

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

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SECOND SECTION  
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# The Mainspring of International Communism

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

**T**HE Russian Communist Party is at present in Convention assembled, in the city of Moscow, in the heart and stronghold of the proletarian world-revolution.

Let us turn for a while our minds to the East, to the place of courageous struggles and glorious conquests, to the spiritual center and fountain-head of revolutionary inspiration for the class-conscious workers the world over. Let's have a glance at the admirable workings of that powerful machine of working class energy and purposeful devotion which is known as the Russian Communist Party.

This is the 13th National Congress of the Party, but the first one to be held without Lenin. He will be no longer there to inspire, to direct and to instruct. The brave and proven leaders of the Russian Revolution, the men and women who set an example for the struggling proletariat in every country in the world,—this splendid body of working-class workers will for the first time in their glorious history assemble to transact the business of their party without the all-trusting and magnetic presence of Nicolas Lenin.

But the business of the Russian Revolution will be carried on. The delegates to the 13th National Congress of the Russian Communist Party will continue the work started under the great leader with even more determination, loyalty and devotion. Their responsibilities as leaders of the working class will be felt by every one of them even more keenly than at the time when the immortal Lenin was still in their midst. Under the heavier strain of those new responsibilities, every member of the Russian Communist Party has grown bigger, wiser and stronger. The working class of Russia, and the revolutionary workers the world over, may rest assured, therefore, that the business of the Russian Party is in the right hands, and that in the future just as in the past our Russian comrades will continue to be the guiding spirit and driving force of the revolutionary movement all over the world.

### Problems before the Russian Congress

Various problems are confronting at present the Russian party. Problems, economic, political, cultural, problems of internal party-structure as well as of the economic structure of the entire Soviet System, questions of internal policies of the Soviet government,—all these matters will come before the Congress of the Russian Communist Party. And they will be taken care of. We are certain, with only one thing in mind, and that is, the further development of the proletarian world revolution.

### The Soviet Government and the Capitalist World

From public declarations so far made by the Comrades Zinoviev, Trotzky and other responsible leaders, it can be easily seen that no important changes will be made in the policies of the Soviet Government towards the governments of the capitalist countries.

The fundamentals of these policies can be summarized as follows: Russia desires peace. It needs it in the very interests of the ultimate success of the proletarian revolution in Russia. But at the same time Russia cannot forget for a single moment that it is still surrounded by a world of enemies. These enemies are constantly awake, always engaged in intriguing and plotting against the security of the Soviet power.

Poincare is gone, it is true, but French capitalism is still in the saddle. The new French government whether it be a Radical-Socialist coalition or a Briand-Poincare combina-

tion, will continue to fight the battles of French imperialism. Which means substantially, if not in detail and form, the old Poincare policy toward Soviet Russia. England is "ruled" by a Labor government which had recognized the Soviet government. This, too, is true. But it is also true that MacDonald's cabinet is just as much alive and awake to the vital interests of British Imperialism as were the cabinets of Lloyd George and Baldwin. Well, what of it? Nothing much but the following: that Soviet Russia is still exposed to the danger of capitalist attacks, military, economic and otherwise; that the question of protecting and defending the security of the Soviet State is still a problem of first importance; and that the present Congress of the Russian Communist Party will have to leave nothing undone to prepare the working masses of Russia for any possible capitalist aggression against the Soviet Republic.

There is yet another phase to this question of Russia's relations to the capitalist world, namely, the question of old debts, credits and concessions. On this score, too, there will hardly be any changes of policy. If anything, this present Congress will put some more steel, backbone and stiffness into the old policy, which was:

les to subsidize the "infant" capitalist industry.

The Soviet government inherited this problem from the old regime and is now attempting to solve it in accord with and in the interests of the new Soviet Economy, its main principle being at all costs to develop the heavy industries under the control and supervision of the Soviet Power.

Another phase of this economic problem is the attitude of the Soviet government to the developing private petty-bourgeois and capitalist economy. The "New Economic policy" (Nep), instituted in Russia some three years ago, resulted in the up-building of quite a strong and well developed system of private industry and commerce. To a large extent this system had benefited the Soviet power by enabling it to get hold of and utilize rich hidden resources of material wealth, and also by bringing into operation some medium of exchange for the products of the city and farm.

Now the situation has somewhat changed. While these new capitalists, merchants and speculators had been fulfilling their economic functions (at very great profits to themselves, this goes without saying), the Soviet Government was busily engaged in developing and strengthening the co-

operatives in which they can successfully compete with the efforts of the private merchants and speculators.

And yet a third phase of the same economic problem, which covers the special field of the peasant economy. This is also a political problem, more so than the other two phases, because it directly involves the class-relations between the rich and poor peasants.

On its economic side this question will be partly covered by a proper solution of the problem of the co-operatives. In a special thesis prepared by comrade Kalinin for the Congress and approved by the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Party, the following views are expressed. First, that the "New Economic Policy" resulted in the villages in a very effective class-differentiation between the rich, middle and poor peasant. Second, that the rich and middle peasant, by accumulating capital (in the shape of cattle, agricultural implements, etc), are reaching out after new and wider fields of exploitation. Third, that the poor peasants are turning in masses towards the co-operatives as a means of combating the village-exploiters. [The economic problems of the village, as seen by comrade Kalinin, is to utilize the Soviet power (its control of banking and foreign trade) to assist the co-operatives as against the "Kulak"—rich peasant.

### Maintaining Unity Between Workers and Peasants

This is the political side of the peasant problem. As far as the theory of it is concerned, there will be nothing new in it at this Congress. The old bolshevist slogan of unity between workers and poor peasants ("Smitchka," as Lenin used to call it) still holds good. Only the present situation in the villages offers a better opportunity than before for the up-building of a strong Communist movement among the peasant youth and poor peasants, and consequently, the present Congress will have to see that this opportunity is properly utilized by the party.

### Internal Party Structure

This is a very important problem, of course, but most of the work preparatory to the solution of it has been done by the last party Conference and by the Central Executive Committee of the Party. The thesis on the "Internal Party Structure" to be submitted to the Congress was prepared by Comrade Molotov and approved by the Central Committee. This thesis incorporates the position of Comrade Zinoviev and the old Central Committee.

### A Party of Factory Workers

Our comrades in Russia want their party to be primarily and substantially a party of factory workers. Comrade Molotov's thesis proposes a  
(Continued on page 8)



Lenin With a Group of Old Bolsheviks

We are not going to pay the debts of the Russian Czar and the Milukov-Kerensky outfit that followed him. Or, if we consider at all payment of these debts, we shall also demand restitution and compensation for all damage done to us by the counter-revolutionary bands of the Entente governments.

And, further, we need credits, and are willing to pay for them. We are willing, if need be, to pay a heavy price, but there is one thing we wouldn't do, namely, we will not surrender our control of the basic industries, banking and the foreign trade. This was the old policy, and it will most assuredly be continued.

### Problems of Economic Reconstruction

There are three phases to these problems. One is the basic industries. For the last year mining, steel, textiles and railroads have shown continuous improvement. The number of workers employed in these industries has considerably increased, and so has the standard of production.

However, these industries have not yet reached the stage of self-sustenance. They have still got to be subsidized, which, of course, is not a new thing as far as Russia is concerned. Never as yet, not even under the old regime, could the heavy industries of Russia pay their way. The old Czarist government had been squeezing out of the peasants and workers millions upon millions of rub-

operative movement among the peasants and city workers. These co-operatives, which are intended to become an organic part of the Soviet State Economy as distinguished from the private capitalist economy, have reached a stage, where they are in a position to successfully assume some of the functions of the "Nepmen". In competition between the co-operatives and the private merchants and speculators the former have been getting the best of it in quite a number of instances.

This fact raises before the Russian Communist Party the following problem: Inasmuch as the co-operatives are already competing successfully in many fields of industry and commerce with private business, is it not, therefore the duty of the Party at this time to throw the entire weight of its power behind the co-operatives and against private business?

It is a problem that has been occupying the minds of the Russian Party for quite some time, and will no doubt find its solution at this Congress. Judging by the opinions so far expressed, the Congress will most probably adopt the following policy. Private business will be permitted and even encouraged to continue only inasmuch as the cooperative system is not yet able to assume all the functions of this private business. On the other hand, the entire weight of the Soviet Power will be thrown behind all those endeavors of the co-



G. ZINOVIEV.

# The Defeat of U. S. Agriculture

By O. PREEDIN

SINCE the beginning of this century agriculture of the United States was in a period of decline on world's market, except only the years of war when its domination was there secured by temporary violent exclusion of some of its important competitors. This decline is expressed in the foreign trade of foodstuffs.

UP to the year 1900 growth of exports of foodstuffs (crude and manufactured) from the United States was on the increase. "Value" of these exports grew from 266 million dollars in average in 1875-1879 to 519 million dollars in average in 1900-1904. During all this time exports of foodstuffs constituted about 44 per cent of total "values" of domestic exports.

CONTRARY movement was started here from the first year of this century. The exports of foodstuffs started now to decrease absolutely and still more relatively in the total "values" of exports. During the first 15 years of this century they showed the following changes:

Years	Average Exports of Foodstuffs in Millions of Dollars	Per Cent of Values of Exported Foodstuffs of Total Exports
1900-1904	519	47.0
1905-1909	479	28.1
1910-1914	416	19.7

ON the side of foreign trade, in imports, foodstuffs did not show any noticeable change during all the time of glorious victories of agriculture of the United on world's market: "Values of these imports were in yearly averages during 1880-1884 about 232 million dollars and during 1900-1904 about 234 million dollars. But since that time they show a rapid increase to \$299,000,000 in average during 1905-1909 and farther to \$397,000,000 in 1910-1914.

THE excess of exports over imports of foodstuffs decreased from \$285,000,000 in 1905-1909 and farther to about \$20,000,000 in average during 1905-1914.

THE above figures show that from beginning of this century the United States were transformed from exporters of food to importers of foodstuffs. Agriculture of the United States, which played an immense role on world's market, was losing its positions not only on foreign markets but on the domestic market as well.

THANKS to exceptional conditions on the world's market of foodstuffs during the war years excess of exports of foodstuffs increased here again in average to about \$780,000,000 a year, during 1915-1919. But as soon as these special conditions were removed, when the sky-high food prices came nearer to the earth, the excess of food exports was decreased here again. In 1923, it was only about \$120,000,000. That is still considerably higher than it was immediately before the war. But it is in further decrease and the pre-war level (about \$20,000,000) is not the natural limit for this downfall.

IN the light of the pre-war developments on food markets, it is clear that war-time disturbances did not cause the fundamental difficulties of U. S. agriculture on the world market. What was "disturbed" in this respect is, not the growth, but the frustration. If there must be "adjustments" to the "pre-war standing" than this "adjustment" can lead not to improvements, to further decrease of the present "standing" of United States agriculture on the world's market.

PURCHASING power of masses of people in many industrial countries of Europe had decreased and the post-war market of foodstuffs has shrunk. In the case of the people of England, Germany, France and other food-importing countries could have sufficient means to satisfy their needs of food, then there would be instead of surplus, a great shortage of food. Competition on markets of foodstuffs could appear then in present forms

only after many years of increased agricultural production. But we have to deal not with possibilities under unexisting circumstances, but with realities of present society. This reality shows fierce competition on every market of agricultural products. In this competition food products of U. S. agriculture are failing to find purchasers not only to the extent of decrease of purchasing power of masses of people here and in other countries, but from the decreased markets, bigger parts than before are taken by agricultural products of other countries.

TO foreign wheat markets, United States supplied from July, 1922, to January, 1923, about 162,000,000 million bushels, but from July, 1923, to January, 1924, only 111,000,000 million bushels. But during this same time when wheat exports from United States decreased by over 50,000,000 bushels, Canada increased wheat exports by over 20,000,000 bushels, British India and Australia more than doubled their exports. Wheat from Russia appeared on many European markets. On the domestic market of United States, disregarding high import tariff duties and great surplus of this product, imports of wheat increased during this period by about three million bushels.

THESE facts show that agriculture of United States appears at present in a similar position as was agri-

capital". K. Marx. III vol. II part, page 260.)

This is true for the present crisis of agriculture of the United States too, but only for the years after the war-time boom.

DURING the first 15 years of the decline of U. S. agriculture on the world's market some very essential features of the European crisis were absent here. Instead of depressive prices we had here just the contrary. This was a time of growing prices of agricultural products and of growing costs of living. The best blessings Europe had from her agricultural crisis were the decreased land rents and subsequent absolute and relative decrease of economic power and influence of the most reactionary class of landowners. Here was nothing of that kind: "land values" were rising here at tremendous speed.

THE indexes of "land values," as published by the U. S. Department of Agriculture ("Yearbook 1920," page 325), show that from 1899 to 1914 these "values" increased 2½ times (147 per cent).

The start of agricultural crisis in the United States had specific forms and expressions. Unusual growth of "land values" is the most characteristic and fundamental economic factor in the troubles during these years.

FINAL disappearance of suitable "free lands" about the end of last century made the rapid rise of "land

of the size of holdings. The group of smallest landowners had the "cheapest" lands but the biggest landowners had the "most expensive" lands; the first (owners of holdings worth \$1,000 and less) had 13.5 per cent of acreage but only 4.4 per cent of total "value" of rented farms; the last group (owners of holdings worth \$25,000 and over) had 13.1 per cent of acreage but 17.4 per cent of total "value" of rented farms.

IS this explainable by differences in soil, situation of farms or other "natural" causes? Here or there these causes may contribute something to the above differences, but the extent of centralization of holdings, the monopoly of land over whole districts is the main and may be the only cause in this increase of "value" of large holdings over that of small holdings.\*

By the following census of 1910 and 1920 investigation of ownership of tenant farms was not continued or if it was continued the results were not published, as that is often done by every United States government bureau with information which can disclose too much "business secrets" of ruling exploiters. The enumerators of the census of 1910 and of 1920 were instructed to collect all material needed for investigation of ownership of rented farms in this same manner as that was done by the enumerators of the census of 1900. Therefore, withholding of this information for certain reasons is rather susceptible than entire neglect of this too interesting question.)

THIS proves that to the extent of their power the big landholders contributed to the increase of land "values." The creation and growth of land rent means here introduction of new divisions of produced surplus values.

HOW long existed here free access to land so long as there was possible such division of created values in agriculture, was described by K. Marx as follows:

"Under such circumstances (where ownership of land can not resist application of capital in agriculture) it is possible for a long time—except the lands in heavy populated districts, where the situation gives them a monopoly,—that surplus-value produced by farmers over acreage profits is not realized in the price of their products but that they (the farmers) must divide it with their brethren capitalists." ("Theorien liber den Mehrwert." II Vol. I part, Page 200.)

EXISTANCE of "surplus-value over average profits" was and still is in some semi-colonial countries the economic basis for large profitable operations of "parasitic speculative capital" and of "monopolies of the transportation system" which are marked by the instructions on the agrarian question of the Fourth Congress of C. I. as particular features in "the Anglo-Saxon countries." The limits in which this kind of exploitation does not disturb capitalistic development of agriculture and serves only for division of surplus-values among brethren capitalists, are given by the quantities of "surplus-value over average profits" produced in agriculture.

BUT these "surplus-values are available for such kind of exploitation only so long as they are not separated and exempted by land holders from the division among all the "brethren capitalists" in the form of landrent. Absolute land rent is nothing else but only this same "surplus-value over average profits." When and ownership is in fact established and can give sufficient resistance to the application of capital then landholders are able to take this surplus-value as land rent.

IN such case the "surplus-value over average profits" obligatory must be realized in the "farm prices" of agricultural products.

(Continued next Saturday.)

## THE CARDINAL ARRIVES

With his red hat on his head  
And his red cape outspread,  
The Cardinal, the Cardinal comes home.  
Stars and stripes mingle with the papal white and yellow;  
The Cardinal rides before and the city fathers follow;  
Hear the cannon and the bells; hear the bands blare and bellow:  
"The Cardinal is back, back from Rome."

The banker-kings need, now the crowned kings are falling,  
Some other hocus-pocus to hold the people awed;  
For neither they themselves nor their puppet politicians  
Have even fake credentials of authority from God.

They see the red flag standing firmer  
And they hear the widening murmur  
Against their rule over-seas and at home.  
So a "prince of the church" is escorted by "old glory,"  
And what the bells and the bands really tell is the story  
Of a pact between the banker-kings and Rome.

"For a red hat and cape—they are very different things  
From a red, red flag," say the crafty banker-kings.  
"While the people bow and scrape, we will hide behind that cape,  
And grind them here and crush them there and bring the bacon home.  
Boost for the business-men's red international!  
Come on now, you Americans,—Three cheers for Rome."

—RENA DEANE.

culture in European countries—in England, France, Germany—about 50 to 60 years ago when American and Russian competition commenced there widespread permanent agricultural crisis. Present agricultural crisis in United States appears similar to that European crisis not only in its expressions on market, but even in its reflections on mental processes of the "scientists." In Europe, some 50 to 60 years ago the "theory" of Malthus that increase of population is limited by means of existence, was suddenly taken out from its wide circulation and substituted by an "Agrarierjammer," which tried to convince that not only agriculture, but all the society in Europe must go down if the immense supplies of food will not be kept away from the people by violent means. This same at present here "farsighted" discussions about "natural limits of food supplies" are silenced by cries for limitation of agricultural production, restrictions of imports, subsidies for exports.

THE economic expressions of agricultural crisis in Europe, Fr. Engels summarized as follows:

"A part of the land in Europe came definitely out of competition in culture of crops, rents were in decrease all over—falling price and falling productivity of additional investments of capital was a rule for Europe." ("Das

values" possible. But this fact alone does not explain anything about dynamical forces which brought this rise into existence.

WE CAN find many parallels in history when similar sudden increases of "land values" occurred. In every country where that happened in large extent there was a class of large landowners whose united efforts on the base of their centralized land monopoly, as in Ireland from about 1940 to 1869, were necessary for creation of such rise.

BIG landholders were operating here, too. Once (in 1900) the United States census bureau made an investigation about ownership of all tenant farms. This investigation disclosed that "8.1 per cent of the owners of rented farms have holdings representing 43.8 per cent of the aggregate value of such land, thus showing a large relative concentration not only of values, but also of acreage in the hands of comparatively few individuals." ("Twelfth Census of U. S. 1900. Agriculture." Vol. V. Page XCIII.)

IT is very interesting to note from the complicated table on page XCII of this report with classification of owners, according to the "value" of their holdings that the "value" of land per unit increased with the increase

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# White Terror In Saxony

By  
Ehrenfried Wagner

**A**FTER the overthrow of the Socialist government in Saxony owing to the treachery and cowardice of the left social-democrats, a reign of white terror set in, in the country. Saxony is flooded with Reichswehr troops who have introduced a regime of terror in the towns and villages. Socialist and Communist workers are maltreated in the most abominable fashion.

Sanguinary conflicts took place in some parts of the country already at the entry of the Reichswehr troops. In PIRNA and in MEISSEN, towns with a predominantly working class population, the first casualties took place. In FREIBERG, a mining town in the Erzgebirge, 32 workers were shot by the whites, in GROSSENHAIN, an agrarian city, machine guns were used against the workers with the result that 15 persons were seriously wounded. In LIMBACH and in CHEMNITZ, the renowned machine manufacturing town, one worker was killed and five were wounded. Up-to-date 37 workers have been shot throughout Saxony by the Reichswehr and over 100 of more or less seriously wounded persons lie in hospitals.

At present we will only publish some extracts from the voluminous material received by the Central Committee of the INTERNATIONAL RED AID on the white terror in Saxony. Wherever the white soldateska had occupied a village or a town, all comrades, who had become prominent in some way or other as working class leaders, were immediately arrested. The greatest animosity was of course displayed towards the leaders and members of the proletarian hundreds—the nuclei of the German Red Army. In OEDERAN, which is also a manufacturing town, 30 workers were arrested in one night

by the Reichswehr, 16 of whom were removed to an unknown destination. All arrests were carried out without a legal warrant. A domiciliary search took place in the house of a hundred's leader. During this search most of the furniture was smashed with the butt ends of the rifles. The wife and daughters of the missing man were insulted in a most revolting manner. The social-democratic deputy LUDWIG was assaulted by a soldier with the butt end of the rifle. When he protested against such treatment, he was struck in the face until he broke down covered with blood. A non-party worker was also arrested in the night, and for two hours he was by continual blows compelled to go around and around with a wheel-barrow and sing "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz" (the monarchist National Anthem). When he refused to do this he was beaten (being stripped to the waist) with sword blades and rubber sticks until he fainted.

**S**IMILAR terrorist acts have been reported from many other districts in Saxony. In GABLENZ the village schoolmaster was compelled to stand all night with his hands raised above his head because he had practised shooting with the children in school. The white beasts have done their worst among the miners of the Erzgebirge. In LENGEFELD a large number of non-party workers were struck on the back of their heads until blood flowed from nose and mouth. Trade Union officials who had advocated a protest strike were packed into carts by the soldiery and were taken to an unknown destination. When some workers attempted to rescue one of these prisoners, the soldiers shot indiscriminately into the crowd. Officers make use of footpaths

for riding and whoever does not make room for them is trampled down by their horses. In MUELAU an armored car drew up before the building of the communal council. Machine guns were made ready to fire, and all the social-democratic and Communist communal representatives were arrested.

**T**HE greatest horrors were perpetrated by the whites in the small working class town of LIMBACH. When the troops entered this town all the workers went on strike, and thousands of them were crowding the streets and town squares. The Reichswehr drove their armored cars like mad thru the crowds of excited workers. Mass arrests were made as a matter of course. The arrested were brutally maltreated. Almost every other prisoner was stretched on a table, he was gagged with a handkerchief, a soldier held his head while another held his feet and he was belabored with riding whips on his naked bottom. After the flogging they were made to perform genuflection until the wales burst. One trade union official was tied hand and foot, he was made to kneel down and was flogged every two hours. These punitive commandoes, as they called themselves, consisted of monarchist officers, students and manufacturers' sons. Here too the fury of the persecutors was left loose against Party and trade union officials, as well as against intellectuals who had sided with the workers. Members of the bourgeoisie acted as informers and encouraged by special gifts the soldiers of the Reichswehr to be as beastly and brutal as possible. Whenever the punitive commandoes failed to arrest the accused persons, they arrested their wives. They endeavored to extort confessions from the wives of our comrades using

disgusting immoral means. But our women comrades proved to be true revolutionaries, and even one of the white officers was compelled to say: "I have already come across iron men, but today I have seen for the first time iron women." In CHEMNITZ, the red capital of the workers, the troops arrived in full force. The premises of the "Arbeiterzeitung" were immediately occupied. Editors and party officials were arrested and insulted in the most abominable fashion. Windows had to be closed when the troops paraded the streets. Shots were fired into open windows. Shots were also fired into any assemblies in the streets. Working-class quarters were surrounded by troops and domiciliary searches and mass arrests took place. If the prisoner wanted was not in his dwelling, they arrested whoever was on the premises. On premises where the workers are in the habit of holding meetings all the visitors were also arrested. In effecting arrests the Reichswehr ignored, of course, deputies' immunity. A committee which had met to discuss the question of assistance to prisoners was also arrested.

**I**N Saxony the prisons are full to overflowing. The wives and children of the imprisoned comrades are in a terrible plight. The widows and orphans of those who fell in the street fights are absolutely destitute. The Saxon workers are mostly unable to give any assistance to the victims of the recent struggles, as they themselves are in dire straits because of the terror exercised by troops and factory owners. Therefore we must make an urgent appeal to the solidarity of all workers to come to the assistance of the numerous victims of the street fights.

# Masters Are Stifling Their Slaves

By BENJAMIN P. CHASS

**T**HE iron and steel magnates of Farrel, Pennsylvania, shall not stifle the militant workers! The capitalists shall not succeed in imprisoning the class-conscious workers who dare to fight for the better day!

Down thru the ages the powers that were tried to put down the revolt of the slaves. And today the same is true of the powerful group of capitalists who hold sway over the millions of down-trodden workers. But more and more the workers are becoming conscious of their class; more and more join the revolt for the better day that is beginning to dawn upon the horizon for the workers and farmers of America.

And because of this fact, the rulers adopt special laws in order to meet this conscious uprising of the workers. It was just for this reason that the infamous Pennsylvania Sedition Law was hurried thru the State Legislature and placed upon the statute books. So today if a militant worker dares to uphold his class, he is at once caught in this vicious trap, called the Sedition Law. This law was enacted but for one purpose—to stifle and imprison the leaders of the militant working class. At present in the State there are 21 under indictment charged with the violation of this law. A few are at present serving long prison sentences. All these victims are members of the Workers Party; no other persons have ever been convicted under this act, except militant workers, and this reactionary law was enacted for this very purpose. And it might be said right here and now that if the workers do not join together to have this infamous law repealed, America will become a Czarist Russia. Russia of tyrannical despotism, sent her revolvers to Siberia; America, the land of sham and hypocrisy, will deport her militant leaders to the Philippines or Haiti, or some other American imperialistic colony.

**L**AST May Day wholesale raids were made upon the Workers Party members in Pittsburgh, the stronghold of the Despot, Gary, and the crooked politician, Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury. Up until the present day,

there are nine men indicted under this same vicious law, but former District Attorney Myer dare not bring the cases up for the simple reason that the unions and the liberty loving citizens of Pittsburgh have organized a powerful Defense Council. It is power that the workers must have, for without power the workers are mere crawling slaves, but with power they are the revolting proletariat. So in Pittsburgh they dare not attempt to convict the indicted workers. Hence the start has been made in the small steel town of Farrel. If successful here, Pittsburgh will be the next Hell.

Attorney Myer who was in charge of the Pittsburgh cases, recently resigned his position as district attorney to take care of his private affairs, but, as we see, he is never too busy to help railroad a few class-conscious workers. Myer is one of those unconscious tin-soldiered 100 per cent Americans, and a typical ignorant, bigoted, narrow-minded American at that! When told that America was founded by revolution, he exclaimed that the American Revolution was not a revolution, but a REVOLT! And he goes on to say that it is a crime to advocate revolution. Surely he is not ignorant of the fact that the sixteenth president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, in his first inaugural address, March 4, 1861, said: "The country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to overthrow or dismember it." If the six men and six women who make up the jury would have read this declaration of Lincoln, the militant workers of Farrel, whom the steel magnates of Pennsylvania are bent upon railroading to jail, would go scot free to continue their work for the emancipation of the workers and farmers.

The workers have a constitutional right to praise and indorse the government of Soviet Russia, and it is their right, also, to express their hope for a workers' and farmers' government in America. The members of the Workers Party have the same right to urge the workers to revolt and set

up a workers' and farmers' government as President Coolidge has the right to urge the people to vote for him. The workers have as much right to hand out propaganda advocating their cause, as the capitalists have of advertising their goods that the workers produce, but do not own.

But the workers are awakening to their position in society. Daily they are getting more class conscious of their place in present capitalist controlled society. Daily their organizations are growing stronger and more powerful. And in union there is strength! June 17 they shall meet to nominate their candidates who will represent the workers and farmers, not the master capitalists.

**W**ORKERS of Farrel! Have courage! The workers and farmers of the mines, mills, factories, and farms are with you. The workers shall be behind you in this daring fight. The workers' moral and financial support are yours. Workers of Farrel! Do not go back one step in your fight for the entire working class. You are loyal to your class.

Workers of Farrel, you who are in the forefront, and who are therefore being grilled in court by your masters' tools, keep up your vim and courage! Others before you have faced the very same grim battle. This has always been the fate of the leaders of a just cause. And what cause is more just than the fight for the emancipation of the workers and farmers? What cause

is more just than to work for a workers' and farmers' government? Workers of Farrel, have courage! Face the court bravely; speak out for your class. The court room is filled with workers and farmers who are anxious for your message. Here is your opportunity. Face the future with a determined class conscious attitude, whatever the consequences may be, for the future shall see America governed by the workers and farmers and for their interests.

Communist Deputy in French Parliament.



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## The Stenographic Ad Verbatim Report

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of the  
Day!

OF  
BERTRAND  
**RUSSELL**  
VERSUS  
SCOTT  
**NEARING**  
Chairman SAMUEL UTERMYER  
SUBJECT:

Can the  
SOVIET  
IDEA  
take hold of  
AMERICA  
ENGLAND  
and  
FRANCE?

**RESOLVED:** That the Soviet form of government is applicable to Western Civilization  
Held at Carnegie Hall, New York City, May 25, 1924  
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# The Meaning of Experts' Report

By E. VARGA

AFTER a work of more than three months the Commission of Experts handed over its report to the Reparations Commission on April 9. This report, along with its supplements, makes a rather large pamphlet and space does not permit of our fully setting forth its contents. We assume that the essential contents are known to the reader from the columns of the daily press and we shall only give prominence to the principal features of the report.

## Payment of Reparations Only When The Exchange is Stable.

In the past years the Reparations Commission demanded payment, both in foreign currencies and in goods, without any regard to the question whether the German rate of exchange could endure such a burden. Contrary to this the Expert Commission takes the standpoint that Germany can only afford reparation payments when the German rate of exchange is stable, because when the rate of exchange falls, the state income automatically shrinks to such an extent that payments are impossible. Therefore, the stability of the German currency is to be preserved in spite of reparation payments.

### Reparation Payments in Germany Currency.

As a consequence of this, and with the exception of payments in goods, Germany shall only pay in German currency. The prescribed payments shall be made in German money to the account of the Reparations Commission at the Note Bank (Reparations Bank) which is to be founded. With the depositing of the prescribed sum Germany has carried out her share of the bargain. It is the business of the Allies as to how they shall get out of the country the amount of the reparation payments which have been made in Germany money. For this purpose the report provides for a commission of five and a special agent who shall see to it that the sums deposited by Germany are sent abroad in suitable form. It is the old question: In which form of goods can Germany pay the reparations, that is, in which form of goods can the reparations be accepted by the Entente without causing serious damage to the industry of France, England, and the remainder of the capitalist world? Naturally, the report does not solve this question because it is insoluble. It decides that the German payments may be accumulated up to a sum of two milliard gold marks in money. All amounts beyond this shall be invested in German securities up to a maximum amount of five milliard gold marks. Should it prove that no method can be found for the acceptance of the reparation payments, Germany's payments will be reduced until such time when it will be possible for the Entente to carry out the transmission to foreign countries.

The report destroys all those plans which sought to solve the reparations question with one sweep by the taking up of an international loan running into milliards. (Proposal of the Cuno Government for a twenty milliard gold mark loan.) All the fairy tales of American help, the whole conception that by transferring the wealth that has been piled up in America, and which is partly unused (the huge gold reserve of the Federal Reserve Banks), an important cause of the crisis could be settled at the same time as the reparations question, has faded away into nothing. The report provides for a single loan of eight hundred million gold marks which shall be employed for the payments in the first year.

From the point of view of World Politics this solution, if it is carried out in deed as well as in word by the Entente, signifies the defeat of the French Policy of force and the victory of England. The lines of French policy, the final separation of the Rhine and Ruhr districts from Germany, separatism in Bavaria and the separation of southern Germany from northern Germany, the breaking up of Germany in this way into three or four parts can be considered as shattered. The report is expressly based upon the standpoint that Germany must form a

united economic whole if she is to be able to pay reparations. The solution at the same time prevents the uniting, in French hands, of the continental deposits of coal and iron, which is of great importance for the economic and political power of France in relation to England.

### Germany Becomes an International Colony.

The shattering of the French plans of power do not signify that Germany will now become a free state. On the contrary, the report provides for a severe, systematic control of Germany by the Entente. As a matter of fact, with the carrying out of the measures which are provided for, German economic life would find itself under the control of the Entente. This control will extend to the railways, the federal finances, and to the whole financial policy by means of the Central Note Bank which is to be created (in which all existing note banks are to be taken up) and to the German taxes, the amount of which is to be laid down by the Entente.

### The Payments and Germany's Ability to Pay.

As is known, the report provides for the following payments:

First year	1000	million gold marks
Second year	1220	" " "
Third year	1200	" " "
Fourth year	1750	" " "
Fifth year	2500	" " "

First 5 years 7670 " " "

Of this sum 800 millions are to be obtained by a loan, so that for the first five years, payments of less than seven milliard gold marks are provided for. The payments from the fifth year onwards shall amount to 2500 million gold marks annually and perhaps more. A prosperity index has been provided for which shall be made up out of various, rather unrelated, elements (railway traffic, population, foreign trade, tobacco consumption, budget expenditure, and coal consumption). If these factors, reckoned according to a certain system, give an increase in the later years over the level of 1926-1929, Germany's obligations will be correspondingly increased.

The report lays down from what sources the reparations are to be drawn, that is it confiscates certain kinds of income for reparation payments. We do not wish to go into details here, as we may assume that they are known. The principles pronounced in the report by the specifying of these sources were as follows:

1. The railways have got rid of all their debts by the depreciation of the currency. They represent a capital of 26 milliard gold marks. Before the war they had a net income of over 600 million gold marks, or at the present value of money of about 1000 million gold marks, whereby it is to be emphasized, that in the pre-war days the German railways were not treated as an enterprise for profit-making but in the first place as an instrument for the economic development of Germany. Under these circumstances it is easily possible to draw from the railways 660 million gold marks in the form of interest bearing bonds and amortisation of the same and in addition a railway traffic tax of 290 million yearly.

2. German industry has got rid of its debts by the depreciation of the currency. Therefore it can shoulder a reparations debt of five milliard gold marks, which at 5 per cent interest and 1 per cent amortisation shall yield 300 million gold marks yearly.

3. In the treaty of Versailles it is laid down that the rate of taxation in Germany may not be less than that of the entente countries. On this basis it is reckoned that until the year 1928-1929 Germany can afford from its budget a sum extending up to 1250 millions gold marks for reparation payments. In order to secure these payments the income from the taxes on tobacco, beer, alcohol, and sugar, as well as the customs receipts, are to be paid into the reparations account at the new note bank (Reparations bank). If these taxes and customs yield a higher sum than is provided for, the surplus will be released for the needs of the German state. Two

questions arise here:

1. Can the sums provided for be taken out of the yield of the economic life of Germany, that is, out of the value produced by Germany as reduced to her present size?

As far as the first five years are concerned one can answer this question in the affirmative. By the saving which has been effected by the disappearance of the state debt and the reduction of the military expenditures, this amount can, in our opinion, be covered, assuming that the political rule of the bourgeoisie is firm and that the process of production is not disturbed by severe social struggles—an assumption that will hardly be realized. As regards the full payments after five years, we are compelled to doubt if the German economic system can bear the withdrawal of such great sums. In the meantime the extremely unstable balance of capitalism does not permit one to say very much as to how things will be in five years.

2. Can one find a form of goods in kind which will enable the German payments which are provided for to be brought out of the country?

For the first five years one can give an affirmative answer to this question, for when we deduct the deliveries of coal and coke, which are not only gladly accepted by France, but which are absolutely indispensable for her industrial life, there remains an insufficient yearly amount which has to be exported in currency or in goods; an amount which can be absorbed in the form of German goods in the world market if no acute economic crisis occurs. The matter stands quite differently if the payments are to be made in full after five years. Annual payments of 2500 million gold marks can only be rendered if the exports of Germany exceed the pre-war figure by many milliards. We say many milliards, because Germany cannot export only those wares for which all the raw materials and auxiliary materials are to hand in Germany, but naturally must also import such materials from abroad. At present the whole of western Europe cannot find a market for its full productive capacity and this state of affairs is, in our opinion, not a passing one and such a great export of German goods would lead, with the present reduced ability of absorption in the world market, to a severe disadvantage for French and English industry. We are therefore of the opinion that the whole payments can neither be made by Germany nor be accepted by the entente.

### The Meaning of the Report.

The report was accepted unanimously by the experts. As we can assume that the experts acted in agreement with their governments, this signifies that the entente governments, that is, the entente bourgeoisie, considers the proposed solutions as right.

Now what is the economic significance of this report? In our opinion it is essentially the following:

The entente bourgeoisie now sees that it is impossible to obtain reparations from Germany on such a large scale as was provided for in the various ultimata. The entente bourgeoisie

### THEME.

From the tall mountains  
Snow melts.  
Laughingly, eager veins of a wet  
clearness  
Ripple over pebbles by the white  
stone walk:  
An avenue at the edge of wide fields  
Undulating from the hills.  
Immature fields  
Await quickly  
Contact with lips of the water.  
An adolescent boy  
Uncouthly faltering hungry expectancies  
Lingers nearby.  
A laughing moist-eyed girl  
As wind chuckling nervously before  
the thunder  
Or piano fingered delicately before  
the rush of tone  
—A plant wafted by approaching  
throb of storm. . .  
Eager veins of inspiration  
Over yielding earth  
Desire bursting forth of seed:  
Snow melts.

HASKELL REIN.

oisie are faced with the alternative: Either to obtain reparations but at the price of the keen competition of Germany on the world market, and as a consequence, depreciation of the mark, social disorders, and a dictatorship of the right or of the proletariat in Germany; or to renounce the reparations for the amount that was provided for, to gain a deciding influence in German economic life and to make such use of it that Germany can be kept down as an industrial rival. In other words: Less reparations but no re-establishment of Germany as a dangerous competitor in the world. The report signifies that the entente bourgeoisie has decided on the latter solution. If we assume this to be the case the conclusions of the report, which in part are somewhat strange, become fairly clear.

The mortgage upon the railways and the control of the German railways will be settled by the entente, and in such a manner that German industry will not be able to give an artificial stimulus to its exports by means of preferential freights on goods destined for export, as was the case before the war.

The five milliard mortgage upon German industry signifies that the cost of production of German industry will be correspondingly increased.

The control of the Note bank signifies that the discount policy of the central note institute will be fixed by the entente bourgeoisie and the amount of the credits to industry, as well as the rate of interest, will be set in accordance with the needs of the English and French bourgeoisie, while the development of German industry can be hindered by limitation of credit and high rate of interest.

The investment of five milliard gold marks in German shares (this amount may be increased); signifies that the entente bourgeoisie, which, as it already holds considerable amounts of the shares in German industries, gets possession of the most important branches of German industry.

Taken altogether this signifies that Germany comes under the economic control of the entente bourgeoisie and that this control will be exercised before all with the idea of suppressing the ability of Germany to compete in the world market and to restrict the development of German economic life.

In our former reports we have often pointed out that the spokesman of the English and French bourgeoisie are always emphasizing the following: England has a debt of about 150 milliard gold marks upon which she must pay interest, whereas Germany, owing to the depreciation of the currency, is free of debts. This signifies that the English manufacturer has to pay much higher taxes than the German and that wages in England are higher than in Germany. Consequently a reparations policy must be adopted which ensures the ability of England and France to compete in the world market. As this does not harmonize with the payment of reparations on the old system of the payment of currency without regard to the further fate of the German rate of exchange, since this would compel Germany to force her export of goods, the economic meaning of the report is: Less reparations, but the domination of the German economic system in order to prevent the dangerous development of a new competitor of the entente bourgeoisie, in the world market.

## Baptists To Fight For Whole God At Coming Convention

MILWAUKEE, Wis., May 29.—A fight on the issue of modernism and fundamentalism by the Northern Baptist Convention here next week was forecast by delegates to the convention of the Baptist Bible Union of America.

The union will seek for a confession of faith by the Baptist convention, committing the body to fundamentalism.

A fight to cut adrift from the Federated Churches of Christ also will be staged by the union, according to present plans.

# Lenin On God and Religion

(NOTE OF EDITOR:—Below we reproduce a letter by Nicholas Lenin to Maxim Gorky (Alexey Peshkov) dated Nov. 14, 1913. It reveals to the American worker an entirely new angle of Lenin's soul and general attitude towards life. The question of God and religion is what Lenin concerns himself with in this letter, which is one of a collection of 33 letters to Gorky shortly to be published in Russia.)

To understand the spirit of this letter, one must be familiar with the state of mind of the Russian Intelligentsia about the time the letter was written. The social group had been for over 50 years the main source of inspiration and leadership in the revolutionary movement of Russia. Certain sections of the Intelligentsia have very early attached themselves to the labor movement, making the cause of the workers their own.

And then came the big crash, the unsuccessful revolution against Czarism in 1905. The defeat of the revolution had a shattering effect upon the morale and revolutionary integrity of the Intelligentsia. A wave of black despondency and passivity overtook and conquered the minds of that social group. It developed later a concerted movement away from the "brutalities" of the class-struggle and onward to the serene spheres of God and religion. It was a period of "searching after God" its participants being known as "God Searchers."

At the time leading writers of the Russian Social-Democratic Party have very effectively analyzed the economic background of this religious "wave," which was shown to be a petty-bourgeois revolt against the working-class nature of the Russian revolution. Looking backward one can now see that the transformation of the Russian Intelligentsia from a revolutionary into a counter-revolutionary force had begun as early as 1906.

The immediate cause of Lenin's letter were two articles by Gorky published at that time in the "Russkoye Slovo" of Moscow and the "Retch" of Petrograd, as a protest against the production by the Moscow Art theatre of a dramatization of Dostoyevsky's novel, "The Possessed." The letter follows:

"Dear A. M. (Alexey Maximovitch): What are you doing? It is simply dreadful, indeed!

"Yesterday I read in the Retch your answer to the 'howl' in defense of Dostoyevsky, and today arrived the 'liquidating' newspaper in which appears the paragraph which was not given in the Retch.

"This paragraph reads as follows: "And it is necessary to put off the 'searching after God' for a time (why for a time?) It is a useless occupation; there is nothing to search where it cannot be found. Without sowing there is nothing to reap. You have no God, you have not yet (not yet!) created Him. Gods are not sought; they are created; life is not invented, it is created."

"It appears, then, that you are against 'searching after God' only 'for a time!' Consequently you are against the search after God only for the sake of substituting it by creating God!

"Well, is it not terrible that you give utterance to such a thought?

"The search after God differs from creating God, from deification, no more than a yellow devil differs from a blue devil. To speak of the searching after God not for the purpose of speaking against all sorts of devils and gods, against all sorts of spiritual decay (every little god is decay, it does not matter whether it is a clean, ideal, unsought-for little god or whether it is a created little god), but for the purpose of preferring the blue devil to the yellow devil is a hundredfold worse than not to say anything at all.

"In the freest countries, in such countries where appeals 'to the democracy, to the people, to public opinion and to science' are out of place, in such countries (America, Switzerland and so forth) the people, the working people, are assiduously stupefied by just this idea of a clean, spiritual, created little god. Just because every

religious idea, every idea about all kinds of little gods, every coquetry even with a little goddess is a most inexpressible abomination, which is particularly tolerated (and often even welcomed) by the democratic bourgeoisie—and just because of this it is the most dangerous abomination, the most hideous 'pest.' A million sins, abominations, violences and physical infections are far more easily disclosed by the crowd and therefore less dangerous than the refined, spiritual idea of a little god, attired in most festive 'idealistic' garb.

"The priest who corrupts morality (of which I have just read in a German newspaper) is far less dangerous to this 'democracy' than the priest without a crude religion, the spiritual democratic priest who advocates the creation of the little god. For the first priest can be easily exposed, convicted and driven out, while it is a thousand times harder to expose the other priest and not a single 'frail and pitifully weak' inhabitant would consent to it.

"And you, knowing 'the frailty and pitiful weakness' of (Russian—why Russian? Is the Italian better?) bourgeois residue, confounds its soul with poison, with the sweetest poison, covered with a sugar coating and wrapped with all sorts of particolored papers!

"Enough of self-despising, which is substituted among us for self-criticism.

"Is not god-building the worst form of spitting at one's self? Every person who occupies himself with god-building or who even admits such building is spitting at himself in the worst way. Instead of occupying himself with deeds, he is devoting himself to self-contemplation and self-admiration, in which case he contemplates the basest, the dullest, the most servile traits of his ego, deified by god-building.

"From the general, and not from the personal viewpoint, every form of god-building is just this amorous self-contemplation of the dull bourgeoisie, of the frail public, of the dreamy self-contempt of the Philistines; of the 'despairing and exhausted' (as you correctly wrote of the soul—not the Russian soul, but the bourgeois soul, for Jewish, Italian, English—it is all the same devil, the nasty bourgeoisie is equally contemptible, and the 'democratic bourgeoisie,' occupied with decay, is especially contemptible).

"Reading your article, endeavoring to discover whence such a slip came, am perplexed. What is it? The remnants of your 'Confession,' which you yourself did not approve of? Or its echoes?

"Or is it something else—is it, for

instance, an unsuccessful attempt at bending down to the viewpoint of the democratic elements instead of that of the proletariat? Perhaps, in talking to the 'democratic elements in general' you wanted to lisp as people lisp when they talk to children. Perhaps, for the sake of 'popularization,' you wanted to admit to the people their prejudices for a moment?

"But that is a wrong method in every sense and every respect!

"I said before that in 'democratic countries it would be out of place for a proletarian writer to appeal 'to the democracy, to the people, to public opinion and to science.' Well, and in Russia? Such an appeal is not entirely adequate, for it also flatters the prejudices of the people. . . . Why throw a democratic gauze before the reader instead of making a clear distinction between the bourgeoisie (frail, pitifully weak, tired, despairing, self-contemplating, god-building, self-despised, senselessly anarchistic—a wonderful word) and the proletariat (who can be brave not in words only, who can distinguish between the bourgeois 'science and public opinion' and their own)?

"Why do you do it?

"It is devilishly painful.

"Your

"B. L. (V. ULYANOV) LENIN."

## In Defense of Our Government

By ROBIN ERNEST DUNBAR.

THERE are so many attacks on our government these days by irresponsible people, lunatics, cranks, harum-scarums, I. W. W.'s, socialists, bolsheviks, foreigners, communists, and anarchists and other ill-natured elements, including those opposed to the American Legion and Ku Klux Klan, American Fascisti, Black Shirts, etc., that I do as a 100 per cent American and husband of a D. A. R. and ex-Justice of the Peace and candidate to the Detective Service of Wm. H. Burns, that grand old man of Republicanism, Democracy and Junkerism, rise in my righteous indignation and come to the rescue of our sacred institutions, including the right to buy and sell oil on the market, to drink a medicinal quantity of liquor and to acquire wealth by supporting our hierarchs.

Let us take up some of the more offensive charges by these pro-Germans and pacifists, and sift them to the bottom:

1. That our president should not be quite so much in hoc or in particeps criminis as we say in the justice

courts with those who do not wish our institutions well. I answer plainly and hotly to that charge that our president knows his own private business, and that we must distinguish, er . . . differentiate . . . er . . . draw a line between what he does as Chief Executive and what he does as a private citizen and operator on the stock market. There is no man from Grover Cleveland down so big but that he watches the ticker a part of his time, while fishing on Decoration Day, or yachting with his friend Benedict Arnold, or whatever his name was off the 4-mile limit. It now seems to be circulated by insidious poison propaganda that no president should enrich himself by standing in with the fight promoters, film distributors, rum-runners, oil operators, or others of our rich and highly respected citizenry. The question occurs, "What did we make the World Safe for Democracy for" if it wasn't that our president could choose his friends from Wall Street, where the money grows on derricks, or on fillums, or on cases of Scotch, or from whatever other place he sees fit, including Washington Court House, Ohio?

### BATTLESHIPS AT ANCHOR

By JAMES H. DOLSEN

The battleships rest quietly at anchor in the bay;  
Their long guns gleaming in the sun,—  
Sleek monsters of destruction,  
Polished reminders of the butchery that is war.

The flaring-wide white-trousered sailor lads,  
Scrubbing the decks and polishing the guns,  
Laugh gaily at their tasks and sing  
Ribald refrains from rag-time melodies.

No thought today of world-encircling wars  
Thrusts its black shadow o'er their simple minds.

A seeming peace envelops land and sea.  
Men go about their work with little heed  
Or that thin cloud which gathers on the sky  
And makes its way by imperceptible degrees  
There to the waiting shops where it may tell  
Portentious secrets to the guns, and rouse  
The shells and powder from their restless sleep.

If those great guns should wake! If they should speak  
In thunders crashing o'er the seas,  
Would it be prelude to another war,—  
White against Yellow for the mastery  
Of wakening China's stores of hidden wealth?

Above the battleships the seagulls fly  
In restless, circling, hungry flocks;  
Knowing no more than men and caring less  
What hellish schemes the guns are brooding o'er.

RIGHT here I want to say I defend that grand old man, Mr. Denby, as I do Albert Fall, Daugherty, Jess Smith, Col. House, Harry Sinclair, Henry Ford, Doheny, McAdoo, The Chicago Post and Albuquerque Press and Denver Rocky Mt. News and all them other members of the government. I say it is a shame to attack them surreptitiously and seditiously by all them charges before commissions illegally organized, and which have no power to force witnesses to answer questions. Roxie Stinson oughter to be in jail by rights, and I'd put her there, if I hadn't lost my constable badge to a poker sharp from Daugherty's shack last nite. I say Daugherty never shot Jess Smith; it was Silent Cal, who shot him on account of a woman, just as any Ku Kluxer has a right to do, to protect the honor of our wives, and darters, and school children, and old maid school teachers. With me it is liberty or dath; and I'll take mine straight, without any selzer, pleze.

The next charge is that Daugherty is a hi jacker, and beats his way on the freights between his shack in Washington Court House, and the House on K St., with the Green Shuders. Also that he and Burns carry theirs about in satchels, just like Albert Fall. I say it is all a democratic lie; if you don't believe me, ask Burns himself, or any other smart man in the employ of Wall St., Morgan, Rockefeller, Gaston Means, McLean, or The Nation Magazine. Ask the Smart Setters themselves; One Eyed Nathan, or Booze Nosed Mencken; they knows everything and then some. Or if you can't reach 'em, ask J. Bascom Slemper, that pure eyed son of a biscuit eater, who goes to Florida where the subpoenaes won't reach him, and takes his salt with his employers, Daugherty, Burns, and McLean, and then like a coward he is, runs back to his paw in Washington, D. C., and coughs it all up. Such fellers ought to be shot, and that's why we got the Koo Kluckers in this country, and their nite gowns at \$4 each, half price to women and children. Morons! I'll say they are! All of 'em, who are agin wearing 'em, in bed or out! . . . It makes me tired. Sometimes I think I'll go out of politics entirely with all this complainin' going about our free institutions, and \$4 nities. I'm agin unmasking too, you can put that down in your note book. How'd we hev hung Frank Little without masks? Or cut off the privates of Wesley Everest? Or broke up the strike at Herrin? Sum people is that unreasonable they would have this government run by infants and sissies.

# The Position of the Parties in England

By J. T. MURPHY.

AFTER the defeat of the Baldwin government the stock of the Conservative party went very low. It did not improve matters for itself when it retained office and brought in a window dressing program consisting of items culled from the programs of the Liberals and the Labor party. All that it succeeded in doing was making clear to everybody that, apart from its protectionist policy, there was little to distinguish it from the National Liberals of the Lloyd George group. Especially was this emphasized when MacDonald proposed, on its one remaining plank of imperial preference, to leave all parties free to vote without the organized pressure of the party whips. There was nothing left for the Conservative party to do but to become the anti-Socialist propagandist body in the defense of property interests and to work for the discrediting of the Labor administration as a means of gathering the discontents of the Liberals who were class conscious and reorganize its forces pending an opportunity to take once again the lead on some patriotic issue.

During the first three months of Labor in the government it has failed to make much progress with its anti-Socialist propaganda, an it is a long way from having done much in the way of party reorganization. It has appointed a new organizer, who may have a good reputation for organizing tramways and tube railways, but he has not yet made up for the want of a program sufficiently distinctive to make the party a real inspiring force even amongst the defenders of capitalism. Its anti-Socialist propaganda has done it more harm than good, because it is so perfectly obvious that the Labor government is indistinguishable from a Liberal government except for the fact that there are men in its ranks who have been drawn from the working class. That, as a matter of fact, adds to the popular favor. It is looked upon as more democratic, more broadly representative than if the Liberal party had formed the government. The attacks upon the Labor government are strengthening it. The class hatred of the ardent members of the Conservative party has made them indiscreet and caused them to forget the people with whom they are dealing. The masses of this country are far from being as politically alive as the masses on the continent. The effect of the attacks only rouses the cry, "Why, hang it all, they haven't had a chance"; "Give them fair play"; "You are jealous because you are not in office." But no discussion of politics would follow from such remarks. No attempt would be made to understand the whys and wherefores of attacks or defense. It would simply be a question of giving "fair play" to the new lot.

This attitude towards politics is difficult for Europeans to understand. I will illustrate it still further in order to show the tremendous psychological factors against which especially a revolutionary party has to work, and how cleverly the capitalist class for the best part of a century have supplemented their efforts to keep the workers out of politics by developing the sports.

I remember well the scene at a Labor party conference in London when Mr. Henderson introduced Kerensky and refused a hearing to Litvinoff. He received a tremendous ovation. Had the platform been given to Litvinoff instead of Kerensky, he would have received the same ovation and welcome. It would not matter about the contrast in the politics of the two individuals. They were visitors and should be treated accordingly, given fair play to express themselves, a good cheer as a sign of good sportsmanship and permitted to depart. If the leaders thought it advisable to move a resolution in favor of the speech delivered, it would be passed and probably forgotten by all except the very small minority interested for or against it. It is this sentiment which both the Tories and the Liberals have roused against themselves and which is helping the Labor party to increase its influence enormously.

The reactions from this develop-

ment are growing steadily. The Tory party is driven to a policy of exaggerating the potentialities of the Labor party, and is busy raising the scare of Communism. And first one and then another of the Liberal party pass into its ranks, fearful of the drift of events. They see in the growing influence of the Labor party an awakening of the working class, which they dread. But nothing drastic may be expected from the Tory party as yet. The right wing is fostering its Fascist movement, altho it has not discovered its Mussolini. The Morning Post has definitely become the organ of this section, but Baldwin has not discovered his successor, either, and so the moment is not ripe for a bold, aggressive lead from the Tories. It has to re-gather its forceful leaders.

It is for this reason that so much attention is being given to Winston Churchill. In spirit and purpose, in class consciousness and hatred of the working class movement, he is as intense as the Duke of Northumberland and his Fascist battalions. But he is a more astute politician and more able in every way. He knows that the time is not yet for the scrapping of constitutionalism on behalf of the propertied interests. Constitutionalism is a big slogan for the rally of forces, and he has yet to get clear of the Liberal camp. He has accordingly taken up the same cries as the Tories, whilst playing with the language of the Liberals. The Tory party is playing up to him. In the recent election more than a hundred Here the leading party of the Labor Tory M. P.'s supported his campaign in Westminster, and now there is a proposal to find him a "safe" Tory seat in Liverpool. He can see quite clearly that the Labor party leaders have stolen all the thunder of the Liberal party and that he must find a new home.

The Liberal party is in a bad way, and Mr. Lloyd George sees this. So manifest is it that the Labor party has become the custodian of Liberalism that he is alternately pleading for an open Lib-Lab coalition and trouncing the Labor government for its departure from Socialist associations. He says that the Labor government has been rude to the Liberal party—in fact, insulting. It exists by virtue of the act of the Liberal party, and yet is attacking the Liberal party in the constituencies when the defeat of the Liberal candidate would mean only the substitution of another person and not another policy.

In his Llandudno speech this week he went frantic about the danger of losing the Liberal party. Time and again since the Labor government was established the Liberal party has been divided in its voting on the cruiser question, the Poplar question, on housing, and so on. It has really not functioned as a party. And frequently the smallest portion of the party has been with Lloyd George. He pleads then for the Liberal party to rally its forces as a party. Liberalism, he declares, as the representative of the middle classes, has saved Britain time and again from revolution. He says he cannot work with the Tories. The differences are so acute that it was made obvious to him in his experience with the coalition government that they were fundamental and prevented any rallying to the Tory party.

But he has forgotten, as the Liberal press seems also to forget, that it is the fact of the Labor government being a Liberal government, and its measures essentially the measures of the Liberal party, that, in order to distinguish itself and justify its existence, it has to vote and speak against Liberalism. The Liberal party is thus in process of dissolution, and every member of it is weighing his personal position. If he votes against Liberalism, how is he to justify his action to the electorate, especially when the opposition candidate comes forward with the same proposals which previously got him elected, with the additional advantage that he belongs to the party that is putting them into practice and has a wider popular appeal? Until the Labor party has gone thru a process of dividing its elements along class lines

there is no rallying ground for the Liberal party. Its prospects become less and less, with the possibility of a slice of it going into the Labor party, as well as others moving over to Churchill and the Tory party.

At this time the Labor party is the one party among those defending the interests of capitalism that is growing in strength and influence. Of that there is not the slightest doubt. It is attracting the middle classes, who have had their minds set at rest so far as dangerous Socialist politics are concerned. MacDonald has given them every assurance that they have nothing to fear. Socialism is a growth, a spirit, an attitude of mind, any old damn thing that will give you comfort when you are tired, inspire you when you are sad and increase your capacity for saying sentimental, sloppy things that don't mean anything. You can take part in an armament race and talk of brotherly love. You can . . . but there is no need to go on. The middle classes are feeling that the Labor Government is a jolly good thing.

The Labor Government is awakening a great interest in the working class. The abolition of the "gap" in unemployment pay and the other little items which I have mentioned previously have meant much to them. The handling of the industrial disputes and the settlements which have resulted in favor of the workers have given encouragement to the workers to forge ahead with their demands. The Labor Government has escaped from the bad situations it was developing, and any discontent which arose concerning its actions in the disputes has been laid to the account of the other parties, being in the majority in the Parliament. The blacklegging incidents have not been on sufficiently large a scale to create a general outcry. The traditional course of industrial disputes has accordingly been maintained without the masses seeing thru the policy that was being pursued by the Labor leaders. Prompt inquiries, spectacular debates, and then "practical compromise" and "fair play" have all done their share in giving a popular tone to the Labor Government in wide circles of the workers.

But there is a section which has had much cause for discontent and that is the section of the workers who have put all their hopes into the workers' movement. Those who have been active in the political party work are not so sure. They have grave misgivings that everything is not well. So many things have happened that they did not expect to happen. They feel discontented but are puzzled about this minority position and explain things away to themselves and others on the grounds of "giving the government a chance" and "not expecting them to do the same things as they would if they had a majority." But the discontent is there. Yet there is a strong loyalty. The trouble is that the whole movement is devoid of theoretical training and unable to explain its experiences even to itself.

The I. L. P. Conference at York this week shows the confusion in excelsis. Here the leading party of the Labor movement meets in conference. It isn't sure whether it is still a propaganda party or a party responsible for the political direction of the government. It has six cabinet ministers and 126 members of Parliament. The Premier is its leader. He feels no responsibility to the Party for the policy of the government. He gives a speech to the conference as if he were a fraternal guest and tells the conference that the government is doing its best, even goes to the extent of telling them to forget their socialist name, he prefers Labor in order to suppress all class distinctions. He gives them a lecture on moral uplift, on the spirit in which things have to be done, warns them against extremism, passes a joke or two, and is gone. There is great cheering, much patting on the back. There is no examination of policy, no question as to the significance of the actions of the Labor Government in relation to the fate of the working class, but a complete approval of the Labor Government and an adaptation of the Party to the demands of the government. Only once or twice was the

questioning voice raised—on pacifism and on the experts' report. The propagandist section wanted to stand for pure pacifism and immediately a leader arose and said that they must remember that they are no longer simply a propaganda body but that what they said today they had tomorrow to stand for in the Parliament. That came as a shock. And immediately the I. L. P., built upon quaker money, adjusted its conscience to the political requirements of the government and surrendered its old position. On the question of the experts' report it was the same. The report was never analyzed. The significance of its terms in relation to the working class was never mentioned. The old resolutions of the I. L. P. against reparations and indemnities were swept on one side. The question was explained that if this report was accepted there was chance of "securing a settlement" in Europe. If it was not accepted then things continued as they are. The action of the government was approved. Altho prominent men like Maxton who had been taking a distinctly different attitude in the Parliament to that adopted by MacDonald, were present not one of them led any criticism of the policy pursued or challenged MacDonald to face the music on any issue. Whatever the feelings of the so-called left wing of the I. L. P., its capacity for courageously and critically subjecting the policy of their party to a theoretical examination and challenging MacDonald on the floor of their own conference was gravely lacking. Indeed, to see the general ineptitude of the discontented in the presence of MacDonald is to get a forceful reminder that we are a long way from the clear division of forces in the Labor Party in terms of those who are prepared to pursue a class war and those who have surrendered to Liberalism, MacDonald has nothing to fear within the ranks of the Parliamentary Labor Party so far as any class war elements are concerned. There is plenty of blather but little capacity for raising an alternative leadership. MacDonald knew what he was doing when he drew Wheatley into his camp. He took the sting out of his wasp.

The only challenging force within the ranks of the working class, in short the only representative body of working class interests, is the small Communist Party. Every other party is hopelessly compromised as the defender of capitalism. Since the advent of the Labor government it has gained considerably in influence and made some progress in numbers. It has gained thru its activities in the strikes more than from its criticism of the government. It wielded considerable influence in the railway strike, the dock strike, the tramway and bus strike and got a tremendous advertisement in the Southampton and Wembley strikes altho there were only two Communists in Wembley and not even a party group at Southampton. Its criticisms of the Labor Government have been growing stronger week by week. On special issues such as in the armament debates, the air estimates and Indian repressions, it has come out vigorously. But the effect of these must not be wrongly estimated. It must not be thought that as soon as the voice of criticism is raised there is an automatic leaning toward the Communist Party. The value of the criticism will come later when experience has played its part. At the moment only a few are receptive. The majority resent criticism and regard it as "unfair." Nevertheless, it is slowly making itself felt and the confidence that is being created by the loyalty to the men taking part in strikes is getting the party a bigger hearing than ever before.

The conditions for the development of the party are only now developing on a large scale. And the party itself has a considerable distance to go before it is capable of taking advantage of all the opportunities that surround it. At the Second Congress of the Comintern there was no Communist Party. At the Battersea Conference in 1922 began the first attempt to get away from old socialist party forms and transform the party into a Com-

(Continued on next page.)

## The Position of the Parties in England

(Continued from preceding page.)

unist Party. Right into the autumn of 1923 it was undergoing structural transformation, making a first attempt to apply the Third Congress decisions of the Comintern. During the whole of this period it hardly managed to hold its own members. New members joined the Party but old ones left as quickly. The whole of this activity has been in the midst of tremendous depression in the ranks of the working class. Still further changes were made as a result of the conference of the party executive with the Comintern E. C. in the middle of last year. It was not until the beginning of 1924 that it was possible for the developments then agreed upon to get moving. The main lines agreed upon were sound but it will take time for them to show the results we are after.

During the last eighteen months the party has concentrated so much on organization and the development of the circulation of the party paper, tried so hard to transform itself in terms of a paper scheme that the membership became tired. It needed new inspiration and enthusiasm. It was complained that the Executive was out of contact with the members and there was good grounds for the complaint. There had been no party conference for months, more than a year. It had been put off time and again. Finally we held a conference. Snags were removed. Preparations made for a Party Congress were afoot. The whole political situation changed and brought new vitality in the fight. And the Party has begun to grow.

But we have still to face the characteristic failing of the British movement as a whole. We have got to get past the stage of the purely propagandist party, conducting general propaganda, and become a political party of struggle. For this we need also a toning up of the quality of the party, the development of its theoretical equipment, in order to be able to diagnose correctly the significance of the political events that are unfolding and to deal with them concretely and with revolutionary purpose. All this will take time and require patience and persistence. But one thing is certain: That the party was never in a better condition than it is today, and it was never faced with greater opportunities for development.

The position of the parties is such that the two capitalist parties, the Liberals and the Tories, are still in turmoil and unable to take decisive action, and the Labor Party has begun to reveal to the masses of the workers concretely the meaning of "gradualism," while the Communist Party has become the one center to which the workers can turn as their eyes are opened to the great illusion.

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# REFLECTION ON BUSINESS SENTIMENTALITY

By ANALYST.

**P**OPULAR belief has it that there is no sentiment in business. There is at any rate plenty of sentiment in business propaganda. It is pretty well all sentiment, of a peculiarly maudlin sort. Apparently the business mind, which has to be sober and realistic in dealing with the solid facts of industry and trade, functions in another way when it steps out of its own proper sphere. Otherwise its fantastic childishness in discussing such questions for example as the motives of Mr. Doheny in developing oil fields is inexplicable.

C. W. Barron, publisher of the Wall Street Journal and other financial papers, has a typical business mind. He is hard-headed and sober enough when analyzing economic conditions and profit prospects. Those are the qualities that have won for the Wall Street Journal "the richest circulation in the world." But when it comes to talking about business ethics, Barron is ludicrously and idiotically sentimental.

He has been writing articles painting Doheny not as a profiteer but as a philanthropist. Doheny, according to Barron, is a pioneer of civilization. It was in that role that he went into Mexico. Some years ago Barron made a trip to Mexico with Doheny to see some of the latter's oil properties. When he asked Doheny what he might say in his papers about the situation, Doheny replied: "Nothing about me or my properties. We can take care of ourselves. But help the people of Mexico if you can."

Barron pictures Doheny, not as a profit monger yearning to exploit the material resources of Mexico, but as a humanitarian pining to "give the good people of Mexico right, justice, and freedom in a modern system of society." Barron says Doheny told him that to accomplish this end, he would "sink all his interest on this coast ten thousand feet deep in this sea."

After this effusion one is some-

what prepared for Barron's remark that when he read the stenographic reports of Doheny's testimony at Washington in the oil steal investigation, he could hear "his rugged sincere voice in denial that his loan to a personal friend of 30 year's standing had anything to do with Doheny's leasing of the California naval reserve." Having swallowed a camel, Barron is not going to strain at a gnat. A man who can believe Doheny wants to raise the Mexican people more than he wants Mexican oil, can believe anything.

Of course Barron may not believe any of the nonsense he is writing about Doheny and his laudable motives. He may simply be trying to fool others. But that is not a necessary explanation. There is a cult, a religion of business, which glorifies all its processes. According to this religion, business is the architect of civilization, the source of all material and spiritual well being. It is the fountain of progress and the indispensable means of individual and social health. Barron is a high priest of this religion. It is conceivable that, like other priests, he accepts the prescribed articles of faith.

There has been nothing in the Wall Street Journal condemning the oil steals. The only crooks that the Wall Street Journal knows anything about are labor leaders who foment strikes, politicians who oppose reductions in income surtaxes, and agrarian agitators who tell the farmers that their troubles are due to something besides the normal working of economic law. Occasionally the paper mildly frowns on Democratic politicians who accept retainers from oil magnates. But bribing public officers to procure dishonest alienation of public resources does not apparently meet with its censure, provided the alienated properties get into the right hands. This attitude does not, however, prove conscious moral depravity. It may be only a result of excessive devotion to the business religion.

Consider what this devotion entails.

It rests on the principle that private business is an absolute good. Consequently anything that promotes private business must be good, too. Getting valuable public resources into private hands has this effect. It is therefore not merely defensible but praiseworthy. One who thinks it a sin to keep oil and coal and timber where profits cannot be got out of them is not apt to boggle at any irregularities that may be necessary to correct the evil. The end justifies the means. A devotee of the religion of business need suffer no pangs of conscience for not reprobating the oil steals. They will probably yield a stream of profits that will wash away every stain.

Barron and his sort are probably not aware how ridiculous they look in trying to make business look like philanthropy. They have to be more or less under the influence of their own sentimentality in order to spread it with an air of conviction. Moreover, it has the advantage of fooling others as well as themselves, and that is an important consideration now that great numbers of people are getting suspicious about the truth of the theory that business is a beneficent force always and everywhere. There is consequently likely to be more rather than less illusionery about business in the future. But it is worth while to puncture the pretty bubble that the aggrandisement of private business, however achieved, is necessarily a public benefit.

This myth springs from the assumption that business is synonymous with production. Secretary of State Hughes

has stated the assumption in its classic form in giving his reasons for not recognizing Russia. Private production is not enthroned in Russia; therefore Russia is an economic vacuum, in which no production at all is possible. Since the facts refuted this naive assumption, Hughes has not repeated it; but it lies at the root of the whole religion of business. For the elevation of business into a religion, it must be represented as the sole efficient agency of production. It is a fact that production is the basis of civilization. If the Barrons and Hugheses and other apologists of capitalism are permitted unchallenged to make production synonymous with business, there is no escape from the conclusion that business interests should have the right of way over everything else.

Confounding business, which is merely one mode of production, with production itself, enables business leaders to claim as their work all the results of science, invention and labor. It is a highly ingenious trick that has never been sufficiently exposed. Under certain conditions, production is impossible except under the leadership of business men. But the world now has proof that under other conditions, production can be carried on without their help. This is the truth, now historically established, that is destined to shatter the whole fabric of business sentimentality. When it is more widely appreciated, attempts to show looters of the public domain in the guise of public benefactors will be less successful.

## BURNS LOOTED D. OF J. FILES AND DESTROYED INCRIMINATING EVIDENCE BEFORE HE WAS BOUNCED

WASHINGTON, May 29.—Confidential Department of Justice data on alleged Mexican border gun-running plots were removed from the department's files by William J. Burns, former director of the bureau of investigation, Senator Wheeler, Montana, charged today before the senate Daugherty committee.

Wheeler said the committee had searched for several special delivery letters bearing on a "revolutionary plot," and was unable to locate them in department files.

The committee learned, he said, that the documents were removed from the main file room and placed in the confidential files in Burns' office but could trace them no further.

## Mainspring of International Communism

(Continued from page 1)

number of political and organizational steps to achieve this end. An important step in this direction is the present membership-campaign, the so-called Lenin-Drive, carried on by the Russian Party. It was started immediately after Lenin's death, the

time close attention will be paid to the petty-bourgeois influences that are making themselves felt in the party.

Comrade Molotov's thesis takes cognizance of the fact that certain elements in the party, petty-bourgeois in nature and psychology, are interpreting this tendency for party-democracy to mean that the proletarian dictatorship is to be changed or modified. The thesis proposes to wage a relentless struggle against these elements to the point of completely eliminating them from the party, if this should become necessary. Comrade Molotov's thesis will in all probability be adopted by the Congress.

### Conclusion

Great are the responsibilities of our Russian Comrades, but just as great are their opportunities for revolutionary service. We are certain that the Russian Party will successfully solve its problems and will continue in the future, as they did in the past, to guide and promote the efforts of the revolutionary workers the world over to destroy the rule of capitalism and establish the International Soviet Republic.



L. TROTSKY

party having decided to enroll 100,000 new members from among the factory workers.

Up to April 22, new applications for membership have been made to the party to the number of 269,372. Of this number only 125,815 have been accepted thus far. All of those that have applied are factory workers actually engaged in the Russian industries.

### Democratization of Party Organization

The process of democratizing the party organization, i. e., drawing the rank and file of the party into active participation in party and Soviet work, is to be continued. At the same



I. STALIN.

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### W. MOLOTOFF



B. MOLOTOFF.

In charge of membership campaign in Russian Party.



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