

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

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# The Party and Class That Made It Possible

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE.

Seven years ago the red cock of the social revolution hailed the dawn of a new era and vindicated forever the theories of Marx—the master. The Peters of the Second International, long engaged in distorting the Marxian method and thereby betraying the working class, denied the faith they had prostituted when they heard its lusty challenge signalling the mighty blow the Russian workers and peasants dealt world capitalism. The socialists of the Second International became the bitterest enemies of the Russian revolution, but the Russian revolution, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and the world revolution still live. They become stronger each day and under the leadership of the Communist International—born of the imperialist war and the Russian revolution—organize the working class for the capture of power in every country.

What forces made the revolution in Russia—not only the complete overthrow of capitalism and aristocracy, but the bourgeois revolution that preceded the final surrender of the state power to the workers and peasants? The social democrats hailed the provisional government that arose after the abdication of the czar as the final triumph of democracy. The mass movement of the workers and peasants was supposed to stop there and wait for the social democratic saviors to make further improvements.

Howls of rage from every stronghold of social democracy greeted the rise of the Soviets and when the dictatorship of the workers and peasants was established and the Kerensky government was thrown on the scrap pile with other garbage of history, the anger of the erstwhile saviors of the working class was uncontrollable. They renewed their allegiance to the capitalist class and furnished the democratic smoke screen behind which operated the murderous forces of world imperialism.

It was not the middle class and capitalist class of Russia that overthrew czarism nor was it the liberal and social-democratic intelligentsia that composed the provisional government. Nothing was further from the minds of these elements than the abolition of the Romanoff dynasty. They wanted, just as the imperialist allied governments wanted, a change in personnel, a palace revolution that would, by giving a democratic color to the Russian regime, pacify the masses and enable Russia to prosecute the war more efficiently.

The Russian bourgeoisie had learned a lesson in 1905. They had no intention of releasing social forces that would set in motion the great mass of the oppressed in Russia but they miscalculated the extent of the discontent, they underestimated the revolutionary elan of the Russian workers and after the overthrow of the czar by the Russian masses, in eight months, marched straight thru the defenses of Russian capitalism to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is just as well to settle here the part played in the overthrow of the czar by the cadets and the social democrats. As late as March 4, 1917, Milyukov had declared in the Duma that Constantinople was Russia's goal and that "if we cannot conquer with this government, we will conquer in spite of this government, but we will be victorious." The Duma was interested only in the imperialistic aims of the war, but the people were hungry. The Duma did nothing to control the food supply. It tried to win the war by talking and to allay mass discontent by the same method.

The working class took matters in its own hands. On March 8, mass strikes were declared in the Putiloff

munition plants in Petrograd. Food riots occurred involving thousands of workers. On March 9, the workers of Petrograd were out on the streets and fights took place with the Cossacks. Assemblage was forbidden by General Chavaloff, commander of the Cossacks, in a proclamation announcing that the troops had been ordered to fire on the crowds.

The Petrograd correspondent of the New York Times wired his paper: "A number of causes working together, brought the crisis momentarily to a head, altho I do not believe there can be any serious trouble while the Duma is in session. . . . All yesterday the

"All together, with united forces, we shall fight for the complete removal of the old government and the convocation of a constituent assembly, chosen on the basis of universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage."

What of the Duma during this stirring period? Nothing is plainer than that it feared the popular movement and tried by both persuasion and force to stop it. On March 11, Rodzianko, president of the Duma, sent the following telegram to the czar:

"The situation is serious. The capital is in a state of anarchy. There is government is paralyzed. There is universal discontent. The streets

things—both counter-revolutionary.

It sent a telegram to the czar urging: "The immediate convocation of the legislative bodies, the retirement of the present council of ministers, and the entrusting to a person deserving of the national confidence, to present to you, Sire, for confirmation, the list of a new cabinet capable of managing the country in complete accord with the representatives of the people. Every hour is precious. Further delay and hesitation threaten incalculable misfortunes."

Its second act was to order the masses to disarm.

But the masses did not disarm. On March 15, the czar was arrested. He abdicated and named Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch as regent. The Duma committee appointed the provisional government with Prince Lvov as premier, Milyukov, minister of foreign affairs, Guchkov, minister of war and marine, Kerensky, minister of justice.

This provisional government did not take the position that czarism has been destroyed. Milyukov expressed the view of the provisional government when he said in a speech:

"The old despot who brought Russia to the edge of disaster will voluntarily abdicate or be deposed. The government will pass to a regent, the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, and the heir Alexis the czarevitch (cries of—but that is the old dynasty). Yes, gentleman, that is the old dynasty, which perhaps you do not like and which perhaps I dislike myself. We propose a parliamentary constitutional monarchy."

The provisional government changed nothing in Russia nor did it alter the attitude of the former government towards the war. On March 17, Milyukov sent a note to Russian representatives in other countries in which he said:

"In the domain of foreign policy, the cabinet, in which I am charged with the portfolio of minister of foreign affairs, will remain mindful of the international agreements entered into by the fallen regime and will honor Russia's word. . . . The government of which I am part will devote all of its energy to preparation of victory."

The masses had revolted against the war, but the provisional government proposed to drive them back to the shambles. By adopting this policy it separated itself from the masses and made its fall inevitable.

Around this issue of peace or war the revolution organized itself. Class interests became the guiding factors and the fiction of a government representing the whole people was no longer tenable. The provisional government re-worded its slogans of imperialist war and imperialistic peace, but mass unrest continued to grow. Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers sprung up thruout the nation and challenged the authority of the provisional government.

When on May 1, the provisional government sent a note to the allied governments in which it spoke of "the nation's determination to bring the war to a decisive victory" and said the "the provisional government in safeguarding the rights acquired for our country will maintain a strict regard for its engagements with the allies of Russia" the fury of the masses could not be restrained. Great strikes and mass demonstrations were staged and an attempt made by soldiers to arrest the provisional government.

The council of Soviets was as yet in the hands of the non-revolutionary elements altho the Bolsheviks were active. Lenin had arrived in Petrograd in April and had taken the lead in the revolutionary agitation.

(Continued on Page 8.)

## RUTH FISHER



Leader of the German Communist Party.

streets were full of people altho Petrograd is heavily patrolled by Cossacks and mounted police. The general atmosphere is like a bank holiday with thunder in the air." (Emphasis mine.)

Women of the working class were active in the food riots that became more wide spread. They marched up to the soldiers and asked them would they shoot hungry workers, their own people. The morale of the troops went down to zero and what little shooting took place, served only to further arouse the masses.

On March 1, orders to fire upon the crowds were obeyed only in isolated instances. The soldiers themselves were tired of war and on the eve of mutiny. Almost every worker in the Petrograd district was on strike by this time and soldiers and workers began to fraternize.

The cry of the masses had changed from "bread" to "revolution."

On March 12, armed workers filled the streets. Fighting with loyal detachments of troops and the police became general. Five famous regiments joined the workers and the police were exterminated. A council of workers and soldiers was formed and in its proclamation of March 14, said:

are filled with disorderly fighting, units of the army are firing on each other. It is necessary to appoint someone immediately whom the country trusts to form another ministry. Make haste. Procrastination means death. I pray to God that the responsibility will not fall upon him who wears the crown."

The next day Rodzianko sent another telegram to the czar:

"Affairs are worse. You must act at once. Tomorrow will be too late. This is the last hour in which to decide the fate of the country and of the dynasty."

The Duma did not want a revolution. It feared a revolution and the documents show that it stood by the czar to the last.

It was only when on March 12, large bodies of troops appeared before the Duma and cheered the revolution that the Duma acted. It appointed a committee to take charge. Rodzianko was made chairman.

The police by this time were defeated. The jails were opened and thousands of political prisoners, most of them skilled revolutionary agitators, were freed. Two hundred government officials were arrested.

This Duma committee did two

# Program of the Communist International

DRAFT ADOPTED AT THE FIFTH WORLD CONGRESS

(Concluded from last Saturday.)

### 3. The Proletarian Dictatorship and the Classes.

The struggle for the expropriation of the expropriators requires the most thorough study of all elements of this struggle.

The big bourgeoisie and the rich landowners, as well as that part of the officers' and army staff subject to them, are the most consistent enemies of the working class, and a bitter struggle against them is absolutely inevitable. As a rule it is only possible to utilize the organizing powers of these circles after the dictatorship has been established, and all conspiracies of exploitation and uprisings have been determinedly suppressed.

The question of the technical brain workers plays a most important role for the proletarian revolution. Every counter-revolutionary action originating in the ranks of the technical brain workers must be rigorously suppressed, but at the same time the proletariat must take into consideration the absolute necessity for these skilled workers, and carefully avoid any action which could injure them economically, especially those groups which have already suffered thru the war. These intellectual forces should be brought under proletarian influence by pointing out to them the prospects of building up socialist culture.

With regard to the peasantry, the Communist Party is confronted with the task of winning over a great part of the peasantry for the party. The victorious proletariat must differentiate strictly between the various groupings within the peasantry itself, estimate their specific importance, and aid the landless, semi-proletarian elements of the peasantry by every possible means, give them a part of the big landowners' property, help in their struggle against usurious capital, etc. The proletariat must utilize the middle elements by leaving their land and their possessions untouched, and by combating every attack made by the rich peasantry in combination with the rich landowners.

In this struggle the proletariat should base its activities upon the organizations of the poorer population of the country, which are under the leadership of the country proletariat in all countries where the system of agricultural wage labor is developed.

The petty bourgeoisie of the cities, which has always wavered between extreme reaction and sympathy for the proletariat, is also to be neutralized as far as possible. Their neutrality is assured if their property is not touched, if they are allowed liberty of economic intercourse, aided in their struggle against usurious forms of credit, etc.

In order to fulfill all these tasks the most varying organizations of the proletariat (co-operatives, trade unions, and other associations, and chiefly the party as leading power in the revolution) must be actual organs of proletarian power. It is only when these organizations lend unlimited support to the proletarian power, only when the class will is perfectly united, and when the party has the leadership, that the proletariat can successfully carry out its part as organizer of society as a whole in the most critical period of human history.

### 4. Abolition of the Bourgeois Monopoly of Education.

The proletariat, when abolishing the monopoly of the capitalist class of the means of production, must simultaneously destroy the monopoly of education in the hands of the bourgeoisie, that is, it must take over all schools and universities.

One of the most important tasks of the proletariat is to train skilled technicians from the ranks of the working class, not only in the sphere of production (engineers, mechanics, organizers, bookkeepers, etc.), but for scientific and military work, etc. This is the only way possible of enabling fresh groups of qualified workers to be continually added to the proletarian power, so that this may in reality become a leading power in the development of society.

To this task must be added the further task of raising the general cul-

tural level of the proletarian masses, the task of their political enlightenment, raising the level of their knowledge and technical qualifications, their practical introduction into social work, and further, the combating of vestiges of bourgeois and petty bourgeois prejudices, etc.

Amongst the tasks of combating bourgeois prejudices and superstitions, the first place is taken by the fight against religion, a fight which must be carried on with all requisite tact and all caution, especially among those sections of workers in whose daily life religion has hitherto been deeply rooted.

The proletarian state power must discontinue all state support to churches, prevent any interference by the church in state organized education and further fight against all counter-revolutionary activity of church organizations or their individual representatives.

### 5. The Removal of Imperialist Pressure and the Organization of Voluntary State Associations of the Proletariat.

The main supports of the gigantic imperialist state were and are the artificially created relations between the colonies and semi-colonies, and imperialist mother countries. The colonial and national questions thus play an exceedingly important role, not only from the viewpoint of the decay of capitalist relations, but also from the viewpoint of capitalist structure.

In this respect the program of the Communist International makes the following demands, in complete opposition to the policy of the bourgeoisie and of social-democracy:

1. The right of self-determination, under which is also to be understood the right of complete separation from the state. This principle is binding as a requirement to be demanded of the bourgeois state, where it serves as a weapon against imperialism, and is equally binding under the regime of proletarian dictatorship, where it serves as a means of overcoming the national distrust nurtured thru centuries of bourgeois government.

2. The liberation of the colonies, and the support of all colonial movements against imperialism. In the case of a proletarian state embracing former colonies, the latter are to be accorded the right of separation.

3. Unions of Soviet Republics, at first in the form of a federation.

Besides these program-planks which relate to the system of the state, the Communist International puts forward demands for the equality of nations, and for the abolition of all anti-racial laws.

The Communist International also fights against capitalist immigration laws (for instance, the anti-Japanese immigration law in U. S. A.), and conducts propaganda against all kinds of Chauvinism and nationalism, even if such prejudice should exist among the working class. The Communist International is particularly energetic in its campaign against Chauvinism among the peoples of the great powers.

In view of the fact that the power cannot be seized by the proletariat simultaneously in all, or even in the most important countries, and that, therefore, proletarian states exist beside capitalist states, in spite of the enmity because of basic principles between capitalist and proletarian states—compromises on the field of foreign diplomacy by the proletarian states are possible, permissible, and at times even obligatory. (Foreign commercial agreements, loans, policy of concessions, participation in general conferences, and other forms of agreements, including military agreements.)

### IV. The Road to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

#### 1. The Party and Its Role.

The successful fight for the proletarian dictatorship presupposes the existence of a strong, solid, tried, disciplined, and centralized Communist Party.

The party is the vanguard of the working class consisting of the best, most class conscious, most active and courageous members of the class; it embodies the whole collective experi-

ence of the proletarian struggle, based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism. Representing the general and permanent interests of the class as a whole, the party, embodied in itself the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and of proletarian revolutionary action.

Being a militant organization which leads the proletariat to the conquest of power, it consists of active revolutionary fighters, everyone of whom fulfils some duty for the party. It thus represents a revolutionary party bound by an iron discipline and by the strictest revolutionary order of democratic centralism, attained thru the consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and thru its devotion to the revolution, thru its ability of maintaining close contact with the proletarian masses and with the masses in general and thru correct and flexible political leadership, which is constantly tried and kept informed by the experiences of the broadest masses.

In order to fulfill its historic task, the Communist Party must preliminarily undertake and carry out the following strategical aims:

Bring under its influence the majority of the members of its own class, including the women workers and young workers.

Bring under its influence the broad masses of toilers in general (the poor of the towns and villages, the impoverished elements of the intelligentsia, the so-called "small-men," i. e., the petty-bourgeois elements in general), and thus to achieve the political hegemony of the proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

It must utilize the conflicts in the ruling classes, both in its own country and on an international scale (i. e. utilization of war crisis).

Discredit, expose and destroy the political influence of social-democracy and of the yellow trade union bureaucrats, who are the most reliable supporters of capitalism, and bring under its influence the mass organizations of the proletariat (trade unions, co-operative societies, factory and workers' councils, and so on).

In its struggle for the ultimate goal of the proletarian movement, the party must take into consideration concrete circumstances, the correlation of class forces; the degree of capitalist strength; the degree of proletarian preparedness, the attitude of the intermediate strata, and so on. The party formulates its slogans and the manner of its struggle in conformity with these circumstances. While advancing a whole series of transitional slogans and partial demands, which are determined by the given circumstances, the party must subordinate these demands and these slogans to its revolutionary goal of the capture of power and overthrow of bourgeois-capitalist society. Hence, it is inadmissible for the party either to hold aloof from the everyday needs and everyday struggles of the workers, or to limit its activities to these everyday needs and everyday struggles. It is the task of the party, while starting out from these needs, to direct the thoughts and action of the working class beyond these limits, i. e., to lead the working class to the revolutionary fight for power.

To neglect the formulation of the partial demands and transition slogans is incompatible with the tactical principles of Communism, for it unavoidably leads the party to passivity and destroys its connection with the masses. The tactics of the united front and the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government form the most important section of the tactics of the Communist Party during the whole period of the conquest of the masses for Communism.

Given a direct revolutionary situation, when the ruling classes are more or less disorganized, when the masses are in a state of revolutionary excitement, when the intermediate strata are inclined to go over to the side of the proletariat—the party of the proletariat is confronted with the task

of leading the masses to the direct attack on the bourgeois state. This is achieved by the advancement of more marked slogans and the increasing intensity of mass movements, to which must be subordinated all branches of party agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary activities. These comprise strikes, combinations of strikes and demonstrations, combination of armed demonstrations and strikes, and finally, the general strike in conjunction with the highest form of the direct military fight against the state power of the bourgeoisie. This fight is subject to military rules; it presupposes a military plan (the fixing of time and place, etc.), aggressive operations, and undivided loyalty and heroism on the part of the proletariat. Such actions presuppose the organization of the broad masses into militant bodies, which by their very form should attract and set into motion the largest number of toilers (councils of workers' and peasants' deputies, soldiers' councils, etc.). A pre-requisite for victorious tactics is propagandist work in the army and navy.

The process of uniting the masses under the Communist flag must be developed in all actual questions of daily life. Above all, the fight against the danger of fresh imperialist wars, etc.

Other questions coming under this heading are those connected with the struggle against the economic results of the war and post-war crisis. (Fight against increased prices, against unemployment, against longer working hours, against higher taxation, etc.)

The support of Soviet Russia, as a means towards strengthening it and towards mobilizing the masses about this anti-capitalist center point, constitutes the most powerful organizing instrument in the hands of the international working class.

For the coordination of actions, and for the purposeful leadership thereof, the international proletariat requires an international class discipline, which must above all be strictly adhered to in the ranks of the Communist Parties. This international Communist discipline must be expressed by the subordination of all partial and local interests of the movement to its general and permanent interests, and by the unqualified execution of all resolutions passed by the leading organs of the Communist International.

Being the united world party of the proletariat, the Communist International makes it incumbent upon all its sections carefully to weigh all the peculiarities of the situation in their respective countries. Only by studying these peculiarities is it possible to conduct a real Marxian policy. The difference between the countries of highly developed capitalism, which are on the threshold of the proletarian revolution; the countries on the eve of bourgeois revolution, which must be transformed into the proletarian revolution; and finally, the countries which are still colonies or semi-colonies of imperialist powers, and which must still inevitably pass thru the phase of colonial and national wars—this difference must determine the whole activity of the Communist Parties which are under the uniform and centralized leadership of the Communist International.

### ATTENTION, CANONSBURG and BENTLEYVILLE, PA.!

Attend celebrations of the Seventh Anniversary of the Russian Revolution:

NOVEMBER 9th, at 2 p. m.  
Labor Temple, Pike and Jefferson,  
CANONSBURG.

NOVEMBER 15th, at 7 p. m.  
Miners' Hall,  
BENTLEYVILLE.

# Party Campaigns: Thru Branch or Shop Nuclei? By Martin Abern

In judging the territorial branch and the shop nucleus the question always to be answered is: which is most effective for carrying out the Party program?

Well, let's take the recent Workers Party election campaign. Speed plus efficiency are especially needed in the parliamentary work. There must be quick and systematic mobilization of the Party membership for all the duties in connection with the election campaign: speakers, literature distribution, collection of finance, etc. Very well. How does our Party function thru the present form of organization, thru the territorial branches?

First, the National office, let us say, issues a set of instructions for the conduct and arrangement of campaign meetings, the widest distribution of literature, collection of funds and so on. This notice of instructions goes to every branch secretary, C. C. C., D. E. C. Our press, to help along, also carries the instructions and propaganda.

## Party Branch Slow in Getting Started.

Our party branches generally meet every two weeks, some less often. The branch secretary receives the instructions from the national office. Even if he sends out letters, which is rare, for a special branch meeting, about two weeks elapse before the branch meets to take action on the Party instructions and program for the election campaign. It is safe to say about one-half of the branch, at best, shows up at the meeting. A discussion takes place—where to sell or give away literature, the difficulty of collecting money (a thousand reasons given here) how to secure petitions, if required, and many other things with which every comrade is acquainted.

A few comrades are awake to getting to work in the unions or on the job. But on the whole, life is desultory, they declaim: it will take a long time before the masses are awakened, and more of the same. With religious resignation many comrades continue to await The Day. Only a small part of the branch membership—who will deny?—is mobilized for the elections' campaign after much delay and exertion.

## Branch Depends on Active Few.

The election campaign is on! A few street meetings, pretty good crowds—a fairly exotic feeling among the comrades aiding in street meeting work. A couple, at the most, new members brought into the Party. A few neighborhood indoor meetings held with middling success and failures. Comrades discouraged, cynical, some dogged and faithful. A bare handful of the comrades aided in putting even these meetings over. The meetings deal with very general issues, phrasily but not meatily put; no real talk on how to aid the workers in the shops. A huge demonstration meeting follows. Thousands attend, including for the first time in the campaign, hundreds of our Party members and sympathizers. The International is sung, stirring speeches are made, much literature is sold, the comrades feel elated. Then they file home and for most of them the elections campaign is over, except to read the votes the Communists got.

There is house to house distribution of literature, more than usual since the Party is hammering away at that. Who does not know how difficult it is to get an appreciable number of comrades out to distribute literature! How pitifully few. Money is collected, chiefly from the comrades themselves. They make sacrifices. But these sacrifices should and could bring more and better results. Our press gets very few letters from the workers telling how they are affected by the Communist campaign.

Perhaps a few brighter colors could be shown. But that can be left for the other comrades to do. What does remain strikingly plain is that our present organization form is cumbersome, slow in getting the membership into action, and then but a small part of it, and brings small results for the efforts. And if these are the gains

from the election campaign, with its easier, perhaps hectic, means of arousing the workers, because our organizational structure is deficient, how much more deficient is it for more vital and dynamic actions—in strikes, demonstrations, DAILY WORKER drives, and the like? Unspeakable and yet, it must be noted that the present branch form of organization is historically an electoral machinery. It seems its even poor for that.

Now, how about the Shop Nucleus and the Communist election campaign? It beats the old all hollow for speed, efficiency, results. How? Assume we have a Party of Shop Nuclei, what happens?

The National Office issues its program and instructions to the secretaries of the Shop Nuclei. The Shop Nucleus is the Party unit consisting of the comrades working in the same shop, factory, or mill. Within 24 hours after receipt of instructions from the N. O., the Shop Nucleus members can hold a meeting and lay out their work. The nucleus members concern themselves mainly with propagandizing the other workers in the shop.

## Shop Nucleus Gets Quick Action.

The comrades know their fellow workers, somewhat at any rate. They have a knowledge of the workers' needs, all of them are directly and constantly up against the same problem, whether it be the boss or shop conditions, strikes. There is a basis of approach by the comrades to the other workers. The discussion can start on baseball or the Prince of

Wales and can easily end in a discussion on economic conditions, politics, the candidates in the field, the Communist program. The workers know each other, that counts a good deal, approach is not so difficult.

So, first, the Party nucleus can get together almost immediately. They can lay out a program of work in the shop; how to start discussion on topics of the day, sell or distribute the DAILY WORKER or other literature to the shop-mates, appeal for funds. Does any comrade doubt how much more successful our October 26—November 2 literature distribution week, successful as it was, would be if systematically distributed directly on the job? As for propaganda meetings, these vital shop discussions and political discussions are worth a dozen neighborhood meetings, altho these could still and will take place, but let us hope in better fashion.

Even from a standpoint of collecting money from our own comrades, did you ever stop to think how much easier a comrade would give up some money when he has just got paid off and has it? A few days later, it's spent for various things—slim chance to get it from him then. One machine shop nucleus in Chicago illustrates that by a regular weekly donation to the Party collected on the job. An accepted duty.

## Shop Nucleus Is Organized to Work.

Most important to see is that the Party campaign work brings results because the Party unit is organized for work on the job. If the shop is

unionized, the nucleus can lay out work in the union in support of the campaign. The instrument of the shop nucleus in this case would be the T. U. E. L., in which, of course, every union comrade is active. Comrades speak of the shop fractions, Party committees of action and propaganda in the shop, doing this work. They might, but they don't. The reason for that is because the work isn't permanently organized like that of the shop nucleus, the basic Party unit, is. Of course, shop work is difficult, in many ways, but less difficult and no more dangerous than is a territorial branch. Communist work always has its dangers. That phase of it has no bearing here except insofar as dangers can be removed. That can be discussed another time.

And, comrades, lest we forget, we want a mass party, a mass Communist Party, a Communist Party of and in close contact with the workers, exercising ideological control and trying physically to be with them. This shop nucleus and shop nucleus work makes it possible.

## Bolshevize the Party Thru Shop Nuclei.

Without elaborating further, it should be plain that in election campaign activity and more so in the other Party campaigns and activities, the shop nuclei offer the best mediums for Communist propaganda and organization. Shop nuclei will help us Bolshevize, Leninize the party.

Forward to Shop Nuclei!

## Letters from Our Readers

### Use It On The Boss.

To the DAILY WORKER:—I read your encouraging article asking workers to write something of their experience in the shop, mine, mill, etc. So I thought and asked myself, should I or should I not write of the condition in the shop I worked? No, was my answer. I shall not write, because my vocabulary is too poor to express half as much as I feel about the boss and foreman and all the parasites sucking the blood of the workers. No, said I, until I will be able to act, fight, write and call the masses to fight against the capitalist class. I said no until I bought a paper which claims to be a friend of the poor, and also "fights" for them. Then it made my blood boil.

An article like that in a paper where Mr. LaFollette will be the Moses to free the American workers from misery and our present deplorable system. No! Impossible! I looked again and again whether I bought the kind of a paper I was looking for. Yes, it was the same. But how in the world did Mr. Hillquit feel when he read that article. How could our great "savior" Mr. Berger sit in congress and read an article in his paper where it says, "There is not work—and there cannot be work, plenty of work—for all who are willing to work—under the wage and profit system of industry."

And how could Mr. Zigman, Kaufman, Pearlstein, read in their paper "Wages will buy the plain necessities of life." But wages will not buy good food and plenty of it; good clothing and plenty of it; good homes, well located, well furnished, and plenty of them."

And how in the world could Mr. Hillquit, Berger, London, Abe Cahn and all the rest of their clique read "the capitalist class legalizes and holds on to this system thru the control of the government; and the control of the government is seized and held by the capitalist class by means of political parties—parties committed to the capitalist system of industry." And read again (but workers, do not laugh. It is an honest opinion, I suppose so.)

"Thus the workers cannot defend themselves—they cannot escape 'til they have a political party of their own, a labor party for themselves, by themselves, composed of millions who toil on the farms and down in the

mines; toil on the railways, in the shops, mills and factories—composed also of men and women who are unemployed. Clearly it is up to them."

Now, workers read it again and again; read it to the people who believe in the doctrine of that paper; read what it further states: "Without personal hatreds, without any malice whatever, the socialists fraternally seek peace, justice, plenty, life, a full glad life for all. We know that modern machinery, modern tools, modern knowledge, modern methods and means of production make it practicable for those who are willing to work to produce abundantly for all who are willing to work; and that thus want and fear of want can be removed from the lives of all who are willing to work—in a wholesomely reconstructed socialized society."

Who made all those statements? Whom do they represent? Do they mean it? Do they actually fight for it? Ha! Ha! No! I will leave it to the readers, to all of those who believed and still do believe in their honesty to find out for themselves how corrupted and hypocritical are the statements made by people who in reality do not believe a word they say. How many proposals for the amalgamation of the unions were brot to conventions where they used all means, directly or indirectly to defeat them; for they did not succeed in defeating them completely. How many workers and farmers will they ask and influence to vote for a labor faker and an old cheap republican politician, Mr. LaFollette, who is against the labor party, against changing the capitalist system to a workers' and farmers' government?

How many workers were starving from hunger and were put in prisons and killed under the social democratic regime of Germany?

How many workers will be condemned to work ten and twelve hours a day and lower wages in Germany and all other capitalist countries if the Dawes' plan with the help of the social democrats all over the world will be put into effect?

No! We know you and those who doubt it will find out how hypocritical and demagogic to act different than what you say. The DAILY WORKER the Workers Party of America, the Communist Party of all the world, they are the ones who fight and work for a government by and for the working class. And each and every one

who writes and believes in all that which is said, his place is in the Workers Party of America.

J. MARCUS,  
St. Louis, Mo.

Member of the Y. W. L.

Editor's Note.—If your vocabulary were as impoverished as you modestly state, that would be an added reason for venturing a description of your boss or the conditions under which you work, rather than a polemic against the yellow socialists, which is a task likely to exhaust even a generous supply of English.

Permit me to say that, tho your editorial is appreciated and is published partly because of its merit and partly by way of encouraging yourself and others to accept our invitation literally, at the same time, indignation against Berger, Hillquit, et al., is a poor substitute for a brief description of some incident that may have occurred at your place of employment. The DAILY WORKER would prefer ten words from the lips of a wage slave on the events of the day than a string of curses at the system in general from a college professor.

Read the article in the magazine again, and follow the suggestions made there. We do not care anything about your style, your grammar or your vocabulary, but in the name of Marx, let us have facts, not editorials. That was the very thing Comrade O'Flaherty's article sought to protect us against, but the foe has again burst thru our breastworks.

Come again comrade. Let us have the facts, let the boss be whom he may.

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# Intervention in China

By G. Voitinsky

China during the last few weeks has been the center of attention of the contending forces of the world. The Communist proletariat of Europe and America is beginning to understand the significance of the risings of the huge population of China, India and the other colonial and semi-colonial countries. The imperialist powers, who in the present historical phase are ruling thru the liberal bourgeoisie and the opportunist leaders of the working class, are being compelled by events, and in spite of their program and declarations, to reveal their acquisitive ambitions in the colonial countries. The recent stormy developments in China opens up a page in that phase of imperialism in which the latter, clad in the toga of Christian-democratic-pacifism, is obliged in this garb to compel the toiling masses of the East by blood and iron to submit to the power of finance capital.

Almost simultaneously with the London conference of the imperialists of Europe and America, the declared

Such results at any rate are not to be obtained by "peace" conferences. But these conferences, by destroying the former balance of forces only render the conflicts between the imperialists more acute and bring the period of armed conflicts even nearer. We have the example of the Washington "peace" conference, held at the beginning of 1922, which, by destroying the Anglo-Japanese treaty, created still more acute relations between the chief protagonists in the Pacific—America and Japan. One of the first results of the Washington conference was the armed struggle in Northern China between the Japanese group of militarists and the American group.

The second reason for the attacks and intrigues of the imperialists in the Eastern countries is the growth of the movement for emancipation, which, to no small extent, increases the contradictions between the imperialists.

The third reason is the steadily growing popularity of the U. S. S. R. among the masses thruout the East.

In the present article we shall deal

important ports in the Chili Straits making direct contact with the rich province of Shantung and the chief province of Northern China, of Chili possible. A brief glance at a map of Asia will help us to understand the tremendous possibilities which were opened up for Japan as a result of the Russo-Japanese War. Japan obtained the possibility of building a railway line from Mukden, the chief town in Manchuria, to Port Arthur, thus exporting agricultural produce from Manchuria thru the port of Dairen. It also built the line from Mukden to Seoul, connecting the centre of Korea, thus uniting its sphere of influence in China with its colony, Korea.

Holding these "advantages" in China before the world war, Japan took advantage of the slackening of the imperialist grip in China. She associated herself with the British group partly because of her treaty with Britain (1902) and partly because she saw the possibilities of enriching herself at the expense of Germany. She seized the province of

reinforced its descents by any army of from 70 to 80 thousand men and sent divisions to the Chinese Eastern Railway at Harbin and to other stations along the railway. At the same time she sent forces into the Amur, Trans-Baikal (Chita), and Irkutsk, and a military mission to Kolchak in Omsk.

Japan possessed considerable influence over the Central government in Peking and thru General Hsu, nephew of the then president of China, Hsu-Shih-Chang, conducted her policy in Mongolia she later (1920-21) supported the bands of Baron Ungern in their invasions into the region of Troitsko-Savsk and the Province of Irkutsk.

Such was the position of Japan and such were her plans at the time of the Versailles "peace" conference. Of course, the robber policy pursued by Japan towards our government and towards China did not alarm the other imperialist powers very much, particularly since as far as we were concerned, the Japanese action was part of the general imperialist plan. But neither America nor England, nor the



## PRODUCTS OF IMPERIALISM.

aim of which was to secure the long promised "pacification" of Europe, began the attack of these same imperialists in the Far East. What are the conditions compelling the imperialists to develop a defensive movement against the colonial and semi-colonial countries at the present moment, and especially against China? Why has a whole series of events occurred in the autumn of this year, beginning in Sudan, Morocco, Persia and Afghanistan and ending with the imperialist actions in the large ports of Southern, Central and Northern China, actions which are characteristic of the aggressive instincts of the imperialists?

There are three important reasons in our opinion.

First, the endeavor of a section of the victorious countries—England and America—since the world war to united action not only against the imperialist powers that were defeated in the war, but also against some of their former "allies." While the London conference in reality signifies the growth of Anglo-American influence in Europe at the expense of French influence, the present struggle of the Chinese imperialists in the Far East is being fought in order to destroy the influence of another "ally" of England and America—Japan.

The struggle has not yet ended with the definite victory of one group of imperialists and the definite destruction of the influence of the other.

with the first reason only.

The Imperialist Struggle for China Since the World War.

It was the small island Japan which at the conclusion of the world war held the hegemony in China.

Itself directly very little concerned in the struggle on the European continent, young full-blooded Japanese capitalism turned its ambitions towards China, which possessed the coal and iron, these essential raw material of production which Japan so much lacked. But it was not these riches alone which attracted Japan to China. The blooming of Japanese capitalism after the Chinese-Japanese war of 1894 when Japan received Formosa and established its influence in Korea, increased the appetites of the Japanese bureaucracy and Japanese monopoly-capitalism which were protected by the ruling cliques of large landowners and militarists. This led to the war between czarist Russia and Japan in 1905 during which, as we know, England helped Japan. The Russo-Japanese War, in spite of the intervention of America in the person of Roosevelt on the side of Russia, nevertheless resulted in Japan's securing tremendous advantages in the Pacific Ocean. Japan received the Liau-Tung Peninsula which since 1898 had been leased by China to czarist Russia for a period of 25 years. As a result, there passed into Japanese hands, Port Arthur and Dairen, two

Man-Tung with the excellent port of Tsin-Tao and the railway connecting Tsin-Tao with Tsinan-Fu.

This sphere of influence however, did not satisfy Japan. Her ambitions were stimulated by the enfeeblement of the opposition of China and the protracted nature of the world war. In 1915, as the result of threats, bribery, and provocation, she succeeded in concluding a secret treaty with the Chinese president, Yuan-Shih-Kai, the effect of which would be to transform China into a semi-colony of Japan. This treaty, which is known as the 21 demands, contains points according to which the Chinese government undertakes to employ Japanese military instructors, Japanese police chiefs, and Japanese advisers to the ministry for foreign affairs, not to speak of the privileges granted to Japanese banks in the coal, textile, and other industries.

After our October revolution, Japan lost all sense of proportion and seriously began to think of the seizure not only of China and Manchuria, but also of Mongolia and our Siberia as far as the Urals.

Under the pretext of protecting the counter-revolutionary Czecho-Slovak legions, who had forced their way thru Siberia overthrowing the Soviet power in their path, Japan organized descents upon Vladivostok, where in conjunction with the Czechs it overthrew the Soviet government in 1918,

other "allies" could reconcile themselves to the fact that Japan had taken advantage of the world war in order to secure exclusive influence in China. From that moment began the imperial struggle for China, or rather, for the destruction of Japanese influence.

The chief antagonist of Japan in China is the United States of America. This is easily understood when it is remembered that America neither before nor since the war possessed territorial spheres of influence in China.

America regarded China chiefly as a market for her products; it began to value China as a sphere of investment for her capital only since the world war, when the accumulation of milliards began to suffocate American industry.

But no less important than direct trade with China, no less important than the direct investment of capital in China, were America's strategic plans.

From Southern China, which is two days distant from the Philippines (an American colony since 1898), America can best control these possessions and also keep her eye on the basis of British imperialism in the Pacific—Hongkong and Singapore. From Southern China America can best maintain communication with the islands of the Dutch Indies, where ex-

(Continued on next page.)

# The B & O Plan at Work :::

By Earl R. Browder

Being in Pittsburgh, close by which is located the Baltimore & Ohio Railway shops, at Glenwood, where the famous "co-operative plan" was first put across on the railroad shop unions, I thought it might be of value to get a first-hand impression of the workings of the Johnston-Beyer version of the *arbeitsgemeinschaften*. With the assistance of a local comrade, one of the machinists working in the Glenwood shops was finally located. For the purpose of reporting we will call him "Smith."

Smith was not much interested in the subject of our question. He seemed to be a typical worker, one of the two thousand in the Glenwood shops, with nothing to mark him out from the others. Formerly an active union member, he confessed that he has attended but one union meeting in several months.

"Why don't you go to your union meetings?"

"What's the use," he answered, "with only 15 to 20 members there, nothing to be done, everybody sore and disgusted, and members dropping out every month. There are plenty of grievances to take up in the union, but the union can't do anything now. It's hog tied by the 'B. & O. Plan' and can do nothing."

"What kind of grievances have you in the Glenwood shops?"

"The management is systematically sowing division among the workers,

by working some overtime while others cannot get in their regular eight hours. Systematic discriminations of all sorts are going into effect. Speeding up is getting worse all the time. Seniority has become a joke, and has gone by default — there is no such thing anymore. Snitching is encouraged and rewarded, and suspicion thus spread among the workers themselves. Oh, there are plenty of grievances, and hundreds of them have been taken up in the union. But the union can't do anything. The complaints are all filed in committee, and nothing is heard from them. We can't strike—we're co-operative you know—and the bosses laugh at us."

"Is the union getting stronger for any fight that may develop?"

"Hell, no! There are 1,400 men eligible to the International Association of Machinists in the Glenwood shops. A few years ago, before the strike, most of them were organized. When the B. & O. plan went into effect we had about 800. Today there are less than 250, and they are dropping out by the dozens every month. Of these only a dozen or so ever attend union meetings. The union is being destroyed."

"Is that the reason your local didn't send a delegate to the Detroit convention?"

"The supporters of Johnston who control the union offices didn't want any delegates because they were afraid some of the real facts about

the Glenwood shop conditions might leak out."

"Why didn't you fellows who are disgusted with conditions go to your union meetings and elect a delegate to fight for a different policy?"

"Oh, what's the use? Those guys have all the money and the machinery of the union in their hands. Besides they have the support of the railroad officials. And any railroad worker who gets very prominent as a fighter against the B. & O. plan might just as well kiss his job goodbye. And we haven't got anybody there to organize our forces so as to beat these officials. They have the cards all stacked against us. What's the use?"

"Have you not heard about the fight organized by the Trade Union Education League and the Communists against the B. & O. plan, which rallied a block of delegates at the Detroit convention? Why didn't you fellows line up with them?"

"Yeh, we heard about it, some of us, after the convention. It was a good fight. But us guys here, who are up against the buzz-saw, we've sort of lost heart. Maybe we'll get back our fighting spirit some of these days. It sure did cheer us up to hear about the fight in Detroit. But take it from me, there is only one way to keep us with any International Association of Machinists at all, at least so far as the railroad shops are concerned, and that is to kick out the reactionary officials who have formed a

partnership with the railroad companies."

"What is there to all this propaganda about how the bosses co-operate with you in the work, inside the shop?"

"Co-operate, hell! What the co-operation means, is that we have to work out labor saving schemes, write out our suggestions for saving money for the bosses, and in return for them we get our name printed in the magazine the boss prints. Why, even the 'economy union' at the Westinghouse Electric plants nearby does more in a co-operative way than this damned 'B. & O. plan.' In the Glenwood shops we get 'honorable mention' for our contributions to the efficiency of the shop — in the 'company union' at Westinghouse Electric they pay money for such things, sometimes as much as \$200 a month. That Westinghouse Electric 'company union' is a rotten lousy thing—but it is beaten by the 'B. & O. plan.'"

This is the way one union man sees the B. & O. plan after working under it for two years. The conditions he describes, the disintegration of the union, the unremedied grievances, the militant attitude of the bosses against the shopmen—all these things are facts that cannot be hid, cannot be denied, and cannot be explained away. They are the bitter fruits of class collaboration, of the desertion of the class struggle.

## Intervention in China

(Continued from Page 4.)

plotted by Anglo-Dutch capital are to be found oil and rubber, and whither American capital has recently begun to strive. The prospect of a subsidiary means of communication with Australia from Southern China was perhaps another bait to America, whose ambition is to be the first power in the Pacific Ocean. Already great American merchant vessels regularly ply in the Pacific, and commercial connections are being established with the important centers of the Pacific. The lines between San Francisco, the Japanese ports, Shanghai, Hongkong, and the Philippines and back, have been thoroughly organized this year and America is now seeking a passage to the Chinese ports which is not subject to Japanese domination.

In order to have a free hand in China, in order to be able to exploit her most advantageously as a market, a sphere for investment of capital and a base from which to extend her influence over the Southern Pacific, America after the world war was obliged first to reduce the influence of Japan.

In pursuance of this aim America first of all attempted to defeat Japan in China by means of the dollar.

In the spring of 1920, Lamont, the representative of American and British banks, came to China with plans for the formation of a consortium of bankers, i. e., a single international financial center for the exploitation of the wealth of China and for the industrialization of the country according to a general imperialist scheme. America, as the richest country, would naturally play the first fiddle in the consortium. This attempt at a "peaceful" solution of the American-Japanese conflict in China suffered shipwreck at the very outset. The Japanese government, which apparently at the Versailles conference gave its consent in principle to the formation of such a consortium in China, was in 1920 unable to fall in with the "public opinion" of the monopolists and militarists, she started a violent campaign against Lamont and exposed to the Chinese masses the danger which threatened them from the united action of the imperialists. It appeared, for instance, that as security for the loan which the consortium would advance to the Chinese government or to individual militarists the consortium would receive the right of levying agricultural taxes on the Chinese peasants and, moreover, would get the monopoly right of im-

posing indirect taxation upon certain articles of general consumption.

And since the government in China at that time was created by the victorious Japanophile group after the struggle between the armies of Tuan-Chi-Jui, who was supported by Japan, and Generals Tsao-Kun and Wu Pei Fu, who defended the interests of Britain and America, and therefore for a certain period acted more or less independently, the revelations of Japan compelled the Peking government thru the minister of foreign affairs, W. W. Yen, to address an open letter to Lamont demanding the denial of the reports of the acquisitive schemes of the consortium. The reply was couched in such a form as to leave the Chinese with not the least doubt as to the true intentions of the imperialists.

After the scheme for a consortium broke down, America came forward demanding an "open door" in China and the maintenance of Chinese sovereignty.

The Washington "peace" conference which was held during the second half of 1921, was summoned by America under the pretext of defending Chinese sovereignty and of limiting naval armaments. Its real object however, was to break the Anglo-Japanese treaty in order to isolate Japan in the Far East and weaken her influence in China.

America as we know, only partly achieved her purpose. The Washington agreement of February, 1922, did in fact, weaken Japanese influence in China, but by no means to the extent which was formally proposed to the conference.

In order to create a situation in China which would correspond with the formal victory achieved by America at the Washington conference, it was necessary to break the real forces in China which were supported by Japan, and to set up a Central government in Peking which would hearken to Washington and London, and not Tokyo. And in fact, but a few months after the Washington conference there broke out in Northern China a bloody struggle between Wu Pei Fu (representing Anglo-American interests) and Chang-Tso-Lin (representing Japanese interests). The fight continued until Wu Pei Fu obtained a certain superiority over Chang-Tso-Lin; a superiority sufficient to increase the influence of England and America in China, but not sufficient to destroy the influence of Japan. This situation reflected the true relation of forces between America and Japan at that time.

From the summer of 1922 to the present time political life in China has been taken up with the struggle between the imperialists. The slightest enfeeblement of Japan, either nationally or internationally, immediately called forth an attack on the part of America.

The success of our partisan forces and our red army against the Japanese agents in the Russian Far East—Merkulov, Diederich, Kapelev, and others—and the final liquidation of the white and black governments in the Maritime Province, compelled Japan finally to evacuate our territories. This reflected on the relation between Japan and America in China. America became more aggressive, and in 1923, drove out the Chinese president, Li-Yuan-Hung, and placed in his stead the tool of American capitalism, Tsao-Kun.

The earthquake in Japan last year, which considerably impoverished and enfeebled her, aroused American ambitions to liquidate Japanese influence in China as rapidly as possible. She is now only awaiting a pretext.

The events which occurred in China during the last few weeks are in fact a real war in China between Anglo-American and Japanese imperialism. The same Chinese militarists, Chang-Tso-Lin and Wu-Pei-Fu, are again the participants in the struggle. They are again fighting around Shanghai-Kwan where the territorial spheres of influence of Japan, in Manchuria and of America and Britain in the Province of Chili touch on each other.

The present antagonism between the imperialists in China is far more acute than in 1922. If only for the reason that one side is much weaker than the other. At the same time the Chinese militarists themselves are far better armed and dispose of far larger armies than formerly. The present struggle is therefore pregnant of far greater dangers than any collisions which have occurred in China in recent times.

Will the imperialists in China go as far as to make an open conflict between America and Japan in this present instance inevitable? We think that the struggle will not take such a form. Japan, while doing her utmost to protect her own interests, will avoid open conflict with America. The American government, which is facing a presidential election, will hardly care to test the attitude of the workers and farmers on the question of war.

We imagine that the result of the present struggle in China will be an armed truce in China with a certain

advantage in favor of the Anglo-American imperialists. But all truces will be based upon a readjustment of the spheres of influence and will be made at the expense of the interests of the population of China and partly the U. S. S. R. insofar as we are concerned in China.

Each year the possibility of the imperialists overcoming their internal conflicts by means of peace conferences, armed truces, and groupings and balancing the political forces in the world arena become more remote.

The events in China reveal to the proletariat of the world both the true ambitions of the imperialists and the tremendous danger of a new world war in the Pacific Ocean, where the interests of world imperialism are more entangled and confused than anywhere else. The slightest weakening of one of the parties which now contribute to the equilibrium in the Far East will inevitably call forth such a collision between the world imperialists as the world has never seen.

The Communist proletariat of the west and the toiling masses of the East must zealously follow the events in the Far East and be prepared for a struggle against imperialism.

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## Program of Communist Propaganda

Thesis Adopted by Fifth Congress of Communist International.

(Concluded from last Saturday.)

### V. Program and Methods of Propaganda.

The most urgent political aim of Marxist-Leninist propaganda is to bolshevize the party by connecting party education all along the line with the existing political problems and the tactical and organizational tasks of the Communist International and of the various Communist Parties. This principle must underly the entire program and the methods of Communist propaganda work. Programs as well as methods must concern themselves with the practical side of party work. While avoiding abstract educational programs and methods as much as possible the parties, however, must endeavor to provide party officials and rank and file members with opportunities to acquire the theoretical knowledge which Marxism-Leninism offers to the working class and which as the development of the Russian and international revolutions have shown, are alone capable of serving as a guide to the final goal. Great care must be taken, however, not to contrast Marxism to Leninism, or rather the Marxism, of the life time of Marx and Engels, to Leninism. At all costs must we provide the conception arising that Marxism is the theory while Leninism is the practice of the revolutionary labor movement. Both Marxism and Leninism comprise the theory and practice of the working class struggle for emancipation. They represent the unity between revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice, in contradistinction to the decadent "Marxism" of the Second International which adhering to so-called "orthodox" Marxism separating theory from practice; it rejected revolutionary action in practice altho it recognized it in theory. "Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. To put it more concisely: Leninism is the theory and the tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, and the theory and the tactics of the proletarian dictatorship in particular" (Stalin). This is the basis for the program of Communist education, the methods of Marxist-Leninist propaganda. The educational program in the Communist propaganda instructions cannot consist of Leninism without Marxism. In the epoch of imperialist development and proletarian revolution Marxism cannot be adequately advocated except in the form of Leninism.

31. Marxist-Leninist economics are the theory of the state and must occupy a prominent place in the syllabus of party schools. Events in the epoch of imperialism must serve as the basis of the study of economic theory. The syllabus must also include the study of the strategic, tactical, and organizational problems of the proletarian revolution and the Leninist solution of these problems on the basis of the history of the Russian and international revolution. Last but not least, the syllabus must include the history of the labor movement in the most important countries and at home, as well as the history of the party of the given country, a prominent place being given to social conditions and the role of opportunism in the labor movement. In agrarian countries, special stress must be laid on the agrarian question and the relations between the working class and the peasantry as Lenin advocated it. Of special importance is—extensive and intensive propaganda of the theoretical and tactical problems of armed rising and civil war.

32. At no stage of Communist Party education must Marxist-Leninist philosophy be lost sight of. Marx, Engels, and Lenin were all militant materialists. Their doctrine and their

philosophy brought philosophical materialism to the highest stage, viz.: dialectical materialism. The inclusion of the propaganda of materialism into the syllabus of Communist education pursues also a political aim: the teaching of materialism will make our Communist Parties impervious to certain ideological tendencies which penetrate into our ranks; to the various forms of philosophic idealism, to religion, and to indifferentism on the question of religion, etc. All these tendencies in the last resort represent alien class interests within the proletarian organizations. Therefore the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism without the propaganda of militant materialism cannot be regarded as complete. Hence, the curriculum of all party schools must include this propaganda.

33. The methods to be applied in party schools, and in self-education circles must be carefully selected. Unless propaganda is methodical, it will not achieve its aim and will only result in useless expenditure of the energy of the propagandists, and the mass among whom they work. Experience has shown that wrong methods frequently lead to the disintegration of the entire propaganda system and to the dissolution of many propaganda institutions. This being so, great care must be taken in training propagandists not only in the theories of Marxism-Leninism, but also in the methods of imparting their own knowledge to the students in the party schools and to the masses. The central propaganda organs of the party must see to it that these propagandists obtain instruction in method. They must collect material on educational methods, study it, penetrate it, and apply it.

### V. Organization of Marxian Research and Literary Activities.

34. Leninism is not only the revival of revolutionary Marxism, but also an extension of its theoretical and practical content. Marxist thought and Marxist theory have not yet sufficiently permeated the Communist International. Not enuf initiative and organization has been displayed in the development of Marxian research work. The attempts of the decadent Marxists of the Second International to continue the work of the orthodox pre-war Marxism of Austrian-Marxism could not but fail for the reason that it is impossible even to pretend that social democratic practice, and the theories of Kautsky, Hilferding, Bauer & Co., is really Marxist. The general decadence of scientific research after the war naturally affected Marxist research as well. The only country where Marxian research and literature have received an impetus is in Soviet Russia where the revolutionary proletariat has established its dictatorship. As far as the western Communist Parties are concerned, they cannot boast of any achievements on the field of Marxian research. The Communist International must do its utmost not only to encourage the study of Marxism-Leninism for propaganda purposes, but also to provide opportunities for scientific research and study on this field.

35. The Marx-Engels Institute, the Lenin Institute and the Communist Academy are the international centers for theoretic work and scientific research on the field of Marxism-Leninism. The task of the Communist International is to make the results of the research work carried on in these scientific institutions accessible to the international Communist movement. This can be achieved:

(a) Thru the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Comintern, which thru its connection with these institutes can make use of the results

of their research work on an international scale.

(b) By grouping around these institutions the party workers of all Communist Parties who are interested and active in theoretical research work.

(c) By utilizing the research work of these institutions as material for a periodical publication of Marxist Leninist research, of the published classical works of Marxism, and all the scientific and critical works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and also a Communist encyclopedia.

36. In addition to central party schools, laboratories of Marxist-Leninist research must be established in the most important sections of the Comintern. These sections must also

be provided with Marx-Lenin libraries. The object of these laboratories is: to encourage Marxian-Leninist research work, to organize colleges for comrades interested in theoretical studies, to help in the elaboration of political and propagandist works, etc. These laboratories must also be the connecting link between the various sections of the Comintern and the Marx and Lenin Research Institutes of the U. S. S. R.

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# Why Was the Rising in Georgia Needed?

By KARL RADEK.

We have more than once had the opportunity of observing how the bourgeois press can lie, and we had imagined that there could be no further surprises in store for us in this line. But when daily war bulletins appeared in foreign newspapers during the two weeks ending September 17, with reports on the fall of Tiflis, Batum, etc., and on bloody struggles in Baku, etc., we began to ask what could be the meaning of all this. There are foreigners in Tiflis, there are foreign consuls in residence there, we are no longer living in times of intervention and blockade, when nobody abroad was in a position to judge of the extent of their mendacity. But at last, on September 18, the so-called Georgian embassy in Paris announced to the world that the great rising of the Georgian people was over. The "Daily Telegraph," which had taken active part in the propagation of all these lies as to an extensive insurrection, now publishes an article entitled: "Treachery and provocation," which destroys the tissue of lies maintained by the bourgeois press up to this date. The article is however, in itself a fresh flight of invention. The organ of the English foreign office writes to the following effect.

## A Tissue of Lies.

"The events in Caucasia are typical for conditions in Soviet Russia, and for Soviet methods. The information which we have now received from trustworthy sources shows that the news on the success of the rising in Georgia has been exaggerated, and that the Bolsheviks themselves have spread this false news (!). Ever since the independence of the Georgian republic was annihilated by the Red Army, Moscow has been expecting the day to come on which Georgia would rise to win its freedom. When the Bolsheviks expect an insurrection, they attempt—and are often successful—in provoking the movement into activity before it is ripe, so that the adversary's forces have not time for adequate organization.

"The Georgian patriots, who fled to Europe before the red forces, established their headquarters in Paris, maintained communication with their native country, and energetically gathered together men and money for the purpose of a general insurrection against their oppressors. The Cheka in Tiflis, which possesses sections all over the Caucasus, exaggerated the success of the success of these preparations, in order to increase the importance of their work for the quenching of the insurrection. The patriotic organizations of Georgia were led astray by treachery. Provocateurs have endeavored to create conspiracies where there were none in reality, and to induce a resort to force where nobody had thought of such a thing. When Moscow heard that the patriotic movement was increasing in strength, it was resolved to accelerate the outbreak of the insurrection, in order, first, to provoke the Georgians to a struggle and to annihilate them, and, second, to show the Russians the strength of the Red Army and the Cheka."

We have quoted the whole of the "Daily Telegraph" article, for in addition to a lot of rubbish it includes two highly valuable admissions. We need not demonstrate the absurdity of the assertion that the Soviet government itself prepared the insurrection in order to show how powerful it is. Nobody possessing the least grain of common sense believes this. But it is of importance to note the admission that the organizational center of the Georgian insurrection is in Paris, and the second admission that the rising has proved to be weak and of brief duration. The whole tale of the provoked acceleration of the rising by the organs of the Cheka merely serves to explain why the rising proved so weak. In this manner one of the leading organs of English imperialism acknowledges that the whole talk about a mighty national rising, and about a three weeks' struggle in Georgia, was pure invention. We must wait and see what the press of the Second International has to say to this confession on the part of an important

English organ, a newspaper which receives its information from the sources of the English foreign office and English espionage.

## The Plan of the Georgian Mensheviks.

Since the Georgian rising was not the outbreak of the dissatisfaction of a people, but was organized from a center, the question arises: For what purpose did the Georgian Mensheviks, living in Paris and sending Dzhugeli and others to organize the insurrection, need the rising?

The whole international situation, and the methods employed for carrying on the insurrection, give the answer to this question. In England a party belonging to the Second International has secured the government. This government has been obliged, under the pressure exercised by the English working masses, to acknowledge the Soviet Union unconditionally, without wasting one word on Georgia. In France the government is in the

overthrow the Soviet power with their own unaided forces. They decided to take possession of a few remote corners, without entering into actual fighting. They themselves were neither able nor willing to attack important centers, and hoped that the Bolsheviks would be equally unable to resolve upon an attack upon them. They had correspondents in Trapezunt, commissioned with the task of informing the whole world that there were two governments in Georgia. MacDonald and Herriot would then intervene. This whole soap bubble burst, for this action received no support from the masses of the people, and the Bolsheviks showed no inclination to play at negotiations, but preferred to act.

## How was the Georgian Rising Utilized by the English Bourgeoisie?

Anyone who has not fully grasped the object of the disgraceful lies spread abroad by the English and

begin to study the lesson. But again the subject mainly dealt with is not that of the title, but the loan. But towards the end of this article against the Russian loan we find an appeal to MacDonald:

"English money must not be used for financing bestial and bloody campaigns, such as that which is now drowning Georgian liberty in blood. Within a week MacDonald has to speak. We once more call upon him to study this question, for he knows more about it than anyone else. He was in Georgia when it began to build up its magnificently developed and splendidly managed state, full of pride in its newly-gained liberty. He was full of enthusiasm and confidence in the future of Georgia. Three years ago he protested in glowing terms against the unheard of crime, against the subjection by force of arms. It is his duty to tell us what security he is able to offer us that our money is not used for such undertakings. He must tell us what feelings are now aroused in him by the orgy of pogroms and murders in Georgia."

## Scheme of Imperialists.

It is easy to comprehend the ends objectively served by the Georgian Mensheviks. They wanted to utilize "pacifist" imperialism for the attainment of their own aims, but now it becomes more than evident that their blood has served imperialism without any pacifist coverings. The English capitalists are endeavoring to destroy the loan agreement, in order to employ the financial blockade for the purpose of forcing upon Soviet Russia the denationalization of industry, the abolition of the foreign trade monopoly, and the payment of the czarist debts. The petty bourgeois blockheads dream of utilizing imperialism for their own ends, but invariably prove themselves the blind tools of imperialism.

The imperialist social democratic press raises a tremendous outcry over the blood which has been shed in Georgia. But this blood is upon the heads of imperialist England and France, on the heads of the gentlemen of the Second International. When substantiating his resolution on Georgia at the league of nations conference, M. Paul Boncour, member of the Second International, made the very characteristic statement: Georgia has risen, and we, the league of nations, are bound to reply, if only by a gesture. Yes, for the Georgian Mensheviks, fooled by their foreign leaders, the league of nations will surely find a gesture. But this gesture will have to bring in money for the English and French bankers and industrialists, for the whole of their outcry over Georgia has but one single end in view: The English workers are exercising pressure on the English government, and demanding a loan for Soviet Russia. The English press therefore raises its outcry over Soviet brutalities in Georgia in order to sow confusion in the ranks of the English workers, and to weaken their pressure on MacDonald.

This is the reply to the question why the rising in Georgia was necessary. But the gentlemen managing the English imperialist press have this time woven a mistake into their tissue of untruths. They are obliged to acknowledge that there has been no rising in Georgia, but a putsch organized in Paris, and they have shown their hands remarkably soon, and demonstrated with remarkable candor that the bloodshed in Georgia was for them a necessity, as a means for frustrating the Russian loan. The truth about Georgia is not a blow against the Soviet Union, but against the bloody bandits of English imperialism, who are now shedding crocodile's tears over the Georgian victims who have acted as their tools.

## IN QUEST OF BREAD



Unemployed in Germany.

hands of the left bloc, and is dependent upon the support of the social democrats. Messrs. Jordania and Zeretelli turned with tears in their eyes to their patrons MacDonald and Renaudel: Have you forgotten us? Can you not do something for us? What could MacDonald and Renaudel reply? In Georgia everything was quiet, there was no sign that the Georgian workers and peasants had any idea of rising in an attempt to overthrow the Bolsheviks.

M. Jordania decided to supply proofs that a "struggle for independence" really was going on in Georgia. Just before the league of nations conference, before the second phase of the negotiations on the loan, and before the negotiations between France and the Soviet Union, was chosen as the most suitable moment. The calculation was very simple: The Bolsheviks would not venture to act with their customary energy, fearing to injure their international position. The leaders of the Georgian Mensheviks, calculating on the irresolution of the Bolsheviks, hoped to attain their object, despite the known weakness of their decaying party.

What was the object which they pursued? They could not hope to

French press on the rising in Georgia should now read the leading organ of English imperialism. We have before us the "Times" of September 18. This contains an article against the loan. One half of the article deals with the loan, the second half with Georgia. What connection exists between the loan and Georgia? This is easily explained. The article states that Georgia was the embodiment of the highest wishes of Mr. MacDonald, and of Messrs. Snowden and Renaudel as well, who even travelled to Georgia in order to be able to describe this earthly paradise. But the Soviet wolf had devoured the Georgian lamb, and Mr. MacDonald, forgetting his love for Georgia, recognized the Soviet government, and thought no more of Georgia. But now negotiations are being carried on regarding the loan. There is an insurrection in Georgia, fighting and bloodshed. What now? Is it possible that MacDonald, in face of the bloody victimization of his Georgian friends, can resolve to further the ratification of the agreement on the loan in parliament? Thus the "Times" laments and questions. We read the "Daily Telegraph" of September 20. The leading article is entitled: "The Georgian lesson." We

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# The Party and Class That Made It Possible

(Continued from Page 1.)

Two great struggles were being waged.

First, the struggle between the Soviets, representing the masses, and the provisional government representing the capitalists, landlords and middle class groups.

Second, the struggle inside the Soviets between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks and other non-revolutionary parties.

The cadets and the mensheviks never understood that following the overthrow of the czar not only one, but two governments had arisen in Russia. The Bolsheviks, the untiring students of the French revolution and the Marxian method, knew this and from the first day their strategy had two objectives (a) the conquest of power for the Soviets and, (b) the capture of the masses for the overthrow of capitalism as represented by the provisional government and the substitution for it of the proletarian dictatorship.

By May 19, the war policy of the provisional government, in spite of the efforts made to disguise it, coupled with the agitation of the Bolsheviks, had so aroused the masses that the formation of a coalition government was forced and the first period of the Russian revolution came to an end.

The Bolsheviks opposed the formation of the coalition government with the slogan of "all power to the Soviets!"

The masses were still confused, however, and the executive committee of the council of Soviets, by a vote of 41 to 19 decided to allow its representatives to participate in the government.

Three groups composed the Soviet executive committee. The representatives of the social-revolutionists, expressing the aims of the middle class peasantry; the mensheviks representing the intellectuals, the lower middle class and certain sections of the skilled workers.

The Bolsheviks, later joined by the left social-revolutionists after the split in that party represented the aims of the great masses of workers and poor peasants.

From this time on the history of the Russian revolution is the history of the conflict between the mensheviks and the right socialist-revolutionists and the Bolsheviks centering around the program for the Soviets—a struggle between reform and revolution.

The reformists wished to subordinate the Soviets to the provisional government. They wished to postpone all such measures as ending the war, distribution of the land and control of the food supply until a constituent assembly could be called—they were middle class democrats and had no higher aim than a typical capitalist democracy.

The coalition government was formed and upon Kerensky the hopes of the world bourgeoisie were pinned. Agreement was reached by the executive committee of the Soviets upon three points:

1. The unity of the allied fronts.
2. The fullest confidence of the masses in the new cabinet.
3. Full power for the new government.

Ostensibly this represented the surrender of the Soviets to the new government composed of cadets, mensheviks, populist-socialists and right social-revolutionists with Kerensky as minister of war and marine. This was the plan of the reformists.

Actually it served to intensify the conflict between the revolutionists and the reformists within the Soviets—the conflict that Lenin had declared necessary as far back as April.

Lenin had written in April and aroused a storm among the Bolsheviks:

"After the March revolution, the state power passed into the hands of a new class, of another class—the bourgeoisie.

"The passing of the state power from one class to another is the first principle of a revolution, not only in a strictly scientific sense, but also in a practical political sense.

"To the extent, the bourgeois, or the bourgeois democratic, revolution

in Russia is COMPLETED.

"But at this point we hear the shouts of objectors who call themselves 'old Bolsheviks': Didn't we always maintain that a bourgeois democratic revolution is ended by a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry? Is the agrarian revolution, which is a phase of the bourgeois democratic revolution, completed? On the contrary, is it rather not a fact that it has not yet begun?"

"My answer is: Bolshevik slogans and ideas in general have been confirmed by history; but concretely things have developed somewhat differently than was expected, assumed a more original, peculiar and varied form.

"To ignore, to forget this fact would mean to resemble those 'old Bolsheviks' who more than once have played a sad role in the history of our party by repeating senseless 'learned formulae' instead of studying the peculiarities of the new, the living, reality of things."

Lenin dealt with the fact (already mentioned above) that there were in existence in Russia two state governments; that of the bourgeois and, as he said sarcastically, "the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry which voluntarily relinquishes power to the bourgeoisie, voluntarily converting itself into an appendage of the bourgeoisie."

"And so," said Lenin, "the formula (of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat) has already become old. . . . In the order of the day there is a new problem; the split WITHIN this dictatorship between the proletarian elements (the anti-war internationalists and 'Communists' who stand for transition to the commune) and the petty bourgeois elements (Cheidse, Tseretelli, Steklov, social-revolutionists and other 'revolutionary' anti-defeatist opponents of the movement toward the commune, adherents of 'support' of the bourgeois and the bourgeois government)."

"He who speaks now only of a 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry,' is behind the times, and because of that has de facto gone over to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; he should be relegated to the museum of 'Bolshevik' pre-revolutionary relics."

Once the Bolsheviks had accepted the thesis of Lenin on the new situation and the tactics indicated, the proletarian revolution drove ahead with resistless power. The Bolsheviks by their own acts and the Russian masses by theirs, gave the final answer to the confused and treacherous adherents of reformism.

When the constituent assembly met all power was already in the hands of the Soviets and it required but a handful of Red guards to send the "statesmen" home—or to jail.

The Bolsheviks had correctly estimated the revolutionary consciousness and will to power of the Russian workers. The Russian working class lived in a country where industry, in spite of the generally backward character of the nation, was of a highly concentrated character. The advanced section of the Russian workers had absorbed the Marxian theory to an extent unknown in any other country. They had the record of the revolutionary efforts of the working class of Western Europe before them.

Above all they had passed thru the bloody revolution of 1905 and its rich experiences were still fresh in their memories. The Russian masses were equipped for struggle as no other class has ever been equipped and they had the additional advantage that the Russian middle class was not the lusty petty bourgeois of Western Europe, but a feeble and spineless group composed of mere hangers-on of the big capitalists.

Finally, the Russian workers had a revolutionary party with a history of struggle and a record of loyalty to and activity in all the conflicts of the workers from minor questions of wages and hours to armed uprisings.

The Russian working class had learned the lessons taught by the two great leaders of the masses—Marx and Lenin. In 1847 Marx had written: "The state—the proletariat organized as a ruling class" and Lenin amplified it with "The major question of the revolution is the question of power." Translated into organization, education and the armed struggle for power these simple phrases became, in Russia, November 18, 1917, the greatest of all working class statements—the first proclamation of the council of people's commissars, signed by Lenin as chairman.

It reads:

Comrades: Workers, Soldiers, Peasants, All who Toil!

The workers' and peasants' revolution has finally been victorious in Petrograd, scattering and capturing the last remnants of the small bands of Cossacks duped by Kerensky. In Moscow the revolution was successful even before a few trainloads of our fighting forces arrived there from Petrograd. In Moscow the Junkers and other Kornilovites have accepted the conditions of peace: the disarming of the Junkers, the dissolution of the "committees of safety." From the front and from the provinces there flows in, daily and hourly, news of the support by the peasants in their villages of the new government and its decrees on peace and giving the land to the peasants. The success of the revolution of workers and peasants is assured, for the majority of the people have already come out in its favor.

It is quite clear that the landholders and capitalists, the chinovniks (bureaucracy) and office-holders, closely connected with the bourgeoisie, in a word, all those who are rich or who are aiding the rich, will be hostile to the new revolution, will oppose its success, will threaten to cease the activity of the banks, will disorganize or stop the work of certain institutions, will spread confusion and sabotage in every way, directly and indirectly. Every class conscious worker knows very well that we must inevitably meet with such opposition, that the higher officials are opposed to the people and will not surrender their charges to the people without opposition, not for a moment do they tremble before the threats and sabotage of the supporters of the bourgeoisie.

Behind us are the majority of the people. Behind us are the majority of the toilers and the oppressed of all the world. We are fighting in the cause of justice, and our victory is certain.

The opposition of the capitalists and of the higher officials will be broken. Not a man will be deprived by us of his possessions without a special law for the nationalization of the banks and syndicates. This law is being drawn up. Not a single worker will be deprived of a copek; on the contrary, aid will be given him. Without establishing any new imposts, for the present, the government will first take up the task of a strict supervision and control of the collection of taxes already established, without any concealment whatever.

In the name of these just demands, the vast majority of the people have rallied around the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' government.

Comrades and Toilers: Remember that it is you who now control the government. No one will help you unless you yourselves unite and take all government functions into your hands. From now on your Soviets are the organs of government power, fully authorized, decisive organs.

Rally around your Soviets. Strengthen them. Take hold yourselves of this task, from below, and wage relentless warfare on all attempts at anarchy on the part of drunkards, hooligans, counter-revolutionists, Junkers, Kornilovites.

Introduce strict control over production and an inventory of products. Arrest and bring before the revolutionary tribunals of the people, all persons who injure the cause of the people, whether this injury takes the form of sabotage (destruction and interruption) of production, or that of hoarding supplies of grains or products, or that of holding up carloads of grain, or disorganizing the activity of the railroads, telegraph, post office, and in general, any form of opposition to the great common cause of peace, of assuring to the worker control over the production and distribution of goods.

Comrades: workers, soldiers, peasants, all who toil! Put all the power in your districts into the hands of your Soviets. Preserve and guard as the apple of your eye, the land, grain, the factories, tools, products, transportation—all these are henceforth your common possession. Gradually, in agreement with the majority of the peasantry, and with their approval, as we learn the lessons of their practical experience and that of the workers, we shall advance steadfastly and unwaveringly to the realization of socialism, in which we shall be aided by the advanced workers of the most civilized countries and which will give to the nations permanent peace and delivery from all oppression and from all exploitation.

When Communists are accused of being visionary, of neglecting the "practical" things, of underestimating the importance of the petty reforms of which the liberals and socialists and other "practical" persons make major objectives, and if this criticism weighs upon them, it would be well to read at such times the proclamation of the first workers' government in the world—a document so practical and at the same time so revolutionary that capitalism will never recover from the effect it produced.

So was the Russian revolution born. It has written many brilliant pages of working class history since but none of them are so filled with lessons for the world's workers as the record of the eight months from March to November, 1917.

Built on the solid foundation of Communist knowledge and the working class will to power, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics forces recognition from its enemies the world over—enemies whose strength declines in proportion to the speed with which the working class learns the lessons of the Russian Revolution.

## Russian Comrades to Sing and Dance at Anniversary Party

Tonight, Sat., Nov. 8, the grand concert and ball in celebration of the seventh anniversary of the Russian revolution comes off. Everything is set to make this a big party. Held under the auspices of the Russian branches of the Young Workers' League and the Workers Party everybody will be there, young and—all others (Communists never grow old). It will be held at the Workers' Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd., and begins at 7:30 p. m. Come early so as not to miss any of the concert which contains a real revolutionary program. There will also be speakers in Russian.

## Young Workers League Members Take Notice

Mailing order house campaign meeting will be held at 3322 Douglas Blvd. to make arrangements for the campaign at Sears, Roebuck & Co. All members of area branches Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 6 are instructed to be present at this meeting. It will be held Sunday, Nov. 9, at 6 p. m. You will get your instructions as to what time and place you are to help in the campaign. Make the campaign a success. Be at the meeting on time.

Members of branches Nos. 2 and 3 will meet at 722 Blue Island on Sunday, Nov. 9, 6 p. m., to make arrangements for the work at Phillipsborns.