order to avoid the outbreak of class conflicts. The meaning of these words is clear. The Fascists abandon even the keeping up of the appearance, not only of a struggle against the industrials, but also of any attempt to equilibrate, under their arbitrary control, the interests of the classes and they have only the confessed task of organizing the workers to surrender them to the capitalists bound hand and foot. This is the beginning of the end of the Fascist Trade Unionism.

Immediately after the conference,

many land owners protested loudly against the discriminating treatment shown by Fascism to industry and to agriculture. They denounced the violence which they said the Fascist Trade Union Organizers exercised to the detriment of the land owners' interests, by compelling them to respect labor contracts, which of course declare to be absurd and opposed to the interests of the nation, and they claim to be allowed to reconstitute the General Confederation of Agriculture which had been absorbed by the Fascist corporations. At Parma the agrarians have placed themselves in direct opposition to Fascism, provoking a whole series of incidents and conflicts. At Reggio Emilia, the deputy Corgini, former under-secretary of state to the government of Mussolini, has been expelled from the Fasci and leads a raging campaign in favor of the organizational independence of the land owners.

It is to be remarked how great a success was obtained by the tactics applied by our Party, in order to unmask before the masses the Fascist Trade Union leaders who had raised such a hubbub against the industrialists. It is true, these tactics procured to the Fascists the satisfaction of having meetings attended by many thousands of workers, but they led also to forcing the Fascists to the wall, to causing them to eat their words and to discrediting them even in the eyes of the most

backward portion of the working masses.

Disintegration of Fascism.

If these tactics were generalized and also extended to the agrarian field, it would be possible to accelerate in a high degree the disintegration of Fascism and hence the reorganization of the revolutionary forces. But against this there are the reformist socialists as well as the maximalist socialists who still have control over the Trade Union Centrals and of the only periodicals of a proletarian character still published in Italy. Thus they demonstrate once more that they do not really intend to fight against Fascism. It is true, they risk much if they attack Fascism in order to contend with it, within its own Trade Unions or in the agitations sometimes got up by it, for control and leadership of the masses entering the movement. On the other hand, it is certain that large strata, not only of rural workers, but also of factory workers who have no other chance of fighting against the bourgeoisie are drawn to these agitations by the Fascist demagoguery, hoping thus to wring something from their employers. The intransigence shown by the reformist and maximalist gentry, is in fact no intransigence against Fascism, but against the poorest and most backward portion of the workers. Moreover, it is never true to itself and makes many concessions to the Fascists who are governing.

"The Story of John Brown"

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The Border Rufians Hold an Election.

NO FAIR-MINDED reader of history can doubt, in glancing over the records of that time, that the South took the first bloody and brutal offensive in their attempt to force slavery on Kansas. Later, the Free State men from the North, under leaders like John Brown, General Lane and Captain James Montgomery, took up arms, too, and defended themselves bravely; but at first, they were victims of the South's determination to carry its point.

Stealing the Elections.

The Southerners began the attack by stealing the elections for the territorial legislature. Thousands of Missourians, on horseback and in wagons, with guns, bowie knives, revolvers and plenty of whisky, poured over the line in November, 1854, and encamped near the polling places. The ballot boxes were extravagantly, even humorously, stuffed; the elections were carried for the South. There was nothing concealed about the affair; in fact, the Missouri newspapers had gaily whipped up recruits for the raid.

Many of these men, Border Rufians, as the North called them, were hired for the work. Others came for the fun; others because they hated Yankees; others because they were devout believers in Slavery.

"They wore the most savage looks and gave utterance to the most horrible imprecations and blasphemies," said Thomas Gladstone, a relative of the great statesman of that name, who was in Kansas at the time. "In groups of drunken, bellowing, blood-thirsty demons, armed to the teeth, they crowded about the bars and shouted for drink, or made the night hideous with noise on the streets."

Free State Men Punished.

Their fraudulent Pawnee legislature convened and passed a code of punishment for Free State men. Under the code, no one opposed to slavery in any manner could serve on a jury, or hold any office in Kansas.

Death itself was the penalty for advising slaves to rebel, or even supplying them with literature

that would have that effect.

The mere voicing of a belief that slavery was illegal in Kansas was made a grave crime. Any person who said in public that slavery was wrong, or any person who even "introduced into the territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet or circular"—saying this, was to be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than five years.

This notorious Clause 12 was obviously aimed at the New York Tribune and other anti-slavery journals, and was meant to shut off every whisper of free speech. And it did not work.

For the Free State settlers would not recognize the legality of the legislature, and held an election of their own. And so there were two legislatures in Kansas Territory, two governors and governments. All the fighting that followed centered about this dual-

ism, and about the mad, desperate butcheries and burnings begun by the Southerners, when they saw they could not cow the Northerners into submission.

Troops Against Free State.

President Pierce, who was pro-slavery, sent a message to Congress in which he sided with the fraudulent legislature and its code, declaring it legal, and threatening the Free State men, whom he called traitors, insurrectionists, and seditious against the United States government.

In all the Kansas conflict, he threw federal troops and federal politicians against the Free State men. The South rejoiced at his stand, but the Free State men went on with their work. And John Brown and his sons took a leading position in the fight.

(To Be Continued Monday.)

(The Sack of Lawrence.)

Harvest Song

By JEAN TOOMER

(From the book "Cane", by permission of Boni and Liveright, publishers, New York)

I am a reaper whose muscles set at sundown. All my oats are cradled. But I am too chilled, and too fatigued to bind them. And I hunger.

I crack a grain between my teeth. I do not taste it. I have been in the fields all day. My throat is dry. I hunger.

My eyes are caked with dust of oatfields at harvest-time. I am a blind man who stares across the hills, seeking stack'd fields of other harvesters.

It would be good to see them . . . crook'd, split, and iron-ring'd handles of the scythes. It would be good to see them, dust-caked and blind. I hunger.

(Dusk is a strange fear'd sheath their blades are dull'd in.) My throat is dry. And should I call, a cracked grain like the oats . . . echo—

I fear to call. What should they hear me, and offer me their grain, oats, or wheat or corn? I have been in the fields all day. I fear I could not taste it. I fear knowledge of my hunger.

My ears are caked with dust of oatfields at harvest-time. I am a deaf man who strains to hear the calls of other harvesters whose throats are also dry.

It would be good to hear their songs . . . reapers of the sweet-stalk'd cane, cutters of the corn . . . even tho their throats cracked and the strangeness of their voices deafened me.

I hunger. My throat is dry. Now that the sun has set and I am chilled, I fear to call. (Beho, my brothers!)

I am a reaper. (Echo!) All my oats are cradled. But I am too fatigued to bind them. And I hunger. I crack a grain. It has no taste to it. My throat is dry . . .

O my brothers, I beat my palms, still soft, against the stubble of my harvesting. (You beat your soft palms, too.) My pain is sweet Sweeter than the oats or wheat or corn. It will not bring me knowledge of my hunger.

The "National Farmer-Labor Party" --- In Memoriam

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE.

ROBERT M. BUCK and J. G. Brown, for the group calling itself the National Farmer-Labor Party, in the New Majority for March 22, explain the position of that almost defunct organization relative to the recent Minnesota conferences, the June 17 convention, the July 4 conference, the Communist bugaboo and many other things.

To Correct False Impressions.

It is solely for the purpose of clearing up any false impressions created by the gentlemen mentioned above that this article is written. Their expressions of despair at and disappointment with the outcome of the Minnesota conference are merely an extension of the attitude they assumed at these important meetings and it is therefore necessary to state clearly what that attitude was and what the delegates to the Minnesota conferences represented. Neither from the article in the New Majority on the Minnesota conferences signed by Robert M. Buck nor from the official report of Buck and Brown as delegates can be learned the fact that every conference and convention beginning with the St. Paul meeting of the Farmer-Labor party representatives from seven states on March 10, to the convention of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party on March 14, represented by delegates of functioning Farmer-Labor parties and economic organizations, hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers.

These delegates had been elected by their organizations for the specific purpose of passing upon the advisability of calling a great convention of delegates from labor unions, working class political parties, co-operative societies, etc., and organizing these forces on the political field.

The organizations represented at the Minnesota conferences were those which had committed themselves to a political party separate and distinct from the parties of American capitalism and whose attitude towards independent political action was not predicated upon the bolt of one or more progressives from the old parties but adopted as the fundamental principle of political action for a mass party of workers and farmers.

Authoritative Gathering.

The St. Paul conference was a mandated body. Every delegate came with authority to make decisions on behalf of his organization and represented there were the Western Pro-

gressive Farmers of Washington, the Farmer-Labor parties of Washington, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, The Progressive party of Nebraska, the Farmer Labor Federation of Minnesota, the local party of Buffalo, N. Y., and the Federated Farmer-Labor party. In addition to these bona fide parties there were the National Farmer-Labor party of America—a party in name only, without members or even a good mailing list—represented by Buck and Brown; the seceding Illinois faction of this same organization represented by Rodriguez and Gifford Ernst and a non-existent labor party in Washington, D. C., represented by one William V. Mahoney.

The vote against holding the proposed convention on June 17 is given by Buck as 12 to 6 without any explanation of its character. It is enough to say here that Rodriguez, Ernst, Buck, Brown, William V. Mahoney of Washington, D. C., with one Minnesota delegate voted in opposition with the obvious corollary that the June 17 convention was favored by all of the bona fide farmer-labor parties outside of Minnesota and by half of the Minnesota delegation. It should be noted also that the secession of Rodriguez and Ernst gave the "National" Farmer-Labor party two more votes—a total of four, one for each member.

This gives the lie to the statements made and reiterated by Buck and Brown to the effect that it was Communist control that forced the setting of the convention date. As a Communist I wish that this were true, but the facts are otherwise.

The truth of the matter is and everybody who attended the Minnesota conferences knows it, that Buck and Brown, united for the purpose with Rodriguez and Ernst, came to St. Paul, not to work for unity in the Farmer-Labor ranks, but to destroy the movement for a class Farmer-Labor party in the interests of the Conference for Progressive Political Action and the middle class elements which the officialdom of that organization follows.

Destructionist Efforts.

This group, representing nothing and nobody but themselves since they bolted the July 3rd convention, tried to scare the other elements in the conferences with the threadbare tales of the Communist menace, disrupt the northwest movement and leave nothing but scattered fragments to

be picked up by the politicians and union bureaucrats who will dominate the July 4 gathering. They were willing to take the risk of wrecking the whole movement for a class farmer-labor party in order to accomplish this purpose.

Meeting with no success in St. Paul because their tactics and the motives that prompted them were well understood by the real representatives of the Northwest Farmer-Labor movement who, however, accorded them the courtesy of listening patiently to every lie, misrepresentation, slander, innuendo and jesuitical argument they had to lay before the conference, this group then went to Minneapolis, and, forming another united front with the most reactionary section of the Minnesota labor and farmer movement, hung around the fringe of the powerful organization that was taking form and peddled their poison to everyone that would listen.

United Front of Reaction.

During the three conferences that were held in Minneapolis following the St. Paul meeting, the conferences that brought unity in the labor-farmer movement in Minnesota, these free-lance apostles of a policy of timidity and hesitation, were seen with such obstructionists and careerists as Baldus and Thomason of the new defunct non-partisan league, Parsons and Vandenberg, meal-ticket artists and fakers par excellence, in short they co-operated to the best of their ability with the Van Lear-Townley clique that prostituted the Minnesota Daily Star and did its best to make the Minnesota movement a tail to the political kite of spineless and crooked office-seekers.

William V. Mahoney of Washington, even journeyed to St. Cloud and continued his scandal-mongering at the convention of the official Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota until he was squelched by William Mahoney of St. Paul, chairman of the farmer-labor federation of Minnesota.

The report published in the New Majority is therefore sadly lacking in both detail and truth. Were it a truthful record of what took place in Minnesota it would state that the men who signed it and two of their allies already named, at a time when a great coalition of the working class forces of the Northwest was taking shape, deliberately sabotaged the unity process as well as they could and that their activities were a source

of aid and comfort to every foe of the labor movement and were commented upon gleefully by the capitalist press of the Twin Cities.

Habitual Bolters.

After mentioning not a single one of the developments in Minnesota that are recognized even by labor's enemies as of the greatest significance, Buck explains that his organization (composed of himself and Brown) did not sign the call for the June 17 convention "in view of its domination by the Communists, not from any red-baiting motives, not because they are radicals, but because it is impossible to work with them toward the establishment of a labor-party that organized labor will support."

This is a rather frank admission that the secession of the Buck-Brown group last July was no accident but that they are habitual secessionists; it is also an admission that at St. Paul they refused to be bound by the majority decision of the real farmer-labor parties who find no such difficulties in working with Communists and that in any gathering of workers where their vacillating policy is beaten by a policy of action they will refuse to go along.

The Future.

The Buck-Brown-Rodriguez-Ernst group now pin their faith on the C. P. P. A. and July 4. They bolted the Cleveland convention of this organization against the advice of the Communists who told them to stay on the inside; now they are going back to their vomit. They have no faith in June 17, they say, because they do not believe it possible that respectable middle class politicians will accept support from an organization with which the Workers (Communist) Party of America is affiliated; they have forgotten all about the June 17 convention as the best guarantee of independent action on July 4 and they now stake all, not on the workers and farmers, but on politicians and labor officialdom—the same elements they have many times denounced as hopeless.

Where will this little handful of former progressives finally align themselves? It is hard to say but right now they are headed with John Fitzpatrick, their economic foundation, straight for the Gompers camp. There they may find a quiet resting place but just at present they are homeless, helpless, hopeless and alone.

Facing Fascism in Great Britain

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

THE OTHER DAY, traveling down thru France, on the Riviera express, fate and fortune were so good as to project me, suitably equipped with non-committal guide-books and literature, into a compartment in which were two ex-officers, one Italian and the other British. We got into conversation which became, to say the least, interesting. It started with the franc. It went on to the pound. It embraced the Labor government, and the guardsman became still more interesting. The Italian proved to be a Fascist. They grew communicative. I smiled my sympathy and my encouragement.

Fascism—The Cult.

My compatriot was engagingly frank. Fascism is the thing and matters are going on very nicely. It is the cult in the regimental messes and in the West End clubs. One of these days, and before so very long something is to happen to "those damned fellows from the Clyde." They will be taught a salutary lesson. It will be rather "a rag, don't you know." "We are going to have no Bolshevism in England."

Now, this week-end one finds in the reactionary press a chorus of denunciation of Wheatley, torrents of abuse of the Clyde men, violent attacks upon the Communists of Poplar. The whole of the Conservatives and a very large section of the Liberals are rallying against Wheatley and his interpretation by an executive act of the whole case of the left wing elements in what affects the treatment of the unemployed worker.

Wheatley intends to force the pace. The issue he has raised makes a direct and immediate appeal to the great masses of the un-

employed and the low paid workers. He has raised the issue of whether or not the workers are to permit the powers of the State and the local authorities to be used as the framers and defenders of the whole poor law system intended they should be used, to enable the master class to use the necessities of the poor for the undoing of the bargaining power of the poor.

Wheatley's action, like that of our comrades in Poplar, is indeed revolutionary, striking at the whole vile system of bourgeois class rule across hundreds of years. Wheatley's action is a step, as the master class knows (and, knowing, squeals), towards the use of political power, embodied in the state and local authorities, for the purpose of breaking the capitalists' economic advantage over the worker.

On Eve of Fascist Violence.

It is a step that, affecting the principle all local expenditure and, therefore, all the big rate payers who, under democracy, find themselves in a grotesque minority, will cause these big rate payers here, as in Italy and Germany, to finance and assist organizations for "cleansing" local and national authorities of socialists and Communists.

We are one the very eve, comrades of the entire left, of fascist violence here in Great Britain.

It now becomes apparent, from what Maxton has said concerning the appointment of Lord Chelmsford to the Admiralty, that the navy chiefs have declared a mutiny, a class revolt against the working class.

After the army revolt at the Curragh in 1914, we have the navy revolt at the admiralty in 1924. We have the same insolence shown by the Scottish legal fraternity.

It may seem a little thing, but it is very symptomatic of the arro-

gance of the king's immediate court entourage, and of their insufferable impudence, that the Londonderry household, which was the go-between for the army rebels and Carson with the king in 1914—has been entertaining, not on behalf of the government but on behalf of the opposition, the ambassadors of the United States, France, Italy and Spain.

Kellogg, ambassador of the United States, is notoriously the nominee of the Morgan house, i. e., of Tory influence in American finance and politics. The Vicomte St. Aulaire, ambassador of France, belongs to the circle of Bonapartist-Monarchist reaction, profoundly hostile to recognition of the Soviets and favorable to the right wing of the Bloc National. The Spanish and Italian ambassadors are the avowed agents of fascism.

Insult to Laborites.

Quite evidently, we are here witnesses of the official representatives of American and European reactionary governments attending the party reception, not of the government to which they are accredited (in theory), but of the opposition.

If the Labor government does not understand in its full bearings the significance of this insult to themselves as representatives of the working class they will understand nothing. If they do not understand it is no reason why we should be equally supine and spineless.

The reaction is organizing in the ward rooms, in the messes, in the clubs, under the eye—and you may warrant that Nickie's cousin's eye is an approving eye—of the king himself, to defend here in London and throught Britain the close preserves of landed and financial privilege.

The hitch in recognition; the need

of watching all attempts to whittle down that recognition by bringing pressure to bear upon the government during the coming negotiations with Russia; the incident of the admiralty officials; this case of Poplar; all these veiled insults and intrigues—require that all the elements of the Left-Laborites, Socialists and Communists call into being once more, this time to strengthen the hands of the Labor government, the councils of action, national and social.

Organize!

We must organize, and at once, the whole working class behind the government so that it can have the assurance that whatever it does immediately behind it stands a watchful, resolute working class movement.

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The Struggle Within the Russian Party

Being the continuation of the report given by Comrade Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, at the city meeting of the Collective Bureaus of the Leningrad Communist Party Organization.

IN THE resolution passed at our conference, I made use of the expression: The struggle between two factions within a party which is governing the state contains the germ of two governments. And at the beginning of the year 1918 the germs of two governments existed.

At the present time everybody smiles at the idea that Bucharin and Ooritzky could ever have seriously contemplated deposing Comrade Lenin and replacing him by Pyatakov. But at that time the situation was such that this plan could be brought up in the party of the left social revolutionaries hostile to us.

We were a hair's breath removed from the most appalling disaster. The cause of the revolution hung by a hair. I shall never forget meeting Comrade Lenin in the corridor of the Smolny after we had received the news that the Germans, utilizing our hesitation with regard to the conclusion of the Brest peace, had sent their troops against Pleskau. Comrade Lenin said to me: "Everything seems to be lost. For once in my life I gave way to people who were leading the Party on the wrong path, and now it seems as if the revolution is to be lost thru it."

Danger of Situation.

When it is asserted that we should return to the times of the Brest peace, then we say: No, the lesson which we learned at that time shall not be in vain. It is not such a very great misfortune when the Party commits this or that error, so long as it is made wiser by the experience. The errors committed at the time of the Brest peace have shown us that fractional struggle signifies the decay of the proletarian dictatorship.

Comrades, consider more attentively the atmosphere prevailing in Moscow. We hear that Leningrad is provincial. I take the liberty of believing that this is not quite the case. Leningrad is the central, which is developing more and more. Comrades Sapronov and Preobrazensky say: "To be sure, out there in the provinces they are behind-hand and have no comprehension for the attractions of freedom of fraction and discussion," etc. Thus we are simply provincial.

And look at what is going on in Moscow. Over every wire and by wireless as well, in every commissariat and sub-commissariat, of which there are a million and one, the whole of the employees occupied in these commissariats and sub-commissariats are all buzzing with the same idea; there is something wrong in their Party, some rupture is preparing in the Party; let us see what is going to happen; let us wait and see how it will end.

Fractions Cause Demoralization.

The same subject matter is busy-ing bourgeois and "state official" Moscow. It is just as I said on the occasion of the Brest peace. As soon as any differences of opinion arise in Party life these spread at lightning speed over the whole state apparatus, and the state apparatus splits and begins to whisper in corners instead of working. And the first to be delighted at a quarrel within the Party, should a quarrel really come about, would be the bureaucratic section of our state apparatus. Other parties may permit themselves squabbles, they may afford themselves this luxury—they possess neither commissariats nor specialists, nor state officials.

But we may not do this. In the course of a discussion at Moscow a young comrade observed the whole "mischief" in the Party originated in its having seized power.

Comrades, there is a small grain of truth in this. Formerly, before the Party took over power, and no such pressure was put upon it, it was not troubled with any questions of the state apparatus. Thus it would appear that the whole "mischief" arises from our having taken over power. But allow me to say, comrades, that all that is good also arises from our having taken over

power. We formed the Party for the special purpose of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and placing the power in the hands of the workers.

About two weeks ago the discussion took such a turn that some of us said: "The resolution passed at the Tenth Party Congress, prohibiting the formation of factions, must be cancelled. Unless this is done, no workers' democracy will be able to accomplish anything." There are some less experienced and less diplomatic comrades who are still saying this. Thus, for instance, today's Pravda publishes an article by Comrade Krylenko, attorney for the republic. So far as I am aware, Comrade Krylenko does not belong to the fraction of "democratic centralism," but speaks solely as a jurist, from the viewpoint of legality, and says: "If you do not allow freedom of fighting from a definite platform, then the whole workers' democracy is abolished."

What is a Fraction?

I should like an exact definition of what a fraction or group is. If you do not want fractions, we shall of course agree, as demanded by Party discipline.

"But we are prepared to say that the workers' democracy is again, as it was after the Tenth Party Congress, merely a proclamation upon paper."

I do not know in which direction Comrade Krylenko tends at present,

but it seems to me that his profession is leading him astray; he is anxious to have a neatly rounded juridical formulation of what a fraction is, what a group is, and what a workers' democracy is. Instead of taking life as it is, he is looking for some "code," and stumbles over it. But we are confident of being able to come to an agreement with such comrades as Comrade Krylenko. We believe that he will comprehend that tho it is difficult to draw up a code of criminal law under the conditions imposed by the new economic policy, the working out of a code on groups only requires the good will of a revolutionist who really understands the interests of the revolution, and does not put the question sophistically, asking: "Can I, for instance, join Comrade Preobrazensky?" He receives the reply: "Yes, you can."—"Can I speak in the same nucleus?"—"Yes."—"Can one speak in five nuclei?"—"You can do that too."—"Then it seems to me that this is the solution of the riddle, and that you will have to admit freedom of fraction."

Speak Candidly.

In my opinion, such a viewpoint is unworthy of a revolutionist. No one asks that anyone should not join others, or not take part in the nuclei. No, join the nuclei if you please, but do not forget that we are the sole legal Party in this country,

THE PARTY AT WORK

Central Committee of Workers Party Supports South Slavic Bureau Against Former Editors

The disruptive tactics of former opportunist editors of the South Slavic section of the Workers Party were condemned by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party in a statement which is published herewith:

To the Members of the South Slavic Section of the Workers Party:

Dear Comrades: The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party, upon the request of the Bureau of your Section, has held an extensive hearing on the controversy between certain members of the South Slavic Section and the Bureau, regarding the attitude of the Bureau toward Cvetkov and Kutuzovich, former editors of the Party organ.

On Feb. 24, members of the C. E. C. met with your Bureau, with Comrades Fisher, Jurich, Horvat, Znavor and Mirakovich also present, and went into the situation at length, hearing statements and arguments from both sides for eight hours.

Since that time both sides have submitted written statements and translations of articles, all of which have been carefully taken into consideration by the C. E. C. We find all elements agreed that Cvetkov and Kutuzovich should not be taken back into the Party.

The issue is between the Bureau, which insists that it has been fighting for a Communist policy in its controversy with the ex-editors, and those comrades who have objections to the personalities and methods of the Bureau.

Supports the Bureau.

The Central Executive Committee most emphatically states that it supports the general line of policy followed by the Bureau of your Section in its fight against the former editors, Cvetkov and Kutuzovich who left the paper without the consent of the Bureau, and who left the Party of their own accord. The Central Executive Committee declares that the fight of the Bureau against these former editors and against their influence was and is a fight for a Communist Party and a fight for a Communist ideology in the ranks of the South Slavic comrades. We find this policy justified by the statements published by Cvetkov and Kutuzovich, in the leaflet sent out by them and in the "Novi Swijet," which prove that they do not understand Communism or the functions of a Communist Party. Their false, malicious and unsupported charges of mishandling of money were crimes against the Communist movement. They evidence a strong aversion, not against mistakes of revolutionary propaganda, but against propaganda for a revolutionary program itself. They show affection for bourgeois intel-

lectuals, but strong dislike for proletarian members of their own organization who propagate the class struggle. They act in the capacity of provocateurs, by denouncing the Party in its relations to outside organizations, and in other ways. They repudiate party discipline, and hold to their "rights" to write and say whatever they please, without responsibility to any organization. They published a very demoralizing article in the coal strike, parroting the cheap arguments of the capitalist press and discouraging the strikers, thereby proving that they had not the most elementary knowledge of the class struggle and how a Communist should act. The Bureau acted according to its Communist duty when it took vigorous action against these and other things, which are nothing less than the manifestations of opportunism.

Good Comrades Misled.

It is to be regretted that a few good proletarian comrades have been under the influence of Cvetkov and Kutuzovich, to such an extent that they have defended these un-Communist actions of theirs and have written in the "Novi Swijet" against the Bureau. Party members cannot write for non-party publications, except under the directions of Party committees; when non-Party papers are attacking the Party, it is not permissible that Party members should assist in any manner; but to go into such a hostile paper to air grievances of the Party, is an act which the Party itself cannot allow to continue for one moment. The C. E. C. calls upon every member of the Workers Party to cease writing for, or supporting in any way, the "Novi Swijet."

The Party is not opposed to "intellectuals" in the movement nor is it opposed to cultural activity. True intellectuals who come to the movement to serve it, and not attempt to rule it, are to be welcomed. But the rank and file proletarian comrades must not allow themselves to be terrorized into the belief that

that we are surrounded by enemies on all sides, and that we must not allow the formation of groups.

Two weeks ago the question was raised as to whether we could cancel the resolution passed by the Tenth Party Congress, that is, Comrade Lenin's resolution. Then we plunged into the fight. When these comrades saw that it would be so easy to annul the resolution of the Party Congress, that altho Comrade Lenin is ill and unable to take part in the fight himself, he has schooled a number of other people during the course of thirty years, and these know how to defend his cause when he himself is chained to his bed (applause), then they retired to the positions which they had ready, and put the question as follows: It is possible to manage without fractions, but allow us groupings.

To this we replied that we were very well aware that these groupings were nothing more nor less than the same fractions.

Why hide behind pseudonyms?

It is better to speak candidly on the matter, as Comrade Krylenko does.

(To Be Continued Monday.)

Page Mr. Fall!

"That man says a dishonest dollar never passed thru his hands."

"Not if he could help it," answered Senator Sorghum; "he's always held on to it."

only intellectuals are qualified to take a leading part in the movement and that workers should hold their tongues. This state of affairs, fostered for years in the South Slavic section of the Party, is a very unhealthy one.

"Intellectuals" Must Behave.

Cultural activity, so long as it is based upon the class struggle and the Communist program, and does not degrade our Party from the position of fighting leader of the working class into a mere bourgeois educational sect, is to be encouraged and developed. But the Party cannot agree that this necessary cultural work can only be done by certain individuals who try to use their ability and training as a club to force their own direction upon the Party. Cultural work must be developed by the proletarian elements themselves, with the assistance of such "intellectuals" as are willing to subordinate themselves to the interests of the workers and the discipline of the Party. The South Slavic Section of the Workers Party undoubtedly contains men and women capable of developing this feature of your work who are at the same time tried and trusted comrades, with loyalty to the Party and to the Communist International.

Every Good Comrade Welcome.

The Central Executive Committee is not interested in supporting or condemning any individual member of the South Slavic Section. We want to draw every good Communist into active participation in the work of the Section, including those comrades who, thru misunderstanding, have been misled into supporting the enemies of our Party. In your coming Convention we hope that you will have a full and frank discussion which will result in the selection of a Bureau that will have the complete cooperation of every member and which will at the same time have the necessary understanding of Communist principles, Communist discipline, and loyalty to the Communist International. The Central Executive Committee will send a special representative to the Convention to assist in the solution of all problems confronting you, the liquidation of controversies, and the fraternal unification of all true followers of the Communist International for the great struggles which lie before us.

We call upon every South Slavic Worker, members and ex-members of the Party, to return to the work of building up, strengthening and perfecting our Party, to eliminate all old quarrels, to join together in the most energetic participation in our general Party life and Party work in the American class struggle.

United to conquer the future for the Workers Party!

With Communist greetings,

C. E. RUTHENBURG,
Central Executive Committee,
Workers Party of America.

Unemployment in the United States

(Continued from Page 1)
follow the direction of the following slogans:

Political.
Government operations of non-operating industries and shops.
Inauguration of public works.
Maintenance of unemployed at union rates of wages.
Nationalization of mines, railroads and public utilities.
Abolition of child labor.
Recognition of and trade relations with Soviet Russia.
Unemployment insurance administered by the workers.
Grants by the government.

Industrial.
Industry must be responsible for maintenance of its workers.
Equal division of work among members in each industry and shop.
Assessment of employed for relief of unemployed.
Establishment of control committees of workers to regulate production and investigate accounts.
Struggle against sabotage of employers.
Unemployment insurance supported wholly by the employers, and administered wholly by the workers.
In every action the aim shall be to accomplish the utmost of political enlightenment with the greatest possible immediate struggle. The political nature of the fight against unemployment must be developed and strengthened, without carrying the immediate struggle so far ahead of the understanding of the workers

as to destroy the mass character of the movement. It shall be a major effort to actually obtain all possible immediate benefits for the unemployed, which must be made the basis for wider demands and more intense struggle. The trade unions, all workers' organizations, and the unorganized employed, must be drawn into organized participation in the unemployed demonstration and actions. The slogan of "Solidarity of interest between the employed and unemployed" must be heavily stressed at all times.
The methods and instruments of action in the fight against unemployment will include every section of the organized labor and revolutionary movement. In all political actions of the Party the unemployment issue must be brought to the fore more and more as the industrial crisis develops. The issue of unemployment must be raised in all councils, conventions, and other gatherings of workers, by proposals of concrete actions, including joint committees of trade unions, etc., with the unemployed, demonstrations, deputations to governmental bodies with demands based upon the slogans of the struggle, and in all shops and factories by proposals for action uniting the employed with those thrown upon the streets.
The Workers Party must be made the organizational and ideological center for the entire movement. The Party press must develop an agitational and educational cam-

aign on unemployment, giving an increasing amount of attention and space to it. Every Party committee must make a special study of unemployment as it develops its particular sphere of activity and report from time to time to the Central Executive Committee. Workers Party members must participate in a leading position in every action of the unemployed, giving it direction and consciousness.
As unemployment develops upon a mass scale nationally, which is definitely to be expected in the not distant future, the Party must take the lead in simulating, initiating and organizing, councils of the unemployed in co-operation with the unions and other workers' organizations, upon a local, state, industrial and national basis.

(Note on Textile Industry.)
The textile industry is like coal mining and copper, suffering from a large shift in production from one field to another. This makes the unemployment problem severely felt in many New England textile centers which are operating at from 20 to 60 per cent of capacity. In the textile industry as a whole, however, there is not the paralysis indicated by the condition in New England, because the southern mills are running at 100 per cent to 130 per cent of single shift capacity. The average for the textile industry as a whole is around 94 per cent at this time.

Thus the acute unemployment in Fall River, Lawrence, New Bedford, the Pawtucket Valley, etc., is largely caused by the shift in production and not by a crisis in the textile industry as a whole. The completion of the great textile merger of a year and a half ago, which centralized almost the entire industry, has made it possible for the textile trust to close down the New England mills and throw the production into the southern section without causing injury to the capitalist interests involved. The increased profits from the lower wages and child labor of the south go to pay interest on the idle investments in the north.
The comparison between the total employed in December, 1922, and December, 1923, does not, of course, give anything like a complete picture of the employment condition in the textile industry. Employment figures month by month for the years 1921-22-23 shows the stretch between the low and high points, which are January, 1921, and March, 1923, respectively, to be a little over 62,000. More illuminating are the yearly averages which are for the three years, 255,580; 248,361, and 273,331. The number employed for December 1923, is seen to be 24,000 or a little below the peak figure and 38,000 of 17 per cent above the low point. It is interesting to note, however, that there is no such tremendous fluctuations in the yearly averages.

How the Communists Keep Power in Russia

(Continued from Page 2.)
ing" at the time when the new economic policy was introduced, three years ago. One or two hundred thousand members were thrown out. Any worker or peasant, whether Communist, might bring charges against a party member, that he was acting unworthy of a Communist—that he got drunk or profiteered or was rough with the workers under him. The hearings were open; if the Party considered the member a drawback, he was thrown out.
Less spectacular "cleanings" go on constantly without comment. I have met Communists in the past two years in Russia who were causing chaos who were playing petty politics, who were destroying efficiency by personal grudges. I have felt utterly hopeless of the department or industry in which they worked. Then after six months or a year, I have suddenly heard that these men had been "cleaned out" of the party and transferred to jobs of unimportance and I have known that other people than myself had observed them, and that a force was constantly acting, sometimes delayed and sometimes mistaken but striving for the purity of the Communist ranks. Only this autumn the Central Committee of the Party laid hands on certain high officials in Moscow and sent them down for temporary jobs in the provinces for no other reason than that they were "living too much like bourgeois and getting out of touch with the common people."

Hard Workers.
Half a million men organized on such terms are scattered across Russia. North of the Arctic Circle, south of the Caucasus, east of the Volga, I found them in the timber industry and little provincial towns, a far-flung group sent out to be ministers of finance in little republics, or sawmill workers laboring to increase production. Every large factory, every notable village, has its Communist nucleus. If any factory had no Communists, some would be sent from Moscow to get jobs there. They would do the work of foremen, or machinists or carpenters or managers. But they are expected to work harder than anyone else, to stay later, to be examples of loyalty and energy, to know the demands of the workers and explain to them the plans of the government. They are expected to secure and hold political leadership by constant diligence in public affairs.
About once a year the basic problems of policy arising in government go out to a party referendum.

The Communist group in every factory and village will debate it, and send delegates to a district meeting. The district meeting will discuss it again, among other questions, without censorship and with concrete charges of oppression and abuse of power. The districts will then send delegates to regional conferences and thence to the Caucasian or Ukrainian or White Russian Party Congress; till at last the views of the entire membership meet and mingle in the great All-Russian Congress, ultimate authority on the policy of Russia's ruling Party.
When policy is once determined, whether it be a question of the management of heavy industry, or of the relation of little nationalities within the Soviet federation—it becomes the duty of all party members to go home and explain to the people of Russia just why the decision was reached. It is their job to justify the government to the people, and see that the complaints of the people reach and influence the government before the pressure becomes too great. Long before the petty discontents of peasants or coal miners or Ukrainians or Armenians can reach the stage of organized protest, a vast network of the Communist machine detects these discontents and appraises them. A recent series of strikes in South Russia caused much searching of heart in the Central Executive of the Party. "What is the matter with our local Communist groups," they asked, "that they did not discover these discontents and meet them in time."
Party Realistic.
In its daily action the Communist Party is highly realistic. While it has a definite goal for Russia's future development, it does not attempt to enforce that goal at once. It caters to popular desires, trying always to mold that desire in the direction of its own aims. For instance, there is a great desire among peasants for modern agricultural machinery; the government imports machinery, but sells by preference thru peasants' co-operatives which farm their land in common. That is one typical instance of the use of economic pressure to guide the development of Russia in the direction it wishes.
They all know the job they are on, and their part in relation to Russia and the rest of the world. The Communists in the oil industry know the importance of oil in the world's commerce; the Communists who died fighting the famine did so knowing that agriculture was the basis of Russia's reconstruction. The Communists on low wages in the

schools know what depends on the education of the youth towards the goal they have set.
They are not on a personal job; they are on a state-wide job, and they know it. Even mortal disease does not release them; it merely transfers them to other work. I met a man who had been general of an army in Siberia and was now dying of tuberculosis in a little provincial town, transferred to secure a better climate, but still working on. I knew a young boy who spent four years in Hungarian prisons and has incurable heart trouble from the tortures he endured; he is in the far north building roads where the open air life will help keep him alive a little longer.
Why should anyone enter a Party which demands such discipline? For the fun of building on the greatest undeveloped lands of the world a Workers' Republic, the next great forward step in history. There are always people who would rather run public affairs than enjoy private comfort. The organization of the Russian Communist Party allows these people to choose themselves by a hard and simple test. It is a disciplined oligarchy which anyone may join if he would rather organize a co-operative commonwealth than be comfortable.

A Strong Challenge
Young men, energetic men, respond quickly to such a challenge.

Behind the Communist Party lies the League of Communist Youth, almost equal in numbers to the adult party, also under discipline which increases as the years go on, preparing to enter into government. Behind them are the Young Pioneers, who already have no memories antedating the Revolution.
Just as a piece of statecraft, quite aside from its working class significance, the Communist Party of Russia is a rather wonderful machine. It has its methods of detecting discontent before this reaches the dangerous stage. It has its methods for keeping its own ranks pure and energetic. It has its test for selecting out the men and women who are really more interested in "politics," that is, in managing public affairs, than they are in any private recompense. . . . Some day some of its methods may fail; failure is always possible to any human organization. But the Party is making plans for developing a Workers' and Peasants' Republic towards a co-operative commonwealth thru a long term of years, with perfect confidence that it will be able to keep power. There is no sign of any organization in Russia likely to contest its power, in even a single state or city.

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