

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

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The Liquidation of the Versailles Treaty

By KARL RADEK

ON the 16th of July the Allied representatives met in London in order to determine their attitude to the Experts' Report, and to decide upon a number of measures arising out of it. There is not the least doubt that this Conference marks a new stage in the liquidation of the relations of forces which found expression in the treaty of Versailles. However much France may cling to this treaty, no matter how much the government of the Left Bloc, with Herriot at its head, may swear their loyalty to this memorial to the victory of democracy and pacifism, and no matter how Mr. MacDonald may swear that the Versailles peace must remain undisturbed, all these political manoeuvres can in no way alter the important fact, that the Peace of Versailles is being buried, although unaccompanied by any pomp and ceremony.

We said that what we have to deal with is a new stage in the liquidation of the treaty of Versailles. For the occupation of the Ruhr itself constituted an attempt at such a liquidation. The only difference is that on the 11th January 1923 M. Poincare was endeavoring to alter the treaty of Versailles in favor of the French bourgeoisie, while at the present time England and America are undertaking this liquidation to the disadvantage of the French bourgeoisie. In order to understand the entire change in the situation which has taken place in the last months, it is necessary to examine in the first place what was the aim of the French policy in occupying the Ruhr.

One can observe three tendencies in the post-war policy of France towards Germany. The first tendency is the efforts of the French militarists to dismember defeated Germany. From fear of Germany with its preponderating population, from fear that German industry will revolutionize war technics and be in a position, in spite of the present defenceless condition of Germany, to supply better means for a war of revenge, from fear that new groupings in international politics will render it easier for Germany to appear as a military power in the future, these military circles were trying for the occupation of the left bank of the Rhine, not only for the time prescribed by the peace of Versailles (15 years), but as a permanent guarantee of domination over Germany. They attempted with the help and support of the separatist movement in Bavaria and Pfalz to wrest from Germany the whole area south of the Main. The second group is the French petty bourgeoisie who have lent the state one hundred milliard francs for the restoration of northern France and are endeavoring to make Germany pay the interest on this debt, and who are possessed by the fear of a collapse of the franc and of further heavy taxation in the event of Germany failing to pay. With this petty bourgeoisie there are allied the French deposit banks who negotiated the state loans. The third group is the heavy industry which is seeking to impose an agreement upon German heavy industry which will assure it the preponderance in the Franco-German steel and coal trust and secure it the supply of German coke and the export of French iron to Germany. As this group did not reach its aim by means of negotiations with the German industrialists it endeavored to do so at the point of the bayonet.

All these three tendencies existed at the time of the peace negotiations. The claims of the military group, which were represented by Marshall

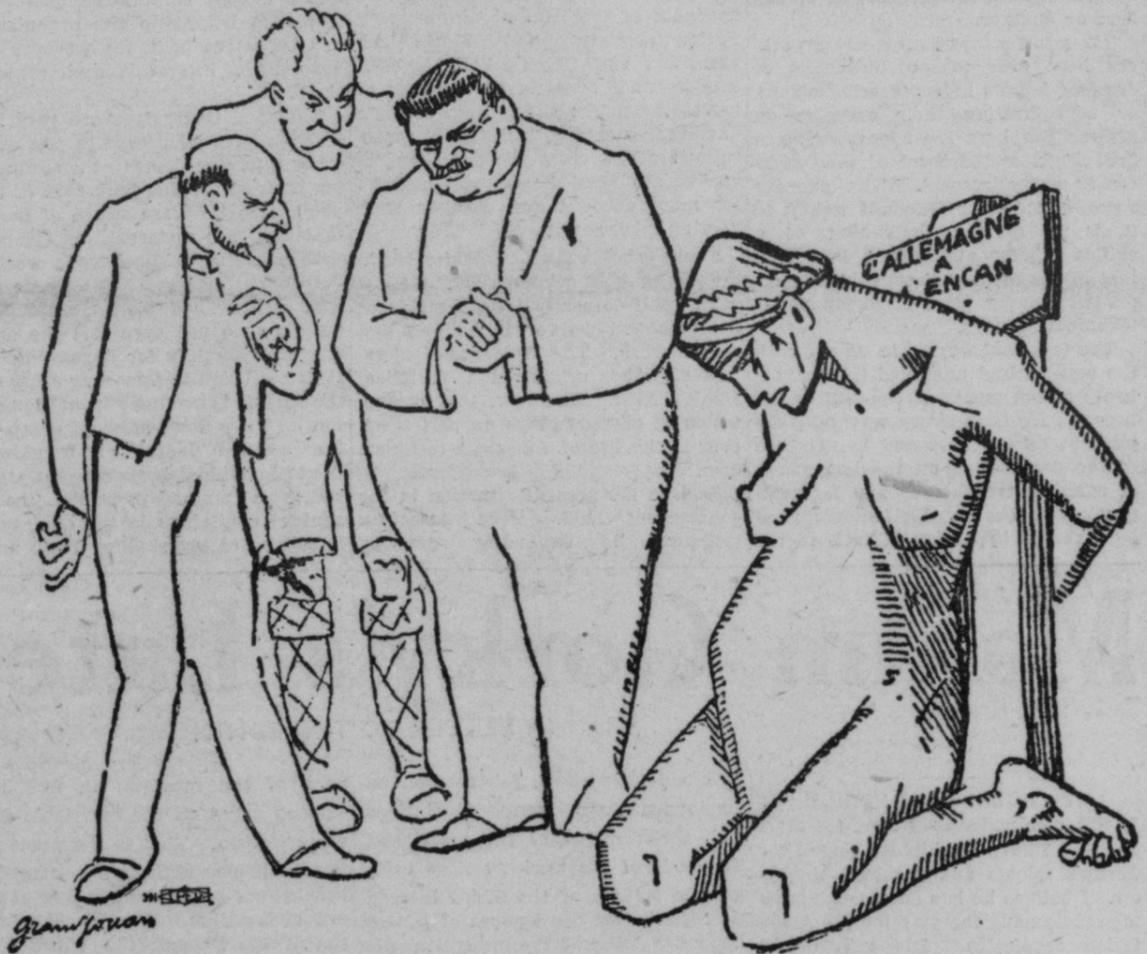
Foch, collided with the resistance of England and America, who saw in the realization of these aspirations the establishment of French military hegemony in Europe. The attempts of French industry to establish economic hegemony over the continent already at Versailles, called forth the resistance of England, who, in the event of its realization, would have been placed between the two fires of the powerful American and Franco-German competition. The peace of Versailles, by reason of its very nature, marked the rejection of the military and economic hegemony of France by the Allies. It laid down the amount of tribute which the whole of Germany, which was to remain a whole even though reduced in size, had to pay. At the same time the treaty of Versailles pro-

vided France with a guarantee against the German revanche. But as is always the case in compromises, the rejected French claims have found expression in articles of the treaty which permitted France to remain for a definite number of years on the left bank of the Rhine. These clauses were the grounds for a new attempt by France to accomplish her aims, when it became clear that the peace of Versailles, as Briand said, was a beautiful but lifeless ornament. In the first place America has not ratified the treaty signed by Wilson guaranteeing securities to France. England, however, has refused to take up such a responsibility alone. This lent new force to the military tendencies striving for the occupation of the Rhine area. Secondly, it became evident that Germany is not in a position to pay the tribute demanded from her by the ultimatum of May 1921. The Allies succeeded in fixing the enormous tribute, but in spite of all their economic experts they never thought

what would become of Germany if she paid this tribute. Germany could only obtain the valuta necessary for the payment of the tribute by printing and selling mark notes. Thus there came about the collapse of the mark. Poincare decided to obtain the consent of the Allies for taking up the so-called territorial sanctions. The idea of these sanctions was best expressed by the chairman of the finance commission of the French parliament, Dariacque, in his secret report which was published in the "Manchester Guardian" in the summer of 1922.

many to pay the tribute demanded by the Allies, constituted a common problem in the eyes of Poincare. The representatives of French heavy industry knew very well that one cannot compel an industrial country which requires an enormous quantity of raw material from abroad to render payment in kind, and that no matter in what form Germany paid the tribute, it would finally consist of exported goods for which no goods would be imported in return. But the French heavy industry drove Poincare to occupy the Ruhr district, because it reckoned that then, when it became clear that it was impossible by this means to obtain the payment of an appreciable amount of tribute, Poincare would be compelled to carry out the policy of the Comite des Forges, a po-

GERMANY IN TRAVAIL



THEUNIS-MacDONALD-HERRIOT: What has she got in her womb, a Junker or a Bolshevik?

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eral staff and their undertakings. The ten to twelve industrialists who stand at their head, hold, either directly or indirectly but in any event in absolute form, the fate of Germany in their hands. They consist chiefly of Stinnes, Thyssen, Krupp, Haniel, Klockner, Funke, Mannesmann and three or four others. Their importance corresponds with that of Carnegie, Rockefeller, Harriman, Vanderbilt and Gould in America. These German magnates, however, play a role in politics which the American millionaires would never dream of. They have already proposed to take the place of the German state in the payment of reparations, but their conditions remain unacceptable at present."

By means of exercising pressure upon upon the authorities in the Ruhr basin Poincare hoped to put an end to the taxation policy which rendered Germany unable to pay and enriched the coal and iron kings. This policy, which appeared as one of the elements which rendered it impossible for Ger-

many to pay the tribute demanded by the Allies, constituted a common problem in the eyes of Poincare. The representatives of French heavy industry knew perfectly well that Poincare in the first place represented the policy of the petty bourgeoisie who wish to receive indemnities, but the French iron and coal kings hoped that if he received nothing he would be compelled to adopt their programme. The military circles, on the other hand, hoped that the logic of the struggle would compel him definitely to support the dismemberment of Germany. If she did not and could not pay then it would be necessary to cut a living portion from her body and to be rid one for all of the German danger.

Poincare, who was afraid of finding himself isolated, endeavored at first to win over the Allies for the policy of territorial sanctions. When however he became convinced at the Paris Conference that the Allies—who knew quite as well as the French militarists that the territorial sanc-

(Continued on page 5.)

Engineering Workers Under Capitalism

By J. I. OBSKY.

AMONG the skilled workers the Engineering workers (draftsmen, designers, inspectors, supervisors, engineers, architects, chemists, etc.) occupy the most important strategic positions in the class-divisions in all capitalist countries, and most especially in America. They supply the paid brain workers, the producers of intellectual commodities, who are in no small part responsible for the great and rapid expansion of the bourgeois technique and with it—bourgeois influence. It must be remembered that it is not the fancy of a few brainy super-engineers, but the great mass of pen and pencil pushers who are collectively responsible for the rapid growth of engineering achievements under capitalism (it is well known in the profession that bourgeois favorites for "Great Engineers" seldom if ever have real greatness in them.)

The engineering work, exactly the same as that of any other sphere, is subdivided into a great number of specialized branches. The only difference between engineering and other branches of work is that the elementary tasks of an operator in the tailor shop, a ledger clerk in a large office, for instance, are so simple that they require little preliminary preparation, while the most of engineering tasks, no matter how simple, require theoretical preparation of one sort or another.

The great mass of engineering workers bent over tens of thousands of drawing boards in engineering offices, or concentrating their energies on various problems have long ago been brot down to the level of wage-earners in every respect. The average wage, called salary—to add weight to it, is no greater than that of a skilled laborer and indeed less than that of the most well organized laborers who never gave a whoop about technical training.

The technical worker is, on par with the unorganized unskilled laborer, entirely at the mercy of the will of the bosses. He is in every way fully dependent on the boss and in the case of the corporation on the long chain of cunning, treacherous and for most part stupid bosses. He is surrounded by a veil of hypocrisy of such degree

that its odor smells in the heavens. He is "free" to chose his job. That means that in case a draftsman is needed the usual procedure is that the firm will have all available applicants fill out application blanks (as there always is a "reserve army" of unemployed men in the profession sometimes as many as 50 applications are submitted.) Now, as to the form of the blanks. The applicant must give full information about his education, professional experience record, state what employers he worker for, give reasons for leaving each employer, name and address of each employer; must give good references; also nationality, religion, height, weight, place of birth, citizenship, or intention in regard to same; he must state what salaries he has been getting in every other place and also what salary he expects to get. The "freedom" in the choice is obvious, unfortunately not for the one seeking employment. . . . The individual bargaining reduces itself to the simple formula: the single little experience of an individual is matched against the organized force of engineering bosses. (Of course, in the eyes of the capitalist, that is justice, fairness and what not, while Unionism is "hideous, low, vulgar, and common.")

There are two kinds of agencies that "help" men find engineering employment. The first is the creature of the most reactionary and fossilized bosses in the country. It is a direct appendix of the United Engineering Society (Society of Civil, Mechanical, Electrical and Chemical Engineers.) The second consists of a string of private agencies; the biggest of them have agreements with the great corporations, utility companies, etc., and in reality are also the bosses' medium for more efficient and cheaper engineering labor-power.

There is not a single organization in the entire field which would take it upon itself to really take the side of the technical worker in helping him secure work. The American Federation of Labor organized a Technical Men's Union. However, that organization at present plays no part whatever in the life of American technical men.

Such is the present situation in the engineering field. The American technique is expanding, growing

enormously, huge million dollar corporations have sprung up overnight and the men who have been producing and continue to produce this colossal wealth are getting a miserable wage and in the full mercy of the bosses and in the most humiliating position. No wonder the profession is despised by 90 per cent of those who enter it and the usual talk of the technical man who is frank is that he'd rather be a carpenter, or printer.

The capitalist mode of production based on anarchy in production and on innumerable contradictions inherent in it makes for greed, graft, impotency and criminal wastefulness; bright intellect and ability are neglected and annihilated, creative energy is destroyed. The small business by virtue of its position works its men to death, in hunt for the dollar, and the big business is a scene for the play of politicians, ignorant but willing tools, without ingenuity, creative, or in most part even executive ability, even without adequate knowledge of their duties.

There are enuf spies in every big organization, so that anyone who may feel the sting of the present situation is forced to either lose employment, or keep his mouth shut. Boss controlled associations of employees are to be found in practically every big establishment; however, altho it is unofficially made clear to the new employee that it is the desire of the heads of the corporation that every employee belong to the organization and be active in it, the workers take very little interest in such organizations.

The men themselves are very keen in each particular case to one or another injustice done to them, comparing their well-being with that of their neighbors; they are aware of the fact that they are underpaid as compared with organized skilled trade workers, but go no further. Not only do they lack a shred of class-consciousness, but they do not even feel the necessity of struggling for improvement in their condition in some way other than the accepted one (the way of their masters). They don't seem to grasp that the so-called "individual" bargaining is not individual bargaining at all, but rather a method whereby the organized capitalists in the engineering industry are marshalling their united

forces against the divided insignificant strength of the individual members of their technically trained slaves. They do not see that in order to get out of the present morass, in order to amount to something they have to build up an organization of their own, and give up the idle hope that the present boss-controlled organizations will protect their interests. A straight road to this conception and in the proper direction for engineering workers has been paved by the organized workers of other industries, such as the metal trades, printers, building trades, tailors, painters, etc., etc.

Practically all skilled workers are organized and are meeting the assaults and greed of the employers as collective bodies. Regrettably, one of the most important sections of the skilled workers, the engineering profession, presents to us a pitiful sight. All grading and classification of its ability as well as regulation is left entirely in the hands of the employers. The engineering profession has not as yet learned the elements of modern collective organizations, their economic advantages, colossal strength and potential possibilities.

The employees in the engineering field are facing the elemental problem of education as to the advantages of collective agreements and urgent necessity of real employees' organizations. Once built up, such organizations would no doubt become formidable factors in the class-struggle of the workers in America, greatly improving their own condition as well as marking a milestone in the development of the slumbering huge potent forces of strength.

It is a most difficult task, but it must be performed; the duty to begin the work of organization of the technical men rests with those of them, who have grasped its importance and significance to the labor movement in general and the immediate advantages it offers to the entire profession in particular.

Concrete ways and means have to be devised and a campaign of preparatory educational and agitational work must be developed.

The men in the profession have to be rallied and organized. The methods of approach must be given a most thoro and elaborate study.

To the task, comrades!

Maxim Gorky's Latest Thrill

(A LETTER TO THE EDITOR)

By ROBIN E. DUNBAR.

LET it be understood from the start that I have the highest regard for Gorky's talents and personal character. I believe he has done much work towards paving the way for the proletarian revolution. His novels and plays take first place in the forward movement before the World War. Never has a more stirring short story been penned than "Chelkash;" a more vivid picture of the lowest slums painted than "A Night's Lodging;" a truer novel of pre-revolutionary days in Russia than "Mother;" or a more realistic drawing done of the Czar's secret police than "The Spy." Besides all these he has distinguished himself above all contemporaries in his various autobiographical works and semi-histories. Truly it can be said that no man today occupies a more enviable place in letters than that now held by Russia's greatest novelist, Maxim Gorky.

But I am sorry to say literature has no proper place in the proletarian revolution. The exploited workers have no time and no leisure to occupy themselves over dreams and dreamers. Beyond the exhausting efforts to make a living they have little energy left for the finer things of life. They must leave art, science, music, and literature to the bourgeoisie, and content themselves with the most important problems of daily life; with economics and politics, if you please;

with unions, strikes, job control, unemployment, civil wars, revolutions, and dictatorships of the proletariat. The gods of the working class today are the leaders of the Third International, and not the leaders of letters. Shaw has past into the proletarian discard, and now occupies the proud position of "Clown to the Bourgeoisie;" Sinclair has joined the Hearst syndicate; and Gorky writes for the decadent Dial. Not one of them has a word of wisdom to speak to the fighting rebels; all aim at the shekels of the master class. "Instead of politics, they deal with pornography," to use Lenin's memorable phrase. This subject is interesting only to the perverted bourgeoisie, whose politics consist in the last analysis of the mailed fist.

So Gorky announces he is thru with politics, withdraws from his fellow-countrymen and from the workers, and peddles his reminiscences of "better days" to the high-brow magazines. He has utterly withdrawn from participation in the Communist movement; and so ceases to be of interest to Communists, whether they are educated, or uneducated.

The world moves fast; faster than anyone man's mind. The heaping up of surplus goods proceeds thousand fold, and brings the next war closer every day. No man or group of men can withstand the catastrophe. The debacle approaches, in spite of the sci-

ence of the masters; in fact their science urges on the inevitable doom of capitalism. That is the great subject. All else shrinks into emptiness besides our own fate; the fate of modern civilization. The World War is the World Drama; the World Tragedy; besides it the puny canvases of pseudo-artists are like leaves thrown before the cannon. It matters not if Andreyev got drunk, seduced girls; despised women; feared death; boasted of his fame; disputed with Gorky and used the material for novels and plays. Those matters formerly might be of some interest to serious students; nowadays they are the veriest trifles. What we want to know is, How the Third International is Handling the Problems Confronting Us? What part must we play towards the United Front? How meet the pressing problems of To-Day? Let the dead past bury its dead. There is too much on hand for those actually living now to bother about the petty problems of yesterday, except to learn how to avoid the old mistakes.

So while I used to have the greatest esteem for Gorky and Shaw and Sinclair and Jack London; my esteem has faded away, and past on to the heroes of the Third International, and to the leaders of Communism; to Lenin, whose loss was so irreparable; to Trotsky, Zinoviev; Radek, Rykov and their brave and fearless comrades; to Foster too; and to Ruthenberg; to all

the realists of today, who write their novels and plays in acts, not in words.

For it is the truth; in a civil war the sword is more powerful than the pen; the war of the classes is civil war everywhere, save in Russia where the revolution succeeded and has only to be safeguarded against the foes within and without.

Any man today who wants to be of service to his fellowmen must become a Communist first; and gladly do the bidding of the Communist leaders, if he can not become a leader himself. There is no other course for a hero.

Gorky and Andreyev and Tolstoi were heroes one day; but that day has disappeared. Two have died; we'll say nothing about them; they lived as they saw best. But for Gorky we must say we feel the keenest sorrow, for he laid aside the pen for the sword when he became connected with the soviet government; then dropt his sword for a tame bourgeois pen again. He ranked himself along with the counter-revolutionists, and must be feared and hated, rather than followed and loved.

MY COMPLIMENTS TO
THE DAILY WORKER

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Nations and Colonies

By P. MANUILSKY

REPORT TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

It is not for the first time that the national question is on the agenda of our national congresses. At the Second World Congress we laid down the fundamental lines of the national question. How is it that we are again obliged to place it on the agenda? All those attending this Congress will ask themselves if it is not because of the events which have happened since the Second Congress. Comrades, this is not so. On the contrary, the entire trend and development of events in Europe and in the colonies show us the correctness of the lines laid down at the Second International Congress. Lately, we have witnessed a very rapid growth of the national and revolutionary movements in all colonial countries. I have only to remind you of the strike of Bombay Textile workers which lasted several months and, as you all know, had a very sanguinary ending, to give you a clear idea of the magnitude of the revolutionary movement in the colonial countries. India not so long ago was also the scene of a tremendous outburst of national indignation among the peasant population of the Nakhba province, where in connection with the dismissal of one of the Rajahs, bloody collisions took place between the population and the troops. If time permitted, I could go on citing you scores of similar cases in the colonies.

In Europe, in countries with powerful national minorities, we witness a growing acuteness of national conflicts. The Versailles Peace Treaty and the series of "peace" treaties which followed have Balkanized Central Europe. In place of large empires with a uniformly economic system, they created a conglomeration of national groupings by the establishment of so-called national States. Countries which formerly knew nothing of national oppression, as for instance, Germany, now have a national question. The occupation of the Ruhr is an example of this. This phenomenon is one of the most characteristic symptoms of capitalist disintegration. It is to this system of parcelling-out and dismembering Europe that we must look for the source of the permanent economic crisis which the economic system of the world is now experiencing. The imperialist cliques, on the ruins of Austria and Germany, have created new typically polgot states which are convulsed by internal national collisions. I will substantiate my statements by giving you a few figures on the national composition of these new States. Let us take for instance a "national" State like Yugo-Slavia. Prior to the war there were 3,000,000 Serbs in Serbia. At present the population of Yugo-Slavia is 11,850,000. Out of this number only 5,000,000, 42.2 per cent, are Serbs. The remainder of the population is international in its composition. In the present Yugo-Slavia there are about 2,800,000 Croats, 23.7 per cent of the entire population; 950,000 Slovenes, 8 per cent; about 750,000 Serbo-Croat Moslems, 6.3 per cent; 600,000 Macedonians, 5 per cent; 600,000 Germans, 5 per cent; 500,000 Hungarians, 4 per cent; and 650,000 of other nationalities, 5.6 per cent. This is a typical example of a "national" State.

Let us take another example—Czecho-Slovakia, which presents a similar picture. The present population of Czecho-Slovakia amounts to 13,500,000 of which 6,000,000 are Czechs representing 44.4 per cent of the total population. The Czecho-Slovakian State has annexed industrial districts employed in the textile, mining, and glass-making industries with a purely German population of 3,700,000, representing 27.4 per cent of the population of the Czech State. There are also 2,000,000 Slovaks, 14.8 per cent; 800,000 Hungarians, 5.9 per cent; 400,000 Ukrainians of Carpathian Russia, 2.9 per cent; 300,000 Jews, 2.7 per cent; and 1.9 per cent of other nationalities. Let us now take Poland,

another product of the Versailles Treaty. The present Poland has a population of 30,000,000 of which only 15,800,000, 52.7 per cent are Poles. The remainder of the population consists of 6,300,000 Ukrainians, 21 per cent; 3,300,000 Jews, 11 per cent; 2,200,000 White Russians, 7.3 per cent; 2,100,000 Germans, 7 per cent; and 300,000 other nationalities, 1 per cent. All these nationalities are oppressed by the Polish landowners and bourgeoisie. Let us now take as other examples: Roumania where national minorities constitute 30 per cent, almost one-third of the population. Greece where the purely Greek population constitutes 68.4 per cent, Lithuania where Lithuanians constitute 70 per cent of the population.

What is the meaning of these figures? They mean that in Central Europe the national question is now assuming a special significance, and acuteness cannot be denied unless one is determined to ignore facts.

Let us now turn our attention to the acuteness of the national question in the colonies, and let us take for an example Great Britain, the classical example of colonial domination. While



A Happy Couple.

the area of Great Britain itself is only 314,000 square kilometers, its colonies cover almost 400,000,000 square kilometers, viz. British colonies are 130 times bigger than the United Kingdom. Moreover, the population of the United Kingdom is 46,000,000 while the population of the colonies is 429,000,000 which means that to every Britisher there are nine colonial slaves. Is it possible to destroy the might of the entire capitalist system of Great Britain without bringing into motion its colonial population? Will not British imperialism, which has such enormous human and material resources in the colonies, offer a successful resistance to the workers of Great Britain, if the latter do not deprive it of these human reserves which are as boundless as the ocean? Perhaps in a lesser degree other colonial countries present a similar picture. There is, for instance, France with an original population of 39,000,000 and a colonial population of 54,000,000, or little Belgium with an area 30,000 square kilometers while the colonies comprise an area of 2,420,000 square kilometers. The original population of Belgium is a little over 7,000,000 while the colonial population is 17,000,000. We have another example in Holland which has a population of 17,000,000 with an original population of 30,000,000, is 49,500,000. If you glance at the post-war map of the world, you will realize the magnitude of the enslavement of mankind. Of the 134,000,000 square kilometers comprising the area of the globe, nearly 90,000,000 square kilometers are colonial possessions. Of the 1,750,000,000 population of the globe 1,250,000,000 inhabit colonies and countries under the imperialist yoke. Under such circumstances, comrades, I think we must admit that far from reconsidering the decisions

of the Second Congress, we must consider methods for their better application in the present concrete situation.

Why is the National Question on the Agenda of the Fifth Congress?

We had three reasons for placing the national question on the agenda of the Fifth Congress. The first reason is, because at the Second World Congress, basing ourselves on the rich experience of the Russian Lenin-Stalin way of putting the national question, we put forward for the first time the idea of the united revolutionary front between the proletariat and the oppressed nations and colonies. But we did not put into a concrete form (we could not do so because of lack of international experience) the methods for establishing this united revolutionary front. In the course of the four years of our fight we collected enough data and material on the question to be able to come to some general conclusion.

Moreover, many mistakes were made in a number of countries by our young Communist sections in this connection. It would be perhaps more to the point to say that some of our

sections ignored this question altogether. The second part of my report will be devoted to the analysis of the mistakes which were committed on this field.

Finally, during the period which has elapsed since the Second Congress an event of great political importance has taken place. I mean the establishment in Soviet Russia of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics as an experiment of the solution of the national question under proletarian dictatorship in a peasant country comprising many nationalities.

It is with these questions that I will deal in my report.

At the Second Congress of the Comintern we dealt with two questions. Firstly, to what extent the international proletariat can make use of the national movement of the awakening colonial peoples for the fulfillment of its mission of the emancipation of all the sections of mankind groaning under the yoke of imperialism; secondly, to what extent the oppressed colonial peoples, supported by the international proletariat, will be able to evade the phase of capitalist development, profiting by the highest forms of socialist economics achieved by the proletariat in the most developed capitalist countries. By putting the question in this form, we originated the idea of the revolutionary front, the details of which were elaborated in the subsequent decisions of our international congresses. But as I have said already, at the Second Congress we were unable to recommend concrete methods for the realization of a workers' united front between the proletariat and the colonies. Only now can we seriously consider a number of new problems on the strength of concrete experience. These new problems can be divided into four groups of questions:

a) The first group. Lately we observe in a number of countries a tendency among large masses of workers to form workers' and peasants' parties with a comparatively radical program for the fight against imperialism. This tendency resulted, for instance, in the formation of such a workers' and peasants' party in the Dutch Indies, and especially in Java, and in the formation of the Koumintang Party in China. It is also due to this tendency that purely peasant parties are being formed, such as, for instance, the Republican Croatian Party of Raditch in the Balkans, whose influence is felt beyond Croatia.

Let us now consider the attitude which the Communist sections of the respective countries must adopt toward these parties, and what should be the concrete organizational forms of their common revolutionary front in the fight against imperialist oppression. We know that the Comintern decided these questions as they arose. It allowed the Communists in Java to take an active part in the work of the local workers' and peasants' party there. It also allowed the Chinese Communists to join the Koumintang Party, and we know that it is due to the Chinese Communists that this party took up a more active attitude in the fight with international imperialism. But we also know that at the last plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party the work of the comrades in the Koumintang Party was severely criticized as "class collaboration." Thus, our sections are faced with a twofold danger: the danger of ignoring the phenomena which are revolutionizing the east, and the danger of losing their proletarian character by collaboration with the petty-bourgeoisie, we are also faced with the question not only of revolutionary collaboration in existing parties of this kind, but of the advisability of Communists taking the initiative in organizing such parties in countries with a low standard of economic development. We notice that Communists approach this question with great timidity, with the result that we lose control over the national liberation movement, which passes into the hands of native nationalist elements.

To this group of questions belongs also the question of the Communist attitude toward various kinds of committees of the national-liberation movement. Imperialist oppression, which reached its culminating point in the post-war period, of course contributes to the growth of this kind of organization, which is bound to become more numerous as time goes on. As an example, let us take the Macedonian Committee, headed by Theodore Alexandrov.

b) The second group of questions connected with the near East. At the Second Congress we determined what the attitude of the young Communist sections to the national liberation movement of the bourgeoisie which was on the way to power, should be. But since then we have been faced with a new situation in two eastern countries, namely, with the necessity of deciding what the attitude of Communist parties should be to the national bourgeoisie, which has already assumed power. I refer to Turkey and Egypt. In Turkey, after a series of revolutionary liberating wars conducted by Kemal Pasha against foreign armies, the young Turkish bourgeoisie came into power with the help of a revolutionary wave from below. In Egypt the problem of power was solved by the British government by means of "reform from above," by Zagul Pasha's return from exile and taking over the government of Egypt. Two different movements, but both having the same result as far as social-political changes are concerned. Both cases inaugurate the victory of the native bourgeoisie. And yet in this quite unequivocal situation our Turkish comrades made serious

(Continued on Page 6.)

The Youth Rallies Again

By
MAX SHACHTMAN

WHILE the blood of countless young workers was reddening the soil of Europe's battlefields in the most horrible war that history records, and their masters had calmly settled down to see thru the war until either side should be completely vanquished, eliminated as a competitor in the world struggle for economic supremacy, there met in Berne, Switzerland, a group of representatives of the revolutionary youth movement of Europe.

The situation was black for the class conscious rebels of the world. Every ounce of class feeling seemed to have been crushed by the huge wave of patriotic frenzy that swept over the workers with the first shot of the war. The parties of the masses divided in two parts, one seizing the flag of the fatherland and waving it aloft in the name of "national defense," the other holding steadfastly to the red flag, being beaten to the knees by the blows of reaction, by the contumely and scorn of the socialists of yesterday and the patriots of today. The parties of the red flag were very, very few. The workers who had looked for leadership to the workers' parties did not find any. The enemy had absorbed it.

But of the few that remained to form the thin red line were the members of the Young Socialist League, or fractions of them from practically all of the warring nations. They met in the summer of 1915, and in the face of the imperialist greed, of the slaughter on the battlefields, of the betrayal of the Second International, these young revolutionaries, these "milksoops of the Youth League," as

the old German social-democrats used to call them, issued the flaming call for "War Against War!"

That call soon resounded thruout the length and breadth of war-torn Europe. Dark stories began to go the rounds about the effectiveness of the revolutionary propaganda of the youth; French regiments downing arms and starting on the home march with L'Internationale on their lips and the Red Flag at their head, only to be shot down for desertion by their less revolutionary comrades.

That call marked the beginning of the new International of the workers. It marked the birth of the Communist International and of the Young Communist International.

The first week in September of every year was designated as the day of the revolutionary youth, the day on which the young workers mass their strength in demonstrations against exploitation, against capitalism and its miseries; war, unemployment, poverty. Today under the leadership of the Young Communist International, the rebel youth of the world again gathers to celebrate the tenth anniversary of International Youth Day. In the United States, under the direction of the Young Workers League, the organization of the young Communists, demonstrations are being arranged all over the country. Wherever there is a unit of the league, large scale meetings are being arranged, revolutionary slogans issued, and the voice of protest of the exploited youth is to be heard from coast to coast.

On all sides the young workers of America are confronted with grave

problems. The ghastly hand of unemployment is slowly chilling the lives of growing numbers of the proletariat. Where the workers are fortunate enough to remain at work, the bosses take this opportunity to cut wages to the bone, to increase the work day, to make conditions of work more unbearable. And should the workers protest by going out on strike, the unemployed, especially the young who have not yet felt the class struggle so keenly, who are still steeped in the psychology of the the master class, are ready to take their places, at any wage, at any work day, under any conditions. The Young Workers League calls on the workers of all ages to unite in a firm front of the young and old, the employed and the jobless, against the greedy encroachments of the capitalist class.

Then there is the drive towards the next war. The investments of American capital in other lands are drawing it into conflict with the imperialist interests of other countries. The clashes between empires become more frequent, more sharp. The capitalists feel the inevitability of the next war, and with their usual foresight, they are making all preparations for it. The youth of America, as well as of the rest of the world, is being coralled into Citizens' Military Training Camps, Reserve Officers' Training Camps, intensified drives are made—with the generous aid of Mr. Gompers,—for the increase in the membership of the Boy and Girl Scouts, and more recently, the master stroke of Mobilization Day.

Against these militarist maneuvers, the Young Workers League raises the slogan of Class War against Imper-

ialist War. We realize that it is absurd to think that we can prevent the coming of war. The master class prepares too cunningly, and the workers retaliate it only when rifles are thrust into their hands and they are ordered to shoot down other workers whom they have never seen and with whom they can have no quarrel. The young Communists, as the vanguard of the youth who are the first victims of imperialist war, are organizing for the time when the war in the interests of capitalist profits will be turned into the war in the interests of working class revolution, the transformation of imperialist war into civil war for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On this International Youth Day, the young Communists call upon the young workers to rally to the standards of Communism in protest against capitalist exploitation and imperialist war, and for working class control thru the proletarian revolution. In this movement, not only the young workers, but the adults as well must join with all their strength. We must not only demonstrate with words, with our voices against the iniquities of capitalist society, but we must show more concretely that we are ready to carry on an every day struggle against it. In the ranks of the Workers Party and the Young Workers League are found the legions of the revolutionary workers of America. Outside of it are the masses of the workers who are yet under the influence of capitalist shot.

But to the masses with our revolutionary message!

Rouse the workers, the youth, to the banners of Communism on International Youth Day!

At Last In Moscow

By Anna Porter

YES — really Moscow. Really Russia. The landscape did not change as we crossed the border. The stars didn't sing nor the little hills skip. The country was just the same beautiful open rolling land, with thickets of sedate young pine and birch, and great stretches of cultivated fields that we had left on the other side of the arch that spans the railway at the frontier. We had been transferred to a very hard bare and not very clean third-class car in the morning, but they put on an extra second-class for our party in Russia—not that we were of any importance, but they wanted to be accommodating and we were willing to pay the extra fare. Some of the "boys" decided to remain in third, and had a sorry tale to tell of bruised bones and sleepless hours, the each declared the others had snored straight thru the night. They had gallantly given most of their blankets to a young Russian bride who had been put into their compartment after parting in tears, from her young husband. At the border we saw our first red soldiers. They didn't look smart like some soldiers, but they looked efficient, and I felt like saluting "Zdrasdvuitya, Tavarishch!" and did. There was no shirking at the Customs,—they went to the bottom of our bags, but had I only collected my wits to show my party credentials, there would have been less mauling of my carefully folded things. The young Russian cellist said naively, "You may leave your things and go to lunch. These are good people." And I felt that they were. Everywhere else we had kept guard over the luggage.

Little thatched cabins along the route, many of logs, amid carefully cultivated fields. Men and women working among the vegetables, some striding along to work, thru the cool pleasant morning, with the sacred sickle over the shoulder. Mowed grain, standing grain, yellow stubble. One lone man ploughing a narrow strip with one lone horse. No grasp of Communistic cultivating there. Our horticulturist pronounced favorably upon the condition of the crops and the

quality of cultivation both there and about Moscow. Picturesque crowds at all the stations, many in white, the men with white blouses the women with white kerchiefs about their heads, or red. High-heeled American shoes, ruining the free carriage of the girls, flat felt slippers of red or green. Everywhere the emblem of the sickle and hammer just as if it had always been, quite worn and shabby and authentic. Arrived at the Moscow station, we were immediately investigated by the police. One of the party had indiscreetly photographed a pretty peasant girl at a way-station, the information was there before us, and the whole party was under suspicion. But our credentials are unimpeachable. We were not detained.

At the Savoy, the Nep tourist hotel, the prices were so high, that we tried the Passage, and were given accommodations there, only to be told later that it was by mistake of an assistant. This hotel had been taken over by the government for the "Profintern." In other words, the delegates to the Congress of the Red Trade Union International were housed there at nominal rates by the government, which paid the difference to the Neps. We also discovered that he had been mistaken for a circus troupe expected in town; but whose appearance gave rise to this fantastic mistake, and whether it was for this reason we were let in or threatened with putting out, we never learned. We hope it was our collective baggage which arrived before us on a dray with one of us sitting on top as guard. But there were the rooms, so out came our various credentials against—so many good Communists on legitimate constructive missions—and we held our rooms, of course, at Nep rates. Next day the hotel emptied, for the last of the many congresses have closed.

Below my window is a great empty lot, with mountainous piles of old bricks beside a large half-built structure begun before the war. There in the amphitheater of rubble the boys play football until the long twilight falls. There in the morning is an encampment of vendors, loafing in the

sunshine until eight o'clock calls them to their stands. These they have with them, some carrying them in front by straps about the neck; some in fold legs and set them on the street corner, with a folding chair beside them. Women with white head-kerchiefs indicate government control and good food—sausage and caviar roll sandwiches, fruit, cake and candy, and huge bottles of kvass, a sort of cider made of different fruits or grains. On the rubble field, a few idlers are left, lying as if they had slept there. They pull their ragged coats up to their caps as the sun grows hotter on their faces, and turn over for a final snooze when the busy ones leave. A Russian fellow-passenger returning after two years, finds fewer unemployed. Everyone, he says, is working. A woman living here says, at the present moment unemployment is increasing. So slow must be the readjustment and advance in the face of world opposition—always a step back to two steps ahead, but still an advance.

Food is high except for those who have their union cards and factory eating places. But if you have to pay at these shabby little restaurants, 50 to 75 cents (a rouble to a rouble and a half) for a plate of soup, and no napkin thrown in, it is borschek with plenty of vegetables and a big hunk of meat, and you need nothing else for a substantial dinner. I bought a melon the other day in the street, not such a very big melon, and when I had done the arithmetic of it, I found I had paid 75 cents. But it is the beginning of the season. For breakfast at our little 4th class hotel, (according to American standards) a glass of coffee, a large roll with butter and an egg, still without a napkin—is a rouble and 20 kopeks, but the rouble is stable and almost at the old par, something that no other European country can boast of. Moreover, these are Nep prices, which the workers do not have to pay.

My first impression, for it is a new impression after eleven years, as we came up from the station in the electric, was "how oriental!"

The colorful bare-headed crowds

against pink plaster houses, and the aimless way they seemed to mill about. Further along, within the town, I was struck by the number of book stores, and my astonishment increases at the big orderly window displays, mostly in paper bindings, and all apparently worth while books on all possible subjects. Pictures suggest also much propaganda in these shops—of a simple sort, much of it connected with Lenin and his work.

We had an early tea-and-jam with our professor who had arrived the day before us, and a late tea-and-current pie with Anna Louise. If you don't know who Anna Louise is, go out at once and buy "The First Time in History." Then you will know. I trust the editor not to cut out this ad. Fortunately and unfortunately, she is off to the Caucasus, one of the bath resorts in the lower range, for a month's rest. Fortunately—for I fall heir to her apartment, with the very bourgeois attachment of a little maid for some hours a day. The "apartment" is one room, high up in an old hotel, with no bath or elevator. As a registered worker, her rent is very small, but more than a family would pay, as a penalty for occupying alone a room of more than the square feet allotted to one person. And the rent is scaled to the wages one receives for the month. Fortunately, I may have this for the month, but unfortunately, I shall feel without her deaf and dumb and blind.

(To Be Continued)

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Is Organization a Problem?

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

VERY few in the ranks of our party seem to realize that questions of organization, what we usually call building the party, are as much of a problem to study, to investigate and to specialize in as are questions of theory, tactics and policy. The impression prevails, not only in the ranks but also among leading comrades, that organization is a simple matter, that everybody can do it, that the only things necessary for efficient organization work are will and energy, and that anything else will come by itself, as a matter of course.

Who Is Worrying About Organization?
I know, just as many others do, that everybody in our party is worrying about-party policies, tactics, strategy, internal line ups, factions, etc., which is as it should be. It is the duty (and the privilege) of every single party member and of every party unit to think about and have a say in determining the policies and tactics of the party. One might say, that the party as a whole does not yet sufficiently realize even that. But when it comes to questions of organization, how many of us, even among those that find themselves in positions of leadership, are really and actually occupied with meeting and solving questions of organization?

Without in the least desiring to be rash or sweeping in my statements, still I am compelled to say that few, very few, in our midst consider questions of organization of sufficient importance to deserve systematic and constant attention. We are still living in the primitive period as far as organization is concerned. The only way we know how to do these things is by the rule of thumb, by fits and spasms, always in response to an urgent and immediate need, never properly prepared or equipped.

What's the Problem?

Here I can sense the approach of a protesting voice (or, perhaps, a whole chorus), saying something like this: "Now, what do you mean by organization being a problem? Don't we know that ourselves? Don't we always say that we have got to have more organizers, more members, more branches, more building the party? The trouble lies not with the party as a whole but with the C. E. C. or the D. E. C. or the C. C. C. Let these party committees get on the job and organization will cease to be a problem."

This sort of reaction would be quite natural, because this is the usual line of reasoning. If something goes wrong, who else is to blame if not the C. E. C. or some other leading committee? With some of our comrades the main function of a leading committee seems to be that of a depository for all kinds of complaints and criticisms.

Now, at this moment, I have no particular desire to quarrel with this conception of a leading committee. What must be driven home to our party is the nature of the problem. Is there such a problem? What does it consist of?

We are all agreed that it is the main duty of our party to become a mass Communist party. Very well. We are all further agreed that the way to do it is by our party engaging in the immediate struggles of the workers and by utilizing every phase of these struggles for increasing our ranks and our influence.

The above gives us the main scheme of our organizational duties and the general method for carrying on the work. But this by itself is not going to produce organizational results. To know, as we do, that the way to build our party is thru engaging in the immediate struggles of the workers is very good, indeed. The question is, how many of our party units are actually engaged in such struggles?

And further. It is very good for our party to know (as it does) that every phase of the class-struggle must be utilized for increasing our ranks

and extending our influence. But the question again arises, how many of our party-units are actually taking advantage of favorable situations for the building of our party?

Let me cite a few illustrations. We have got to engage in the immediate struggles of the worker. Alright. A strike against a reduction of wages or in favor of some other economic demand is just the kind of an immediate struggle that we have got to be on the lookout for.

Now, what I want to ask is, how many of our local organizations are constantly on the lookout for such kind of struggles?

I, personally, know of only one. There may be a few more. The one I know of is Local Chicago of the Workers Party, and one more (not a unit of the party) the N. E. C. of the Young Workers League.

Let us relate just three instances.

Pullman.

Some time in June there happened to be a strike of carmen in the Pullman shops at Pullman, Ill. It was a spontaneous affair caused by an attempt to reduce wages.

One of the local comrades "smelled" the strike. That's the way the Chicago comrades put it. He smelled it not by accident. It was his business to do it. He was on the lookout for it. And immediately he went down to investigate, and then he reported to the local Executive Committee, and thereupon the Executive Committee laid out plans for helping the strikers to win the strike (with speeches, pub-

the situation for getting new members into the party.

Immediately thereupon Hammond became the field of intensive activity by the local organization and by the Y. W. L. Also by the DAILY WORKER. The result: increase in the party membership, a new shops branch of the Y. W. L. and increased circulation for our "DAILY."

Hegewisch.

That happened in August. A strike by Carmen in Hegewisch, Illinois. More or less of a spontaneous proposition. We got wind of it at its very inception. How? Not by a delegation of strikers coming to our office. No, we were then not so popular yet in Hegewisch. Again it was "smelled" by the comrades who are in charge and on the lookout.

Again the regular, systematic procedure. Report to the Local Executive Committee, discussion, laying out of plans, organization of a special squad to carry these plans out. And, then, work. The result: a new shop unit of the league and strengthening of the Party branch there.

Lessons of These Experiences.

You will notice six (6) characteristic features in this work.

Be on the lookout—the first feature is that the party organization in Chicago, the DAILY WORKER and the Y. W. L. have been constantly on the lookout, thru comrades specifically in charge, for just such kind of immediate struggles. That's why they managed to "smell" the thing coming and to step into it right at the very beginning.

TO LABORERS

By Henry George Weiss

When the golden shackles are broken,
When the chain of lies is severed,
You shall reach upwards to the heavens,
Reach with the hands of giants.

Nothing shall bind you to earth,
From sweat and toil delivered
You shall quest among the stars,
Unbodied minds that soar.

Strike then the shackles off,
You who are gods unborn!
Sever the chain and arise,
You who are smothered in dust!

TO LABORERS

licity in the DAILY WORKER, etc.), for propagating Communism and the current political slogans of the party, and for getting the strikers to join the party.

It was all planned on the basis of facts derived from special investigation. And then the party organization stepped into it. Pullman was literally invaded by an army of speakers, organizers, distributors of literature, sellers of the DAILY WORKER (which carried lots of news about the strike), reporters, etc., all of them working under the supervision of Local Chicago which was carrying out a plan of organization laid down before hand by the Local Executive Committee. The same is true of the Young Workers League, the result, that is, the tangible result, was: a new branch of the party and a new branch of the Y. W. L. Intangible results: a vast increase of the influence of the party and of the DAILY WORKER.

Hammond.

This was in July. The Carmen's union attempted to organize a local in Hammond, Indiana. How did we know it? It was not communicated officially to the party organization. You may be sure about that. It was "smelled" by the party members whose duty it is to be informed of such things.

Again it was reported to the local Executive Committee, discussed there and a plan of organization laid out. The basis of the plan was to assist the union organization in organizing the local of the union. Then utilize

actively participate in the struggle by actually helping to make it a success.—the second feature is that the Chicago comrades not merely spoke about participating in the struggle but actually did. They helped to organize strikes and to organize unions.

Detailed plans, special squads and responsible leaderships—this is the third feature of it. It was all handled by the Local Executive Committee in a thoro, responsible manner. It was planned up to minute details. Special squads put in charge, the local secretary working with the squad in the field and directing their work.

Build the the party as you go along with the masses in their struggles—Don't get the idea that participating in the struggles of the workers and building the party are two different and separate things to be accomplished at separate intervals of time and by different organs of the party. This is a wrong and harmful conception. See what Chicago is doing and what the Young Workers League is doing. They do both things at one and the same time and with the same units of organization. That's why they are successful. This is the fourth feature of it.

Keep your eyes on the work-shop—If you speak of organization, remember, that the shop is your starting point, your basis. It is there that the workers' dissatisfaction first becomes audible. It is there that the elementary struggles begin. If you are interested in organizing the party, keep

your eye on the work-shop. This is fifth feature of it.

Co-ordination of party, league and DAILY WORKER—This is the sixth and last feature. Every plan of organization, every particular job of organization, must be built upon the principle that it is to be done by all three together: party, league and DAILY WORKER. I, personally, am inclined to attribute this last feature as the main reason for the success of the Chicago organization.

From the Rule of Thumb to Scientific Planning.

This is what I am pleading for. Away from the spasmodic way of handling organization work. Away from the idea that everybody who wants, without study and systematic training, can do it. Away from the old S. P. idea that you can build a party of revolution merely by preaching your principles. Away from the rule of thumb and to scientific planning of Communist organization in the shop and factories.

Versaille Treaty

(Continued from page 1)

tions meant annexation by the French—rejected this policy, he decided upon the independent occupation of the Ruhr area. His policy was not only directed against Germany, but also against England and America. It was an attempt to liquidate the peace of Versailles in favor of France. Poincare did not know whether he would remain in the Ruhr district or evacuate it after obtaining payments from Germany, or whether he would give up the Ruhr in return for being freed from the debts due to England and America, which he constantly felt to be a noose round his neck which could be tightened at any moment.

Poincare was victorious all along the line. After eight months furious resistance which annihilated the mark, Germany capitulated on the 23th September last. The German capitulation constituted a second lost war. Poincare attained the pinnacle of victory. The question for him now was how to liquidate the Ruhr expedition, what concrete demands to place before Germany. But from the pinnacle of victory to the abyss of defeat was but a step. If Germany lost the war of 1914—1918 because she had over-estimated her forces, if Germany lost the Ruhr war because she over-estimated her powers of resistance and under-estimated the French power of holding out, so Poincare lost the Ruhr war after his victory over Germany because he underestimated the consequences of the economic train. Upon the victory in the Ruhr rea there followed the collapse of he Franc.

Pittsburgh Leaguers To Celebrate I. Y. D. On September 7th

Pittsburgh, Pa., Sept. 5.—The International Youth Day meeting in Pittsburgh will be held in Walton Hall, corner Liberty Ave., and Stanwix St., on Sunday, Sept. 7, at 2 p. m.

The capitalist government of the U. S. is preparing for new wars and is preparing the youth of the country for the slaughter. The Communist youth who see this menace are rallying the workers to protest and fight against this menace. Speakers have been secured who have studied this question and every worker, young and old, is urged to attend.

The Pittsburgh and East Pittsburgh branches of the Y. W. L. and the Workers Party are co-operating to make this meeting a success.

Meet us at the
Prudential Restaurant
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NATIONS AND COLONIES

(Continued from Page 3.)

tactical mistakes. Thus for instance "Aidylyk," the organ of the Turkish Communist Party, published a series of articles urging the Communist Party to support the development of national capitalism against foreign capitalism. Here we notice among our Turkish comrades the tendency which once upon a time characterized in Russia the legal Marxism of Mr. Struve who urged the working class to support the development of capitalism in Russia. And just as in the times of Russian Struvism, some of our Turkish comrades seemed at first inclined to confound the interests of the development of the productive forces of the country with the interests of the development of capitalism. Altho our Turkish comrades have made good their mistake after it was pointed out to them, we must nevertheless draw up instructions which would prevent the repetition of the same thing in other young sections of the Communist International.

(c) The third group of questions is that which has been raised now by the discussion in the press of a number of Communist Parties, especially in Germany and in the Balkans. At the Second Congress we adopted the principle of national self-determination including complete separation. But who is entitled to this right of complete separation? This contentious question, which we have settled long ago, is unfortunately still creating much confusion in the minds of many comrades. Russian comrades know that at the Eighth Congress of our party we also had nihilistic deviations in connection with this question. There were comrades who held the opinion that during the period of imperialism only the proletariat of the country in question had the right to separation. Other ultra-left elements went even further, for they asserted that questions of "self-determination" including "separation" are not within the competence of this or that national proletariat. In the opinion of these ultra-left Russian Party comrades, the question of "self-determination" must be subject to the interests of the proletarian fight as a whole, and that therefore the only body entitled to the "right to self-determination" must be the Comintern. Comrades, this example shows you to what absurdities we were reduced in our Russian discussion. Many stormy years have passed since then, and as far as our party is concerned this question is definitely settled. We decided that this problem must rest on a careful analysis of the concrete historic conditions under which the self-determination of the nation in question takes place.

Let us take two concrete examples. The occupation of the Ruhr has brought the national question before the German Communist Party. At first there was a tendency within the latter which denied that the occupation of the Ruhr places the German Communist Party under the obligation of raising the national question in Germany. This was an erroneous tendency which reflected the influence of Rosa Luxemburg's theory. At the same time a number of articles by Comrade Thalheimer appeared in the "Die Internationale" which went to the other extreme. His version of "self-determination" and the necessity of making use of national discontent in Germany ignored the fact that Germany has a highly developed industrial proletariat, and that Germany is also in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Comrade Thalheimer appeared to base the tactical lines for the Communist Party on the assumption that all class contradictions had disappeared in Germany, and that in connection with the occupation of the Ruhr Germany had reverted to the economic primitivism of social conditions of Morocco. Another more flagrant mistake in connection with the national question is the mistake made by our German comrade Boris who has been quoted here more than once. Contrary to

Thalheimer, this writer was inclined to declare that the proletariat alone (including the colonial proletariat) is entitled to self-determination, and that the right of the colonies to separation can be vindicated by the formation of Socialist Soviet Republics within them.

This group of questions includes also the question as to whether "separation" is feasible in the imperialist epoch within the framework of the bourgeois State. Comrade Lenin, in discussing the right to separation, with his Russian opponents, referred to the example of Norway. Yet if we study carefully the attitude of our Balkan comrades, we will find they take a negative attitude to this question.

There is no doubt whatever that the bourgeoisie cannot solve the national question within the framework of the capitalist State. But this does not mean that we must postpone the realization of the right of oppressed nations to separation until social revolution has been victorious throughout the world. We have only to peruse the decisions of the Balkan comrades on the national question to come to the conclusion that this is precisely their view on the right to separation. They make the right to separation dependent on the formation of a Balkan Federation of Soviet Workers' and Peasants' Republics. But what does such a condition mean? The Balkans are the crux of the entire imperialist policy of the big Powers of Europe. The victory of the workers' and peasants' power in the Balkans, the corridor of the international imperialist cliques, means the victory of the international proletariat. Therefore, raising the question in that form is tantamount to ignoring the acute problems which confront us at present.

This fourth group of questions is connected with the question of irredentism, which has a two-fold form: the question of irredentism between a Workers' and Peasants' State and a bourgeois state, and the question of irredentism between two bourgeois states. This group of questions is all the more important as the imperialist re-distribution of the world which followed the European war, has dismembered nations and peoples. The problem of revolutionary irredentism assumed a very concrete form in the relations between the U. S. S. R. and the states adjoining it. Thus, at the Second Congress of the Polish Communist Party, the Polish Party decided to support the movement of the Ukrainians and White Russians forming part of the Polish State for their inclusion into the workers' and

peasants' republics of the U. S. S. R. The attitude of the Roumanian Communist Party towards the Hungarian Esthonian Communists, Communist population of Transylvania is also of Carpathian Russia, etc. very characteristic. Roumanian com-

But side by side with this attitude advocates the establishment of our Communist Parties, there are independent Transylvania Republic also decisions of a contrary nature. lie in contra-distinction to the irre-

The Reichenberg Conference of the irredentism of the Hungarian population Czecho-Slovakian Party, held in 1921 of Transylvania which is inclined to when the party was still the opposi-incorporation with Hungary. In this tion in the Social-Democratic Party, case, too, one can see the fear that in discussing the question of revolu-"the right of self-determination" tionary irredentism in the event of might objectively, become a support the victory of the proletarian revolu-to the foreign bourgeois government. tion in Germany (3.5 million Germans This shows you, comrades, in what are now subjects of the Czecho-Slo-complicated national conditions our vakian States) declared itself against Communist Parties have to work, and the separation of German territories, what an amount of revolutionary plia- on the plea of the interest of prole-bility they must possess to give a con- tarian revolution in Czecho-Slovakia. crete form to the question of "self- But if our Communist Parties are determination" including separation. ready to recognize the admissibility This work of giving concrete forms of revolutionary irredentism, they to our fundamental decisions in com- must also take into account the follow-nection with the question of irredent- ing fact: In the theses on the na-ism in the various countries must be tional question adopted by the Second done in commissions. And that is one Congress of the Polish Communist of the tasks of the Fifth World Con- Party nothing is said about "the rec-ress. We are bound to make mis- ognition of the right to separation" oftakes if we do not put this branch of the German population of the present our work into concrete forms. And Poland, which is two million strong, we must admit that in connection There is no mention whatever about with the national question, many mis- the German population's right to sep- takes have already been made by our ration in any of the resolutions of the Communist Parties.

Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party.

(To Be Continued.)

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By WM. Z. FOSTER

Chairman of the Workers Party, Secretary of the T. U. E. L.,
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The International Communist Youth

(A REVIEW OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS)

By JOHN WILLIAMSON

The Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International opened in the large Bolshoi Theater in Moscow. Delegations from many Moscow shops were present and mingled freely among the many delegates from the various countries. The opening session was taken up principally with speeches of welcome from the Comintern, Profintern, Red Army and many other organizations. Banners were presented to several of the League from Russian Y. C. L. Shop nuclei.

There were present 108 regular delegates and 34 fraternal. America was well represented having three regular delegates, Comrades Williamson, Carlson and Edwards with Kaplan a fraternal delegate. The work to be considered by the Congress was principally a review of the activities based on previous decisions and a clarification and extension in various fields of work. The fundamental program adopted at the 3rd Congress had proved itself to be correct.

Politically, the Y. C. I. had consistently supported the Executive Committee of the Comintern in its major issues and it was significant that not one League in the International had deviated from the stand of the Executive in the two major situations, viz. German and Russian. In the Scandinavian countries the League had consistently fought for the position of the C. I. against the opportunist leadership of the Swedish Party. As a result the League was denounced by this Hoeglund element but the Comintern had defended the Y. C. L. and the situation is now coming to a head. The situation arising out of the German situation was dealt with extensively both by Com. Manuelisky who represented the E. C. C. I. and in the report of the Y. C. I. Executive. The 5th Congress of the C. I. had definitely stated its position on the United Front and the Workers and Farmers Government, pointing out the role of the Communist forces and thereby leaving no loophole for opportunist deviations such as had occurred in Germany. A cardinal point in this discussion is that which says that the Communist Party must guard its independence of propaganda and criticism while carrying out these maneuvers. The Y. C. I. Congress accepted this unanimously.

Closest cooperation had taken place between party and League in nearly all countries and the Parties were really realizing the role of the youth movement in relation to our entire Communist movement much better than in the past. The success of the League in shop nuclei and anti-militarist activity had undoubtedly assisted in this transformation.

Organizationally, the Y. C. I. had taken many strides forward. While our International numbers well over a million, many of our Leagues must increase their influence and membership during the next year so that this can be doubled. Only the Russian League can be considered a real mass organization in the full sense of the term. Our German and Czechoslovak League however are well on the way to becoming mass organizations and they must strive for a membership of 100,000 each during this year.

To the degree that the Leagues participated in shop nuclei activity did they increase in membership and influence. A good start had been made in all of our Leagues in transforming the Leagues to the shop nuclei basis exclusively. The Russian and Estonian were functioning exclusively on this basis and the German, Czech, French and Italian Leagues were ready for complete reorganization in whole districts. The Congress reiterated the fact that only thru the complete reorganization of the Leagues upon the basis of shop nuclei could we become a real mass organization including in our ranks the entire working class youth. The idea of territorial branches was a hangover from

our previous Social Democratic organizations and in the Y. C. I. there was no longer any opposition to the nuclei. Our principal tasks was to extend our work along these lines. In such countries as America and Great Britain, the organization was instructed to build from the beginning on the basis of nuclei. No more territorial branches must be organized in any country. Experience showed the comrades how easy it actually was to reach young workers when approached on the basis of actual shop conditions and then organize them. It was pointed out however, that it was not merely a question of shop fractions, but a greater one, that of the nucleus being the basic political unit of the organization carrying on every activity at present given to the branch, but thru the change of form reaching the young proletarians in the shops and thus increasing our activities. The incoming Executive was given instructions to set a date for the Complete Reorganization on the Basis of Shop Nuclei, of every section of the International, this to be completed by the next World Congress.

Despite the fact that the conditions of the young workers had become worse during the past period, the League had not increased the Economic-Trade union work in proportion. A start had been made by every League but too often this had been

the youth workers will become worse and our League must prepare to meet the situation by entering into every struggle and utilizing it to further our organization. The struggle for our partial youth demands serve as a lever in the struggle for the complete destruction of the capitalist system.

In anti-militarist work the French Y. C. L. had carried on very successful work. During the Ruhr occupation many nuclei were established in the army and a regular army newspaper established. This is being published twice a month and has a circulation of 7,000. This has resulted in fraternization between the French army and the workers in Germany. The work of the Y. C. I. was especially commended by the Comintern as this was the first real attempt at actual work within the army. In other countries a beginning had been made but not enough effort had been put forth. We must concentrate and the various N. E. C. must lay out definite plans to extend this activity during the next period.

The Y. C. I. has neglected one important field of activity. Our influence as an International is principally upon the industrial workers while among the peasants it is nil. This must be remedied as we cannot hope for a successful revolution without the cooperation of the agrarian workers.

utilizing it as a recruiting ground for our Young Communist Leagues.

The problem of education was considered at great length as it was recognized that there was a dangerous situation facing many of our Leagues due to neglect in this field. The slogan of Bolshevizing the League was adopted and this carried with it a complete educational activity from the highest to the lowest units.

The American Young Workers League was given considerable attention. The Executive Committee expressed approval of our activities during the past period. It was pointed out that in America we had a more difficult situation to face than in many other countries and therefore the application of some parts of the international program was hindered. The good work conducted during the past year lays a firm foundation for future activities which we must carry out wholeheartedly under the supervision of the N. E. C.

The political situation in the Party reflected itself to a very limited extent in the American League. As is well known the majority of the League N. E. C. with the exception of Kaplan supported the so-called Foster-Cannon-Bittelmann group who were supported by the Party membership at the last convention. This League minority developed around Comrade Kaplan who made serious charges against the N. E. C. These were emphatically repudiated and complete confidence expressed in the present N. E. C. majority and instructions given that all factionalism must cease within the League and the organization work as a solid unit with the N. E. C. in furthering the decisions of the Fourth World Congress.

The Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. adjourned with a program of definite work allotted to each national section. The Young Communist Leagues have won for themselves, thru their activities, a definite place in the workingclass movement.

The Young Workers League of America has won for itself a definite place in the labor movement of this country. It must receive greater aid from the Party in its many campaign and struggles. The League of today is a recruiting and training ground for the active Party workers of tomorrow. It therefore deserves the support of every unit of the Party.

Forging Chains for the Proletariat



MacDonald and Herriot.

limited to mere verbal or written articles or speeches. It is essential that no youth strike or struggle take place presenting their demands and fighting for their adoption as the demands of the young workers. We must aim at becoming the leaders of the young workers in every struggle.

An energetic campaign must be waged by all the Leagues to rally the young workers into the trade unions. The Leagues must fight on the basis of 1. full rights within the union for young workers 2. reduced initiation and dues fees and 3. Y. C. L. fractions within the unions. At no time must we tolerate separate youth sections within the trade unions. We must understand and popularize our idea that no other separate youth organizations are necessary as the Young Communist Leagues and they alone are the sole representative of the working class youth. It is necessary that we present our youth demands for adoption at every occasion and within the Red Opposition Groups (T. U. E. L. in America) we must work in complete harmony and have our youth demands incorporated and fought for. It is the direct task of the Y. C. I. to win the masses of the young trade unionists for the revolutionary trade union opposition.

The Congress stated that during the coming period, the conditions of

This was especially noticeable, in Central Europe where the problem is of immediate importance. All countries must conduct more activity among agrarian workers and organize them into our farm and village nuclei.

The sport problem is an important one for the youth movement. Many millions of young workers are interested in the sport movement and the capitalist class have many organizations thru which they direct their propaganda under the guise of sport. It is our duty to organize national workingclass sport organizations in opposition to the bourgeois outfits. Success has attended the attempts in this direction in Central Europe where we have established large workingclass youth sport bodies. Our weakness has been in not giving these organizations the correct directives. It was considered that in America we have a good field for this activity and our American League must make a start along these lines. We must aim to bring together into one national sport organization all the local clubs existing at the present time.

Our aim is three-fold in forming this Sport organization; first, winning the masses of young workers away from the influence of capitalist and bourgeois clubs; secondly, building a strong physical group of young workers with a class instinct and thirdly,

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The Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow

One of the questions which engaged the attention of the V. World Congress was the question of international scientific propaganda of Marxism, which is to be carried on in the first place by an international critical collected edition of the works of Marx and Engels, that is, an edition in the language of the original text, with critical explanations. The guarantee for the realization of such a big project is offered by the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow, which would have the main share in the carrying out of this task of such wide political and scientific importance.

What are the circumstances which qualify the M. E. I. for the carrying out of this task? The Marx-Engels Institute possesses the printed and written remains of Marx and Engels in a more complete form than anywhere else. The M. E. I. possesses almost all the newspapers and periodicals on which Marx and Engels collaborated.

The M. E. I. is to a great degree richer in sources than the Social-Democratic Party archives in Berlin, to whom the posthumous writings should have come. Besides the written remains in the Social-Democratic archives, Comrade Ryazanov has succeeded in obtaining much material on Lafargue, Bernstein (the "German Ideology") and in addition the letters of Marx and Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, Bernstein and Kautsky, partly in the original and partly in photographic reproductions. The M. E. I. is also in the position to undertake a textual criticism of earlier editions of the works of Marx and Engels, on the basis of the manuscripts. Of much greater importance, however, is the fact that the unpublished material in the possession of the M. E. I. is of such a quantity and quality that its publication is calculated to introduce

a new epoch into the investigation of Marx.

The publication of such a critical collected edition of the works of Marx and Engels with objective historical commentaries, which are necessary to facilitate, or even to make possible for the first time, the spreading of these works and their scientific popularization, is however, a very great scientific and organizational task. It can only be undertaken with the assistance of an equipment rich enough in theoretical and historical documents to correspond with the encyclopedic scope—both political and theoretical—of Marx' and Engels' activity. Workers thoroughly trained in scientific Marxism are equally necessary. No doubt the apparatus possessed by the Marx and Engels Institute still requires completion and enrichment, but the materials and the trained workers which it already possesses are enough to enable it to begin this vast work at once. The Institute was founded in 1920 by Comrade Ryazanov, who is still its director, the sole aim of the institute being to further the ends of Marxian research. Its whole organization, its collection of books and periodicals (it possesses a library of more than a hundred thousand volumes), the work carried on within the institute and the publications it issues, all serve the aim of reconstructing the practical and theoretical life-work of Marx and Engels on a critical historical basis.

The work of the Institute is organized from two points of view. On the one hand it deals with the chief countries influenced by the political activities of Marx and Engels, the history of these countries being intensively studied, and on the other hand with the various branches of knowledge comprised in their theoretical work. It follows that the chief departments of the institute—setting

aside the Marx-Engels department itself where the MSS. and printed editions of Marx and Engels are kept, and the reading room which has a splendidly equipped reference library on the history of Socialism and on the labor movement—are on one side the German, French, English and Russian departments, and on the other the departments for philosophy, comparative law, political economy, the history of socialist and anarchist theory, and the department for sociology. It is enough to point out here that all these departments are planned solely in order to meet the requirements of Marxian research. They contain a complete collection of all the authors by whom Marx and Engels may have anywhere quoted, and in fact of the whole literature relating to Marx and Engels. The historical departments make a systematic collection of all the numerous sources and descriptions from which knowledge can be gained of contemporary conditions, and persons, which bore even the slightest relation to the lives of Marx and Engels, and which may be of use in forming a critical judgment on them, or on the historical problems touched upon or fully treated in their works.

The departments devoted to the history of ideas and to the theoretical side in general are likewise organized, not in a piecemeal fashion, but in a way corresponding to the needs of Marxist research. In the philosophical department the majority of books deal with the history of materialism, and the tendencies developed from Hegel, including the young Hegelian tendencies. A special collection in this department consist of literature devoted to the dialectics of materialism—this is certainly the most complete collection of this kind in existence. The section devoted to political economy is organized especially to illustrate the problems of Marxism. In the department of the

history of Socialism the collection of literature relating to St. Simonism, Fourierism, and Owenism, can only be equalled in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris and in the British Museum, and is to be found nowhere else all collected together in one place.

The works already published by the institute, and those which it is preparing may be regarded as preliminary studies for the international edition of Marx and Engels. Among these we would mention: the great edition of the Communist Manifesto with detailed commentaries taken from the historical and theoretical works of Ryazanov, Lafargue and Kautsky; the complete edition of the works of Plekhanov; the collection of documents illustrating the history of the older West-European labor movement; the selected works of Hegel; the "Library of Materialism"; A. Deborin's monograph on Feuerbach; the Marx-Engels archive and—last but not least—the Russian edition of the works of Marx and Engels which is planned to consist of thirty-five volumes of which four volumes edited and annotated by Ryazanov have already appeared.

Altho the organization, the equipment, and the work already achieved by the Marx-Engels Institute will make the production of the international, complete and critical edition of the works of Marx and Engels considerably easier, the Communist International must take energetic measures on a large scale in order to develop both deeply and widely an international and scientific propaganda of Marxism. Only by doing this can it claim to be the true heir of Marx and Engels in the scientific sphere. By so doing the Communist International will fulfil a duty towards itself, and have the full right to claim its position as the heir both of the political and the literary and scientific remains of Marx and Engels.

The National Council of the Communist Party of Germany

By ARTHUR ROSENBERG

ON the 19th and 20th July there was held in Berlin the session of the National Council of the C. P. of Germany, in order to decide on the Party's attitude towards the decisions of the World Congress and to formulate the practical tasks which the Party at present has to solve. It was a very important moment: in Germany there exists all the pacifist cackle, the comedy of the Experts' Report and the renewed cry of the German social democrats as to rescuing the working class thru the good will of international capital; at the same time we see a growing economic crisis, closing down of factories, unemployment, the coming into force of protective tariffs, and in order to conceal all this, a furious persecution of the C. P. of Germany, the terrorist sentences of the criminal courts in order to protect the so-called republic, the monster trial against the central of the Communist Party, the suspension of immunity against Communist members of parliament, the hair-raising stories of the Tcheka, cholera germs etc. The present situation is characterized by increased persecution of the Communist party at a time of increased illusions of the working class. Thus the present situation is one full of difficulties.

Such a period of acute persecution and temporary depression forms a special testing time for revolutionary parties. In such a situation differences of opinion and groupings within the party very easily arise. In addition to this there came the discussion of the decisions of the World Congress, which are of a very important character, and especially in the trade union question, raise quite a number of very important problems.

This session therefore constituted a fiery test as to how far the Party is consolidated, whether the Party is really capable or not of carrying out the program decided on Frankfurt-on-Main, regarding the overcoming of factions and the bolshevization of the

Party. It must be said that the proceedings of the National Council furnished wonderful testimony to the stability of the C. P. of Germany. Among the numerous delegations coming from all parts of Germany there was to be seen an absolute unanimity regarding the fundamental questions. All the important decisions were unanimously adopted, including the political as well as the trade union decisions.

Never since the existence of the C. P. as a mass party has there been a National Council so entirely free from groupings or any essential differences as this one. One can state without any hesitation that there are no longer any groupings or fractions in the German Party. Already at the Frankfurt Conference the Brandler tendency was quite unrepresented. But nevertheless we had beside the 90 delegates belonging to the left party majority, 30 representatives of the so-called central group.

Although already in Frankfurt we had succeeded in establishing unanimity on all the practical tasks of the day, there were still left some remnants of group differences. Already in Moscow it was seen that the German delegates to the Fifth World Congress were completely united. For the first time there appeared at Moscow a German delegation, which was entirely free from groupings and was the uniform representation of the German Party. The delegates from the Chemnitz district were on all fundamental questions in agreement with the delegates of the party majority. The same picture was presented at the National Council. To all the spite and hatred of Social Democracy to all the persecutions by the authorities of the Ebert Republic, we are able calmly to reply: "The Communist Party of Germany is a homogeneous, iron block, and no one will succeed in splitting it."

The National Council in its political resolution fully approved the decisions of the V. World Congress. It specially welcomed the way in which the

right in the international, the Radek-Brandler group, was dealt with. It approved in the sense of the Frankfurt decisions the new formulations of the united front and the workers' government, which made impossible any opportunist interpretation. The National Council declared with particular satisfaction that the dispute over the workers' government in the frame of bourgeois democracy, which had prevailed at the Leipzig Party Conference, was now finally decided in the sense of the German Left.

In the trade union question the National Council likewise adopted the decisions of the World Congress. The National Council emphasized the necessity of the Communists again resuming trade union work along the whole front. This revival of our trade union work, in spite of all confusion which still prevails among some of our members, is one the chief practical tasks of the Party. As regards the question of international trade union unity, the National Council declared itself in favor of a mass campaign for unity, with the obvious provisions that this unity could only be realized on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.

The practical daily tasks of the Party were defined by the National Council as an intensification of the mass struggle against the Experts' Report, in mobilizing the proletariat against the new employers' offensive with their closing down of factories, in reviving the slogans of control of production and socialization in the fight against the food profiteers, protective tariffs and fresh direct taxes, in the closest relations of the proletariat with the poor peasantry, who are suffering more and more severely under the present crisis.

The National Council calls to the party: Into the masses! But the Communist must go into the masses precisely at the time of depression, without allowing himself to be influenced by the hesitating moods of the masses. Practical workers' politics, but without the least compromise with democratic

opportunism. The National Council unconditionally endorsed the outlook of the V. World congress that we must at all times reckon upon new decisive struggles for power, but that it is impossible to fix the definite date for these new decisive struggles; under certain circumstances we must always reckon with a longer transition period and precisely in this period we have to show the greatest communist firmness.

The National Council reaffirmed the close alliance between the C. P. of Germany and the C. P. of Russia, as was shown at the V. World Congress. To make use of all the experiences of the Russian Revolution to convert the German Party in a true bolshevist party and, regardless of obstacles, to draw a clear unequivocal bolshevist line, and in this sense to lead and win the masses, that is the task which the National Council has placed before the Party.

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