

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

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT  
**THE DAILY WORKER**

SECOND SECTION  
This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

AUGUST 16, 1924.

# The Labor Conference at Geneva

By A. ENDERLE.

ON the 21st of June last there commenced at Geneva the sixth international labor conference. These conferences constitute the parliament of the Labor Bureau. The present conference was given tremendous advertisement in the bourgeoisie and Social Democratic press of all countries. Every day there appeared long reports over the "arduous labors" of the conference. Great rhetorical duels were "fought" and a terrible "struggle" took place over the eight hour day. The great masses are thereby purposely deluded into believing that in Geneva the interests of the working population are actually being preserved and promoted. But those who are in the know, and especially the capitalists and the reformist wire-pullers, are chuckling to themselves, for they know that the Geneva "comedy" is only being played for "the common people;" that there, instead of the welfare of labor being promoted, there is only being conducted a collaboration policy between the trade union leaders and the capitalists on an international scale, with the sole object of diverting the proletariat from the class war and from revolution.

If any one should doubt these facts he need only examine the composition and the deliberations of the conference a little more closely. The conference is composed of three equally large categories of representatives of governments, of employers and of labor (so called). As the governments of all the participating states are purely capitalist ones, there exists already with the government and employers' representatives a two-thirds capitalist majority. But even the remaining third, the "labor" representatives, are such faithful henchmen of capital that there is never seen at the conference a proletarian front opposed to a capitalist front, but in most cases there prevails the sweetest harmony among all participants, or in so far as there are any differences whatever they are of a national character.

There lay before the conference a printed report on the activity of the Labor Bureau, the numbered of affiliated states and those states which have ratified the so-called Washington Convention. One learned from this that 54 states are affiliated to the Labor Bureau. The bulk of these belong to the League of Nations; yet Germany, which is not a member of the League, is affiliated to the Labor Bureau. The report mentions that among the important states not affiliated are America, Russia, Mexico, Turkey and Egypt. It is "hoped" that Russia will soon affiliate.

The decisions (Conventions) of the Washington Conference of the year 1910 regarding the eight hour day, unemployed, sick, accident and old age benefit, as well as regarding: regulations for the prevention of accidents and sickness, night work, children's and women's labor, etc., are, according to the report, only fully "recognized" by one state, Poland, while the eight hour day is only "recognized" that is, legally introduced, by Greece, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia and—don't laugh—by India.

One perceives by this that in spite of the five years existence of the Labor Bureau, which, as Oudegeest declared in Vienna, is a child of the Amsterdam Trade Union International at the Washington decisions have not yet been recognized by a single great capitalist state. But even if this were the case it would not alter the position of the workers in the least, for

in those states which have "recognized" and "legally introduced" the eight hour day, more than eight hours a day are being worked. This swindle is revealed in the most glaring manner by the fact that on the same day on which the representative of the Polish government, Count Akrynski, solemnly delivered the official declaration of his government that Poland had recognized and legally carried thru all the thirteen conventions, including the eight hour day, the telegraph conveyed the news, that the twelve hour day had been introduced in the Polish mines and smelting industry. One after another, M. Thomas, Jouhaux, Mertens, Poulton, the "labor" representatives of the Entente, expressed their enthusiastic appreciation to the Poles for their "great act in the interest of humanity." But that at the same time the proletariat of the mining and smelting industry,

and also in response to the pressure of their workers, the employers of other countries partially followed suit with the introduction of the eight hour day. But all of these states cautiously avoided recognizing the Washington decisions. With the restrengthening of the German capitalist class and the defeat of the proletariat, thanks to the German Social Democrats, the eight hour day was abolished in Germany de facto by a decree of the 23rd of December, 1923. "In principle" it still exists, but in practice 54.7 per cent of all proletarians in Germany already work over eight up to 16 hours daily, these figures do not comprise the miners and agricultural laborers, all of whom are working longer hours. This fact is disturbing the Entente capitalists, especially those of France and England, in the highest degree. They stand in fear of the unfair competi-

tion that this control has as its object that no longer than eight hours a day shall be worked in Germany. And the correspondent of the capitalist "Vossische Zeitung" was able triumphantly to declare:

"As a result of the efforts of the German trade union representatives, it has been possible to have the point directed against Germany deleted from the wording of the resolution."

It would hardly be possible for the international proletariat to gain a clearer glimpse into the wretched nature of the Amsterdam trade union international and the purely capitalist character of the Labor Bureau, than thru the debates on the eight hour day which have taken place in Geneva. Once again have the Amsterdammers, on an occasion where the actual interests of labor were at stake, divided into national groups and instead of standing in one proletarian front against capital, have taken sides with the capitalists of "their fatherland" in the national competitive rivalry of capital. On the other hand this incident has proved to the whole international proletariat that the Geneva Labor Bureau and the labor conferences convened by it, are nothing else but councils at which plans are concocted for the better preservation of capitalist profits and for the most advantageous exploitation of the proletariat. If it were otherwise, then the Amsterdammers of every country would in this case have been able to do no other than stand together and to have torn the hypocritical mask from the face of the whole international capitalist class and mobilized the proletariat of all countries against the gang of capitalist exploiters. But who would expect anything of this sort from these hirelings of the employing class.

Up to the moment of writing no final decision has been come to regarding the eight hour day, but one has no need to be a prophet in order to predict that in the end a compromise resolution will be unanimously adopted and that in every country the working day will be prolonged.

It would be superfluous to go more closely into the other items of the labor conference, because here also it is the same, i.e. beautiful speeches are delivered and decisions are adopted which deceive the workers somewhat but do no harm to the capitalists. As an example, there need only be mentioned here that the question of unemployment was dealt with at great length. The conference, according to the "Vorwärts," came to a "heroic" decision in which all governments are recommended to work out "memoranda" (!!) on the problem of unemployment which shall contain proposals as to remedies. A "magnificent" help for the unemployed!

The Amsterdammers have nothing particular to boast about as to their deeds in Geneva. They therefore make the more fuss over the exclusion of the fascist trade union representative from the conference. The Amsterdammers wish by this means to give evidence of their "fight" against the fascists. Even this bit of "fame" is very doubtful, for this fascist had been allowed to take part in the sittings for ten days without being challenged and only at the moment when the shares of Mussolini and Co. had sunk to zero in Italy, did the brave heroes of Amsterdam adopt the decision to exclude this fascist labor representative from the conference. This was a great act of injustice, for even if the Amsterdammers are not fascists of the type of Mussolini they are no less as zealous representatives of capital as the former.

## THE EMPLOYER



By Rudolf Schlichter

besides hundreds of thousands of workers in other professions in Poland, are compelled to work a twelve hour shift, was wisely not mentioned by these "labor" representatives, not to speak of raising a protest against it.

And in spite of this these arch-scoundrels have the brazenness to carry on the world-comedy in Geneva, and to devote four days of eager debate over the eight hour day alone and to exhibit great differences as if they were fighting in all seriousness in order to obtain the eight hour day for the exploited proletarians of the whole world. But in spite of all the cunning of this crowd they were unable to conceal what are the actual differences with regard to this question. The whole concern of all delegates is nothing else but the profit of the capitalists. It is true that after the conclusion of the war and as a result of the pressure of the revolutionary masses, Germany was the first country to introduce the eight hour day. On grounds of expediency,

and having regard to the well known ruthlessness with which the German employers have always exploited their wage slaves, in which they are backed up by the German state power with police clubs and machine guns in their attacks against the workers, the fears of the English and French capitalists are not unfounded. In this respect, the "labor" representatives and the employers' representatives of France and England are proceeding arm in arm and delivering wonderful speeches on the utility and human necessity of the eight hour day. Their sudden love for the eight hour day is based on a very real capitalist demand, i.e. upon the control of German industry. On this point cordiality ceases for all German representatives. Not only the German government representative, Leymann, and the representative of the German employers, Vogel, but also the German Amsterdammers under the leadership of the Social Democrat, Hermann Miller, protest against this control. It is well understood

# On Factory Nuclei

(A GERMAN EXPERIMENT)

By W. ULBRICHE

IN view of the discussion now going on at the Fifth World Congress on the subject of organizing the Communist Party on the basis of factory nuclei, it would not be out of place to describe the substantial German experiences in this respect.

A close examination of the organizational activity of the Communist Party demonstrates the fact that the sense of organization is as yet so weakly developed among the membership that most of the comrades consider the old form and methods of organization as natural and universally adaptable. There is a lack of conscious experience of the fact that the organizational forms and methods are rather determined by the exigencies of the political tasks of the Party. On these grounds it is essential that the most unsparing criticism be exercised in regard to the present organizational activity, while at the same time it should be pointed out that the organizational forms and methods of the social-democratic party are in keeping with their parliamentary politics. At the same time it should be pointed out that the opposite political attitude of the German Communist Party calls also for different methods of organization. Menshevism in the Sphere of Organization must be rooted out of the Communist Party. This can only be attained if in connection with every campaign and with every action, we shall note without any sentimentality our organizational defects, and hammer these experiences into the consciousness of the membership. On the basis of these fighting experiences, the Party must proceed thoroughly to transform its methods of organization and choose the necessary political and organizational measures. We are taught by German experience that in formulating theses of this kind, we must outline to the comrades the whole Course of Transformation, with all its consequences and with all its dangers. If we cover only half the ground, the comrades are still puzzled why, for instance instead of the word "factory faction" we use the "factory nucleus," and they ask us with reason as to what new thing we mean to introduce by our activity in the factory nuclei, if it does not simply mean an increase of off activity in the factory. Hence we must clearly announce the principle from the outset, that this transformation into factory nuclei means the transformation of the Party activity to the organizing of workers' fights, and that for this reason All the Party Activity must be carried out from the Standpoint of the Political and Organizational Work in the Factories. It is not merely a question of creating individual factory nuclei, but of rendering the factory nuclei into the standard bearers of the Party's activity. This calls for an extensive systematic campaign in the Party. The best results were obtained by the Organizational Courses, in which a prominent part was taken by representatives from the large factories. These comrades reported to the general membership about the organizational tasks to be undertaken. The ideological hindrances were mainly overcome by means of a periodical publication dealing with organizational questions—"Partei-Arbeiter" (The Party Worker)—in which all the important organizational experiences were published.

Most of the Party organizations had no ideas as to what factories were situated in their region of activity, and where Communists were employed. Therefore, for the education of the Party, it was necessary to carry out a registration of the medium and large factories. The formation of factory nuclei was started in those factories where the circumstances appeared to be favorable. Unfortunately, we neglected to devote special attention at the outset to those factories in which we had no connections, but which were foremost in the workers' struggles, e.g. the electric works and the railway yards. It

is of importance to all movements that the Party should concentrate on the organization of the Communist railway workers and devote its best forces to the political work among the workers, employees, and officials engaged in the industry of transportation. Prominent Party officials, secretaries, editors, etc., were allocated to the important factories to promote the political activity of the Party. Furthermore, comrades were appointed as commissaries (unemployed comrades, Landtag deputies, etc.), whose task it was to engage in the construction of nuclei in their respective localities and to control the work in the factory nuclei. It was found, however, that without a definite plan and without definite tasks the transformation could not be achieved. The district committee and the local committee were then charged with the duty of working out plans for definite period and campaigns. By means of reports to the Central Committee, as well as by direct control over the more important local groups and factory nuclei, the Central Committee exercised the necessary pressure on the districts.

The experience of the formation of factory nuclei has shown that it is

registered in the street nucleus of the place where he lives. In the building of factory nuclei, particular care should be taken to have every member engage in some Party task under the guidance of responsible party men. Under no circumstances should the whole of the work be placed upon individual leaders, while the individual members would have the option of either carrying out the orders of the Party or ignoring them. It is only by giving a definite task to every member and by controlling the carrying out of the tasks that the factory nuclei will be able to fulfil their great political and organizational tasks. In case of unemployment the party member, wherever possible, should remain a member of the factory nucleus. Only in cases where the member lives too far away from the factory, he should be transferred to his residential street nucleus, or to a factory nucleus located in the vicinity of his residential district. As soon as the member obtains a new job, he must be immediately transferred to the respective factory nucleus. In case of the complete suppression of the nucleus in a given factory, it is the duty of the former members of such nucleus to continue under all

working masses into the fight. A similar transformation must be effected in the technical preparations for the larger fights. Hitherto the Party stewards used to be appointed according to residence, now we must organize our hundreds in the factories. The factory is the only place where we are able to carry out the necessary technical preparations for the struggle. The political propaganda must be concentrated in the factories. Instead of the usual public meetings, we should have public factory meetings. The parliamentary deputies must make their first reports to factory meetings. The leading factory nuclei, for the purpose of quick information, should get the political material direct from the higher instances of the parties. The enrolment of members must first of all be carried out in the factories, because the strengthening of the factory nuclei is the best preparation for the fighting ability of the party. Of particular importance is the reorganization of the newspaper distribution. The present method of distributing the Communist press is by residential districts. In spite of all the technical difficulties, an attempt must be made to devise a combined system of distributing the press both thru the residential carriers as well as thru the factory distributors. The newspaper must be brought into close organizational contact with the factories. This is of paramount importance to all the political actions. The circulation of a newspaper in the factories, the influence which it enjoys and the discussion which it arouses, are bound to effect its contents. At present we find very few columns in the newspapers devoted to contributions by factory workers. In future the factory reports, workers' letters, workers' poems, etc. must occupy at least half of the space in the newspaper. For this purpose it is necessary to arrange periodical conferences of factory reporters and to give them the necessary instructions. Systematic education in this respect is essential. The same is the present method of the distribution of literature, which should be shifted from the residential districts to the factories. The best way to distribute literature is thru the factory organization. We must also transform the present method of educational work, which is also done residentially. Above all, in the large factories the nuclei must arrange for educational courses for their members, as well as for larger circles of workers in the neighborhood. Our women's propaganda must be concentrated chiefly among the women who work in the factory. The women who do not work in the factory must be brought into close touch with the factory women of the neighborhood. Our women comrades must take regular part in the meetings of the factory nuclei. Our agrarian agitation must be organized on the basis of the experiences of the last fights, so that the factory nuclei should have definite rural localities where they should engage in systematic and persistent propaganda. If we succeed in this manner in establishing close contact with the countryside, the job of finding food for the workers on strike will be much facilitated. It is also necessary to organize, in the first place, the closest possible collaboration with the factory nuclei of the Young Communists. The importance of the young workers during workers' fights should urge the factory nuclei to encourage the formation of the important factories; where no nucleus of the party exists the young comrades are frequently in a position to serve as a medium for communication and thus to assist in the formation of the party nucleus.

This transformation of all the essential activities of the Party should be carried out upon a definite plan. If every section of the Party will do its definite work according to the plan, if the functions of all the sections will fill in with the general plan

(Continued on page 7.)

## Rhapsodical Chants

By JOSEPH KALAR.

"Clang—clang—CLANG, the whirr and BANG of machines—  
Sweat—sweat—SWEAT—white beads of blood,  
On your face!  
On your back!  
Sreat—Sweat—SWEAT—white beads of blood!"

"You've got to work—you've got to work!  
And sweat—and sweat—and SWEAT—  
Crush your limbs and crush your heart,  
Blind your eyes and drown your brains—  
You've got to work—you've GOT TO WORK!"

"The sweat is gathering on your face in beads—  
Your blood is molten steel and frozen steel,  
Your soul is black with soot—  
Flinty cinders in your flesh—  
Cast off—throw far the whip—be Gods!"

"But who's gonna work for God now?  
Who's gonna do the work for God?"

"Oh, I'm a God and you're a God  
And she's a God—  
And you alone are not a God o'er men,  
And I alone am not a God o'er men,  
So hang your whip on the wall—  
Unnail the souls of men from the cross—  
And be a God like me!"

"But who's gonna work for God, now?  
Who's gonna work for God?"

quite possible to get at a part of the Party members in the factory while ignoring the others who live in other localities. For this reason we had to undertake the registration of the whole of our membership according to the factories where they belong. The work was carried out by residential officials, who delivered the question-sheets to the Party members in the factories thru the leader of the nuclei, and if there is no nucleus in a factory it is given to the leader of the nucleus which has charge of the propaganda in that factory. The question of the collection of dues should be taken into consideration in this enrolment of Party members in the factories and in the conduct of the work of political organization. The Party member who pays his dues into the factory nucleus belongs to the Party organization of the district where the factory is located. The location of a party member should no longer be determined by his place of residence, but, by his place of work. Thus the party member exercises his rights as a party member (voting in the election of delegates, etc.) not according to his residence, but according to the factory nucleus or to, the local group of his place of work. Besides this, the party member is also

circumstances the propaganda in such a factory. Furthermore, the nearest factory nucleus must render the utmost aid towards the restoration of the suppressed nucleus. The transformation into factory nuclei must find its expression in rendering the factory nuclei the decisive factor from the standpoint of influence over the official and leaders of the Party.

The transformation into factory nuclei means transforming the whole work of the party. First of all, it is necessary to educate the revolutionary factory council-movement to concentrate its forces in those factories which are of decisive moment to the revolutionary movement. It is there that the factory nuclei must organize the party units in every factory, thus creating a solid basis for the struggle of the local workers. The same applies to the trade-union question. Hitherto the comrades confined their activities to drawing their fellow-Communists in the trade unions into local factions; now the forces must be concentrated in those locals which are of decisive importance. Unless we capture the official trade union positions in the factories, unless we succeed in banishing the reformist influence from the factories, we cannot hope to be able to lead the

# The Shame of Our Language Problem

BY M. D. LITMAN.

In the Magazine Section of July 5th, Comrade Rostrom takes up an acre of space to bemoan an alleged wrong; mainly—the existence of an English-speaking dictatorship within the Party. Some of the "facts" pertaining to publications in foreign languages, distribution of speakers etc., which are printed in black-face type, are absolutely distorted.

The Party foreign language press is older than the English language press. Foreign language educational work has always been more evident—and national foreign-language speakers are only limited to the financial ability of the foreign-language federations. The radical movement in general in the United States, whatever party or group it may be, has always been and is now full of transplanted class-conscious workers, and in many cases small businessmen, who, by their intense activity and by their numbers, have and are occupying important offices within the Party nationally and their various districts locally. The American movement is suffering for lack of English-speaking Party members. They need not necessarily be Anglo-Saxon, but to accomplish the most work, they must speak the English Language while they are living under Capitalism and in America.

Let us not fool ourselves: There are few European workingmen or women entering the U. S. Those who are now Party members—the great majority—have been here prior to 1914. Still better, they have been members of the Socialist Party, when meetings were held in halls owned by German saloon-keepers, who would donate the "hall upstairs." If a worker has enough intelligence to become class-conscious and line-up with a class party, he surely ought to have enough intelligence to learn the language which receives the greatest use, or any other language needed in order to be most effective in the class struggle.

The world Working-class Movement being older in Europe, has produced more active foreign-language Communists than American born sons and daughters of after-civil war boom times. There is nothing alarming in that fact. The struggle in America is intensifying and American, yea, even 100 percent Anglo-Saxon Communists will not be lacking. We realize that men and women can not overnight change their language, therefore, we must permit the existence of foreign-language federations; but we must forge ahead, plowing our way into the mass of American workers and speak to them the language they know best in a manner that they will like it most.

Even tho we live under Capitalism, there is no earthly reason, why we cannot devote a little time to acquiring at least enough of the Eng-

lish language, to be able to sit at a City Central meeting and take a part therein. Our foreign-speaking comrades are NOT held down at any City Central meeting, but they lack words when they get up to talk. Some of them are wonderful strategists, clear-thinking Communists with practical plans, but they lose themselves when they try to shape their ideas into English words. Even at the cost of missing out on a few committee meetings a month, it would be well worth the loss in that direction, if our foreign-language comrades would acquire better use of English. And if the writer would move to China, he would address the Chinese workers in Chinese, rather than ask the Chinese to learn his English.

International Language an Impossibility.

If Comrade Rostrom is a Marxist,

he believes that everything undergoes constant change—nothing is static. Existence in itself, is the constancy of change. \*And so living languages are constantly undergoing change. Only dead languages don't change. As soon as we will begin to use a dead language, it will begin to live and change.

It is well to know as many languages as one can possibly learn. To know English, French, German, etc., is a very handy adjunct in life to any person, especially in our movement. But we must know the official, most spoken language of the land in which we live. Ido, Esperanto, etc., while being international languages, can never become MASS LANGUAGES. Not enough workers can learn one language at the same time to make any practical use of same on a mass scale in our daily class struggle.

Now as to the handicap the Third Internationale may be under, due to language trouble, Comrade Rostrom, is a little misinformed. Those Communists who have been active enough in the movement to reach the highest center of Communist activity, have mastered several languages. And if the C. I. orders that future delegates come prepared to speak Ido and nothing else, we can rest assured that Wm. Z. Foster, or Tom O'Flaherty and Ben Gittlow will speak Ido. The fact is that we must "Learn to talk Turkey" to our masters. They don't understand Ido.

This is as near to perfection as we can hope to reach at the present time on an International scale, but we can reach perfection on a National scale, if we will try to make every foreign-language comrade an English-speaking comrade.

## On the Foster-Nearing Debate

BY JOSEPH BRAHDY.

Dear Comrades Nearing and Foster: If anyone were to judge by the tone of your discussion recently published in the DAILY WORKER, one might easily conclude, as you yourselves do, that in your common political philosophy, or economics as Nearing calls it, you are separated thru a vast difference of political strategy (Nearing says tactics). If such a difference really exists between you, the substance of your statements does not reveal it; but it does show that you are each arguing about a different phase of our movement.

Revolutionary Sentiment.

In both articles a certain phrase reoccurs so often (in ever-changing terms) that one may well call it the leitmotiv of the discussion. Nearing speaks in six instances of revolutionary sentiment, once of revolutionary ferment, and once of radical sentiment—a total of eight. Foster refers twelve times to revolutionary, or radical sentiment, discontent, unrest, etc. The discussion really revolves around this point: Is there a revolutionary sentiment among the organized and the unorganized American wage workers?

It is your common mistake to base your reasoning to such extent upon this matter of revolutionary sentiment without coming to an agreement among yourselves (and with your readers) as to what revolutionary sentiment really is. Let us see.

(a) In 1917, when the war hysteria was already heavily creeping upon us, the Railroad Brotherhoods came, with watch in hand, to the U. S. Congress and said in substance "if by such and such time the Eight Hour Bill has not yet been passed, we'll call a complete strike of our organizations, i.e. smash American capitalism." Now, they might not have done so after all, or gotten away with it; there may have been many an understanding which let the situation appear much more tense and dramatic than it actually was. Yet it was a magnificent demonstration of fighting revolutionary sentiment on the part of the American Railroad Union men which has been barely approximated in the Trade Union history of the world, by men who are notoriously ridden by clan and church, by patriotism and politics.

(b) In the fierceness of their semi-organized class-struggle the I. W. W., American and foreign-born alike, have performed feats of heroism and sacrifice that are unsurpassed in the international labor movement; but we know that removed from the hot-bed of their opportunities their molten stream of revolutionary lava brittles in winter time into inert human matter, slowly and in utter uselessness floating thru the streets of America.

(c) Another type of worker, much more prevalent among the foreign than among the native-born is the following. He is brimful with revolutionary sentiment, he belongs to a revolutionary party, or is close to it; he brings sacrifices and takes no end of risks for it. He belongs to no

Union, and doesn't want to. This type is at present disappearing.

It should be plain by now that we cannot afford to speak in a loose way about "revolutionary sentiment." We must evidently fasten a common understanding to this commonly used phrase.

A future article will analyze our American "revolutionary sentiment;" at present I proceed with my comment upon the discussion.

Revolutionary Education.

Nearing's presentation almost gives rise to the following reasoning and conception:

There is no general American revolutionary sentiment.

The few American revolutionary sentimentalists (couldn't we say that) have therefore hardly any following.

Let us establish: "a careful course of elementary, high school, and university training. Rome was not built in a night."

\* \* \*

It is true, Rome was not built in a night; but neither was it built thru a "careful course of elementary, high school and university training" in architecture, conducted in the wilderness along the Tiber.

However poorly, the first Roman built his shack first. It took a night, or perhaps a week. It may not seem logical but they did build first and studied architecture afterwards.

(Of course they started out with a fund of knowledge of general Mediterranean architecture; just as we have some knowledge of transatlantic Marxism and Leninism).

\* \* \*

It was necessary to have a shelter right away, so as to withstand the ceaseless struggle of the elements of nature. Nearing advises us

"during all of this time (of preparation—J. B.) to avoid decisive struggle which will almost surely wreck the organization."

Now, the "revolutionary movement" may avoid struggles, decisive or otherwise, that's easy. But our class can't. Because the class struggle is ceaseless and unavoidable.

While the stormy waves of the class struggle are underwashing the very foundations of social life, we could of course proceed with our graded course (leaving the rank and file quite orphaned thru the withdrawal of our embryo-experts.) We'd eventually graduate some Doctors of Revolutionary Science, who might open their offices with a shingle in their windows and a revolutionary diploma on the wall, introducing themselves to the American workers with a circular (because nobody would know of them otherwise) with an offer of up-to-date methods of conducting the class struggle.

Not for a moment can we think of detaching our comrades from the class struggle. They must study, in spare hours, when on strike, or out of work, or temporarily supported by others; but above everything else they must study by struggling along with their fellow workers. Foster is right when he says

"If the W. P. and the T. U. E.

L. cannot function and prosper in the every-day political and industrial struggles of the masses, then they have no right to life."

Foster is further correct when he criticizes the exclusiveness implied in Nearing's plan where

"the only available revolutionary force is the small body of conscious revolutionists, you outline a plan for the careful education, organization and development of this precious little nucleus."

The only thing wrong is the apparent sarcasm and slight for the nucleus and its education. It may not be so very precious, but it is the best we have.

Education or Action.

With his insistence upon education Nearing creates an unfortunate prejudice in the reader's (worker's) mind. Not by overstating the case of education—that cannot be done; but by omission to state (a) the education that arises from concrete participation in the class struggle;

(b) the dynamic correlation between the education arising in the class struggle and the one arising in the class room.

The second without the first is sterile; the first without the second is but a makeshift.

This leads us to the serious shortcomings in Foster's statement; (a) in his criticism of Nearing's plea for education he does not once offer any encouragement, or a constructive proposal, leading to such education as Nearing propounds;

(b) nor does he criticize the fact that the Communist movement in America has at no time devoted even 1 per cent of its energy or finances upon such education.

\* \* \*

A summary of our observations will lead us to the following: Nearing emphasizes the need of formal education, Foster emphasizes the pedagogic value of activity in the class struggle.

Neither of them overstate the importance of their particular phase of work; but they negate the complementary activity by understanding or ignoring it, and create thereby a picture without proper proportion.

### Esthonian Rulers in Wholesale Drive on Labor Movement

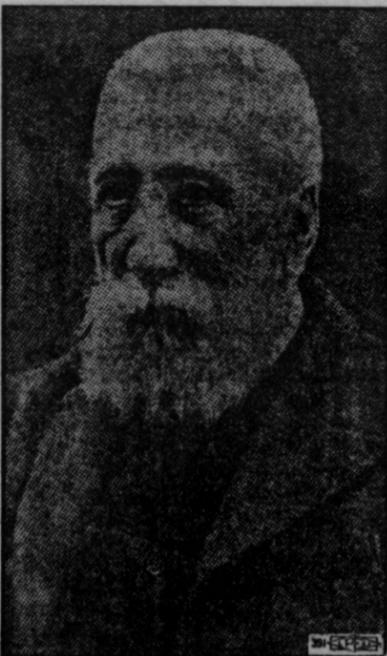
REVAL, Esthonia, August 15.—The persecution of labor radicals continues. Over 230 workers' organizations have recently been suspended by the Esthonian government. During July the trial of 180 Communists who were arrested last January and have been in jail, ever since, began.

### PITTSBURGH, PA. DR. RASNICK

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ANATOL FRANCE

# MacDonald Signs a Treaty

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

At last, after nearly five months of bargaining in the interests of British Imperialism, MacDonald signed a treaty with the government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic (U. S. S. R.) We imagine he got as good a bargain as was possible under the circumstances. But that's what it was, that's what he was driving after—a bargain for his masters, the capitalists of Great Britain.

## Why Do We Kick?

One might ask us a question. One might approach us saying: Look here, isn't that what you wanted? Didn't you say you wanted MacDonald to recognize Soviet Russia and begin commercial relations with her, and now that MacDonald has done it you again criticize and attack him.

To this we reply. It is not the treaty that we are particularly kicking about. Nor do we mind very much the fact that British Imperialism has been trying to get the best of the Soviet Government. This is as it should be. What else could we expect of one of the most powerful and most dangerous class enemies of the International working class? No, we are perfectly well satisfied that British Imperialism understands its interests and knows how to fight for them.

of the most profitable markets of British Capitalism.

The "City" wants the Russian market for export and investment. It has been trying to get it for the last seven years. First, by military intervention designed to overthrow the Soviet Government and to put in its place some puppet capitalist proposition which would willingly sell out Russia to the capitalist masters of Great Britain.

In this the "City" failed. The workers and peasants of Russia, led by the Communist Party, and supported by the revolutionary workers all over the world stood their ground and compelled the retreat of British Imperialism.

Then they tried to compel submission of the Soviet Government by means of an economic boycott. Remember the infamous "cordon sanitaire," the iron wall around the Soviet State, which for months and months has been strangling and choking to death the economic life of the first Workers and Peasants Republic.

But with no avail. The working men of Russia starved and died but didn't surrender to the bloodhounds of imperialism. Thus MacDonald's masters had to retreat again. They retreated slowly and gradually. They talked peace and waged war, bitter,

in terms of socialism. It is a good word. Give 'em a little more of it. But remember, it's a business proposition."

And MacDonald is doing it, even as well as Curzon would have done it, and perhaps a little better. Curzon has served the same masters as MacDonald is, but with other means. Curzon has been making war for British Imperialism. MacDonald is making peace for British Imperialism. Both are working substantially toward the same end.

## What We Could Expect.

England's present government is a "Labor" government, isn't it? It is supposed to represent the interests and aspirations of the working class of Great Britain. It is supposed to promote those interests. This being so, what should MacDonald have done in the matter of Soviet Russia?

Russia possesses enormous material riches, inexhaustible natural resources. Also an immense amount of man-power. But these resources are dormant. To make them serve the well-being of the masses these resources have got to be developed. For

this capital is needed, not capitalism, but capital; means of production.

England possesses that. It has the coal, iron, steel, and chemicals ready at hand to be used in production. It also has the trained technical manpower. It has the organization. But all this lies dormant, or, almost so, for lack of markets.

Russia and England need each other. Russia is ruled by its working class. England is ruled ostensibly by Labor, practically by the capitalists. Now, why shouldn't the workers of England and Russia strike up an alliance, pull together the resources of both countries and shoulder to shoulder proceed to the building up of Socialism in their respective countries?

We know why. Because the Labor Government of England is labor only in name. Because MacDonald and his Government are serving the interests of capitalism and not those of the workers. In short, because the present government of England does not express the aspirations of the English working class.

The real Labor Government of England is yet to come.

## MR. GANDHI'S SWAN SONG

By EVELYN ROY.

That the leadership of the Indian nationalist movement has passed definitely out of the hands of Mr. Gandhi and the orthodox school of Non-Co-operation, was proven by the session just concluded of the All-India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad. This is the first official deliberation in which Mr. Gandhi has participated since his release from prison in January of this year, when he was operated upon for appendicitis, and has since been undergoing a slow convalescence. The two years which have intervened between his arrest and conviction to six years' rigorous imprisonment, have brought many changes in the program and tactics of the Indian National Congress. The Swaraj Party, headed by Mr. C. R. Das, of Bengal, succeeded in having an amendment passed to the Non-Co-operation Program, permitting those who desired to take part in the elections to the Legislative Councils, for the purpose of carrying on obstruction to the government. The elections of 1923 were contested by the Swaraj Party, which succeeded in capturing about half the seats in the provincial and All-India Legislatures. By an agreement arrived at with the Independent Nationalists, whose demands are not so extreme as the Swarajists but who occupy a centre position between the Liberals or Moderates and the Non-Co-operators, the Swarajists were able to command a small majority of votes in the Central Legislatures and several of the provinces, and to defeat practically all the government measures brought before those bodies for approval. Thus, the center of gravity of the national struggle has shifted, during the past six months, from the orthodox Gandhists to the Swarajists, who still claim to be a part of the Indian National Congress, formerly entirely controlled by Mr. Gandhi and his followers.

The release of the Mahatma from prison, by an act of grace of the Labor Government soon after the latter assumed office, was regarded as the dawn of a new era in Indian political life. The lost leader had returned to his followers; the Non-co-operation movement which had fallen into stagnation since his arrest, would be revived and become once more a powerful revolutionary force, which would sweep the Swaraj Party into the background of the struggle. Six months passed without any change in the situation, due to the feeble health of the Mahatma, and his desire to acquaint himself with the details of the situation, with which he had lost touch for two years. Private conversations with the various leaders of the National Congress, representing different schools of thought, were held at Juhu, the little seaside resort where Mr. Gandhi was convalescing, but strict secrecy was observed as to the

nature of these discussions. Thus the first official pronouncement of the Mahatma was made just a few weeks previous to the Ahmedabad session of the All-India Congress Committee—the supreme executive body of the Indian National Congress.

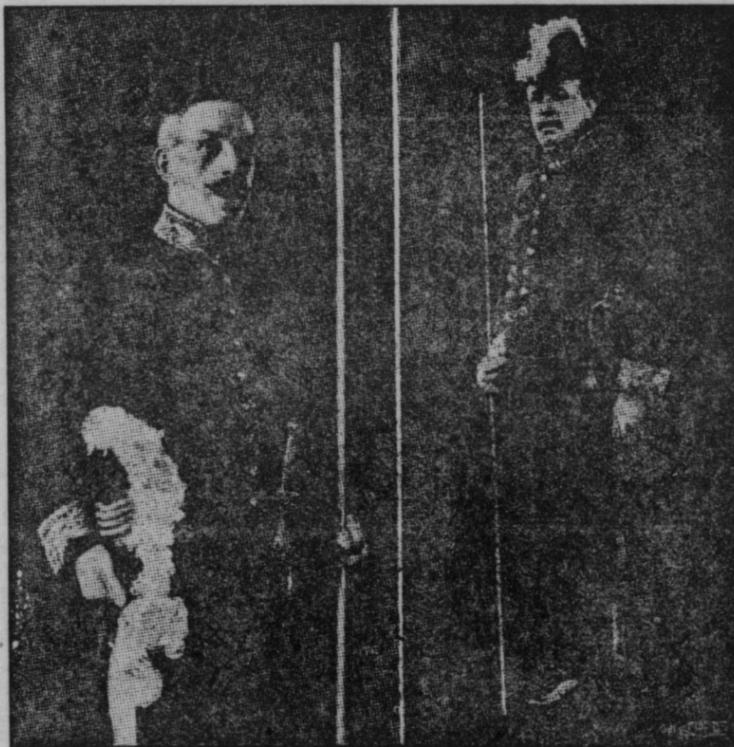
This official pronouncement took the form of a simultaneous statement of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi, for the orthodox Non-Co-operators, known as the "No-Changers," and of the two chief leaders of the Swaraj faction, or "Pro-Changers," Messrs. C. R. Das and Moti Lal Nehru. This statement, which followed a series of prolonged conversations between the rival factions within the National Congress, aroused a great sensation throughout India. In it, for the first time, a frank difference of opinion was expressed on the tactics and program of the national struggle, and an inability to arrive at any agreement between the two schools of thought. Mr. Gandhi reiterated his faith in the "Constructive Program" which he had laid down at Bardoli in February of 1922, and which limited the activities of the National Congress to the Charka (spinning wheel), Khaddar (the wearing of homespun cloth), and social reform activities, such as the removal of "untouchability" of the lower castes, the campaign against the drink-evil, and village-education. The absolute boycott of government schools, law courts and legislative councils was insisted upon, as well as the boycott of foreign cloth.

To this program, the Swarajists opposed their own, which was to enter the Legislative Councils with the object of carrying on obstruction to government measures, until their demand for Swaraj (self-government) should be granted. They agreed to carry on the constructive program of Gandhism outside the councils, and to enforce the boycott of merely British, as opposed to all foreign cloth. To these modifications in his program, Mr. Gandhi could not agree, and the statement of difference was issued to the country as a means of testing public opinion before the session of the All-India Congress Committee in June, which would have to decide between the two factions.

It was the first time that Mr. Gandhi's word had been challenged upon an issue of national importance. The gauntlet had been thrown down; the leadership of the Indian National movement hung in the balance. Mr. Gandhi had declared that if his program were rejected, he would retire from politics and devote himself to social reform. The choice therefore, was clear and uncompromising. He further announced that he would submit a resolution, declaring that all persons who did not spin for half an hour a day, and who did not observe the five-fold boycott of Legislative Councils, Law-Courts, Govern-

(Continued on page 5.)

## HIS MAJESTY'S SOCIALISTS



THOMAS GRIFFITH  
Treasurer

ALLEN PARKINSON  
Comptroller

Of the King's Household

The object of our hatred, opposition and attack is MacDonald, the Labor Premier, serving the interests of British Imperialism.

And remember: not the person, MacDonald, not the individual. With him we have very little concern, but MacDonald, the head of a Labor Government betraying the class whom he is supposed to represent and fighting in the interests of the class enemies of the workers—this is the thing we are concerned with and are fighting against.

What we demand of MacDonald and his government is loyalty to the working class, devotion to its interests and readiness to fight in the cause of labor as against the cause of capital. That is, we demand of him to do things which are the exact opposite of the things he is doing now, or else, abdicate and let true servants and leaders of the workers take his place.

## The Voice of the "City."

Thru MacDonald always speaks the voice of the "City," the Wall Street of Great Britain. The "City" is badly in need of new markets. It has been in this position for quite some time, in fact, since its victory over German Imperialism which marked the break-up of the Central-European economic system and the disappearance of one

merciless, economic warfare against the Soviet State.

Until they realized that nothing doing: They will have to come to terms with the Soviet government. So they "granted" Russia recognition and started negotiations.

## MacDonald Did It!

Here we can sense the coming of an argument.

"Well, but it was MacDonald that did it, not Curzon and Baldwin!"

Yes, yes, it was MacDonald, of course, not Curzon. We know the reasons for it, too. Here they are: MacDonald did it because British Imperialism wanted it. The day MacDonald announced the recognition of Russia the "City" registered its approval by a general rise in prices of bonds, shares and stocks. The "City" said in effect:

"Alright, Mac, go to it. Fine. You made a good start. Now don't spoil it by letting the Russians fool you with all kinds of bunk about proletarian solidarity, Internationalism, Revolution, etc. Be on your guard. Remember, it is a business proposition. We want markets, profits and power. If you know how to get it for us and drive hard towards it, we'll let you stay in office and manage our affairs. We wouldn't even mind your speak-

# Idealism Versus History

By Arthur E. E. Reade

TWO plays—one by a Fabian, one by a Communist—have recently been produced in London; each is the epic of the struggle of a woman and idealist with the world, and in both her fate is to be dutifully executed by quite polite State officials. But the worlds of Shaw and of Toller are different worlds; the characters in Saint Joan are people drawn from the world of mediaeval history; in Masse-Mensch 'the protagonists, except Sonia,' Toller states, 'are not individual characters'—they are symbols representing the forces that govern the world today, the world of the class-struggle in its most brutal reality. Hence Toller has a message for the working class, and that is perhaps why the workers have less opportunity of seeing Masse-Mensch than Saint Joan. Not that serious consideration can be given to the rash classification of Saint Joan as Fascist, on the grounds that Shaw accepts a philosophy of social despair when he seems to depict the shabbiness of the powers that be merely by contrast with the glorious courage and perfect faith of one human being, martyred without malice in her own age, and canonized by humbugs in the next.

Now whether Saint Joan be or be not Shaw's greatest work, it certainly is one of the finest historical plays ever written—in the conventional sense that an historical play is a dramatization of a "true story" from the history books; and Saint Joan is nothing more. But in it Shaw's stagecraft has so surpassed itself, and, in the present production at the New Theater, he is so nobly served by the players, that the effect overwhelms powers of criticism. The too subtle critic, failing to discern that the secret of Saint Joan is not in any obscurantist evasions but in its Homeric simplicity, seeks some explanation of Shaw's emphasis on the lives and fates of half-legendary personalities, diverting attention from his play's unquestionable historical background of social conflict—on the one side the feudal aristocracy and the internationalist Roman Catholic Church in alliance with a foreign invader, and on the other side a nationalist middle class finding its ideological expression in incipient Protestantism and personified by Joan; and so into the playwright's incidental irony is read a consistency of despair which is not likely to be supported by Shaw's preface in the edition about to be published by Messrs. Constable—if indeed there is any preference, other than the brief historical note that appears on the program at the New Theater. Saint Joan might well stand without one, because its epilogue, when the ghosts of Joan, her persecutors from hell, and a modern priest assemble to the Dauphin in a dream, supersedes the need for any prefatory argument.

If critics of the Left are to justify the mediocrity of their own understanding—a thing which the critics of the Right never bother to do—and to find the intellectual food of Fascism in Saint Joan, how is the almost helpless pessimism of Masse-Mensch to be treated? Masse-Mensch is more directly a drama of class-war; the bourgeois critics have not attacked it, for they have not understood it. There is no criterion by which a unique expression of genuine revolutionary art—that is, art created out of conscious experience of the working-class revolution—can be judged by critics timorous of analyzing the meaning of a conflict which the bourgeoisie would prefer were ignored. Happily for the "Heartbreak House" audiences who attended the Stage Society's performances the political significance—the "propaganda"—of Masse-Mensch is obscured by its pessimism, a pessimism natural in the circumstances in which it was written, during October 1919, when the author was in solitary confinement in a cell at the fortress of Niederschoefeld, Bavaria, beginning a term of five years' imprisonment for

the part he played as President of the Munich Soviet in March of that year. Masse-Mensch, says Toller in his preface, which was written two years later than the play itself in the form of a note to the producer of the Volksbühne production at Berlin, "literally broke out of me and was put on paper in two days and a half."

Masse-Mensch consists of seven "pictures," three of which are called "dream pictures," but the whole has the effect of a nightmare by reason of its "expressionist" form. It is accepted as the masterpiece of expressionism, and, since it cannot be supposed that during those two-and-a-half days Toller occupied himself with experiments in technique, it is evident that that was the form he found most adequate to his inspiration.

The picture opens in a workman's tavern where the general strike for the morrow is being planned. The comrade of the working masses—the woman, Sonia, wife of a State official

reputation, "the more that you will harm the State as well as my career." The urge you feel to help society Can find an outlet in our circle.

For instance,  
You could found homes for illegitimate children.

That is a reasonable field of action,  
A Witness to the gentle nature which you scorn.

Even your so-called comrade-workmen Despises unmarried mothers.

In the next picture, the Stock Exchange, bankers are bidding for shares in a profitable investment, National Convalescent Home, Ltd.

We call it  
Convalescent Home  
For strengthening the will to victory!

In fact it is  
State-managed brothel.

The curtain falls on a grotesque fox-trot danced by the bankers to raise money for charity.

In the third picture, the Masses,

"from eternity imprisoned in the abyss of towering towns," are crying, "Down with the factories! Down with the machines!" The woman calls the strike, and then the Nameless One comes out of the Masses and calls for arms:

The Woman. Hear me!  
I will not have fresh murder.

The Nameless. Be silent, comrade.  
What do you know?

I grant you feed our need,  
But have you stood ten hours together in a mine,  
Your homeless children herded in a hovel?

Ten hours in mines, evenings in hovels,  
This, day by day, the fate of masses.

You are not Masses!  
I am Masses!

Masses are fate.  
The Masses in the Hall.  
Are fate . . .

The Woman only consider,  
Masses are helpless,  
Masses are weak.

The Nameless. How blind you are!  
Masses are master!

Masses are might!  
The Masses in the Hall.  
Are might!

The Woman. My feelings urge me darkly—  
But yet my conscience cries out;  
No!

The Nameless. Be silent, comrade,  
For the Cause!

The individual, his feelings and conscience,  
What do they count?

The Masses count.  
Consider this  
One single bloody battle; then  
Forever peace.

The Woman. You—are—the Masses!  
You—are—right!

But when the battle is joined, Sonia tries to stop it, and the Masses are crying, "Treason!" "Intelligentsia!" "Let her be shot!" She is only saved from the workmen by the soldiery capturing the hall and all within being taken prisoner.

The husband comes to the condemned cell to congratulate her that she is at any rate guiltless of murder. "Guiltlessly guilty," she replies.

The Husband. I warned you of the Masses.

Who stirs the Masses, stirs up Hell.

The Woman. Hell? Who created Hell—

Conceived the tortures of your golden mills

Which grind, grind out your profit, day by day?

(Continued on Page 6)

## Street Free!

By OSKAR KANEHL.

Street free.

In big crowd red banners wave.  
Tramways respectfully still stay.  
Loudly calls the Internationale:  
People, hear the signal.

Street free.

Street free.

We have hunger. Look, we freeze.  
In hired-barracks we must deace.  
To toil as slave we have no mind.  
We take our right, where we it find.  
Street free.

Street free.

Up to the gardens, to the palaces.  
Where they puff, where they are in fatness.  
Where by race-horses and automobiles  
Before prolets they live safe and still.  
Street free.

Street free.

Up to the prisons, up to the keeps.  
Where class-fighters pay for heroic deeds.  
Out with them. Give free them at once.  
Else we fetch them. With violence.  
Street free.

Street free.

Who isn't for us, is against us.  
Who blocks our way, we will him rush.  
Vanish and die, bankrupted bourgeoisie.  
March up, proletarian army.  
Street free.

—Translation, Paul Acel.

—is all strength:

I am ready.

With every breath power grows in me.  
How I have longed and waited for  
this hour.

When heart's blood turns to words  
And words to action!

If I tomorrow sound the trumpet of  
Judgment

And if my conscience surges thru the  
hall—

It is not I who shall proclaim the  
strike;

Mankind is calling "Strike!" and Nature  
"Strike!"

My knowledge is so strong. The  
masses

In resurrection, freed  
From worthy snares woven by well-  
fed gentlemen,

Shall grow to be  
The armies of humanity;

And with a mighty gesture  
Raise up the invisible citadel of  
peace.

Who bears the flag, the Red Flag,  
Flag of beginnings?

Workman. You. They follow you.

Such is the individual at the summit of her strength, and yet, even so, only strong enough to overcome the ties of her own social class, personified by her husband when he comes to dissuade her from damaging his

## MR. GANDHI'S SWAN SONG

(Continued from Page 4)

ent Schools, titles and mill-made cloth, would be forced to resign from the All-India Congress Committee. His resolution, if carried, would automatically exclude the Swarajists from power, and restore the leadership of the Congress to the orthodox Non-cooperators.

The All-India Congress Committee met at Ahmedabad—Mr. Gandhi's own province and seat of authority—on June 27, and continued its deliberations for three days. Mr. Gandhi submitted his famous "self-denying ordinance," despite the heated opposition of the Swarajists, and even that of some of his own followers, who vainly sought to reach a compromise beforehand. It was a dramatic moment; Mahatma Gandhi, the idol of the Indian people, stood at bay, defied by the opposition within the congress ranks. It fell to the lot of the Pundit Moti Lal Nehu to state the case for the Swarajists:

"We decline to make a fetish of the spinning wheel, or to subscribe to the doctrine that only thru that wheel can we obtain Swaraj. Discipline is desirable, but it is not discipline for the majority to expel the minority. We are unable to forget our man-

hood and our self-respect, and to say that we are willing to submit to Mr. Gandhi's orders. The congress is as much ours as our opponents, and we will return with a greater majority to sweep away those who stand for this resolution."

With these words, Pundit Nehru and Deshbandhu Das left the hall taking with them fifty-five Swarajists. One hundred and ten persons remained; when the resolution was put to vote, it was carried by 67 for and 37 against, with six abstentions. This apparent victory of the Gandhists is merely apparent; had the Swarajists remained in the hall, the resolution would have been defeated by about twenty votes.

As a result of this vote, Mr. Gandhi recognized defeat. After hurried consultation with his followers, he agreed to drop his resolution on compulsory spinning and the five-fold boycotts, making it only advisory in nature, and with these and other concessions, the Swarajists were persuaded to rejoin the session. Thus, the defeat of orthodox Gandhism is complete and final; the Swarajists have won the day and Mr. Gandhi, as leader of the Indian National struggle, has sung his swan-song.

# I Arrive in America

A STORY  
By JOHN LASSEN

ALL our hopes are shattered. We are not likely to land before Saturday noon; and so it is reasonably certain that we are doomed to remain aboard ship at least two days longer—that is: we of the steerage.

Swarming about the giant vessel are hosts of tiny craft, playfully wrestling with billowy crests. They seem bent on teasing the giant. They nudge his ribs. Shouts of command rend the air. The steaming colossus proceeds slowly and majestically on his way.

New York, at last!

We all hug the railing.

Someone, apparently familiar with America, ventures to explain (the optimist is by no means an extinct specie): "After they've disposed of the second-cabin passengers, they'll surely allow us to land."

A German, on his second visit to the States, exclaims skeptically: "Not on your life!" He points to the slow pace of our steamer, adding "The first thing I'll do will be to take out my first papers. I'll pretend—I wish I were a 'citizen' now."

Everybody winks knowingly. What a splendid thing, indeed, to be a full-fledged citizen. We had ample opportunity to realize this back in Bremen. Everywhere they were given preference. Nor do they have to go to Ellis Island; they can leave the steamer at once, no need to wait until Saturday noon. Oh, what luck!

Our boat seems eager to resist stubbornly all the buffeting it is subjected to. Shrieking sirens are heard. All sorts of vessels are cruising about. Spacious barges cleave the grey waters. A freight-boat passes close by. Somewhat farther away a canal boat dumps its cargo of garbage into the watery depths. Along the shore is a sand-barge . . . And a tiny pup . . . a bouncing, yelping bit of a pup.

We all look at the dog. It symbolizes the coveted land beyond the harbor.

"This is what I call life," observes a Polish youngster, "not like in Bremen."

"That's because they fleeced us of everything," says a German, eliciting general sympathy by the story that he had been robbed of all he possessed. In his pocket he carries a document making him the owner of a bakery. Of this he is exceedingly proud; later: "a lot do I care about the kindness of my relatives. I can well enter without them."

And . . . New York!

Mysteriously lies the city before us. The sky-scrapers are shrouded in its misty cloak. Gazing at them from

this distance, one cannot conceive of them as integral parts of a pulsating city—a city which to all appearances is submerged in gloom. But there I see something ashore which is alive. It is a castle, a fortress teeming with gnomes.

"Heavens, what's that?!" exclaims a wench whose Slavic origin is all too obvious.

And the tanned Slovak from Upper Hungary, who has been in America before, immediately explains: "It's merely a house. That's how they are built here."

"Oh, yeh!" the girl murmurs, bewildered by the thought that the houses here are built differently from those in her native Trenchen.

Of course, it was the pessimist's day. Not till late in the afternoon was the steamer towed into port.

A young girl cried out: "Oh, how happy I am." She is to be met by her betrothed. A piece of good luck indeed. They are to be married right on the boat and will be permitted to leave this very day as man and wife. We were apprised of all this by a cablegram which the girl had received.

Now everybody rushed over to the other side of the vessel. Surely we must see where we land; besides, there are throngs of people waiting on the shore.

I marvel at the speed with which our luggage is carted ashore.

A Jewess is particularly agitated. "Wonder is Rebecca will come to meet me? Do you think she'll be allowed to come on board?" she inquires of a German thoroughly familiar with American customs and apparently quite willing to furnish information.

"By no means. The boat is guarded like some precious treasure."

The ship's bell rings out.

To many it portends happiness.

First-cabin passengers are released immediately.

"Motor cars—not Ellis Island—await them," remarks the German.

"Does such injustice exist here, too?!" exclaims the lad from Poland. "I thought that ours was the only country to tolerate it."

He read voraciously all through the journey and studied English most diligently. Very likely expects to become a millionaire. He leans over the railing, unfurling a tiny American flag: "That will be my country."

The German heir to bakerydom emits an angry snarl: "Jerusalem is your country."

The youngster deigns him no answer. He merely blushes to his very heart. Memories of pogroms suddenly stir his mind. A small village. Polish soldiery. The knout. "Clear out to Jerusalem!" "But so many of us couldn't go there," he sadly said.

"They're dead . . . my father among them."

Time is too short to pursue these thoughts.

Crowding and surging masses fairly sweep one off his feet.

American citizens search for their luggage. The names of favored ones are first called out. Orders are hurled thru the air. The stewards don their best shore clothes. The pier is a teeming, seething mass of humanity. Some of them elbow their way to the exit but are rudely repulsed by two guards.

The German relates that once a man and a woman were detained and deported because "they were discovered entering into an illicit relationship."

The little wench from County Trenchen whispers into the ear of her companion in Hungarian: "Do you think he noticed anything?"

She blushes to the roots of her hair.

There is an air of unusual depression and anxiety. Everyone is confronted by a dilemma, as it were. "The authorities are merciful." This form a Magyar, who hails from Budapest and has been thru the mill before.

The general tension and alarm gradually vanish. First-cabin passengers hurry away to the hotels of New York to rest, while those of the second-cabin find themselves on the Island;—even the Americans have left the boat.

Only the steerage passengers remain, unable to shake off the worry: "will we be admitted?"

The bride's companion tells us that "the poor thing is terribly upset because her fiancé has not yet arrived."

Sad news indeed.

Only the bakery aspirant refuses to hold his tongue. "We Germans are pretty clever. I'd rather have a bride than relatives." Then, with a grin: "I've come to New York at the call of a bakery."

Whereupon all sympathy for Germany goes by the board.

A deep dusk envelops the ship,—a greyness that gradually turns into stygian blackness. Tiny lights glimmer in the distance. And far away, somewhere near the heavenly bodies, glows brightly a crimson star.

"That over there is the top of the Singer building, and shows the exact time," explains the sympathetic German (not the bakery heir.)

We gather into small groups.

A feeling of hopelessness grips us. No one is homesick. There is one, and only one question uppermost in the minds of all: "Will we be admitted. Will the quota not be exhausted too soon? Are our documents in order? . . ."

One calls the experienced German aside.

"Tell me," he blabbers precipitately, "won't they send me back because I'm somewhat short of the necessary \$25.00?"

The German, in his good-natured way, tries to cheer him. "You need not show your money. In fact, you needn't tell the truth!" he advises emphatically. This seems to be the most sensible counsel he can give to the new entrant at the gates of the Promised Land.

"Poor bride!" says the little wench from Czecho-slovakia.

But suddenly the cry rings out "The groom is here, the bridegroom is here!"

There is genuine general rejoicing. "If my Rebecca could only send me a note," says the Jewess with a heart-rending sigh.

Rebecca cannot send such a note. Poor Rebecca. Even here—in America—this name seems to have an odious sound.

The girls sit in a circle surrounding the 15-year-old lad from Poland. He picks up his guitar and strums sadly soul-lifting airs.

The Slovak maiden cuddles up to her companion. They lean out over the railing. They gaze at the myriads of lights—and count the number of times the star hovering over the Singer building alternates its green and crimson hue.

Then they cuddle ever closer.

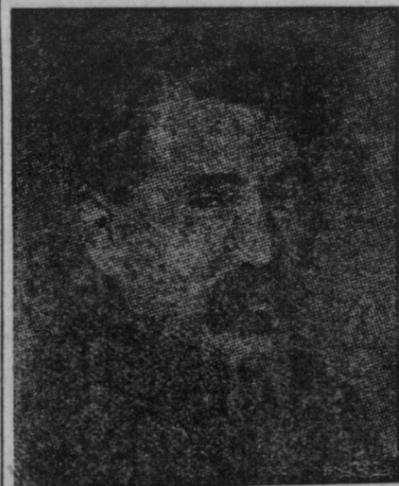
As they ascend the narrow stairs, the girl asks fretfully: "and what if they refuse to let me in?"

"Oh, you dunce!" replies the man, slaps her heartily on the back and crushes her even closer to himself.

A most convincing bit of evidence.

The plaintive voice of the guitar fills the deck.

And in the sky a crimson star glows and beckons mysteriously.



MARCEL CACHIN  
Leader of French Communist Party

## Idealism Versus History

(Continued from page 5.)

Who built the prisons? Who cried "holy war?"

Who sacrificed a million lives of men—

Pawns in a lying game of numbers?

Who thrust the masses into mouldering kennels,

That they must bear today

The filthy burden of your yesterday?

Who robbed his brothers of their human face,

Made them mechanic,

Forced and abused them to be cogs in your machines?

The State! You!

Her indictment weakens into words of love—but he stumbles out.

The Nameless One enters, also to congratulate her; she has no doubt recovered now from her pacifist delusions. They are to escape; two warders have been bribed, and the third, at the gate, shall be struck down. But she refuses to gain her life by this man's death.

The Nameless. The Masses have a right to you.

The Woman. What of the warder's right?

The warder is a man.

The Nameless. As yet there are no men.

On this side men of the Masses;

On that side men of the State.

The Woman. To be a man is plain, is primal.

The Nameless. Only the Masses are holy.

The Woman. The Masses are not holy.

Force made the Masses.

Injustice of possession made the Masses . . .

You are not release.

You are not redemption.

I know you, who you are.

You are the bastard child of war . . .

Unholy every cause that needs to kill.

The nameless spokesman of the Masses leaves the cell with the words, "You live too soon," thus echoing the last scene in Saint Joan, but with this difference: Joan fought with uncompromising and logical enthusiasm for the collective cause in spite of her associates' mean and selfish intrigues; Sonia refused to fight at all because of her private conscience.

The woman is led out and executed, and two women convicts, gossiping over the trinkets in her cell, over the coffin—"a yellow box"—that is ready for Sonia in the washroom, over the officer's golden uniform, are startled by the sound of the shots into crying, "Why do we do these things?" And Toller leaves it at that, so that an unscrupulous London producer can reverse the interpretations of Berlin and Moscow and render Masse-Mensch as the sad story of a misguided idealist who suffers for rejecting a kind husband in favor of the Masses whose leader proves a villain. The Nameless is presented as a devil incarnate;

there could be no more unfair perversion of Toller's intention.

Toller explains that in his artistic capacity he questions the validity of the various social forces and relations between human beings whose objective reality he assumes in his political capacity. Yet I do not think the dramatist presenting a problem and the Communist refraining from a solution are conflicting personalities. The failure of idealism, even the directed against the State, to satisfy the historic need of the Masses is a fact to be faced and not a problem to be solved. In recognizing this, Toller has conceived a great tragedy. An artificial solution might dissipate the tragedy of the theme, but it would seal its despair, as can be seen in *The Adding Machine* by Elmer Rice, which the Stage Society produced early this year. This too was an "expressionist" play, superficially a great deal more cheerful; but while it began with social satire it ended by finding a solution in individual cynicism, and that is the way of Fascism.

# Bukharin's Report on World Program

TO THE FIFTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The DAILY WORKER today publishes the third installment of the report given by Nicholas Bukharin on the question of the world Communist program at the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International. Another installment will appear in an early issue.

NOW come to the question of the new economic policy which I consider to be the most important part of my report.

First of all a few introductory remarks. After the introduction of the new economic policy, we, the Russian Communists, and also our friends, the foreign parties, almost without any exception, had a feeling that we had acted somewhat improperly, and that we ought to apologize for the new economic policy.

## New Economic Policy.

In its most subtle form, this apologetic attitude consisted in our considering the new economic policy exclusively from the standpoint of political expediency, as a political concession to the petty bourgeoisie. It means that we did not think the new economic policy to be expedient and rational in itself.

This is what we thought then. Now however, we may quite conscientiously say the very opposite. The question of the new economic policy on the whole should be formulated by us in the following manner (later on I will deal with it more exhaustively): The only correct economic policy for the proletariat, the policy which insures the growth of productive forces, is the policy which we described as the "new economic policy." War-time Communism was nothing else but a corrective of this new economic policy, the necessary corrective for the political expression of the direct class war against the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois elements. I believe that we should state these ideas quite clearly, and for this reason, comrades, I must ask to be excused if I shall deal with these ideas in some detail.

## Class Remnants Still Left.

Comrades, the fundamental facts, the fundamental phenomenon which will confront the victorious proletariat after the conquest of political power, will be the variety of the forms of economy with which it will have to deal. In no country, not even in the most capitalistically developed, are the productive forces so highly developed as to have caused the disappearance of all the immediate strata.

No Marxist will assert that the social revolution cannot come unless every petty bourgeois, every handicraftsman, every small capitalist shall have disappeared. It would be a foolish exaggeration, of the kind contrived by our opponents to make a caricature of Marxism.

We here spoke only about the tendency of the development. None of us thought that social revolution will only come when the last peasant will have disappeared, but knew that it will come when the contradictions of the capitalist system will have produced a situation on the social chess-board which will call forth revolution thru the class interests.

Thus in all countries without exception (of course in some countries to a greater extent than in others) we shall have to deal with a great variety of economic forms. And that is the main fact. With it are connected two other main facts of economic and political life.

## Classes Reflect Class Economy.

The second fact is as follows: There are as many different economic forms as there are classes or rather social strata. As long as we have small enterprises we shall have small producers, as long as there are small farms in the country side we shall have peasants and as long as we have small capitalist enterprises, we shall have small capitalists and also handicraftsmen.

Thus we see that the various economic forms correspond with the various classes or strata of society. There is another main fact connected

with this, which will play an important part after the conquest of political power. If we leave this third fact out of sight and out of account, we run the risk of adopting an erroneous and even harmful policy. This third factor is as important as the above mentioned two main facts, and consists in the heterogeneity of economic motives, of economic impulses. Thus, if we have different economic forms, we also have different economic motives. The motives of the peasantry differ from these of big capitalists.

The economic motives of socialized enterprises differ from those of the big peasantry. Even the economic motives of the big peasantry differ from those of the small peasantry.

What then is the main problem of our economic policy in the face of this basic problem? This main problem could be formulated as follows: it is the problem of co-ordinating and subordinating firstly, economic stimuli.

## Economic Hegemony Above All.

In the face of such heterogeneity, we must of course consolidate the hegemony of the proletariat also on the economic field. What does this mean? It means that our socialized enterprises must have the hegemony in our economic life, and that the other economic forms, consequently, all intermediate motives, must be subordinate to this economic hegemony.

What makes the proletarian economic policy so complicated is—that it is not as clear and simple as Comrade Boris' conception of economic policy. If, as he says, there were no differences and no variety of forms, it would be an easy matter to establish socialism. Thus, our highly esteemed opponent gets rid of the entire transition period, for this period presupposes heterogeneity of economic forms. The transition period is the period during which the most advanced economic forms squeeze out other forms by means of competition.

Now it is clear to us that the main problem consists in subordinating economic forms and classes. This is a complicated art. But this is the only right way to look at the economic policy of the victorious proletariat. It is not difficult to understand why we cannot except complete socialization a la Boris. It would be a caricature.

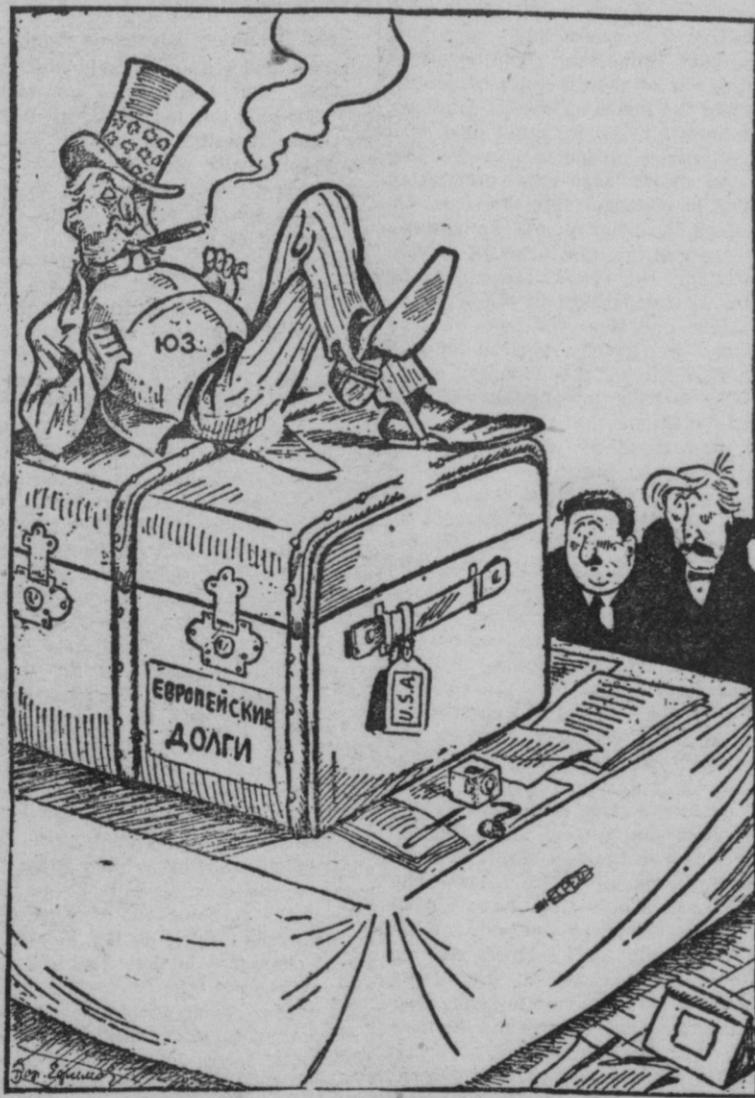
## Inkpot of Centralism.

I well remember that Trotsky once said in arguing with extreme centralists, that centralism consists in placing a big inkpot in the Red Square into which all the writers from the various parts of the Soviet Union are to dip their pens. Why is it impossible to carry out this complete socialization a la Boris? It is impossible because of the heterogeneity of the economic forms within our Soviet Union.

We are unable to carry this thru for technical reasons. We have not enough organizational forces to socialize everything, even the peasant allotments. This is one of the reasons. Secondly, it is politically impossible, because, by attempting it, we would rouse the petty bourgeoisie and all the traders against the victorious proletariat. Thirdly, because to attempt to socialize everything all at once such heterogenous enterprises would require a gigantic administrative apparatus the cost of which would be higher than that of anarchic production. This played an important part during the period of military communism. This excessively centralized form of government necessitated such a gigantic State apparatus that it consumed everything. We still feel the consequences of this disease. The problem of distribution between productive and unproductive consumption is one of the most important problems of the victorious proletariat.

## NEP Correct Policy.

The New Economic Policy is the only correct and true proletarian economic policy. When I speak of the only correct economic policy of the proletariat, I mean a policy based on the growth of productive forces, and



HUGHES (reclining on box containing European indebtedness to America) to MacDonal and Herriott—I hope, gentlemen, I am not in your way.

a policy which encourages this growth. When from this standpoint, we make a comparison between economic policy, new economic policy, and military communism; when we compare the two forms of this policy, we come to a full understanding of the difference between them. What was military communism? It was rational consumption of existing food stores. It seized or requisitioned from every peasant and from every locality anything that was to be had, in order to provide for the army and for the urban proletariat. At that time this was the only possible policy, the first strategic position which gave us a firm footing in the economic life of the country. We seized power in economic organization, we also partly destroyed them (this too was a good thing, it is in fact a justification of the policy of military communism). On the other hand we established rational consumption of the existing food stores. That we could not give encouragement to productive forces, is self-understood. How could we encourage agriculture, if we took away all the surplus produce? What motive could the peasantry have for production? We have no economic subordination of small farms, and therefore no economic subordination of the peasant class, hence no subordination of the economic stimuli of this class—hence, from the standpoint of productive forces, we had to record not an advance, but a retreat. The peasants refused to produce.

## We Recognize Mistakes.

There was a great conflict between our State policy and the economic motives and impulses of these strata of the population, which made the partial existence of these economic forms impossible and roused the indignation of these classes against this policy. It is a good thing that we adopted the new policy ourselves, in making a careful survey of this matter, we recognize the economic mistakes we made and we realize what real proletarian economic policy must be like.

## Apparent Radicalism of Boris.

Comrades, I should like to deal here with an argument used by Boris. His

justification of the demand for complete socialization is—that every national economy is a unity, and being a unity, requires just such a policy. This sounds very radical, but in reality it is theoretical opportunism. Why? Not only is there a unity, but there is also a unity of contradictions. To a certain extent, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is also a social unity. But there are contradictions within it, and the same may be said of all economic forms. This, in fact, is the whole problem. The bourgeoisie has co-ordinated these contradicting elements. We must have another kind of co-ordination. To deny this problem, one must assume that society represents an united whole, and not a unity in contradictions.

Further, if we regard the varieties (Continued on page 8)

## On Factory Nuclei

(Continued from page 2.)

of activity, if the party forces will be distributed according to the importance of the various functions, the party will be able to accomplish this tremendous task.

The above description of our organizational method should by all means create the impression as to these plans have already been carried out in Germany Party. The ideological obstacles in the Party have been overcome, all the forces are now being concentrated on the work in the factory nuclei, and the party is learning day by day to concentrate its forces on the most important tasks, which are of decisive importance to the organization of workers' fights. This constitutes a tremendous step forward in comparison with the state of organization which prevailed at the time of the Fourth World Congress. May the decisions of the Fifth Congress, by taking stock of all the past organizational experiences, by elaborating the clear principles of bolshevist organizations, and by precise formulation of the immediate organizational tasks, help the various sections in furthering the organization of the revolution.

# Bukharin's Report on World Program

(Continued from page 7)

of economic forms as the main phenomenon, it becomes quite clear that the most important manifestations arising out of the diversity of production are the forms of market relations. And here I think we must deal with the following prospects. In the long run as Boris says—the proletarian section of economic life, the social enterprises in industry and agriculture, will squeeze out the forms of private capitalism, the small producers, by means of competition in the markets. Formerly our idea was somewhat as follows: we have a portion of the economic life of the country; other, socially hostile, or partially socially hostile elements have the other portion, and these we shall be able to swallow up by the direct methods of state power and without market relations. In all probability, judging by empirical facts—not merely by the Russian experience, but "mutandis mutandi" by the experiences of other countries—what will actually happen will be that owing to the anarchy of production, market relations will be necessary and therefore the competitive struggle between the state forms of proletarian economy, between the socialized industries and the other forms of industry. Formally, the method is the same as under the capitalist economic system. The great difference lies in the fact that under the capitalist economic system, large and medium-sized industries have almost the same economic content. What was the distinction? There was no distinction in principle. But if we have varieties of economic forms after the organization of power, the economic forms are in general bound up with the socially antagonistic content of the enterprises. If the industries are in the hands of private capital, a competitive struggle against them by the large proletarian industries will take place—a revolutionary struggle, a class struggle against the bourgeoisie. That prosaic thing, market competition, is nothing but a specific new form of the class struggle. On the one hand we have large industries with a proletarian content, and on the other, forms which have a different social content. This is perhaps the most important point we must grasp; since all doubts and misunderstandings, all attacks upon Nep and the present situation in Russia proceed from the fact that the comrades concerned fail to understand the entirely new forms of class struggle based upon economic competition. Formally, matters are almost the same as they were under capitalism, the producer received wages, the whole process goes on as in capitalist society. But the important thing is, that in spite of this formal identity, there exists a difference in principle. When we examine the economics of the proletarian dictatorship, we must bear in mind that the variety of economic forms is bound up with the variety of the social content of industry.

**Difficulties of Economic Planning.**  
Here comrades I think belongs the idea of the development of economic planning. We formerly believed that we had only to determine the plan and the plan would mechanically be carried into effect. We now know that economic planning after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is difficult to carry into practice; in other words, we can only carry out economic planning to the extent that the material basis therefor exists. And this material basis for economic planning is nothing but the result of the squeezing out of backward economic forms by the superior large industries with a proletarian social content.

A certain parallel can be drawn between capitalist production in the transition period, namely, the process of the centralization of capital and the squeezing out of backward forms by market competition, the limit of which is state capitalism. The same is true with us: we have the squeezing out of backward economic forms by market competition and the centralization of industry. And the more centralization proceeds, the more is

the basis for economic planning created. The limit, however, is not state capitalism, but socialism.

## No Voluntary Discipline Bunk.

Here we have an entirely new conception. But I think we can safely say that only this perspective is a correct one; it is the only one which can be theoretically proved. And it is just this perspective which is the strongest weapon against every form of pessimism on this subject. The attitude: Alas! the small producer is being permitted; alas! they are permitting even the capitalists. And all the other alases, are the result of a failure to understand the phenomena. In the early stages the superiority of large industry was not so apparent, since during the process of general economic disruption it is not immediately possible to carry on large industry. The same is true of commerce, where there are machines but no demand for them, where there is no circulating capital to set the apparatus going. But as soon as competition between large industry and small industry begins, we immediately begin to perceive the extent of the superiority of large industry. The competitive capacity of large industry will therefore steadily increase. What grounds are there for pessimism? We shall certainly have crises, but these crises will disappear when we have complete economic planning. We shall in all probability have crises for many years to come, but the general line of the squeezing out of other economic forms, which do not possess a social character, is the only right one and represents the victorious prospect of our social development. The contraction between capitalist forms and social forms is a great problem, a very sinister problem. But if we grasp what I have here stated, the matter becomes quite clear. We indeed have capitalist forms, wage relations; we have money circulation instead of distribution of goods; we have banks and stock exchanges, ay, even stock exchanges, the holy of the capitalist class. We have competition and even profitmaking in our state industries. But here we can find a parallel in the military sphere. Our army is to a large extent similar to any ordinary bourgeois army. We originally believed that the structure of our army would be something quite different, there would be no compulsory discipline, but only voluntary discipline. But experience has proved that there can be no question of voluntary discipline in the literal sense of the word, although, of course we have more voluntary discipline in our army than in any other army.

## The Army or the Red Army.

But various coercive measures are adopted in the army, and we cannot do without them; we even shoot deserters. This is the highest means of coercion in hands of the State. The outward structure is similar to that of the bourgeois army. But that is not the most important point. What is really the most important, is the different class character of the army.

The same applies to this economic fight. The new economic policy, which is already fairly old, has also many inherent, contradictions, not only of form and substance but also contradictions of a more serious nature, especially during the initial stage of proletarian economic policy. Our socialized enterprises and institutions are growing, but the same must also be said of petty bourgeois enterprises. The contradiction between the rationality of our economic life represented by small capitalists and private traders is growing. Thus, we have already not only a contradiction between form and substance, but contradiction between various social forms and social forces. Naturally the class struggle on the economic field will definitely solve this question.

## Possibilities of Coalition.

Just a few more words to make myself fully understood on this question. I said that we will arrive at our final socialist economic order by means of various economic struggles, in which big enterprises will be in the hands of the proletariat. But the matter is

not so simple, because proletarian dictatorship is able to co-operate with the small producer under his hegemony. This is very important, especially as far as the peasantry is concerned. A situation is possible in which the proletariat and the proletarian big enterprises form a bloc with the small producers, and co-operate with them. And we must be very careful not to underestimate this question of small producers as a bulwark of private trading.

After a few explanatory remarks on war communism, we shall be able to see that the new economic policy is not a corrective of war communism, but that the new economic policy is the only expedient policy of the proletariat. War communism on the contrary appears to be a corrective of the new economic policy. But why is it a corrective? Because it is necessitated not by a rational economic policy, but by direct political struggle. In many cases there are conflicts between the view-point of economic nationality, namely between the formula of the necessity of economic policy and the necessity and expediency of direct political struggle. During the rising, for instance, we destroy material values, but we do the same when defending the fatherland. If we make war on the bourgeoisie and desire also to make a clean sweep of the petty bourgeoisie, we have only to take the necessary measures for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie: we must get into our hands the sources of its natural wealth. I told you that we took away everything from the peasants. Was this necessary? Certainly but in what sense was it necessary and expedient? It was the necessity and expediency of war. Had we acted differently, we should have lost the war. And without victory in war further development was impossible. That is why military communism was essential. I reiterate most emphatically that the expediency of direct political struggle in the economic life was also bound up with the decline of productive forces. But when this political task has been fulfilled, when our power and the dictatorship of the proletariat are firmly established, and it is only a matter of bringing the productive forces into motion and to do everything to encourage them—then a policy of military communism is no longer justified. I do not raise the question, which should precede the other. With us, the policy of war communism preceded the new economic policy. It is possible that things will be different in other countries. For instance, in

a country where the bourgeoisie is easily overthrown and the proletariat is well trained and disciplined, the latter will realize the expediency and necessity of the new economic policy. But when a blockade intervenes, requisition or partial requisition becomes necessary. On the whole, war communism will probably have to be applied in many countries to a lesser or greater extent. This will be necessary, because the bourgeoisie will be able to offer energetic resistance to the proletariat. But the important point is that all our parties should be able to distinguish between political and economic expediency and that they adapt it to the situation in their respective countries.

(To Be Continued)



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