

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

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INTRODUCTION.

In the revolutionary fight against capitalist domination, the international proletariat must unite the efforts of its separate detachments and merge these detachments into one international proletarian army. The organization, which unites the fighting revolutionary proletariat, regardless of state boundaries, nationality, race, creed, sex, or occupation, is the International Workers' Association, the Communist International. The Communist International, uniting all the Communist parties and constituting in itself the militant world party of the proletariat, aims at the emancipation of labor from the yoke of capital; it openly advocates the violent overthrow of the bourgeois order by means of the Communist revolution, and thus continues the revolutionary tradition of the Communist association, and the First International founded by Marx. It entirely and unreservedly maintains the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism, which found its most complete expression in Leninism which is pure and simple Marxism of the epoch of the direct proletarian fight for the conquest of power. The Communist International is fighting on this basis for clarity in the class consciousness of the masses by placing its dialectic materialism in opposition to the teachings of the bourgeois ideology, and thereby leading the fight against any kind of bourgeois influence over the proletariat, such as religion, idealistic and non-materialist dialectic philosophy, the doctrine of harmony between capital and labor, socialistic opportunism—thereby consistently maintaining the basis of the class struggle. The Communist International formulates its entire fundamental principles, aims and fundamental methods for struggle on this basis, and in the program, which unites millions of toilers, explains the position of the oppressed under capitalist rule, and shows them the way to victory over the bourgeoisie, and to the construction of the Communist society.

I. Capitalist Wage Slavery.

1. General Characteristics of Capitalism as a System of Exploitation.

At the present time almost the whole globe is under the rule of capitalism. Only in the Soviet Union has the domination of capital been superseded.

This rule is based upon private property and the production of commodities for the market.

A small group of persons is in possession of the monopoly of the means of producing these goods, and of the means of distributing them, this group is the capitalist class. This monopoly assures to this class an undivided economic domination over millions of proletarians, who possess no means of production, and who are forced to sell their labor power.

The relation of wage-labor to capital forms the basis of bourgeois society.

The economic domination of the bourgeoisie is secured by its political rule, and by its state organization, which secures it a monopoly over arms and all other means of applying physical force.

The rule of the bourgeoisie is also secured culturally, for it possesses the monopoly of education, which is in the hands of the capitalists.

The working class, economically oppressed, subjected politically and culturally, is the wage-slave of capital.

The working class, which forms a constantly growing section of the population, thus serves as a living source of profit to the bourgeoisie, which exploits its labor.

2. Contradictions in the Development of the Capitalist System.

The hunt for profits forced the bourgeoisie to develop its productive powers continuously and increasingly, and to extend the sphere of operations of capitalist production. The fundamental contradictions of the capital system, however, reveal themselves at the same time with ever growing distinctness; these defects inevitably lead to the complete breakdown of the capitalist system.

Capitalist society, built upon the exploitation of an overwhelming majority of the population by an inconsiderable minority, is torn in two, and its whole history is one of conflicts between the classes.

The rule of private property imparts

an anarchic character to production, and leads to blind production regulated by no conscious power. This is shown on the one hand in the severe conflicts between various competing concerns and groups of concerns, causing an enormous waste of energy; on the other hand the unregulated production—absence of proportion between its various branches, and the result of this anarchy of production—the contradiction between the increased production and the restricted consuming ability of the proletarian masses—causes periodically recurring crisis, accompanied by destruction of productive forces and mass unemployment among the proletariat.

The struggle of the capitalists for world domination leads to a special form of competition among the capitalist states, finally expressed in wars which are inevitable accompaniments of capitalism, as are crises and unemployment.

The extension of capitalist production, involving the development of productive forces, is accompanied by the decay of pre-capitalist economic forms in the competitive struggles, the decay of a part of the peasantry, by the disappearance of handicrafts, by the economic defeat of small and middle capital, and by the open plundering and merciless exploitation of the colonial countries. This process leads on the one hand to an accumulation of capital, to its concentration in the hands of a few millionaires, and is, on the other hand, accompanied by a tremendous increase in the numbers of the proletariat which, having passed thru the severe school of the capitalist system, become the deadly enemy of the bourgeoisie and its system of society.

The process of the concentration of capital, and of the extension of the capitalist system, constantly reproduces the fundamental contradictions of capitalism on an ever-increasing scale. The competition among small capitalists ceases, only to be replaced by that among big capitalists; where competition among big capitalists comes to a standstill, it widens its radius and becomes a competition between the gigantic associations of the millionaires and their states; the crises change from those of local and national character to crises extending over a number of countries, and final-

ly to world crises; the local wars are replaced by alliances and world wars; the class war develops from isolated actions of single groups of workers, first to a national struggle, and then to an international struggle of the world proletariat against the world bourgeoisie.

The inevitable aggravation of class antagonism is accompanied by a simultaneous consolidation of the antagonistic class forces. On the one hand, the capitalist bourgeoisie forms its associations, secures its state power, and organizes its armed forces; on the other hand, the working class, brought into one camp and united by the mechanism of capitalist production itself, creates its own powerful organizations, which are sooner or later transformed into weapons of the proletariat in the war against the bourgeoisie and its main support—state power.

The natural course of capitalist evolution thus inevitably sharpens the contradictions of the capitalist system, and finally renders the existence of the system itself impossible. The living force which overthrows the capitalist system is the proletariat, which revolts against its bondage, annihilates the regime of capital, and organizes the systematic economics of socialism, the premises of which are created by capitalism itself.

These pre-requisites of the new form of society which have to replace capitalism, are: the concentration of the means of production, the powerful capitalist technique, the science created by capitalist evolution, the workers' organizations which will be able to furnish the first organizers of the new order of society; finally, the Marxian theory, the greatest weapon of the proletarian struggle, which is becoming a powerful force, as soon as it captures the masses.

3. Imperialism the Last Stage of Capitalism.

The last decades of the rule of capital are characterized by special features of evolution, rendering the internal contradictions intensely acute, resulting in the unheard-of war crisis of 1914, and leading to the mighty revolutionary crisis (beginning with the Russian October, 1917, revolution) and the general capitalist crisis.

Capitalism became world capitalism; a universally dominant force. The survivals of the social relations of the past—primitive Communism, feudal relations, chattel slavery, merchant capital, the simple exchange of commodities of the handicraftsman, peasant barter and commodity exchange—all these forms, scattered in the various parts of the globe, are being destroyed partly by force, and partly by "peaceful" means, and subjected to the rule of big capital.

The numerous private undertakings competing with one another and destroying each other in this competition, have been replaced by mighty associations of industrial magnates (syndicates, trusts, cartels and companies consolidated by the banks.) This new form of capital, in which banking capital amalgamates with industrial capital, in which the possessions of the large landowners also become a part of the general organization thru the agency of the banks, where there are cliques of enormously rich financial oligarchies almost possessing the character of hereditary dynasties, bears a sharply accentuated monopolist character. Free competition, which has taken the place of the feudal monopolist economics, now changes into a monopoly of finance capital.

This organization of capital, essentially monopolist in character, and frequently causing separate groups of the

bourgeoisie of different branches of industry to unite, also gives rise to substantial changes in the type of competitive struggle. Instead of competing by means of low prices, there is a growing tendency to use force openly: boycotts and other forms of pressure within the country itself; high protective duties, tariff wars, the employment of armed force backed by state power—in international relations. This increasing acuteness of competition is, in international economic relations, largely due to two facts: first to the general division of the colonies among the greatest capitalist states; secondly, to the extraordinary increase in the export of capital, accompanied by the increased endeavor to occupy and control the territories fully to which the exported capital flows.

Under such conditions state power and its armed forces assume a special significance for the bourgeoisie. The policy of finance capital is directed to rapacious activity of the utmost intensity (imperialism), requiring enormous reinforcements for armies, air fleets, and every description of means of annihilation. The gigantic development of competition is one of the causes of the increasing acuteness of the competitive struggle which ends in disastrous wars.

The process of the centralization of capital on a world scale has thus led to the creation of great powers of finance capital, which have become the center of the capitalist pressure extending thruout the world, of the capitalist predatory raids, and of the exploitation and enslavement of enormous numbers of proletarian, semi-proletarian, and peasant elements. The weaker bourgeois states exist in direct or indirect dependence on these mighty powers, and are at their mercy. A definite object for enslavement and exploitation is supplied by the colonies, which possess hundreds of millions of working and exploited inhabitants.

There are two main forces being organized under the hegemony of the proletariat against the mighty organized forces of finance capital; the workers of the capitalist states, and the peoples of the colonies oppressed by foreign capital. The basic revolutionary tendency is, however, temporarily paralyzed by the corruption of a considerable section of the European and American proletariat by the imperialist bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie of the most powerful imperialist states, which have reaped enormous profits by plundering colonies and semi-colonies, have raised the wages of a section of their own workers out of the booty of their plunder, thereby interesting these workers in allegiance to the imperialist "Fatherland" and in its plunderings. This systematic bribery has taken special effect among the labor aristocracy (the workers in the particularly privileged trades, the highly skilled workers, the workers in state and municipal enterprises, and so on), and among the leading bureaucratic elements of the working class, social-democracy and trade unions, which have become absolute tools in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The keen competition among the most powerful of the great powers for the possession of the colonies led to the world war of 1914. This war shook the foundations of capitalist economics to such an extent, rendered the position of the working class so much worse, destroyed so many imperialistic illusions among the proletariat, that it introduced a new historic phase in the disintegration of capitalist production, on a world scale.

(Continued on Page 8.)

Campaign Notes of a District Organizer

By ARNE SWABECK.

"LA FOLLETTE or Foster," said the secretary of the miners' local at Johnston City, Ill. to me, "is the issue amongst the Illinois miners in this election. As far as we are concerned the old parties are not considered, we are thru with them." He was a LaFollette supporter.

This statement vividly illustrated the distance traversed in rapid tempo during a short span of political development in this country. LaFollette versus Foster—the representative of the small capitalists and certain sections of the labor aristocracy or the representative of the revolutionary proletariat—that is the issue which demands a definite decision by the workers, not only now but after this election as well. It represents a certain analogy with conditions of the politically more developed countries of Europe. An intensive struggle for the leadership of the masses of workers between the socialist traitors and their supporters, the labor bureaucrats, and the petty bourgeoisie on the one hand and the Communists on the other, preceding the establishment of a real united front for the victory over capitalism.

Perhaps the beginning of this struggle was more clearly indicated thru the Chicago factory straw vote conducted by the local Workers Party. First the general break away from the old parties and secondly the heated debates as to the issue—LaFollette versus Foster.

The great majority of the factory workers canvassed by this straw vote and even a good proportion of office workers employed by the same concerns showed that they were thru with such outstanding tools of capitalist exploitation as Coolidge and Davis. While many would step up to deposit their straw, looking slyly at the canvassers, indicating that they had taken the "great step away from their old party" and voted for LaFollette, whom some of the bosses call radical, others would proudly announce "I am for Foster," knowing that theirs was the class conscious part. Those were also the ones who would immediately set out to convince their fellow workers that this was a class issue—Communism versus Capitalism—even the latter may wear the mask of LaFollette progressives.

Getting on the ballot by nominating petitions is tedious work. Yet the circularizing of petitions offers splendid opportunities to bring this issue to the workers. One of our Chicago party members confessed to me that nine hours' work on one Sunday for one of the Communist congressional candidates had netted him only 61 signatures, but he had missed no opportunity to explain to the workers the issues that were at stake. And then—nine hours, voluntarily, of such tedious work show the stuff that some of our party members are made of.

Evenings, when our party workers went out to get signatures, time was too precious to allow for lengthy discussions. One respectable citizen, after having signed his name to a Workers Party petition presented to him exclaimed, "I will sign for anybody except these d— bolsheviks." Our comrade was in a hurry to leave but he managed to leave a DAILY WORKER in this citizen's hands and get the promise that he would read it. Butting into another family this comrade had no sooner mentioned the word petition than the man of the house curtly informed him that there was only one kind of petition that he would ever sign his name to. "What kind?" queried our comrade. "Only a Communist petition will do for me," came the reply. Well, all adults in that family were immediately signed up.

Canvassing the outskirts of the city one young chap, in informing one of our party workers that his father was not home, said, "You may come back later. Of course, I cannot guarantee that my father will sign his

name to your petition, you see, he is only a socialist."

Seemingly nothing could stop LaFollette in his own state, Wisconsin. Nay more—supported by the Milwaukee socialist party, bankrupted by the traitorous selling out of their official leadership, LaFollette was ready to annihilate all working class opposition. Although filing nominating petitions containing nearly twice the amount of signatures required by the state, his chief satellite, Attorney General Herman L. Ekern ruled that the names of the Worker Party candidates for president and vice president, Wm. Z. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow could not appear on the ballot. That privilege would be reserved only for LaFollette and Wheeler even tho they were nominated in the same manner. Meanwhile the police under the jurisdiction of the socialist mayor of Milwaukee discovered that the "restricted zone" rule could conveniently be applied against Workers Party street speakers, no matter what part of the city that might be. Never

Capitalist solidarity knows many methods. When one fails another will be tried. And so when our comrades of Gary, Ind., approached the banker who is in charge of the armory of that city to make arrangements to rent the premises for a meeting, bringing with them the necessary amount of money, he asked who was to speak and for what party. Upon being informed that the speaker would be Wm. Z. Foster, the candidate for president of the Workers Party, he said: "Nothing doing, Foster is not a good citizen." This was the verdict of a banker.

Nevertheless Foster will be on the ballot in Indiana and he will also speak at Gary. The steel workers will know that a vote for Foster means the first step toward class action. To many of them the issue LaFollette versus Foster has gone a long way towards complete clarification. The brutal capitalist exploitation, as particularly manifested in the steel mills, breeds class consciousness and continually strengthens the founda-

tion for the revolutionary movement. Down in Christopher, Ill., the Ku Klux mayor and his Ku Klux helpers and sheriffs closed the hall on Mother Bloor, the Workers Party campaign speaker, and drove the assembled workers on the streets. He prohibited any Communist meeting in the town. Then the miners who filled the streets to hear the Communist message marched to the city limits followed by their wives carrying children in their arms. "A pathetic but impressive sight," said an eye-witness. Under the flickering glare of a lantern the meeting was held. That, however, did not end the fight. One week later Wm. F. Dunne, Communist candidate for governor of the state, spoke to a much larger gathering right in the heart of the town.

He did not realize that the LaFollette movement has served as the main factor to defeat the labor party.

While the LaFollette movement has two faces ready made, in Illinois it takes great care to appear primarily under its labor face, yet the state campaign committee is dominated by representatives of non-labor elements, progressive republicans, republicans, progressive democrats, Irish-Americans, German-Americans, etc. Not that this composition is anything incidental or for that matter different from any other state.

Nowhere has the manipulations in the pre-election maneuvers of the astute but visionless trade union bureaucrats become as politically corrupt as in Illinois. The labor endorsements of the "progressives" was skillfully engineered to include Governor Small; the champion among corrupt capitalist politicians; the "good roads governor" who builds hard roads in the state paying the workers 40 cents an hour, working ten hours a day. As the miners, due to unemployment were compelled to engage in this kind of work, they realized why these were called "hard roads." This Governor Small as soon as the zero hour for the filing of independent nominating petitions had struck, announced himself as a regular republican; a supporter of Coolidge and Dawes and all that Wall Street stands for. This, however, did not disturb the labor politicians in the least. They knew the game and are continuing their indorsements of capitalist politicians.

Meanwhile unemployment is increasing in Wisconsin, Indiana and Illinois. The big factories are laying off help, steel production is at a low ebb and many mines have remained closed for months. The workers are feeling the realities of the capitalist method of production.

Two hundred Illinois mines have remained closed for more than six months, the remaining 197 are operating, averaging one-third time. Forty-three thousand Illinois coal miners have been unemployed for more than six months, the remaining 62,000 average two days a week. September, 1924, found 97,000 fewer workers employed in the factories of the state than the same month last year. The free employment agencies report 142 applicants for each 100 jobs while 68 per cent of the entire working population of the state are on less than full-time schedule—starvation and misery in prospect.

From the old parties nothing can be expected. From the capitalist government or the capitalist manufacturers' organizations nothing but ruthless prosecution of the capitalist aims in the class struggle can be expected. The LaFollette movement offers no hope of relief for this prospective starvation and misery. On the contrary its avowed aim is to keep capitalism in power and maintain the capitalist system of production. Only the Workers Party organizes and prepares the workers thru a militant struggle for their immediate needs and for the overthrow of capitalism.

AS AGAINST THE PROLETARIAT



The United Front of Capital

mind the regular republicans, the LaFolletteites and the Salvation Army that were holding forth in the same zones.

Our party fought both obstructions compelling a reversal of the rulings on the ballot, and our street speakers, interrupted now and then by involuntary visits to the Milwaukee police station, addressed thousands of workers. The names of our presidential candidates are now on the ballot while ever growing numbers of workers come to listen to the Communist message delivered by our speakers. Actual demonstrations teaching these workers that the capitalist face is by far the predominating part of the LaFollette movement. They are turning toward the leader of the revolutionary proletariat—the Communist Party.

Strange enough, precisely the same methods to hamstring the revolutionary workers attempted in the state dominated by LaFollette were pursued in Indiana, dominated by the steel kings, the Ku Klux Klan and home of the headquarters of the grandest collection of reactionary union fakers. But they failed just as miserably there.

The political lackeys and lickspittles of these dominant powers in Indiana secured an injunction restraining the Board of Election Commissioners from placing the candidates of the Workers Party with those of other so-called minor parties on the ballot, giving their usual flimsy excuses for such action. It is interesting to note that the injunction appeared as soon as nominating petitions of the Workers Party had been filed. But no matter how endeared the injunction weapon has become to this gentry, this time it could not stand the test. A demand for a rehearing finally resulted in a reversal of the injunction

tion for the revolutionary movement.

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The mayor of Madison, Ill., issued the same sort of an edict against Communist campaign meetings and closed the halls. It only resulted in a bigger protest meeting addressed by Mother Bloor at Granite City which is virtually built together with Madison and ruled by the same steel trust. The numbers of this gathering was further increased at the subsequent meeting addressed by Comrade Dunne.

Surely great efforts are being exerted to line up the Illinois workers for LaFollette. Here is where this campaign is being particularly concentrated to attempt to carry in a popular sweep all the less conscious working class votes. But with this concentration the issue LaFollette versus Foster has become more pronounced.

Illinois is supposed to be a cinch for LaFollette. Undoubtedly the experiences of the great industrial proletariat of this state will manifest itself in a confused rebellion against the strike-breaker president and the Morgan-Rockefeller lawyer and all that they stand for. The vague desire for a la-

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Are You Going to the Open Forum Sunday Night?

LETTERS FROM MOSCOW

By ANNA PORTER

A little incident in child-reclamation came accidentally to my notice the other day. The government is making headway slowly but surely in this respect as in most others, but the waifs do not take altogether kindly to being reclaimed from the gutters and their adventurous life, and being troublesomely civilized. It is so much easier in summertime to curl up in the angle of a wall at night in your dirty clothes, and not bother about baths and hair-brushing. But here the Young Leninists come in. These little folk at an age below that of the Young Communists—down in fact to the tots who struggle so valiantly to keep up in the processions, all understand, to the youngest, what their task is in building the new Russia. Several hundred thousand of these there are throut the country. "Be prepared," is their salute, and quick as a flash from the tiniest comes the response with hand high, "Always prepared!"

The following incident shows one direction in which they are working,— "always prepared" to handle it efficiently. I had been having a sort of dinner-lunch—in the Russian fashion anywhere from three to six—in the co-operative restaurant across the way, under the Second House of the Soviets,—where officials of one sort or another are housed in the old Hotel Metropole,—with a Russian speaking comrade who is especially interested in the child problem. It was Sunday and as we finished, we saw great companies of the Young Leninists come marching from the Red Square,—so many that I think it must have been their "Day." Past and past they tramped with bands and banners, dressed in their varied gymnasium suits and uniforms, all united by the red neckerchief, until finally one company stopped just in front of our entrance, and went through their drills, interpretive posturing it might be called, in perfect accord with the music, while a half dozen little beggar boys who had been hanging about the restaurant dodging the manager, joined the crowd who stood to watch the marchers.

This last company then swung about and marched into the building, to a clubroom or hall they have, and the crowd dwindled away, leaving us alone with the beggar boys. My companion tried to interview them. They were reluctant of course, but they gained courage and gathered around as he craftily shifted his attention to a young Pole who stopped and became interested. He had run away from a reactionary family to Russia, he said, and joined the Communist Party. Then gradually the boys allowed themselves to be drawn in, but before we had made any headway, two Young Leninists, in their red handkerchief ties, a bright-faced stocky girl of perhaps fourteen, and a slender boy of the same age, came out from the hall, swooped down without warning upon the boys and carried them off by storm, herding them alone with loving arms about the ragged shoulders and dusty towled heads.

All but one! The toughest of the lot refused to surrender—a bull-doggy little boy in a coat of ragged gunny-sacking. We talked to him—to his back—as he tried to escape us by burrowing in a stone wall with his hand. Yes, he would like to go into a home and be fed—but he was grumpy and skeptical in the acknowledgement. Again we were supplanted by the two little Leninists of his own age, generalised by the bright-faced, competent girl, and after a very short comradesly struggle, they carried him off in triumph—with a sulky reluctance on his part it is true—nevertheless they had him. It took childhood to capture childhood. These little folk are psychologists!

But what can they do with them? I asked. Is there any hope of helping them at once? Not all of them, was the reply. The children's homes are full, housing is hopelessly inadequate, all the energy at present—and funds

—are put into repairing the old buildings to keep them from falling to pieces. Children are swarming in Russia inadequately cared for in groups, everyone is clamoring to send proteges into this or that home or colony which is already crowded. But at least the children can interest these and teach them, show them how the Leninists work and play, share the Communist ideal with them, and give them the desire to be the comrades of the other children. Above all show them active workers in the organization who have been reclaimed from the same wretched life. It seemed so hopeful, suddenly, getting a glimpse of the practical work thru the children themselves.

And the older ones. The new psychology is working there even among the youth of the dispossessed. However much they dislike adapting themselves to the new life, they are learning to understand sympathetically. Recently I took breakfast at a small cafe near by—the kind of cafe which hangs a sign reading, "Do not give fees—Giver and taker are master and servant, and since October this must not be," and "October" means of

course, Red October. Some misunderstanding caused the proprietor to ask a young man in a good-looking overcoat and soft hat—which marked his bourgeois caste!—to explain to me in French. When he found I spoke English, in which he was equally at home, he said, "Oh, I am so glad to meet English-speaking people. There are too many Russians here!" I couldn't help laughing at the unreasonableness of it. He explained in a discouraged way that he was furnishing the cafe with cakes his mother had made, and he got out a sifter and sifted sugar carefully over each layer as they were taken from the boxes. I waited for him and we walked down the street together. His father had been a rich merchant, and tho he was too young to understand much when the Revolution came, he made with his family, "great opposition." "I am not afraid to tell you," he said. "They know me and I am doing my work and making no trouble and they let me alone." He is doing "dirty work" for the army—being a strong young fellow and not eligible during this probation, to the ranks—and is "learning." "There are only hundreds of us," he said, "and

there are millions of workers benefited by the change, but oh, if only the rest of Europe would hurry up, and help us, and so get things along." He understands the sincerity of Russia's "war on war," compared with the pretence of other nations. "We have our army, but Russia will never fight another imperialistic war." I said I supposed he had no chance in the university and he replied, "No, for there is not room for all, and that is dreadful for me, but then before, the workers never had a chance."

This is what he is "learning," poor young fellow, learning with weariness and resignation, but I think with understanding and sympathy, for he is young and he too has a part in Russia's future, as big and interesting a part as he shall prove himself fit to play. But the old are not so easily reconciled. They are indignant and critical and can only see that their pleasant and comfortable life has been upset, and that there is no immediate prospect of anything better than the present confusion of their lives. If, as the youth said, Europe would only hurry up!

MUSIC - LITERATURE - DRAMA

Old Compositions Jazzed up to Suit the Popular Taste

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN.

Paul Whitman, the emperor of jazz, gave a concert of jazz music at the Studebaker theater last Sunday. He opened his program with a composition played by the small five-piece dance orchestra of six years ago, showing what a foolish, insipid effect the quintet of blaring noise makes.

Then came Whitman's orchestra of today. Some thirty instrumentalists played over forty instruments. He showed how well-known standard compositions can be turned into comedy numbers thru burlesquing them, "The Carnival of Venice," turned into "So This Is Venice" and into good dance pieces by speeding up the rhythm.

There were a good many straight dance numbers, and a few compositions written expressly for Whitman.

The technique of the orchestra is astounding. One of the performers, Ross Gorman, seems to play all reed instruments. Clarinets, saxophones, oboes, English horns and a few outlandish instruments such as the octavin, the all but obsolete bass oboe, and a queer machine that looks like a cross between a saxophone and a sarrusophone, and sounds like a cow with a cold, have no terrors for him. He gets around them all, and seems to play them all at once. The effects in the brass instruments produced by various freak mutes range all the way from bull frog grunts to a finely spun out, silky violin like tone.

In short, the conclusion to draw from Whitman's concert is that while the rendition of jazz music is one of the finest of fine arts, the composition of it is a trade. After two hours of the popular songs of commerce, one has the sensation of being bathed in sugar up to the neck. There is no originality of invention in them, and the form is absolute and unvariable. Whitman's orchestra is as perfect an instrument as Frederick Stock's, but where Stock has an unlimited field of music to choose from, Whitman has only a lot of plagiarism and burlesques of well-known music. The form of a popular song is as mathematically worked out as that of a locomotive, and variation in the number of bars allotted to any section of a jazz song is unheard of.

There exist, however, three pieces of music pointing a way out. Whitman played two of them, a suite of serenades by Victor Herbert, and a "Rhapsody in Blue" for piano and orchestra by George Gershwin. Herbert's serenades are in conventional

PHILADELPHIA TURNS OUT TO MOVIE TO AID STRIKE FUND

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—(I. W. A. Service). Lulu Temple was jammed for two shows of "The Beauty and the Bolshevik" and "Russia in Overalls." Both pictures came in for their share of praise, and the feature so interested the big crowd that its five reels ended all too soon. The local committee is so delighted with its success that it expects to put on the films again for a three or four day run in co-operation with other friendly labor organizations.

A feature of the showing was a collection of \$345.19 for the benefit of the Paterson Silk strikers. The proceeds of the show will be about a thousand dollars.

Alex Bail, the able secretary of the Philadelphia committee for International Workers' Aid, writes: "A very successful showing of the new films, which is not surprising considering their character. We are very glad to hear of the plans to expand this work to the extent of producing and distributing American and German labor films. The field is fruitful and as yet untouched. During a talk with the secretary of the Pennsylvania state board of censors a couple of weeks ago, he said 'The silver screen can be made a powerful weapon for revolution.' Be that as it may, we know that it is already a valuable instrument for working class education. All efforts to extend the work are greeted with enthusiasm in this burg and we will do all we can to help along this important work."

Watch The DAILY WORKER for information regarding the showing of this film in Pittsburgh and other Pennsylvania cities.

form, with a lively melody that sounds good no matter how played. But the arrangement for saxophones, gagged trumpets and trombones and percussion instruments handled as only a jazz drummer can handle them, makes the suite a real jazz work.

Gershwin has gone a good deal further. There are real jazz tunes in his rhapsody and the symphonic handling of them, combined with a sweeping, wild and excessively difficult piano part, knocks the highbrows off their feet. This is the first really serious and worthwhile handling of popular rhythms.

The third work mentioned above is John Alden Carpenter's "Krazy Kat." Carpenter has written a ballet around the familiar cartoon. Herriman, the cartoonist, designed the scenery and

Adolph Bolm, who used to be the ballet master of the Chicago opera, has produced the ballet a number of times.

In other words, jazz must free itself from the quantity production of dance tunes and come out into worthwhile forms. The means by which such music can be played is here. And one "Rhapsody in Blue" is worth a thousand "Mother, Dixie and You" songs.

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The Present World Situation

By A. STALIN
Secretary of the Russian Communist Party.

I think that in order to characterize the present international situation, there is no need to consider all of the important events and all the peculiarities of the present international situation. It is only necessary to consider the basic, decisive factors operating today. At the present time, there are, in my opinion, three such factors: a. the "era" of bourgeois democratic "pacifism"; b. America's participation in the London agreement of the entente; c. the strengthening of the left elements in the European labor movement and the growth of the international position of the Soviet Union.

1. The Period of Bourgeois Democratic Pacifism.

The entente has shown itself impotent to digest its military victories. They were completely successful in defeating Germany and isolating for a while the Soviet Union. They were also successful in drawing up a plan to rob Europe. The innumerable conferences and treaties of the entente are evidence of this. But in the fulfillment of the plan of robbery, the entente proved impotent. Why? Because the antagonism between the entente states were too great. Because they have not succeeded and will not succeed in agreeing on the division of the spoils. Because the resistance of the countries which are to be subjugated is becoming more and more powerful. Because the realization of the plan of robbery is fraught with military clashes, while the masses do not want to fight. It is now clear to "all" that the frontal imperialist attack upon the Ruhr, calculated to destroy Germany, has proved a danger to imperialism itself. It is also clear that the open imperialist policy of ultimatums intended to isolate the Soviet Union is producing opposite results. A situation has been created by which Poincare and Curzon, both serving imperialism heart and soul, have intensified by their "work" the growing crises in Europe, have aroused the masses against imperialism and stimulated them on to revolution. This makes it inevitable for the bourgeoisie to go over from a policy of direct attack to a policy of compromise, from open imperialism to masked imperialism, from Poincare and Curzon to MacDonald and Herriot. It has become unsafe to rob the world openly. The labor party of England and the left bloc of France have to cover up the nakedness of imperialism. Therein lies the explanation of "pacifism" and "democracy."

Some think that the bourgeoisie came to "pacifism" and "democracy" not from need, but by their own free will, by a free choice. It is assumed that the bourgeoisie, having defeated the working class in decisive battles (Italy, Germany) began to feel itself victorious and decided that it will go over to democracy. In other words, while decisive battles were in progress the bourgeoisie needed a militant organization, fascism; now that the proletariat has been smashed, the bourgeoisie no longer needs fascism, and can supplant it by "democracy" as a better means of consolidating its victory. From this the conclusion is drawn that the power of the bourgeoisie has been strengthened, that "the era of pacifism" will last long, and that the revolution in Europe has been indefinitely postponed.

This assumption is entirely erroneous.

First, it is untrue that fascism is merely the militant organization of the bourgeoisie. Fascism is not only a military-technical category. Fascism is the militant organization of the bourgeoisie, leaning upon the active support of the social-democracy. Objectively the social-democracy is the moderate wing of fascism. There is no ground for supposing that the militant organization of the bourgeoisie could achieve decisive victories in battles or in the government of the country without active support of the social-democracy. There is just as little ground to suppose that the social-democracy could achieve decisive successes in battles or in the government of the country without the active sur-

port of the militant organization of the bourgeoisie. These organizations do not negate, but supplement each other. They are not antipodes, but twins. Fascism is the informal political bloc of these two main organizations developed under the conditions of the post-war crisis of imperialism and designed to fight the proletarian revolution. The bourgeoisie cannot maintain itself in power without the presence of this bloc. Therefore, it would be wrong to think that "pacifism" signifies the end of fascism. "Pacifism" under the present conditions is the consolidation of fascism with its moderate social-democratic wing moved to the forefront.

Secondly, it is untrue that the decisive battles have already taken place, that the proletariat was defeated in these battles, and that the power of the bourgeoisie has consequently been strengthened. There have been no decisive battles because there have been no mass, truly bolshevist parties capable of leading the proletariat to the dictatorship. Without such parties decisive battles for dictatorship under conditions of imperialism are impossible. In the west de-

resort to "democratic pacifism."

And finally, it is untrue that "pacifism" is a sign of power instead of weakness of the bourgeoisie, that "pacifism" will lead to the consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie, to the postponement of the revolution for an indefinite period. Present day pacifism signifies the accession to power, direct or indirect, of the parties of the Second International. But what does the accession to power of the parties of the Second International mean? It means their inevitable self-exposure as lackeys of imperialism, as traitors of the proletariat, for the governmental practice of these parties can bring only one result: their political bankruptcy, the growth of conflicts within these parties, their demoralization and decay. And the demoralization of these parties leads to the inevitable demoralization of the power of the bourgeoisie, for the parties of the Second International are the buttress of imperialism. Would the bourgeoisie agree to such a risky experiment in "pacifism" without a special urge and of its own free will? Of course not. Since the end of the imperialist war the bourgeoisie has experimented with

"democratic pacifism" is no Kerenskyism; for a Kerensky regime presupposes duality of power, the collapse of bourgeois rule and the inception of the proletarian reign. But that pacifism signifies the greatest stirring up of the masses, their entrance into politics, that pacifism loosens up the bourgeois power and paves the way for revolutionary upheavals, hardly anyone can doubt. And precisely because of this pacifism must lead not to the strengthening, but to the weakening of bourgeois power, not to the indefinite postponement of the revolution, but to its acceleration.

This does not, of course, mean that pacifism is not a serious menace to the revolution. Pacifism leads to the undermining of the foundation of the bourgeois power, it prepares the conditions favorable to the revolution. But pacifism must lead to these results only despite the conscious will of the "pacifists" and "democrats" themselves, only thru unswerving exposures by the Communist parties of the imperialist and counter-revolutionary nature of the pacifist-democratic rule of Herriot and MacDonald. As regards the will of the pacifists and democrats themselves, as regards the policy of the imperialists themselves, they in taking up pacifism pursue only one object, to fool the masses by ringing phrases about peace in order to prepare for new wars, to blind them by the gliter of "democracy" in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, to lull the masses to sleep by songs of the "sovereign" rights of nations and states, in order the more successfully to prepare interventions in China, slaughters in Afghanistan and Sudan, dismemberment of Persia, to dupe the masses by pompous chatter of "friendly relations" with the Soviet Union, about these or other "agreements" with the Soviet power, in order the more intimately to connect themselves with the ousted counter-revolutionary plotters to begin bandit raids upon White Russia, Ukraine and Georgia. In this camouflage lies the chief danger of pacifism. Whether the bourgeoisie will achieve its object, to fool the people, depends upon the energy with which the Communist parties of the west and east will prosecute their exposing activities upon their ability to tear off the mask of the imperialists in pacifist disguise. Undoubtedly the events and acts will work in favor of the Communists, driving a wedge between the pacifist words and imperialist deeds of the democratic henchmen of capital. It is the duty of the Communists not to lag behind events and mercilessly to expose every step and every act of servility to imperialism and treason to the proletariat on the part of the parties of the Second International.



Class Against Class

cisive battles are still a matter of the future. There have only been initial attacks and they were repulsed by the bourgeoisie, a first serious test of force which showed that the proletariat is still too weak to overthrow the bourgeoisie, while the bourgeoisie is already too weak to disregard the proletariat. And just because the bourgeoisie is already powerless to force the working class on its knees, it has been compelled to abandon the frontal attack, to attempt flanking action, to agree to compromises, to

pacifism twice: the first time directly after the war, when the revolution appeared to be knocking at the door, and the second time, now, after the risky experiments of Poincare and Curzon. Who would dare to deny that this running of the bourgeoisie from pacifism to brazen imperialism and back will not leave imperialism unaffected, that it throws out of the usual peaceful rut millions of workers, that it draws into politics the most backward elements of the proletariat, that it facilitates their revolutionization? Of course

Jan Mirko's Poem

By JOHN LASSEN.

Jan Mirko was a poet. Not an ordinary, everyday poet but one for whom writing was the one wonderful thing in life. And yet Jan Mirko wrote but few poems, for his lot was bound up with the lot of millions of workmen. He was a proletarian, a man who worked with his hands.

Jan worked on the beach where a bridge was being built. On Monday he had a day off. He stretched himself, walked along the beach, lay down upon the white sand, covered himself up with the tiny grains of sand and looked towards the bridge. Lying there he forgot his weariness. . . . Tonight he is going to work. Seen from afar the crowd of human beings seemed beautiful to him.

And suddenly the feeling overcame him which he will call happiness, but which a poet like Jan Mirko calls ecstasy. In his soul a poem was born.

He wanted to form his ecstasy into words. What could he write about but work? Mirko's whole soul was filled by the glory of work. He forged and modelled the words.

Oh work, you who give fruitfulness to the earth and make the corn grow. Work, who shortens distances and makes the earth smaller. Work who controls all forces: water, earth and air.

Oh work. . . . Who draws lightning out of the air and makes the heavens shake.

Who perfects the fruit of the earth and gives an exquisite taste to bitter food.

Work, creator of heat and of cold.

The sun's last purple rays made the white sand flame. . . .

And work is building—the new bridge

Mirko trembled. Caught in the throes of creation he understood the magic significance of the new bridge. And he thought: bridge of work, uniting men with the universe. Bridge of eternity, being built by tiny human beings upon the sand.

This bridge leads to the universe, its radiant arch spans the sea.

His breast heaved.

The song of work ought to be written.

It was growing dark. The sun had disappeared, leaving but a pale ray of light. Here and there a small light was mirrored in the water. On the bridge lamps were being lit. A motorboat rushed along, a heavy rumbling noise sounded through the air.

Time to go to work.

Jan Mirko walked towards the bridge. He put on his overalls. His arm kept time

He did not feel the beauty of work any longer. He only knew that he had to pay attention, that he had to keep time with the other men: one . . . two . . . one . . . two . . .

If he forgets to keep time the chain of work will be interrupted. He put out his arm, caught hold of the bucket, poured out the cement, passed the bucket on. The water gurgled.

On and on, the everlasting, monotonous gurgling of the water. Jan Mirko had forgotten all about work's splendid rhythm, he only thought of the one . . . two . . . one . . . two . . .

All around the night was black and threatening, only the bridge was shining, the bridge of work.

Jan Mirko forgot his daydream. He felt nothing but unspeakable weariness. Fatigue crept into his arms and further down into his legs. His back ached.

When the new shift came Jan Mirko had lost all connection with human life, he was nothing but an aching body. He wanted to sleep, to forget.

Jan Mirko, the workman-poet, dragged himself home. He was hardly able to undress before he tumbled into bed.

He slept. . . . Jan Mirko never wrote the song of triumphant work.

Preparing For the Coming Struggles

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

EVERYBODY is preparing for the coming struggles but the workers and the poorest sections of the farmers. The working masses of America seem to be living now in a fool's paradise, dreaming dreams and cherishing illusions which can profit no one except the enemies of the working class.

Big Capital on the Job.

Big capital knows its mind and is proceeding in a business-like fashion to entrench its positions. Take the Dawes plan. What is it if not a clever device by the big capitalists of America to extend their power abroad in order to make more secure their domination at home?

Or, take the presidential election campaign. See how cleverly the big capitalists have manipulated the affairs of the two old parties. Both have nominated for their presidential candidates servants of Wall Street. Both have formulated programs which, despite some differences in language, equally suit the interests of big capital.

Thus, no matter which of the two is elected president, republican or democrat, the interests of monopolized industry and finance capital will be in safe keeping.

Then see how resourcefully big capital is directing the election campaign. First the manipulations of the grain market. All of a sudden there was a general rise in prices of wheat and corn. The capitalist press seized upon this "news" to usher in a new era of prosperity for the farmers of the United States. Was it real prosperity for the toiling masses of the farms? Of course not. The only beneficiaries of this short-lived boom in the grain market were the grain speculators, big bankers and a small section of the rich farmers. But the psychological effect upon the farming masses was no doubt political confusion and hesitation, which was all that the big capitalists were aiming at.

Another example of the political strategy of big capital will be found

in the recent decision of the federal supreme court "upholding" a provision in the Clayton Act which prescribes jury trial in certain contempt cases, namely, contempt cases which arise out of violations of anti-strike injunctions. On the face of it this ruling of the supreme court seems for workers who violate injunctions the right to a trial by jury. An important concession to labor, isn't it? The capitalist press is already sermonizing on the magnanimity and impartiality of the supreme court, attempting to prove that by this ruling the injunction ceases to be an unconstitutional method for breaking strikes.

But what is the truth? The power of the courts to issue injunctions has not been touched at all. The courts still enjoy that right. And once an injunction has been issued, all the powers of the government automatically come into operation to enforce the injunction, that is, to break the strike. Even upon superficial examination this ruling of the supreme court will be found to be nothing else but a political maneuver by big capital to confuse and demoralize the workers. Big capital is on the job. It knows what it wants and it knows how to get it.

Small and Medium Capital.

The small and medium capitalists have become very conscious of late of their respective groups and sectional interests. They, too, know what they want, and are working pretty hard to get it. The LaFollette movement is a good indication.

As between the big and small capitalists, the latter are naturally less resourceful than the former in defending their interests, for the simple reason that small capital is not a dominating class. Economically it is completely in the hands of big capital. However, when driven by necessity to political action independent of the big capitalists, the smaller capitalists in alliance with the labor bureaucracy have managed to execute a maneuver which strengthens considerably the political power and prestige of the middle classes.

This is the LaFollette movement. Led and dominated by the petty bourgeoisie this movement has succeeded in drawing into its wake large sections of workers and poor farmers. The petty bourgeoisie is leading, the masses are following. And what is the result? The bourgeois middle classes are forging for themselves a political weapon to be used in their own interests and against the interests of the working class. Why, even now, when LaFollette still needs the votes of the workers, he finds it possible to say, in a speech delivered recently in Omaha, Nebraska, that he "will not indulge in ill-advised experiments with government ownership of railroads." What does it show? It shows that in order to placate the bourgeois middle classes LaFollette is even now ready to go back on his own platform, to repudiate the only plank in his program which deals with important labor legislation.

The middle classes, too, are preparing for the coming struggles.

What About the Workers?

They are not preparing. They think they have found a political movement—the LaFollette combination—which will stand by them in time of need. Empty dreams. Baseless hopes. Illusions that are bound to be shattered at the first touch of reality. The working masses of America are living in a fool's paradise.

Gompers and his crew don't have to worry. As long as they can continue in "labor" banking, in class-collaboration with the capitalists through various schemes of arbitration on the economic field and in alliances with the petty bourgeoisie on the political field, these agents of capital in the labor movement are safely entrenched in power. True, this power of theirs is not absolutely secure, but as long as the masses do not actually revolt and begin fighting on their own initiative, the Gompers crowd need not become hysterical.

But the masses will revolt. The industrial depression is continuing. Unemployment is growing. The general

standard of living of the American working masses is going down. We are fast approaching a situation where capital in the United States will again resume the offensive in new wage-cuts and open-shop campaigns. What will the masses do?

They Will Demand Leadership.

They will demand leadership in struggle, and they will find that leadership neither in the trade-union bureaucracy nor in the LaFollette movement. What will be the result? Spontaneous, unorganized struggles by the rank and file in defiance not only of the capitalists but also of the labor bureaucracy. The masses will be driven to fight irrespective of whether they have or they have not an organized and conscious leadership. They will create, if necessary, their own organs of struggle and will proceed to defend themselves.

What will be the duty of the Communists? What will be the task of the Workers Party?

To assume leadership of these struggles. To assist and encourage the masses in resisting the offensive of capital by the creation of direct rank and file organs of struggle (shop-committees, councils of unemployed, labor congresses, etc.), by compelling the amalgamation of craft unions into militant industrial unions, and by assuming direct charge of the daily proletarian struggles against capital.

The workers of America are entering upon a period of sharp industrial and political conflicts with their old leadership completely bankrupt. The Workers Party, as the vanguard of the American working class, must therefore prepare itself in time for the fulfillment of its duties. In entering this election campaign under its own name and with its own program and candidates, the Workers Party has merely laid the basis for more militancy and a greater measure of self-assertion of the organized Communists of America in the everyday struggles of the American working class. In other words, we only made a beginning. Now, let us follow it up.

Edo Fimmen Exposes Anti-Soviet Lies

(Extract from a speech delivered by Edo Fimmen on the 12th of September at a sitting of the Presidium of the Railwaymen's Union in Moscow.)

I should have been very pleased had I been able to appear officially in the name of the Transport Workers' International at the negotiations with the R. I. L. U. but unfortunately there still exists in the International of Transport Workers a very strong section which is of the opinion that connections with the Russian organizations can only be set up under certain definite conditions. I am glad to have the opportunity of being in Moscow in order to become acquainted with the achievements of the Russian proletariat. I cannot at present give a definite opinion as to the impression which Moscow and Soviet Russia have made upon me. In spite of this I must say that everything which I have seen up to now has made a very great impression upon me. The first thing which came to my mind, was that the silly gossip one hears in Europe, that in Soviet Russia there exists not a dictatorship of the proletariat but a dictatorship over the proletariat, is a brazen lie. The European workers would be very glad if they could enjoy the same freedom as the workers in Soviet Russia.

I hope that the European workers, including the non-party and even the social democratic workers, will become more and more convinced that the bourgeois press and even a portion of the labor press is deceiving them regarding life in Soviet Russia. The broad masses of the workers will sooner or later learn the true state of affairs, and when these masses have learned the truth regarding Soviet Russia the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement will receive a great stimulus.

You know that two years ago I was still like all other leaders of the European trade union movement, an opponent of the Russian trade unions and of the Russian Revolution. Now, however, I am personally convinced that this was a great mistake. I will not say that everything which has been said in Soviet Russia regarding the West-European trade union movement, and everything which you have undertaken in relation to the European trade union movement, was right in every detail. Many mistakes were also committed on our side. Your impatience is quite understandable. The workers in the West have not shown so much courage, they have not made so many sacrifices as the Russian proletariat. There the trade unions are partly bound by tradition and partly by their leaders. There they still seriously believe that it is possible to achieve something by negotiations, by going cap in hand to the bourgeoisie. Therein lies the greatest mistake of the European trade union movement.

I understand therefore why the Russian proletariat so sharply criticise the leaders of the West-European

trade unions. They have a right to criticise them so sharply. I myself became convinced of this in 1922, when I began to follow events in Germany. The bourgeoisie replied to the Hague Trade Union Peace Congress with the occupation of the Rhur, and the European proletariat not only failed to take up the struggle for the liberation of the German proletariat, but it did not even make a single attempt to do so.

On the whole, I maintain that the Russian tactics were correct. It will only be possible to achieve anything when all sections of the trade union movement are working hand in hand. Only then will it be possible to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to establish Communism. When I arrived at this conviction I commenced the fight for unity. I set myself a definite aim and to this aim I will devote all my powers. I am convinced that unity must come, or else the labor movement is lost.

Two or three years ago there was in the Amsterdam International a united front against the Russian trade unions. Today the situation is other-

wise. Today there exists in the Amsterdam International a revolutionary minority which considers it necessary to unite with the Russian trade unions. This minority varies from 10 to 40 per cent in the different organizations. But whatever it may be it is still a minority, and so long as it is only a minority, the Russian trade unions cannot be accepted.

With us in the Transport Workers International the situation is as follows: The question regarding admission of the Russian unions to the International Congress of the Transport Workers was dealt with at the sitting of the executive. The minority fought for admission, but the decision rested with the majority. This minority, however, is growing continually stronger and will soon be the majority; the International Transport Workers will then be pleased to admit the Russian unions into their ranks. I have devoted myself entirely to this struggle, I have entirely broken with the past and am convinced that we, along with the Russian organizations will be able to make a step forward on the road to world revolution.

"Pacific 231" Spurns Conventional Rules

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN

"Pacific 231," a description of a locomotive in action, was the novelty on the program of the Chicago Symphony orchestra last Friday and Saturday. "Pacific 231" is the work of Arthur Honegger, one of the so-called French "Six," famed for their disregard of the conventionalities of music. The title is the name of a certain type of

French heavy duty railway engine. ly, and then "the change from the Honegger describes it chugging slow-lyric to the pathetic" in the aspect of a train weighing three hundred tons rushing along at a hundred and twenty miles an hour. He does this by a tremendous, powerful crescendo. The only thing one misses in his description is the persistent, jolting rhythm of a train.

The symphony of the evening was Rachmaninov's second. This is far below the standard of the composer's other works. It is too long for one thing, and too reminiscent of Brahms at his platitudinous worst.

Two lively and beautiful works opened and closed the concert, a fantastic bouree by Samuel Chabrier, and a set of dances from Borodin's "Prince Igor."

Workers Party Educational Department

Conducted by James P. Cannon, Educational Director

"Without a Revolutionary Theory a Revolutionary Party is Impossible."

Principles of Communist Education

Thesis Adopted by Fifth Congress of Communist International.

I. The Crises in the Communist Parties as Ideological Crises.

1. The political and organizational crises arising in the Communist International are at the same time ideological crises in the respective parties. All right and left deviations are due to deviations from the class ideology of the proletariat, from Marxism-Leninism.

The crises that arose at the second congress, and subsequent to it, were caused by the "infantile sickness of leftism" which betrayed an ideological deviation from Marxism-Leninism in the direction of syndicalism. (Dutch Marxism, Communist Labor Party of Germany, anti-parliamentarism, etc.). The present internal conflicts in several of the Communist Parties, which became evident at the time of the German October defeat, are the result of the influence of the remnants of the old social-democratic ideology which has been brought over into the Communist Parties. The way to overcome this, is: To bolshevize the Communist Parties. The bolshevization of the parties in this sense means: The final ideological victory of Marxism and Leninism (or in other words: of Marxism in the period of imperialism and the epoch of the proletarian revolution) and to reject the Marxism of the Second International and the remnants of the elements of syndicalism.

2. The complete and rapid bolshevizing of the Communist Party can be attained in the process of the deliberate revolutionary activity of the sections of the Communist International, by more deeply hammering Marxism and Leninism into the consciousness of the Communist Parties and the party members. Only by the theoretical understanding of revolutionary practice in this way can the Communist Parties become real leaders of the masses, conscious of their aims. Only by a real and organized assimilation of Marxism-Leninism can the parties reduce the possibilities of political, tactical, and organizational errors to a minimum and bring about the emancipation of the working class. "Without a revolutionary theory, a revolutionary movement is impossible." A party can play the role of the vanguard only if it is guided by a "vanguard theory" (Lenin). One of the first tasks of the Communist International and its sections consists in popularizing this vanguard theory—Marxism-Leninism—among the members. Cadres of party members must be formed who have complete command of this theoretical weapon and are able to train the widest circle of the party membership in the use of it. Particularly important is the greatest possible assimilation of this theory by the youth. Hence all necessary organizational measures must be taken by the sections for furthering the development of these cadres and this training for the youth.

The condition precedent for the development of propaganda work is that every Communist Party must realize the importance of theoretically mastering Marxism-Leninism. All Communist Parties must be careful to see to it that the activity for attaining practical results is not carried on to the neglect of the theoretical problems of the emancipation of the working class and of the demands of the theoretical struggle. On the contrary: the precedent for attaining practical results in the revolutionary struggle is a clear theoretical understanding and theoretical clarity among as great a number of members as possible.

3. The ideology quality of the leading cadres and of the masses in the Communist Parties demand continual self-control. Altho the organizational pre-requisite for such a control on the basis of concrete facts and material are not yet possible, it is nevertheless true that the extent and depth of the dissemination of the Marxism-Len-

inism idea is not keeping pace with the rapid growth of the influence of the party. Stagnation on the field of theoretical work in the spirit of Marx, Engels, and Lenin is observable in all sections of the Communist International. This is all the more dangerous because theoretical work by facilitating analysis of concrete conditions, and more definite formulations of the conditions and perspectives of the revolutionary upheaval, would render greater results achieved in the political work, of the parties. Only these circumstances and the indifference of some of the leading comrades towards the theoretical question make it possible for "theories" to arise within the Communist International, which stand in sharp contradiction to Marxism-Leninism. The immediate result of these "theories" is the confusion which reigns in the minds of the leading cadres and of the masses in the party on philosophic, theoretical-economic questions. Later they are naturally observed on the field of policy and tactics, in the form of "left" or "right" deviations. (The attitude of certain leaders of the Swedish party on the religious questions; the false conception held by certain leaders of the German party on the nature of the bourgeois state and on the class roots of opportunism among the labor aristocracy; the philosophical deviation of certain groups of intellectuals of the German Communist Party, who are seeking to rob dialectical materialism of its materialist aspect and put idealism into its place; attempts in the Communist Party of Italy to revise the economic theory of Marxism). Even the propagandist training of the party masses is also far from satisfactory. This is a natural result of the fact that the necessity of this propagandist work has not yet been understood by the party leadership. A very great percentage of the masses in the Communist Party joined the party because they became convinced empirically, in the midst of their everyday political and economic struggles, of the treacherous character of opportunism and reformism, and of the exclusively proletarian class character of the Communist Party. This fact represents a great advantage for the Communist Parties, and indicates the superiority of the Third International, over the Second International; it means nevertheless that the proletarian masses of the party may themselves still be imbued with remnants of social democratic ideology. This social-democratic heritage cannot be eliminated mechanically, particularly among the party masses; it must be overcome, in addition to instruction in the principles of revolutionary practice, by systematic propaganda of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and of thoroly imbuing the minds of the broad masses with at least the fundamental principles and methods of Marxism-Leninism.

4. In the person of Lenin—the most orthodox of Marxists, who continued the theoretical and practical work of Marx—the Communist International and all the Communist Parties possessed a reliable guide indicating every "right" or "left" deviation on the field of theory and political practice. Only Leninism, which Lenin and his co-workers, the old bolshevist guard, developed as the theory of the proletarian revolution, can take Lenin's place. The death of Lenin must give as great an impetus to the propaganda of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and to the diffusion and intensification of this propaganda in all the sections of the Communist International, as it did in the Communist Party of Russia.

In view of the ideological condition of the parties in general and especially because of the absence of cadres in the party capable of effectively guiding the work, this task must be assumed by the Communist International.

al. As against the pseudo-Marxism of the Second International, Leninism the revival of revolutionary Marxism, does not contain a single sentence which is not of practical importance in the revolutionary everyday struggles of the proletariat. Thus one of the most important and urgent concrete tasks of the Communist International is the concentration of energy in the widest possible propaganda of these teachings and establishing organizational guarantees for the systematic development of this propaganda.

II. General Organizational Measures on the Field of Propaganda.

5. The most characteristic feature of the present state of propaganda activity is that up till now the Communist International and the various Communist Parties have not set up special organs for propaganda work, or where they have, they are inadequate. Too little has been done so far to carry out the decisions of the Fourth Congress on educational work, consequently no concrete results can be expected. In default of suitable organs, it was out of the question to speak of gathering and examining the experiences of the various sections, of summarizing, generalizing, and exchanging these experiences, or of systematically putting the propaganda work into shape; consequently the development of party organs and party institutions, of departments for agitation and propaganda, which must organize the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, will still be a fundamental task of the Communist International after the Fifth World Congress.

6. A further obstacle to the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism is the insufficient dissemination of Marxism-Leninism literature. There is a dearth of original writings as well as of suitable popular text books which would facilitate the work. The classics of Marxist literature are bibliographical rarities in a great number of western countries. There are almost no new editions. Only very seldom do new books appear which indicate new developments of Marxism thought or of the broad popularization of the theory. In order to consolidate the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, it is absolutely necessary that the literary works of Marx and Lenin (at least the most important standard works) for study purposes, and text books, supplementary books, and popular writings which discuss the methods of party training and study, be published in as many languages as possible.

7. Another obstacle to this work in the Communist International, is the inadequate co-ordination of the energies devoted to theoretical Marxian study work. There is not sufficient contact between the Marxists in the various sections of the Communist International active on the field of theory or deeply interested in theory, to render division of labor possible or an exchange of experiences, and consequently a fruitful development of the work. This circumstance, as well as the isolation from each of the few theoretical and propaganda periodicals that do exist, render impossible the utilization as propaganda of the results of the Marxian-Leninism investigation and the mutual examination and utilization of results obtained. The work of co-ordinating the Marxian-Leninist forces in the international Communist movement and the division of labor among these forces is also necessary to the organizational dissemination and intensification of propaganda work. It is necessary also to encourage the sections of the Communist International to publish theoretical and propaganda periodicals which would be suitable for satisfying the needs of educational work.

8. The immediate concrete tasks of the Communist International in centrally guiding and furthering propaganda activity are:

a) Organization and development

of the department for agitation and propaganda. Furnishing this department with forces trained in Marxism-Leninism, and skilled in the organization of propaganda work. Systematic control of the propaganda activity of the parties. Generalization and exchange of experiences. Support of the parties in developing concrete methods and forms of party trainings.

b) Rearrangement and extension of the publication activity of the Communist International with the view to furnishing the parties not only with political literature, but also with theoretical and propaganda literature. Publication of the most important works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and the production of popular literature consisting of text books and supplementary books on the fundamental questions of the Communist program and of Communist tactics and organization.

c) Publication of a monthly propaganda periodical for the purpose of instructing party officials and above all, the propagandists. The task of the monthly must be to act as a medium for the exchange of experiences, in elaborating questions of program, in generally guiding and systematizing the educational work of the party, in elaborating papers and introductions, in investigating and working out the best methods and forms of propaganda work, in communicating systematic bibliographical material, and in suitably utilizing for propaganda the results of the Marxian-Leninist investigations. In providing instructive material, the periodical would also supply the needs of the agitators. The periodical should appear in German, French, and English.

d) In order to supply at least the most important parties with qualified theoretical workers, the Communist International will co-opt a number of party workers for some length of time from the German, British, American, Czecho-Slovakian, Italian, and French sections to Moscow, where they will devote themselves solely to the study of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrades will be selected for this purpose (workers, if possible) who, under general instructions, will be capable of doing scientific work and of further educating themselves independently in Marxism-Leninism. The purpose of the study is to assimilate a more thoroly Marxian-Leninist training and to equip these comrades for independent, theoretically well-grounded political work.

e) Convene and prepare for a conference of officials entrusted with propaganda work in the most important sections, and of conductors of the party schools, for the purpose of working out the most important concrete tasks of party training, and adequately specializing and co-ordinating the methods.

f) Effective support of the Young Communist International by properly organizing the training of Communist youth.

(To be continued.)

STARVATION WAGES DANGEROUS EVEN IN DAWES' GERMANY!

NEW YORK, Oct. 24.—A mild bombshell struck the foreign trade forum of the National Association of Credit Men here when J. Henry Scattergood, president of the American Dyewood corporation, who has recently visited Germany, said:

"A modern nation cannot continue with its workmen getting \$7.50 a week. German labor is already in a disturbed condition and there will certainly be trouble if these starvation wages are not increased."

Geneva and Moscow

By R. Merino Gracia

It is well that the bourgeoisie tries to dazzle the working masses with its pacifist farce of the League of Nations. There is something of sincerity in this desire of France and England to reach an accord in order that, in the near future, new capitalist wars in Europe might be avoided.

This desire is born from the fear that capitalism is beginning to have of the proletariat as a class that each day acquires greater political maturity and greater resolution to seize for itself the direction of society. The example of the Russian Soviet Union is sufficiently eloquent and speaks more clearly than all the tracts of social economy. Karl Marx never could have dreamed that his fundamental work "Capital," would find a citadel in the vast proletarian republic.

If, before October, 1917, the bourgeois classes neither feared nor believed possible the loss of their privileges, today they believe and fear it. If, before October, 1917, the proletariat was politically disunited and vacillating, today, united and compact, it marches with sure tread toward the accomplishment of its historic mission.

Against the revolutionary danger, against the proletarian menace, the governments unite in the holy alliance of capital and go to Geneva, to the League of Nations, to form agreements to avoid these disasters and to perpetuate their mutual domination.

It is an international tragedy that the liberties and rights of the people are locked in the wardrobe of "democracy." This has no other end than to perpetuate the rule of the Anglo-American banks, to form a bond of mutual protection against the workers and to continue the exploitation of

these workers and of the colonial countries. And this farce is staged precisely by those most abject servants of the god of capital who, in other times, called themselves "socialists."

Look at MacDonald; he of the Spithead naval review, talking of the "peace union," of the "rights of peoples!" He, that organizes naval reviews to show to the London Conference! He, that brutally stamps upon the populations of Egypt, Sudan and India! He, representative of a "labor government," a worker, and

of artillery.

That is the League of Nations, the capitalist international, served by the reformists of Amsterdam. A bourgeois periodical has called the sessions of the League of Nations "The Parliament of the World." It is true, but there is need to add of "World Capitalism."

Beside that organism, which synthesizes the agony of the world bourgeoisie, we have something that is worth infinitely more. We have our glorious Communist International! We have, in the Kremlin, our Parlia-

ment. It is the only nation that has an international policy, clear, conscious, concrete. This policy is derived from its internal constitution. Russia is proletarian, and its international policy is an alliance of steel and a heroic defense of the whole world of Labor, of the working and oppressed classes, of the enslaved colonial peoples.

We can well understand, then, the hatred of the imperialist countries against the Soviet Union. International capitalism, that has in Asia an enormous field of exploitation of the natives, encounters now the Soviet Union, civilized, exemplary, and animating those oppressed peoples to free themselves from the tyranny of oppressing nations. England is unable to pardon Russia for making Moscow a Holy City for all the oppressed, the disinherited, the wonder city that gives asylum to the suppressed and exploited and which teaches them the way of liberation.

From the pale-cheeked workers of London, that falter of hunger in the midst of a fastuous world metropolis, to the poor pariahs of India, lost in the jungles, all turn their eyes to Moscow, and pronounce the names of Marx and Lenin with fervorous ecstasy!

Geneva and Moscow! The League of Nations, capitalistic, rapacious and oppressive! And the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics! Two worlds, between which there is stages a war to the death! A war that can only end with the triumph of Moscow. This is the great battle of our time! Every worker should understand where his post is, and advance to occupy it, courageous and decided!

Signed—R. Merino Gracia.
Barcelona Prison, Sept. 17, 1924.



Spain "Withdraws" from Morocco

confesses receiving gifts of \$150,000 from a capitalist, his "friend from infancy."

Look at Herriot; he of the French Republic, a "democrat," etc., who has reddened Morocco with arms, who organizes enormous military maneuvers, with ends . . . "pacifist," who tolerates the importation of colored workers into France to disorganize the proletariat meanwhile he sends French soldiery to the colonies to "civilize" and "pacify" with fusillades

ment of the World Proletariat! With the difference in our favor that our International is the dawn of a world being born, and the League of Nations is the expiring sigh of a world that dies; that dies slowly, but that dies.

The League of Nations has, moreover, as its primary purpose, the union of capitalist nations against the Soviet Union. Russia, the proletarian republic, is the only nation of the world upon which Anglo-Yankee capitalism dare not lay its despoiling



The Vanguard Group of the Junior Section has broken into the field of journalism. This group recently issued an oral paper, which was read at their affair. This activity is noteworthy and shows that the Juniors are not neglecting any opportunities to reach the children with Communist ideas. Below are excerpts from the paper:

NEWS TRAVELS FAR.

Several months ago, the Jewish Workers Relief Committee gave a bazaar. It lasted four days with one Saturday afternoon being set aside for a costume party the best costume to receive a prize.

The Juniors, under the leadership of Comrade Abe Harris were to give a drill. Dressed in their costumes, they first went to Humboldt Park with Comrades Harris and Bill Kruse. Comrade Kuse took moving pictures of the costume exercise.

Then, after we finished the drill, we formed into a group and Comrade Kruse took a standstill.

The pictures turned out good. The movies were sent to Soviet Russia. The standstills were sold to us at ten cents each. One Comrade bought three, one for herself, one to send to England and one to send to an uncle in Soviet Russia.

Her uncle sent back a letter telling what he did with the picture. What do you suppose? He gave it to the Young Communists' daily newspaper in Odessa! The picture was published in several newspapers.

And another thing, we got

the first prize at the bazaar. It was a set of two books. E. S.

VANGUARD JUNIOR ORGANIZES A NEW GROUP.

One of our Comrades, Eva Stolar, has organized a new group which has named itself the John Reed Group of the Jr. Y. W. L. They elected officers after Comrade Rose Cohen, city organizer of the Juniors made a little speech.

Comrade Rose's speech proved to be interesting to the new Juniors. A Comrade from the Workers Party was also present. He helped the new Comrades very much.

At present the group has 25 members.

Youthful Communists At Minneapolis, Minn., Hold Junior Circus

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Oct. 24. — The Junior section of the Young Workers League in Minneapolis is preparing to show that the children of the working class are just as capable of entertaining the workers, as are even the well financed boys' clubs.

This Sunday they are to have a junior circus at the Labor Lyceum, 1426 N. 6th Ave., at 8 p. m. Here the workers of Minneapolis for the first time will be given the opportunity of seeing the juniors in action, as acrobats.

This is only one phase of their activity. The comrades have been preparing for many weeks and a good time is assured to all. Tickets are 15c for grown-ups and 10c for children.

Juniors! Wake up! Send in your news to the Children's Column of the DAILY WORKER, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

There's No Law Against Throwing Bricks!

Not on a construction job. When you're hired and you have the job of assisting in the building of a greater newspaper (and subscription "bricks" will surely do it!)—there's no law against it.



Of course your boss won't like it. Neither will a Labor Faker who has "no use for them Bolsheviks"—but there's no law against it.

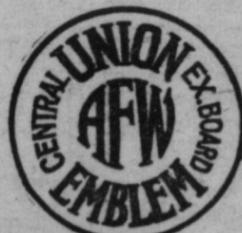
And it wouldn't matter if there was—if you have the Labor movement at heart. There's a "brick" somewhere in this issue.

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Program of the Communist International

(Continued from page 1)

4. The Results of the War and the Beginning of the Decay of Capitalism.

The war of 1914-18 brought about a destruction of productive forces unprecedented in history; it led to the immediate annihilation of gigantic means of production and of the best living forces of humanity; it caused an unheard of waste of energy as a result of the use of productive power for unproductive purposes.

The total disorganization of the world's traffic thus brought about, the chaos in the division of labor hitherto obtaining throughout the world, the collapse of the reciprocal and regulated modes of payment, the disturbed rates of exchange, and the unprecedented state debts, all these factors intensify still more the ruin of capitalist world economics.

The imperialistic economic system underwent essential changes, for the colonial and semi-colonial countries took advantage of the slackening of the imperialist grip to gain for themselves greater economic independence. This circumstance undermined the sources of the affluence of the mother countries, and intensified the general crisis.

All the above stated fundamental facts of the war and post-war periods are expressed in the diminution of the total income of society.

The diminution of the collective income of society led in the first place to an acuter struggle in the re-division of income, not only in the competitive struggles of the colonies with the mother countries, but in the class war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, in which the intermediate groups display the tendency to join the proletariat in those cases where they have particularly suffered during the war.

The post-war position of capitalism can in general be characterized as being absolutely unstable in every sphere of its existence: economic, political, social, and even on the ideological and cultural fields; for in the background of the general crisis there appear obvious signs of the decomposition of the bourgeoisie, the return to religion, to mysticism, to occultism, and so forth, which demonstrate the coming fall of bourgeois civilization.

The period of capitalist decay will not be kept in check by part restoration of its regime and in the further development of productive forces. Every fresh development of capitalism at the same time develops its contradictions, revealing the inevitability of even greater conflicts, involving even more formidable and destructive methods (e. g. chemical warfare), and menacing the further existence of human society.

5. The Breach in the Imperialist Front and the Epoch of Social Revolution.

The growing intensification of the class war, which became apparent during the war itself, led to a breach being made thru the imperialist front at its most vulnerable spot—Russia.

The November revolution of the Russian proletariat, which was able to overthrow the bourgeois regime, thanks to specially favorable fighting conditions, started a new era of international revolution, and became the first link in the chain.

The proletarian uprisings which followed the Russian revolution, and which ended in the defeat of the proletariat after a brief victory (Finland, Hungary, Bavaria), or which remained standing halfway, owing to the treachery of the social-democrats who were actively engaged against revolutionary Communism (Austria, Germany), formed stages in the general development of international revolution—stages in which the bourgeois illusions are being shattered and the forces of Communist revolution are being mobilized and consolidated.

It is just for the above reasons that the mere fact of the existence of the Soviet Union is of such significance as an organizing center of the proletarian world movement. By the mere fact of its existence the Soviet Union drives a wedge into the capitalist system, since, with a fundamentally anti-capitalist structure, it comprises one-sixth of the globe. Besides this, it represents the most powerful vanguard of the proletarian movement,

for here the working class has all the means and auxiliaries of state power at its disposal.

In the course of development of international revolution, social-democracy and the trade unions under its leadership became an extraordinarily powerful counter-revolutionary force. Not only did these abandon the interests of the workers during the war, in that they supported their "own" imperialist governments (social patriotism and social chauvinism), but they also supported the rapacious treaties of peace (Brest-Litovsk, Versailles); they stood by the side of the generals (Noske), as an active force, when proletarian uprisings were being drowned in blood; they led an armed struggle against the first proletarian republic (Russia); they treacherously betrayed a proletariat which had already attained power (Hungary); they became members of the rapacious league of nations (Thomas); they openly took sides with the employers against the colonial slaves (the British "labor" party). The pacifist wing of the social-democrats (center) demoralized the workers by their varied pacifist illusions and anti-force propaganda, thereby providing capitalism with the best weapons in acute revolutionary situations. International social-democracy of all shades thus forms the last reserve and strongest support of bourgeois society.

Alongside social-democracy, thru which and by means of which the bourgeoisie either suppresses the workers or lulls their class vigilance, we see the emergence of fascism, another form of utilizing the discontent of the masses, and of directing this discontent into anti-revolutionary channels. Both these methods, which are unusual for "normal" capitalism and which betoken a general crisis of capitalism, at the same time check the onward march of the revolution.

The abandonment of imperialist illusions in the ranks of the working class has freed the proletariat from the influence of social-democracy and fascism, and forms the soil for the development of the Communist parties which are uniting in the course of the struggle in a mighty revolutionary association of revolutionary workers: the Communist International. From out of the chaos and the misery, out of the falling debris of decaying capitalism, out of the mad and monstrous new wars in which the bourgeoisie

is ready to destroy millions of workers and the last remnants of its own culture—out of all this, the Communist International will lead humanity on to a new path, from the depths of death and destruction to Communism.

II. The Emancipation of the Workers and the Communist Order.

1. The Abolition of the Fundamental Contradictions of Capitalism.

The goal towards which the Communist International strives is the substitution of the capitalist order by the Communist order of society. The Communist order of society, prepared by the whole course of evolution, is the sole means of escape for humanity; it alone is capable of removing the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system which lead to inevitable and unavoidable ruin.

The Communist order of society does away with the division of society into classes, that is, it destroys social anarchy. The opposing classes are replaced by members of one great equal working community. The gigantic unproductive expenditure caused by human beings combating one another, in a society composed of classes, now disappears, and the energy thus released is employed in the struggle with nature, and for the progress and development of the power and dominance of mankind.

By the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production, and the passing of these means into common property, the Communist society replaces the unregulated force of competition and the blind course of production by a rational organization and an appropriate plan. The abolition of anarchy in production and of competition implies the simultaneous disappearance of war. The colossal waste of productive energy, and the spasmodic development of society will here be substituted by a systematic utilization of all sources of help, and by a harmonious, painless, economic evolution.

The abolition of private property does away with the exploitation of one human being by another. The work done is no longer done for others; differences between rich and poor disap-

pear. At the same time the organs of class rule also vanish, above all—state power. State power, which is the embodiment of class rule, vanishes in proportion to the vanishing of the classes. Together with it all standards of compulsion gradually die.

The abolition of classes will be accompanied by the abolition of all monopoly of education. All education, including the very highest, becomes general. Such a state of affairs in the first place renders a dominance of any group of persons over another group impossible, and in the second place, offers a wide field of selection and sifting of talent and genius in every branch of culture.

Here there are no barriers of a social nature placed in the way of productive forces. In Communist society there is no private property, no profit-making for personal benefit, no artificially maintained ignorance among the masses, nor poverty which retards technical progress in capitalist society, nor gigantic unproductive expenditure.

The uniting of technique and science, the scientific organization of production, statistics, social book-keeping, the utilization of every economic possibility (correct apportioning of enterprises, concentration, the best possible productivity of labor) set human energy free for the mighty task of developing science and art.

The development of productive forces is conducive to the improvement of the general wellbeing of the whole of humanity in the new society and consequently creates a degree of culture hitherto unexampled in history.

This new culture of a humanity united for the first time, and having now abolished all limits set by intermediate state boundaries, will be founded on clear and unalloyed reciprocal relations among human beings. Hence it will bury all mysticism, religion, and superstition for all time, and give a mighty forward impetus to the development of the all-conquering human mind.

(To be Continued)

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