

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

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SECOND SECTION
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THE BRITISH ELECTIONS

By T. H. Wintringham

The first labor government of Great Britain fell because it could not reconcile its actual devotion to the cause of capitalism with its pretended devotion to that of the working class.

Why MacDonald Came to Power.

Ten months ago capitalism in Europe was facing problems that had become desperate. The whole economic situation of Central Europe was only hanging by a thread, and that thread was the faint hope that American finance would come in and take control before the renten-mark collapsed.

Ruhr industry lay in ruins. Yet France was no nearer to a working agreement with the German capitalists, and every one realized that if the position of January, 1924, continued, both French and German capitalism were in danger of an economic disaster.

America did come in. As the labor government was preparing to take office, and the new ministers of King George V. were buying the silken kneebreeches needed at court, a certain "General" Dawes, closely connected with J. P. Morgan and the organizer of the Minute Men of the Constitution (the Fascisti of America) was dictating to a committee of experts the terms on which American finance capital would intervene to "stabilize" Europe.

America's terms included provisions which made certain a very drastic lowering of the standard of living of the German workers, and therefore of all the workers of Europe.

America's terms had been known in outline for months and even for years. British imperialism had been unwilling to accept them, but there was no alternative. The conservative party had thought at one time that it was possible to withdraw from Europe, to concentrate on the exploitation of the colonies, and to guard British economy from European competition by means of tariffs. The complete unreality of this program was so thoroughly shown up at the general election of 1923, that the British bourgeoisie discarded Baldwin and refused to consider his "alternative."

The majority that resulted from this election was a majority for the acceptance by British capitalism of America's terms. There was no other bond between the diverse elements contained in it. Lloyd George, who returned directly from America to make peace with the official liberal party and fight with them in the election, could not have been got to support a labor-liberal alliance by anything except the pressure of the real rulers of modern civilization—Morgan and his associates.

The labor government was put into power in order to carry thru the Dawes' plan.

Used MacDonald Against Labor.

There were other reasons which made the capitalist classes of Britain willing to use these agents. The most important reason was the steady movement of the masses of the British workers towards an industrial attack.

Strikes were steadily increasing; some agent was needed in order to check the revolt of the rank and file trade unionists against the dictation of capital.

The political labor movement was growing strong without having yet clearly reached the stage when the banalities of reformism, so useful to capitalism, are differentiated from the advocacy of working class socialism. Any acute observer could see that most of the advocates of socialism in Great Britain could be tamed, and used as domestic animals to do the more unpleasant parts of capitalism's housework, if only they were caught

soon enough and fed well on the sweets of office.

The labor government was therefore put into power largely in order to check the movement of the masses, to divide the political labor movement, sift out from it those who could in no circumstances be useful to capitalism, and educate those of the leaders who are willing to work for capitalism in the art and craft of "democratic" rule.

One other reason is also obvious. There was the need for a government of democratic phrases to fight the growing revolt among the colonial peoples. A capitalist government which shot Indian workers or bombed peasants in Mesopotamia ran the risk of rousing a wave of antagonism in Britain that would make it difficult to carry out the necessary—but of course unpleasant duties of a great civilized power. As yet there has been no mass revolt in any of the colonies, but such a revolt might develop within a few

concessions that have been gained in certain cases, of a very minor sort allowed the MacDonald government to avoid, "by the skin of its teeth," having to use troops and police against the strikers. The government has done its job of breaking strikes but it has failed in its other task—that of ending strikes. It has not ushered in an era of industrial peace. These two facts are among the reasons why MacDonald goes out of office now, and almost certainly will not be in office after the election.

Served Imperialism.

With regard to the British Empire no government has ever been so successful from the capitalist point of view as that of MacDonald. But since there has been no colonial revolt of importance during 1924 the capitalist class feels that after all there is no great need to keep MacDonald in power on this score, as any government that follows it can justly claim



The Conservatives in Power.

months in any of them, and the labor government would have been in a better position than any other to rouse the righteous and democratic wrath of the British people against any race of "niggers" who dared to rise against the benefits of British rule.

The labor government was put into power to see the British Empire thru a period of uncertainty in regard to the colonies.

Why MacDonald Fell.

The labor government has fallen because it has either carried thru these tasks or has proved itself incapable of carrying them thru. There are other reasons for its fall which arise from the pressure upon it of the masses of the British workers.

The Dawes' report is being put into operation with the tacit consent of the majority of the British working class movement. That is an achievement for which capitalism might well be grateful, and in the capitalist attack on MacDonald during the election campaign the question of the Dawes' plan has been avoided.

The labor movement has been deeply and dangerously divided by the policy pursued by the labor government, but there is no longer any need to keep on dangling the sweets of office before the leaders; the memory of these will be enough to keep these gentlemen moderate, sane, and careful.

Every great strike during the period of office of the labor government has ended in defeat for the workers; but

that labor cannot attack it for its colonial policy, since it is only carrying on that of the labor cabinet.

These are the underlying reasons why MacDonald is no longer needed by the bourgeoisie. The actual issues on which he was overthrown are also important, but the capitalist class would not have attributed much importance to the question of whether a certain Communist leader was sent to prison or not, or whether a treaty with Soviet Russia (in which British capitalist interests were carefully guarded) was signed or not, if there had not been deeper underlying reasons for putting one of its most skillful craftsmen temporarily among the ranks of the unemployed.

The British Elections.

We have seen why MacDonald came to power and why he fell. The maneuvers of the election are of no real importance in comparison with the causes which brought about the election or the results which it will have on the balance of class forces in this country and on a world scale. At the same time they are of interest as showing very plainly the policies and programs of the contending parties.

In the first place the whole of the events of the last session of parliament must be counted as electioneering strategy. The two capitalist parties had indicated clearly to MacDonald that on the Russian Treaty they were determined to take a firm stand. It was not as they pretended simply

a question of some thirty million pounds being lent without guarantees. There was actually no question of principle involved: the recognition of the right to nationalize property, or repudiate debts. The reason for the frantic opposition to the Russian Treaty was mainly a realization that the treaty and the loan, and the credits that Russia could raise if the treaty went thru, would represent a very real strengthening of the power of the working class in Europe, since it would mean more rapid economic recovery of the Workers' Republics.

Defeat Inevitable.

In view of this threat which would certainly have led to his fall at the end of October, MacDonald decided to force an immediate election on the question of whether the government had acted rightly in withdrawing the charge of "incitement to mutiny" made against Comrade Campbell, the editor of the Workers' Weekly. He went to the country after defeat on this issue, saying that the question was an unimportant one. Noel Brailsford struck the keynote of the labor party election attitude on this issue in an article in which he seven times repeats the assertion that Campbell had been injured "while fighting for King and Country," referring to Campbell as "A man with fragments of two feet," and "a young man with no feet."

Another series of events which must be taken as part of the labor party election strategy center around the annual conference of the labor party, which began in London two days before the labor government was defeated. It has been at all times MacDonald's ideal that the labor party should consist of sane, smooth, and prudent "workers by hand and brain," free from any taint of revolutionary impulse and carrying on "the great traditions of liberalism" which MacDonald often invokes. MacDonald's swift action in pressing the Campbell case to a crisis on Oct. 8 enabled him to meet the labor party conference with the obvious threat of capitalist combination and defeat hanging over him. Haloed with righteousness in his indignation against the capitalists for daring to combine against him, and speaking to an audience excited by the prospects of a hard election, he was able to begin the conference with a vigorous attack on Communism and the Communist Party, and eventually to secure a resolution from the conference excluding Communists from all membership of the labor party. This was not so real a defeat for the Communists as it may seem. At the moment when this resolution was passed MacDonald was actually leading the labor movement altho in a hesitating and unreal fashion into a fight on issues of importance to the working class. Good workers who had come to the labor party conference determined to show clearly their disgust with the policy of treachery and timidity hitherto pursued by the labor government refused to criticize MacDonald or his ministers in view of the fight into which the movement was entering. There was a general feeling that there must be no opposition to the leaders when these leaders were bearing the brunt of the capitalist offensive.

Soft Pedal Russian Treaty.

It was a useful piece of election strategy for MacDonald since he was being attacked on two issues directly related to Communism. All thru the election the labor party has been using this resolution to show that it has no connection with Communism, and thereby to win votes of workers (Continued on page 8)

Negroes and the Caste System

By GORDON OWENS.

Workers Party Candidate for Congress in Recent Elections, First District, Chicago.

The Negro population of the United States suffer untold difficulties on account of the vicious caste system known as the color line in vogue in this country. This vicious form of discrimination practiced against Negroes originated with the introduction of chattel slavery in the United States, when the masters of the indentured white slaves replaced the indentured slaves and wage workers with Negro chattel slaves from Africa. The unemployed white workers, seeing their jobs taken by the Negro chattel slaves, began to stir the Negro slaves to rebellion against their masters. As the Negro slaves numerically outnumbered their masters, and staged several rebellions against them, the slave owners realized that something must be done to hold their slaves in check and to put a stop to the mixing and fraternizing of the white wage workers with the Negro chattel slaves, who were termed "Niggers."

Set Negro Against White Workers.

Then was started for the first time anti-Negro propaganda, stating that the Negro chattel slaves were the inferiors of the white wage workers and unfit to associate with the white workers. Despite this anti-Negro propaganda of the white master class, thousands upon thousands of mulatto children were being produced during this period as a result of the mixing of the southern white masters with their Negro female slaves. Propaganda

was also disseminated by the white masters among their Negro chattel slaves, stating that the Negro slaves were better and should not mix with white wage workers who were termed "poor white trash."

This propaganda proved very effective in keeping apart the Negro chattel slaves and white wage workers, and with few modifications to comply with new conditions is still used today, to keep Negro and white wage workers separate and apart. As a result of this propaganda many Negro workers still refer to white workers as "poor white trash" and many white workers refer to Negro workers as "Niggers."

The conditions which the employing class do all in their power to prevent from existing between the Negro and white workers, is social contact, the unionization of the Negro workers along with the white workers, and free speech and assemblage. Social contact between Negro and white workers, would make them become friendly and understand each other, and realize their identity of interests as workers. Negro workers in the same unions with white workers, would prevent the use of Negro workers as strikebreakers by the employers during strikes. Class conscious speakers telling the Negro and white workers of their identity of interests, and trying to organize them to better their living conditions, are constantly being molested and prohibited from speaking.

The capitalists and their hirelings, will go to any extent to prevent Negro and white workers from becoming

friendly and fraternizing. In cities both north and south, with few exceptions, the Negroes are forced to reside in segregated residential districts. Negroes while traveling thru the south to ride in jim-crow cars or sections, which comprise the men's smoking compartment, and are refused service in the dining car, and denied service given to other public travellers.

Every state in the south and many northern states, prohibit by statute marriage between Negroes and whites, despite the fact that the two races have been and still are mixing very intimately in the south as well as in the north. When the Negro chattel slaves were first brought from Africa to the United States they were all black, but today as a result of the dreaded so-called "social equality" which has been going on between the Negroes and the whites since the Negroes first landed in this country, Negroes today are of every shade and color from a fast black to a lily white. In fact many Negroes can and may easily pass for white. This proves concretely that despite the anti-inter-marriage laws, Negroes and whites mix very intimately together.

Negro and white workers holding joint meetings are constantly molested by the police as tho they were criminals. The capitalist newspapers stir up prejudice and riots against Negroes by displaying in large headlines across their front pages real or imaginary crimes attributed to a Negro or Negroes, always placing the word "Negro" in large letters in the headline, thereby discrediting the Negroes in general.

All of this is done to place Negroes as inferiors to white workers, unfit to mix or associate with the whites. As a result of this propaganda many politically backward white workers today think themselves better and superior to all Negroes.

Communism the Solution.

This capitalist anti-Negro propaganda, is what keeps the Negro and white workers separate and apart and suspicious of each other, and enables the capitalists and employers to rob and exploit both groups of workers. This caste system, or color line, is one of the main props of capitalism and can only be eliminated by destroying the capitalist system. Communists the world over, recognize but one race, the human race, composed of two classes, the working class and the exploiting class. Communists champion the cause of all workers regardless of their race, color or creed and are opposed to all forms of discriminations practiced against Negroes or other workers, and favor abolishing all race, color, and religious lines which tend to keep workers separate, divided and apart.

In Communism lies the only hope of the oppressed and exploited Negro workers to obtain full and equal rights with all other workers. Therefore the chief task before the Communists of the United States, is to take the liberating message of Communism to the badly misled and deluded Negro workers who are composed 95 per cent of farm and wage workers, and to obtain the support of a majority of the Negro workers to the cause of Communism.

Leading the Junior Groups

By Max Shachtman
Editor, Young Worker.

Note:—This is the second of a series of three articles by Comrade Shachtman on the Communist children's movement. The concluding one will deal with the new relations between the children and their parents.—Editor.

THE leader of the Communist children's groups is not a teacher in the sense that one considers the instructor in the modern capitalist school. Far from it! His task and purpose is the organization of the working class children to an understanding of the struggle that is going on right in the midst of life, arousing the children to the necessity of being a participant in the great battle for proletarian freedom. And for this task it is not necessary to be equipped with an erudite knowledge of the educational theories and methods of the bourgeoisie. Quite the contrary—it is too often a positive hindrance. The purpose of all bourgeois education is the preparation of the child to be a part of social life, which today means the training of good, efficient, but none too intelligent wage workers. The Communist junior groups train the child to fight against bourgeois influence in education, and the system that it supports.

A Leader's Requisites.

What is required of a leader of a junior group is a simple understanding of the aim of the Communist movement and the desire to enroll the children into the ranks of the revolutionary workers, accomplishing this task without resorting to any of that dishwatery sentimentality and christian humanitarianism from which the youth is relatively free, but the use of which has so effectively killed off any good that the socialist Sunday schools ever produced. The leader must be able so to obscure the fact of his "leadership" as to develop the initiative of the children, stimulate the spirit of freedom and solidarity and independence of external direction to the extent that the groups arrive at the point where the children are themselves the judges, the legislators and the executives.

But here the cry is raised: What! Let a bunch of kids run loose? Permit them to run things to suit themselves? Why, that's independence run riot!

And the cries of indignation are

drowned in the angry spluttering of the protester.

But wait, dear adult. It is here that the leader of the groups enters, and in a most inobtrusive fashion. Let us admit that the children, when left to themselves, are inclined to conduct themselves in a rather "riotous" manner, not according to Robert's rules of order. It is the task of the group leader to direct this superabundance of energy into the channels of Communist activity or education. This must be done without leaving the impression upon the child that such a thing must be done because the group leader has said so.

Free Play to the Children.

Do the children want to play games? Very well, there are already a number of games that bring home to the child the message of the class struggle, games which are being played by large numbers of children with enjoyment and profit. Do they want to sing? Excellent! A singing proletariat is a marching proletariat. And instead of singing of the fact that it isn't going to rain any more, the children soon learn and sing with enthusiasm the parody: "The capitalists ain't going to reign no more" with at least a dozen verses of their own composition.

Would they like to hear a story, as absorbing as any fairy tale ever was? Let them gather around the group leader who has learned the value of studying and repeating the stories of the lives of working class heroes: Spartacus, Danton, John Ball, Lenin, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Wesley Everest, Joe Hill—their name is legion; or else he can relate some tale of heroism of revolutionaries in underground Russia, the armed marches of the West Virginia miners, and the thousands of other incidents that abound in the pages of working class history thruout the centuries.

Occasionally the leader will take his group on a tour thru the rich residential district and then thru the section of the city where the workers live, and permit the child to draw his own conclusions from the contrast. A day spent in the woods, or in the country is of great value, not because it takes the child away from his sordid environment, but to develop the spirit of united work, to build their bodies, and skillfully to inculcate in their minds the difference between the boy and girl scouts whom they meet

on the way, and ourselves. Games, sports, plays, socials, all can be made to serve as aids in the development of class consciousness, revolutionary solidarity, and the creative individuality of the child in the interests of the common weal.

Even in so small a matter as the wish of the children to chalk up sidewalks or buildings can be turned to good use. The leader will suggest that they chalk up announcements of their meeting, or slogans of any campaign in which the Communist Party, or the junior groups are engaged. And it is quite probable that questions will follow, giving the leader the opportunity to draw from the children the reply to the questions they themselves have asked.

No Orders.

The leader of the junior group, if he knows his real function, will never order anything to be done, not even if the order to the children is that they should do things themselves. The children will learn to organize themselves upon an independent basis. When they learn that there is something to be done, it will naturally develop that some division of labor is necessary in order that the task be accomplished. If writing is necessary, the one or two or three children who are best fitted for the work will usually volunteer or be chosen. If it is required that a certain job be done in various parts of the city, directions will inevitably be issued assigning certain little comrades to particular places. Slowly but with certainty the functions of the group secretary, treasurer, organizer, literature agent, sports and social director are crystallized and apportioned among the members. The group leader has achieved his purpose without having laid down the law.

The members of the young Communist leagues have proved to be more capable group leaders than have the adults for the following three general reasons: First, they are more adapted to the special characteristics of the child's psychology; second, they are not burdened with any "non-political and humanitarian" inclinations; and third, being members of the young Communist league, they know better than the adults the necessary preliminaries for the training of the child to become a member of the revolutionary youth movement.

In the group leader of today, train-

ing the child for membership in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat, can be found the seeds of the pedagogy of the future. While his task is different from that which will be undertaken by the teacher of our youth in the Communist society—insofar as at present the question is a political one, of the class struggle—still, the method of education and leadership is a symbol of the methods that will be followed in the classless society. Instead of having our teachers as the willing or unwilling tools of capitalism, bound and gagged by the dead hand of the master class, imbuing the child with the ideas and ideals of a slave, the future brings the free teacher of free children. It brings the teacher and the child released from the prostitution of mind and body, freed from the mental cringing and servitude imposed by an unscrupulous ruling class. It presages the new society and the new education.

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Recent Changes in China - By A. Joffe

AT first sight recent changes in Peking would be hard to explain. However, those who are more or less familiar with the Chinese situation will very well understand the significance of what happened in Peking.

THE writer of these lines, while residing in China some two years ago, expressed the opinion that for a clear understanding of the future of China, it was necessary to follow the policies and activities of the "Christian General" Fenghu-Ysiang. And only recently, while in London, the writer expressed the opinion that it would be impossible to appreciate correctly the Chinese situation until the plans of Fenghu-Ysiang become more apparent.

NOW, after Fenghu-Ysiang has openly taken a position, it proves to be decisive in the Chinese situation, as was easily to be expected. The old government of Tsao-Kun, supported by Wu Pei Fu, immediately disappeared. The military power of Wu Pei Fu is destroyed. There comes into existence a new government, which will be dominated mainly by the Japanese. It seems that Chang Tso Lin, the worst enemy of Wu Pei Fu, is behind Fenghu-Ysiang, in spite of the declaration of the latter that he is acting independently of any other organized group in China. It is also a fact that Sun Yat Sen, the most popular figure in present-day China, the representative of the truly national movement of China, in his struggles against the reactionary alliances headed by Wu Pei Fu, is sympathetic to the change made by Fenghu-Ysiang. What does it all mean?

FOR a correct understanding of Chinese events, it is necessary always to have in mind that the Chinese generals, who are constantly warring with each other, are not only agents of one or another of the great imperialist powers, or groupings of them, but are also conducting an independent struggle of their own for power.

THE Chinese armies are made up of mercenaries. In order to maintain and equip such an army, every general must control some source of local income, because the general income of the federal government is completely taken away by the foreign imperialists. And in order to control such local incomes, one must dominate politically and also in a military sense certain Chinese territory. Up to now, the division of territorial control ran something like this: The South, with its center in Canton, was controlled by Sun Yat Sen. Central China, having Peking as its headquarters, was controlled by Wu Pei Fu, while Chang Tso Lin dominated the North and also Manchuria. The lesser generals would vacillate between one or the other of the bigger generals, in decisive moments definitely going over to one or the other of the larger military groupings.

IT was the policy of the imperialist powers to prevent the complete victory of any single one of the big generals, in order not to permit the settlement and pacification of China. To carry out this policy the imperialist powers had a number of resources,



Sun Yat Sen (left), Wu Pei Fu (Center), Tchang Tso Lin

such as the Shanghai-Peking railroad. In the last war between Chang Tso Lin and Wu Pei Fu, when the advance of the former threatened the destruction of the Shanghai-Peking railroad, the imperialist powers declared that none of the warring armies would be permitted to enter the so-called neutral railroad zone. As a result of this order, Chang Tso Lin was compelled to withdraw his armies from Shanghai and Wu Pei Fu was saved.

IN the last war the great powers attempted to extend this so-called neutral zone to include the city of Shanghai and the entire province. This attempt failed only because of the interference of the Soviet government. Nevertheless, it can be stated that the great powers will not permit the complete destruction of Wu Pei Fu.

ON the other hand, it must be realized that Fenghu-Ysiang does not belong to the group of small and weak generals who have to depend on the support of the great powers. Fenghu-Ysiang has a well-organized, well-equipped and disciplined army of 30,000. Until recently, he supported Wu Pei Fu, who is nothing but a servant of Anglo-American capital. Fenghu-Ysiang himself is also connected financially and otherwise with the United States. The latter is continually ad-

vancing its influence and power in China, holding the purse in one hand and the crucifix in the other. The missionary and the merchant are the two means by which American capital extends its influence in China. The army of General Fenghu-Ysiang consists mainly of christians, who are strongly influenced by and connected with the American missionaries. Now the coup d'etat of General Fenghu-Ysiang brings to power Tuan Chi-Jui and saves from imminent destruction the army of Chang Tso Lin, who, although not a direct supporter of Japan, yet is much closer to Japan than to America.

THE question now is, whose victory is it? Is it a victory of the American crucifix or of the Japanese purse? Both are no doubt involved in the recent events. To us, however, the important phase of these developments is the attempt of Fenghu-Ysiang to become independent of the foreign imperialist powers. He seems to have become tired of playing the game of these powers, and feels strong enough to assert his independence and to follow the example of a few other powerful Chinese generals. As a christian, he is not popular enough to achieve his end by his own effort, and for this reason he is compelled to look for assistance to Chang Tso Lin, to Sun Yat Sen, and

eventually also to the Soviet government. If nothing interferes, he will continue to consolidate his power and to assume the vacant place of Wu Pei Fu.

WILL he succeed? We don't think so. The time is past for the success of single generals imposing their power upon certain sections of China. The nationalist movement for the unification of China, led by Sun Yat Sen, has recently scored great victories. The prestige of Soviet Russia, which supports this movement, has also grown considerably. No Chinese government can now afford to ignore Sun Yat Sen or Soviet Russia. On the other hand, even Japan, who will acquire great influence in Chinese affairs, will not be able to ignore the will of Soviet Russia, because her own interests dictate a policy of friendship to us.

WE may therefore conclude that whatever the desires of the participants in the present events in China, the objective historical developments will compel them to move in the direction of the national unification of China and its liberation from the oppression of foreign imperialism. Considered from this point of view, the coup d'etat of Fenghu-Ysiang is a step forward and in the right direction.

American Intervention in Europe

By I. STALIN,

Secretary Russian Communist Party

THE LONDON Conference of the Entente is the fullest expression of lying, false bourgeois democratic pacifism. If MacDonald-Herriot's accession to power and the noise about "establishing normal relations" with the Soviet Union were intended to cover and mask the cruel class struggle in Europe and the mortal hatred of the capitalist states towards the Soviet Union, the London agreement of the Entente is meant to cover and mask the desperate struggle between England and France for European supremacy, the growing hostility between England and America in the struggle for domination of the world market, the struggle of the German people against the colonial Entente oppression. There is no longer any war between classes, the revolution has come to an end, now things can be settled by class co-operation!—rave the MacDonalds and Renaudels. There is no longer any struggle between France and England, between America and England, between Germany and the Entente, an end to war, now everything can be settled by universal peace with America at the head!—chime in their friends to the London agreement and their brother-traitors to the cause of labor, the social democratic heroes of pacifism.

However, what did happen at the London conference of the Entente?

Before the London conference the reparations questions was solved by France alone, more or less independently of the Allies, for France had a safe majority in the reparations commission. The occupation of the Ruhr served as a means to disorganize Germany economically and as a guarantee of France's receipt of reparation coal and coke, for the production of French metal, of semi-finished chemicals and dyes for the French chemical industry, and dutiless importation of Alsace textiles into Germany. The plan was calculated to create a material base for the military and economic supremacy of France in Europe. However, this plan, as is known, did not succeed. The method of occupation led only to opposite results. France did not receive more or less adequate payments in money or in kind. And finally, the author of the occupation itself, Poincare, found himself thrown overboard for his openly imperialist policy, fraught as it was with new wars and revolution. As regards France's supremacy in Europe, it failed not only because the method of occupation and open robbery precluded the possibility

of economic co-operation between the French and German industries, but also because England was resolutely opposed to such co-operation, for she could not be unmindful of the fact that a fusion of German coal and French metal must inevitably undermine the British metal industry.

What then, did the London conference of the Entente give instead?

Firstly, the conference rejected the course of independent solution of the reparations question by France, recognizing that disputes must be settled in the last resort, by an arbitration commission composed of Entente representatives and headed by an American representative—in other words: if Germany is to be robbed she is to be robbed jointly.

Secondly, the conference rejected the occupation of the Ruhr and recognized the necessity of evacuation, economically (immediately) and militarily (within a year or sooner). The reasons: the occupation of the Ruhr at the present stage is dangerous from the point of view of the political situation of Europe, and inconvenient from the point of view of organized and systematic robbery of Germany. And that the Entente is preparing to rob Germany thoroughly and systematically, is hardly to be doubted.

Thirdly, while rejecting military intervention, the conference wholly approved intervention of a financial and economic character, recognizing: (a) the necessity of setting up in Germany a bank of issue under the control of a special foreign commissioner; (b) the handing over to private hands of the state railways to be governed under the control of a special foreign commissioner; (c) the creation of a so-called "exchange committee" of representatives of the allies concentrating in its hands all the reparation payments in Germany, financing the German deliveries in kind from the reparation payments, and authorized to invest a certain part of the reparations payments (in case it is inexpedient to remit it to France) in German industry, thus being in complete control of the money market of Germany. It is hardly necessary to prove that this means a conversion of Germany into an Entente colony.

Fourthly, the conference recognized the right of France to compulsory receipt of German coal and chemicals for the course of a certain period, stipulating, however, Germany's right to appeal to the arbitration commission for a reduction or even a cancellation of these compulsory deliveries in kind. It thereby nullified or

practically nullified the rights of France.

If we add to all that the 800 million mark loan to Germany floated by the British and mainly American bankers, if we further remember that the conference was commanded by bankers, notably by American bankers, then the picture becomes complete: French supremacy has received a knock-out blow, French supremacy have given way to American supremacy.

Such are the results of the London conference.

Some believe on this ground that henceforth the conflict of interests within Europe will fade before the spectre of American supremacy; that America, interested in exporting capital to Europe, will be able to put the European countries on a ration and force them to sit still in the name of the enrichment of their bankers; that peace in Europe, the compulsory, may, therefore, be considered more or less warranted for some considerable period.

This belief is entirely erroneous.

First, because the conference settled the question of Germany without the party chiefly interested, without the German people. You may, of course, plan the conversion of Germany into a first class colony, but to attempt to make a colony out of a country such as Germany, now that even the backward colonies are held in subjection only with difficulty, means to place Europe on a charged mine.

Secondly, the conference put back in her place too far advanced France, which naturally gave England the upper hand in Europe. However, to think that France can reconcile itself to British supremacy means to disregard the logic of things, which usually proves to be stronger than any other logic.

Thirdly, the conference recognized American supremacy. But American capital is interested in financing the Franco-German industry, in the most rational use of this industry, for instance, in the spirit of combining French iron with German coal. It can hardly be doubted that American capital will take advantage of its position in this most profitable direction for itself. But to think that England will reconcile itself to this situation means not to know England, means not to know to what an extent England values the interests of her metal industry.

And finally, Europe is not an iso-

(Continued on Page 5.)

Gompers on the Warpath

By Alexander Bittelman

Gompers is becoming again an internationalist. Before he departs to the other and better world he feels it his duty to American imperialism to mobilize the labor reactionaries throughout the world for a fight against the left wing and for the enslavement of European labor in the interests of the Dawes' plan.

The Dispatch From El Paso.

An innocent little dispatch. It says: In private conferences with labor representatives of Mexico, Great Britain, Canada and Germany, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor are discerning plans for "co-ordinating activities" of international labor bodies throughout the world, out of these conferences is expected to come a case for a world labor gathering, probably this winter, when a definite organization of European and American labor will be formed.

Now, if you want to get the true meaning of this new move by Gompers, you must remember two things: One is the Dawes' plan; the other is the growing left wing in the international trade union movement and the campaign for international unity of the trade union movement initiated by the Red Labor Union International. Gompers, like a true agent of American imperialism, is in favor of the one and violently opposed to the other. Hence, his latest move.

Gompers Follows the Flag.

Gompers like business, follows the flag. Throughout his career in the labor movement, he has remained a devoted servant of American capitalism. Every policy and every move of his is dictated by one desire, and that is to assist American capitalism to solidify and extend its power at home as well as abroad.

Look at Gompers' role in the Pan-American Federation of Labor. He is president of the organization; he is practically in control of it thru the help of the labor reactionaries in Mexico, in Central and South America. And what is the result? The Pan-American Federation of Labor has been reduced by Gompers to the role of a mere tool in the hands of American imperialism. By means of this organization American capital secures for its imperialist policies in Central and South America the support of the

labor reactionaries in those countries. Labor on the American continent is kept in check by "labor" leaders who are managed by Gompers who, in turn, is being managed by American capital.

Now the Dawes' Plan.

Now comes the Dawes' plan. It is the great bid of American capital for world domination. It is the culminating point and the most brazen expression of many years of development which made American imperialism the greatest capitalist power on earth.

Seymour Parker Gilbert, chief reparation agent, sits in Berlin and in the name of Morgan, manages the affairs of Europe. He rules by "ukase." His word is law. He says: Taxes on German imports into England and France will be collected by himself and not by the governments of those countries. And what is the effect? France agrees immediately. The reason? France is negotiating a loan of 200 million dollars from the purse of Morgan. English capital is dissatisfied. Of course, it is. But it will submit eventually just the same, because behind the Dawes' plan stands the fabulous wealth and tremendous power of the entire capitalist system of America.

European Labor Must be Subdued.

The resistance by the capitalists of Europe to American domination in world affairs is a serious obstacle, indeed, to the free expression of American imperialism. Trouble is already brewing. Sooner or later there is bound to be an explosion which will shake the world and the capitalist system to its foundations. But for the present and for the immediate future the main obstacle to the "successful" enforcement of the Dawes' plan is labor—European labor.

Why? Take a little example: The German railroads. According to the Dawes' plan, the German railroads must produce a certain rate of profit to go as payment on the reparation account. But the German railroads never produced profits, and the only way this could be achieved now is either by reducing wages or by reducing the working staff.

The third possibility—the increase of transportation rates—is excluded by all the managers of the Dawes' plan.

The German railwaymen are the first to pay for the Dawes' plan. The same is true of every other industry in Germany. And the workers know it. And they don't like it. And they will resist it in spite of the German social-democracy and the trade union bureaucracy. In fact, the German railwaymen are already threatening a strike.

What is the main and immediate European problem before American capital? It is this: To subdue European labor. By force if necessary, but first of all by the old, tried method of buying off and corrupting the European labor bureaucracy. American capital needs the support of the European labor reactionaries to impose upon the revolting masses the Dawes' plan. And who could do the job best?

Enter Gompers.

Old Samuel Gompers will do the job. Before he dies he will pay his last tribute to his master. Gompers is willing. He did a similar job for American capital thru the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Why not try the same in Europe?

The question is how? The European labor movement is somewhat different from the labor movement in Central and South America. And so is the general situation. The important factors to be reckoned with by Gompers and the American capitalists is the growing left wing in the European trade union movement, and the international Communist campaign against the Dawes' plan, and the movement towards international trade union unity initiated by the Red Labor Union International and supported by every militant left wing in the world. The main basis of this unity movement is an international unified struggle against the enslavement of labor by the Dawes' plan.

Now, the problem is, how can the Dawes' plan be enforced in the face of all these powerful opposition movements? The answer that American capital seems to have hit upon is: Crush them! Unify the labor reactionaries against the left wing. Block the unity between the Red Labor Union International and the Amsterdam International. Demoralize the ranks of European labor and the task will be achieved.

Gompers will undertake to do the job. He will talk to the reactionaries in the Amsterdam International and will tell them to stop unity—talk with Moscow. And the reactionaries will listen because, God knows, they hate to unite with the revolutionary unions. They were compelled to begin talking unity because of pressure from below. Now there will be pressure from Gompers and from the American capitalists. To which pressure will the Amsterdam reactionaries respond quicker?

And if Gompers is not successful in blocking the unity movements, he may even attempt to split the Amsterdam International. The interests of American capital will demand it. The house of Morgan needs an international trade union organization of its own—a sort of international "company" union—to enforce its will in Europe. The dispatch from El Paso is very suggestive. It says further:

"That some sort of a union of world labor organizations be established under the guidance of the American Federation of Labor is stated to be the chief act which Samuel Gompers hopes to accomplish before laying down the active leadership of the American Federation of Labor."

Do you get the meaning of it? It is simple. It is an attempt to create an International Strikebreaking Agency to be supervised by such expert strikebreakers and open shoppers as Coolidge, Dawes and Gompers.

The Left Wing Must Be on Guard.

The left wing of the American labor movement must immediately get into militant position and fighting trim to resist this new dastardly attempt to split the ranks of labor. Every American worker and every local union must be made to understand the full significance of this latest move by Gompers.

Make the American labor movement ring with the slogans:

Down with the Dawes' plan!
Down with Gompers, the tool of American imperialism!
Down with the international strikebreakers and open shoppers!

Hail the movement for unity between the Red Labor Union International and the Amsterdam International!

The Red Soldier's Manual

By L. Trotsky

Military Drill and Schools.

It should be made a point of honor of every Red Army soldier to strive to attain a thorough knowledge of the business of war. Each warrior must know his part. The enemies of the workers are many, they are rich and well armed. In order to resist them effectively and with the least possible sacrifice, each red soldier must wholeheartedly, conscientiously and untiringly study military science. And he must do it not from fear, but for conscience sake. Remember, that you will have to fight. Drill under fire is very costly. Do not lose time!

12. There are no interior barriers in the Red Army. Each Red Army soldier may become a commander and may rise to the most responsible, highest position. The military schools are open to all conscientious and capable soldiers. Red Soldier! Do not hang about leisurely, do not become stagnant, study, dare, march forward.

13. The chief disseminators of military science are the military schools. In some schools the future commanders are learning the first necessary principles and become tempered and skillful. In others the young commanders are replenishing their knowledge and are widening their horizon. And finally, the military academies are offering a higher education preparing officers for the highest, most complicated military duties. The military schools, where the work of moulding and hammering out the commanding staff of the army is being done, are in the true sense of the word forges of victory. Fully conscious of their high mission, the military schools must serve as models and examples to the Red Army in every respect.

Commanders and Commissars.

14. The role of the commander is to lead his soldiers into battle. To this end he is constantly preparing himself and those under his command. His fundamental task is to train the red soldiers in military science, to weld them into a single fighting unit, skillful in the use of their arms and able to adapt themselves to place and environment.

The commissar is the eye of the workers' and peasants' republic. His task is to educate the red soldier in the spirit of a conscious revolutionary fighter and to insure the unshakable loyalty of the Red Army to the Soviet government.

It must, however, constantly be borne in mind that military drill is inseparable from education just as education is inseparable from drill. The commissar and commander, therefore, are working hand in hand, supplementing each other in the responsible tasks assigned to them.

15. Each commander must strive to rise to that moral and political height which would enable him also to carry out the duties of the commissar. Each commissar must acquaint himself with the various phases of military science and acquire the necessary theoretical and practical knowledge, thus improving his military education, which would enable him to take upon himself the duties of a commander. Thus as experience accumulates, with the growth of general military culture in the army, and with the strengthening of its fighting traditions, the two offices of commander and commissar will merge into one, the one occupying it serving as leader, instructor, and educator who thoroughly trains his soldiers and leads them into battle.

16. The authority of commanders and commissars is very wide, in accordance with the demands of the army, but still wider are their duties and consequently their responsibilities. Each military unit is what the commissar and commander make of it.

17. To encourage conscientious, zealous, distinguished soldiers, irrespective of the positions they occupy, and to impress the listless and negligent in the army, the workers' and peasants' government authorizes higher commanders and commissars and officers in general in some instances to use means of encouragement and in others to apply punitive measures. The commanders and commissars must take great care to accord praise only to those that really deserve it and to inflict punishment only upon those that are guilty beyond any shadow of doubt.

18. The law gives full right to the commander to demand unconditional obedience from his soldiers. On the other side the commissar secures such obedience by the weight of his authority and power.

19. But mere obedience is not sufficient. The commander must strive to win the complete confidence of his soldiers. He can attain that only by exhibiting in his daily action and deeds the real qualities of a military leader: insistence, impartiality, consistency, a firm knowledge of military affairs and an intimate acquaintance with the soldiers under his command. Demanding discipline from others, the commander himself must be the personification of discipline.

20. Lack of determination on the part of a commander, which is frequently caused by insufficient knowledge of his affairs, duties and tasks,

is most disastrous. A good commander not only teaches others, but untiringly studies himself. He keeps in touch with the military literature and thus establishes associations in his mind between the lessons derived from literature and those of his own experience as a commander. To be a commander means to work unceasingly over one's own personality, to aim constantly at perfection, and to move upwards steadily, untiringly, step by step.

21. The caste spirit characteristic of the officers of bourgeois armies is alien and hostile to the Red Army of workers and peasants. Arrogance, boastfulness, extravagance, debauchery, dueling and other usual characteristics of officer's life, will meet only with condemnation, and contempt in the public opinion of the Red Army and of the socialist country in general. The red commander must do his best, be worthy of the confidence of the workers who have conferred upon him such high honors.

(To be continued next Saturday.)

Still the Banks Bust.

ALGONA, Ia.—A national bank examiner today was in charge of the First National bank here which was closed by the board of directors. The bank had deposits totalling \$650,000. No statement regarding its condition or the reason for the closing has been issued.

First Aid to God.

ROME, Nov. 21.—Special rail rates to foreigners visiting Rome during holy year have been announced by the government, including individual reductions up to 30 per cent and half rates for parties of 400 or more.

Campaigning for Communism

By Wm. Z. Foster

II-

Among the many impressions gathered by myself during the campaign is a realization that our party militants have much need to become

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

better acquainted with the technique of organizing mass meetings. This fact was borne home to me emphatically by my participation in scores of gatherings encompassing many thousands of people. Mass meetings are an important method of carrying the message of Communism to the rank and file of the working class, and much of their success depends upon the skill with which they are organized and conducted. My campaign experience goes to show that many of our comrades in charge have a great deal to learn in order to properly utilize the valuable organizing and propaganda medium of the mass meeting.

One of the particular difficulties they encounter seems to be with regard to halls. There is a strong tendency to hire halls altogether too large. Many of the comrades in charge fail to properly estimate the crowd that can be expected to attend. This is a serious defect. It works out bad several ways. For one thing, it loads down the meeting with a needless expense and usually creates a disastrous deficit. I saw many illustrations of this, where halls were rented for \$150 and \$200 when others would have served the purpose as well for a fraction of that amount. In one town where our organization is quite weak, some of the comrades even proposed to hire the local ball park, whereas when the crowd was actually gotten together in a hall it counted not over 200 people.

Selection of Halls.

But worse than the needless expense involved in a too large hall is the bad psychological effect produced upon the crowd. Empty chairs simply ruin a meeting. Far better a small hall jammed with people than the same number of people seated in a too large hall. The more a crowd is bunched together the better it responds to the speaker. During the campaign I spoke, for example, to a crowd of 1,500 people in a hall that seated 3,500. The result was a comparative failure. The sight of so many empty seats carried to the crowd unconsciously the conviction that the meeting was a frost. The same crowd in a hall half as large would have been much more enthusiastic and responsive. The too large hall disease is one that should be corrected in the organization of our Party meetings, likewise the hiring of fancy downtown halls instead of the popular halls patronized by the masses.

There is also a lack of appreciation of the important fact that crowds, in order to be receptive and responsive, must be comfortable. Hence the halls must be properly lighted, heated, and ventilated. Dark, cold, or stuffy halls simply destroy the effect at meetings. Too often those in charge pay no attention to such matters. They take the halls just as the janitors turn them over, instead of carefully

seeing to every detail beforehand. Dark halls should be avoided. The more lights there are the better. Crowds are not receptive. The same. Many times I have seen the turning on of lights give a new spirit to a crowd. Cold is also fatal to a meeting. Comrades arranging meetings in cold weather should never depend upon chance to take care of the heating of the halls. Many an otherwise good meeting has been spoiled by the hall being too cold. Shivering crowds are not receptive. The same is true of crowds in unventilated halls. It is enough to make a speaker lose his mind to see the way the ventilation problem is handled sometimes. First, the hall will be entirely unventilated. Then someone will open every window in the place, only to be followed shortly afterward by someone else who closes every one, raising havoc in the meeting meantime. A little intelligent foresight would avoid all this harrowing inconvenience. Even the arrangement of the chairs is of real importance in making a meeting a success. Again the tendency is to accept things as the janitors leave them. This often means a chaotic arrangement. A special duty of the committee in

tions. Ushers, properly organized, would save this serious annoyance. But ushers who don't know their job are worse than none at all. They can break up a meeting quicker, by running aimlessly around, than even the late-coming visitors. A first requisite for a successful meeting is an active floor committee that takes full charge of maintaining order. Especially this committee should see to it that the committeemen themselves are in their seats. Often these seem to thing they have a special license to run helter-skelter about the meeting and that this does not create disturbance. Silence in the audience is essential for good meetings.

Like many other organizations, our party is afflicted with the chairman evil. The different ways an inexperienced chairman can spoil a meeting are as numerous as they are disastrous. The best chairman is he who devotes himself to the technical business of handling the meeting from the platform. The less he says to the meeting the better. Nothing is more exasperating to a speaker or more wearisome to a crowd than to have the chairman launch out continually into long speeches upon every occasion. Especially criminal is that

campaign of advertising amongst all kinds of working class organizations, including trade unions, fraternal associations, co-operatives, etc. Above all, meetings should be held at the factory gates to acquaint the working masses of the approaching mass meetings. This is done all too seldom. Our comrades are too much inclined to confine their efforts simply to announcing their meetings thru a few radical channels and to a circulation indiscriminately of handbills. In this day of movies, radio, and a thousand other attractions to lure the sleepy-minded workers away from all serious consideration of their problem, the building of mass meetings is a real task.

Skill and Hard Labor Needed.

Whatever is worth while for our Party to do at all, should be done well. Inasmuch as we must use mass meetings as a means of carrying our program to the great rank and file of labor, we should learn to do the job with the utmost efficiency. The comrades throughout the Party should give much more attention to this fact that has hitherto been the case. We should not be content to go along with the slipshod methods that prevail in other organizations of workers. When we call a meeting we should build it into a success, into something that will be a credit to our Party. "I say 'build' advisedly, because, under existing conditions in the United States, successful working class meetings are actually built by skill and hard labor.

In the foregoing I have sketched a few of the essentials that should be constantly borne in mind in the organization of mass meetings. There should be a live committee in charge of the work wherever such a meeting is contemplated. This committee should take nothing for granted but should use its intelligence in every detail of the work. It should see to it that the hall secured is of a popular character, well situated, and not too large. The committee should assume full responsibility for the heating, lighting, and ventilation of the hall, leaving nothing to the imagination of the janitor. Then a widespread campaign should be initiated directly amongst the masses of the workers to attract them to the meeting. A vigorous floor committee should be on the job to see that order is preserved in the meeting, and an experienced chairman secured to control the meeting.

Scientific Method Necessary.

These recommendations may seem obvious, but, unfortunately, all too often they are not. Strangely enough, in spite of so much experience in this direction, the workers are exceedingly unskilled in the organization of meetings. The crimes that the trade unions commit in this respect are almost unbelievable. For example, a few years ago the Chicago Federation of Labor, following out its usual incompetent and primitive methods, called a mass meeting to protest against the threatening execution of Tom Mooney. Although there were 200,000 workers in the city, only 200 of them showed up at the meeting. Disgusted at this fiasco, the radical delegates of the Federation, headed by J. W. Johnstone, moved the re-holding of the meeting. They set out systematically to build up the meeting, with the result that a few weeks later 20,000 workers poured into the great Coliseum to demonstrate for Mooney. It was one of the greatest working class meetings in the history of Chicago and it was the result of scientific organization methods.

We must apply scientific methods in the building and controlling of Workers Party meetings to a greater extent than is now the case. Mass meetings form an important part of our propaganda and should be properly organized. A careful study of the foregoing hints will help a great deal in this direction. Whenever the Workers Party calls a mass meeting it must be a real outpouring of the workers. Wherever a mass meeting is a failure it is an indication that the comrades in charge do not understand their job.

FRENCH WORKERS DEMAND SOVIET RECOGNITION



Herriot "Consents" to Recognize.

charge should be to see that the crowd is properly bunched together and seated close up to the speaker.

Duty of Committeemen.

The maintenance of order in meetings is such a prime necessity that one would believe it hardly necessary to mention here. But many comrades lack an appreciation of the fact. They let the crowd practically take care of itself as best it can. Usually no arrangements are made to seat the incoming people, with the result that, after the meeting is in session, they meander in searching for seats, to the infinite disturbance of everyone. It is enough to give a speaker nervous prostration to watch such interrup-

type of chairman who, drawing upon his own imagination, undertakes to tell the crowd just what the speaker is going to speak about. I had many experiences with such loquacious chairmen during the campaign. They are the bane of the speaker's life. Once proven guilty, by such an exhibition of garrulousness on the platform, they should be sent into political exile. The same fate should be meted out to those sinners who go upon the platform without a gavel, without thoroughly acquainting themselves with the literature that is to be sold, and the order in which the speakers talk, or without making any other of the many necessary preparations for properly handling a meeting. Such incompetence is altogether inexcusable and should not be tolerated. An experienced chairman is the life of a successful mass meeting. We should have more of them.

Build the Mass Meetings.

In the campaign it became quite evident to me that our comrades were not going to the masses effectively in order to build up our mass meetings. There was too much of a tendency to restrict our efforts just to our own circle of members and immediate sympathizers. This was a big mistake. If our meetings were not up to expectation in certain places it was almost entirely due to this fault. No sooner would I take a look at a crowd than I could tell whether or not it had been built up by real work among the masses. The building of a Communist mass meeting requires genuine effort. The announcement of a meeting should immediately be followed by a widespread and systematic

AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN EUROPE

(Continued from Page 3.)

lated continent. It is connected with its colonies, it lives on the sweat of these colonies. To think that the conference can change anything for the better in the relations between Europe and the colonies, that it may stop or retard the development of the conflicts between these, means to believe in miracles.

What then is the conclusion?

There is only one conclusion. The London conference did not settle a single one of the outstanding conflicts in Europe, but has supplemented them by new conflicts, by conflicts between America and England. No doubt England will, as before, deepen the antagonism between England and

Germany, in order to secure political domination on the continent. No doubt America in its turn will deepen the antagonism between England and France in order to secure its hegemony on the world market. We do not speak of the deep-lying antagonism between Germany and the Entente. The world events will be determined by these antagonisms, and not by the "pacifist" speeches of the hangman Hughes or of the eloquent Herriot. The law of the unequal development of capitalist countries and of the inevitability of imperialist wars, remains in force now more than ever. The London conference only camouflages these antagonisms, in order to create the conditions for their greatest intensification.

The Shop Nuclei--A Need Now

By MARTIN ABERN.

Why is the Workers Party trying to reorganize itself on the basis of shop nuclei? Many reasons and correct ones have been presented before to the membership, yet there are more and weighty reasons why the Workers Party must become a political party organized at the place of work, in the shops and factories.

Shop nuclei organizations or the idea for shop nuclei did not fall from the skies. The idea and the necessity for the change in the party have arisen because of historical and practical necessity. Very briefly we can point out that previous to the world war, the socialist movement thruout the world had been gaining strength rapidly in a comparatively easy manner, thru propaganda, agitation meetings, press. Especially do we note this development in the party of social-democracy in Germany. There, more than anywhere else, social-democracy was growing stronger in the reichstag and was presumably acquiring political power thru making use of the institutions of capitalism, and there developed most strongly the revisionist theory in economy, on the state and other political matters. It became an accepted opinion with the leaders and very largely too, in the ranks of the social-democrats that socialism could be achieved thru the parliamentary or electoral machinery of capitalist "democracy." Holding this view, it is natural that the revolutionary vitality, that the struggle on other than the parliamentary field was eliminated. The theory of socialism gained easily and brought forward organizationally a vast electoral machinery of social-democracy competing supposedly, with the capitalist class.

Shop Nuclei a Historical and Practical Necessity.

Then the world war came and destroyed, in the vast millions of the masses, at least, if not in the leaders the illusion that political power could be gained by the workers thru the machinery of the capitalist parliament and institutions. In fact, a story which is now old, but which yet needs to be told many times, the socialist parties thruout the world became the third parties of capitalism. The socialist parties, instead of being parties of revolution, have become the parties of counter-revolution, last staves of the barrel of capitalism.

The Communist movement coming into being during the course of the world catastrophe and the breaking up of the Second International brot forward its own definite ideology principally and tactically. The ideas of Communists and socialists are as far apart as the poles. Briefly, the Communists have demonstrated that the primary struggle for power by the workers lies outside of parliament and congress, which can only be used as mediums for propaganda for the revolution. The real struggle lies in participation in the daily battles of the workers, strikes, etc., in the fighting to revolutionize the trade unions and to organize shop committees. Further, there is the recognition that the struggle for power finally reaches the

point of an open struggle between the workers, organized under the leadership of the Communist Party and the capitalist class.

Political Situation Demands Shop Nuclei.

We are living under greatly changed political and economic conditions in the United States too, which is now full-blown as an imperialistic nation. The world is existing in a period of shrieking militarism, battling imperialism, struggle, conquest, starvation, war and so on. Soviet Russia excepted.

Socialist organizational forms, electoral machineries with their lifeless, devitalized thought and action cannot meet the needs of revolution. More virile and dynamic forms of struggle are required. Oddly enough, despite the contrasting aims of the socialist parties and the Communist parties most of the Communist and socialist parties still have the same organizational areas. In other words, an organization fitted for carrying on ordinary election campaigns, etc., and those poorly, but not fitted for swift, militant revolutionary struggle and action either in the daily struggle of the workers or for the revolutionary goal of Communism.

In America, the Workers (Communist) Party, yet retains the territorial form of organization, but has decided to begin changing (already has begun) to the shop nuclei basis. To form or organize the Workers Party on the job is to solve the organizational contradiction.

By organizing our party units in the shops, factories, mills—shop nuclei—we get permanent contact with the mass. We carry on the struggle along with them in the shops in the immediate issues, whatever they may be, and also on the larger political problems facing them. The I. W. W. once served in a way as an example of job organization for revolutionary purpose. Of course, the I. W. W. has refused to face the most important fact of all, that the struggle is a political one and the aim must be, first of all for the conquest of political power by the working class, before control of industry can be established.

Historically, therefore, our present organization is antiquated, a relic of social-democracy and must pass into the limbo of the dead. We are meet-militantly, our political problems. But we must create and build our organizational forms so that they will corre-

spond to the political necessity of the situation in this period, and that demands that the political, the organization unit, of our party must be in the shops.

Experience, everywhere that the shop nuclei have come into being, proves the soundness of the shop nuclei form of organization.

It is not only that the Communist International has declared that we must organize a party of shop nuclei, and that is a very good reason indeed, but the important thing is that it is necessary for the very life of the Workers Party, if it is to go forward with revolutionary political activity. Even as the Comintern has solved correctly the other political, tactical and other organizational problems before the Communist Parties, the Communist International arrived at the shop nuclei form of organization thru experience and need.

The Communist International has given us the lead once again. We will do well indeed, to follow that lead and organize the Workers Party on a Bolshevik, Leninist basis. A party organized at the place of work. Forward to shop nuclei!

MUSIC - LITERATURE - DRAMA

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN

Alfred Wallenstein, first violincellist of the Chicago symphony orchestra, was soloist with it at the regular concerts of last Friday and Saturday, at Orchestra Hall. Wallenstein eclipsed all his previous performances. There was an unusually enthusiastic response, and the soloist well deserved it. He played the Schumann concerto and the variations on a rococo theme by Chaykovski. The first of these is undoubtedly interesting to the 'cellist in the privacy of his studio as he works out its in-

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tricacies, but on the concert platform and from the point of view of the listener it is not very intriguing. There are some good bits in the second movement, but the rest is technical hot air.

It was the Chaykovski theme and variations that made the hit. The theme itself is not at all characteristic of the composer. It is almost Mozartian and simple, and the variations are not the distortions one so frequently finds. This music combined with Mr. Wallenstein's tasteful and refined interpretation made a most delightful combination.

Mr. Stock opened the program with the symphony of Ernest Chausson. Chausson was a pupil of Cesar Franck and his symphony is much like Franck's, which means that it is melody full of pathos and suffering that touches one to the depths. It is a pity this man could not have lived and his genius ripen. But a recalcitrant bicycle and a stone wall decided differently, and all we have is a few poignant and moving compositions to remember him by.

Richard Strauss' rondo "Till Eulenspiegel" and a festival march written by Alexander Glazunoff for the Chicago world's fair of 1893 rounded out the program. This march is practically unknown, and it is a surprising fine bit of music, considering that it is based on an American tune and was written by a man who has neve-

come to America. It does sound a little bit American. Glazunoff's theme is derived from the tune "John Brown's Body," and the unaltered tune is also used. Which sets one to thinking. "John Brown's Body" is as near to an American folk song as any. There are a lot more like it, such as "Frankie and Johnnie," "Blow the Man Down," the cowboy songs collected by George Lomax, and all the rest of the songs that Carl Sandburg and his guitar sing before literary societies.

If Alexander Glazunoff, living in Leningrad, can write a march on an American folk song, why not some activity on our part to use what folk music we have.

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The Crisis in Italy is Ripening

By RUGGIERO GRIECO.

Without having accepted any particular Dawes' plan, Italy is also a sphere of financial influence of the United States. With the entry of the United States into the war, Italy sheltered the Y. M. C. A. which, provided with great resources, made itself at home in the war zone and in the most important towns in Italy. The Y. M. C. A., which is a sort of spiritual advance guard of the American financiers, followed the tins of preserved rabbit, frozen meat and the corn. Today the Sinclair company, the great American petroleum trust, is coming to the fore, whose most recent history is linked up with the petroleum scandals, in which the highest functionaries of the American state was involved. Italy is therefore sufficiently—Dawesed.

The political independence of Italy, which is so vaunted by our nationalists, is therefore nothing else but pure rhetoric without any real significance. Italy has 391 million dollars credits abroad, as follows: 134 million in Great Britain, 97 in France, 53 in Austria, 35 in Czecho-Slovakia, 33 in Roumania, 14 in Poland, 7 in Russia, 3 in Yugoslavia, 3 in the United States, 2 in France (the figures are taken from a publication of the Bankers' Trust company in New York). On the other hand Italy has debts in other countries to the amount of 4,748 million dollars, 2,569 million of which are due to Great Britain, 2,015 million to the United States and 164 million to France.

Fascist Foreign Policy Weak.

In foreign policy Fascism is following the same lines which the ministers of the old regime followed, only that it has developed greater oratorical powers and trained more numerous and noisy choirs. One can even say that the foreign policy of Italy has never been so provincial as now. The premier, Mussolini, avoids leaving Italy to attend international conferences; his imperialism is very domestic in form, it has nothing of the pinnion of the Roman eagle, but rather something of the flutter of a barn door fowl. Since his journey to London in November, 1922, Mussolini has just roused himself sufficiently to go to Lausanne, but his journeys mean the rise of crises at home.

In home policy the crystallization of the opposing parties and powers proceeds with painful slowness. The polemic which the Civiltà Cattolica (Catholic Community), the organ of

the Jesuits and the Osservatore Romano (Roman Observer), the organ of the Vatican, on the one side, and the press of the (catholic) people's party and of the democratic-liberals on the other side, are carrying on over the common work of the people's party and of the socialists, is continued in a most interesting way. The fact that the Vatican favors the view that the Fascist government, with all its sins, is to be supported, instead of an attempt being made to overthrow it by violence, is connected by many people with the desire of the Vatican, that the year 1925 being a "holy year" shall pass without any social upheavals which might keep back the stream of pilgrims, millions of whom it is reckoned will come to Italy, as it is feared that the failure of the catholic festivals might cause a loss of income to the Vatican coffers expected during such mystical occasions.

Parliamentary Opposition Timid.

The polemics over the eventual collaboration of the people's party and the socialists may be a threat to prevent, or to increase the difficulty of the participation of the people's party in the expected violent attack against Fascism. But it is quite uncertain whether it will come to this attack. The program of the opposition, to which all anti-Fascist constitutional parties belong (the people's party, the republican party, the reformist party, the maximalist socialist party and a few other less important political groups) is of a very vague character. The opposition parties continually repeat that they are against any form of violence and do not intend to adopt violent methods.

The question which the press of the Fascists and of the constitutional opposition parties recur to again and again, is the "Bolshevist danger." The Fascists maintain that there is a "Bolshevist danger" in Italy, which hides behind the opposition. The opposition maintains and even "proves" that there can be no Bolshevist danger. On the contrary, the opposition parties maintain that the Italian Communists in a certain sense work along with the Fascists, in that they support the policy of Soviet Russia and therefore must be on good terms with the Fascist government, which is likewise on friendly terms with the Russian government.

"Legal" Opposition Would Persecute Communists.

Serrati sent a letter a short time ago to the democratic opposition paper Il Mondo (The World) pointing

out that Russia is not a friend of the Fascist government, but wants to be a friend of the Italian people; that anti-Fascism has been very much taken up and spread in Russia and that the treaty between Italy and Russia is not a treaty between Communists and Fascists. Perhaps it would have been better if Serrati had not sent this letter to the democratic newspaper, since the latter cannot in any case admit the correctness of the fact which is opposed to its views. On the other hand, one must keep in mind that the whole opposition is strengthening its anti-Communist-Fascist campaign, in order to show the petty bourgeois, which changed a short time ago from Fascism to anti-Fascism, that the opposition parties are for the true and effective return to legality and normal conditions. It is certain, that the moment the opposition parties were to take the place of Fascism, a cruel persecution of the Communists would set in; a legal persecution, but none the less fearful and pitiless.

Under what conditions will the collision with Fascism take place? Will it take a legal form, or will it be accompanied by violence? The assumption of a conspiracy would sound credible, if one keeps in mind that the opposition parties feel above all the necessity of interesting the masses directly against Fascism. But without the intervention of the masses there seems little prospect that the opposition parties will be capable of defeating Fascism, which has an armed militia and many munitions stores at its disposal. The opposition parties are in a very embarrassing position.

Musso Pleads and Threatens.

In the political sphere the cleavage of Fascism goes on uninterruptedly. Those who have withdrawn from the Fascist party, like Torni and Sala, have joined with the poet Sem Benelli, the author of the "Last Supper of the Mockers" in addressing an appeal to the Italian people and founding a "Lega Italica" (Italian League). The movement is purely intellectual and imitates the forms of the political interventions of d'Annunzio, and only those who know nothing of Italian affairs would believe that it could be capable of evoking a mass movement. From Bologna comes the news of the founding of a radical socialist party whose program is not known, but can easily be guessed.

The indecision of the anti-Fascist parties opposes the indecision of the Fascists. Fascism is trying to retain

the co-operation of the right liberals who assure it the parliamentary majority, and continues at the same time its threats against the opposition. Mussolini's speech to the miners of Monte Amiata, who were compelled to listen to him, reveals the naivete contained in the political outlook of Mussolini, who, at the same moment in which in an interview with the editor of the Giornale d'Italia he expressed his desire for collaboration, in a public speech threatened the constitutional opposition parties in the commonest of barrack-room expressions.

Currency Depreciating.

Meanwhile the exchange has deteriorated. While the average rate for the first half year of 1922 was 20.1 lire to the dollar, the average in the first half year of 1924 amounted to 22.85. In the last half year 442 paper lire corresponded to 100 gold lire while in the first half year of 1922, 100 paper lire corresponded to 100 gold lire. Imports have increased to 18 milliards a year, that is about 2 milliard more than in 1922. The increase of prices corresponds to the increase in the rate of exchange. In 1922 the buying capacity of the lire was 18.92, in 1924 it was 18.67 in January, 18.41 in February, 18.20 in March, 18.16 in April, 18.30 in May and 18.29 on the average of the first half of 1924. In the first half of 1924 the surplus of imports over exports amounted to 2,783 million lire. The price index figure set at 100 on the average, amounted to 543.1 in January, 1924, 550.5 in April, 536.6 in June and 544.9 last July. Of 125 different classes of goods which were investigated by a financial paper, only 30 have increased less than 200 per cent in price, while 17 have increased from 200 per cent to 300 per cent, 23 from 300 to 400 per cent, 37 from 400 to 500 per cent, 21 from 500 to 600 per cent, 18 from 600 to 800 per cent and 6 from 800 to 1000 per cent.

The increase of population is also noticeable, which must be particularly considered in connection with the results of the Johnson bill (the new American immigration law, which now only permits the immigration of very few Italians.—Ed.). On the 31st of December, 1921, the figures of the population of Italy ran to 37,171,084, at the end of 1922 they had risen to 37,607,487, at the end of 1923, to 38,044,441.

All these elements are of importance for the complete understanding of the importance and significance of the coming events in Italy.

THE SOVIET AGENCY IN CANADA

In September the official agency of the U. S. S. R. in Canada completed its six months stay in Canada. Notwithstanding the friendly reception given the agency by the Canadian government and the official de jure recognition of the Soviet Republic by Canada, the agency had to work under very difficult conditions.

The black hundred and white guard emigrant circles who had already long settled in Canada, the extreme reactionary elements in Canada, self-named representatives of fallen Russian governments, black hundred groups among the Ukrainian population and last the previous representative of Kerensky, Boris Bakhmetiev, who came to Toronto with the purpose of arranging counter-revolutionary meetings have done all they could in order to force the agency out of Canada.

The agency was left without reference books, without information, as the library of the agency was confiscated; also the books were held that were sent by the Russian Academy of Science for the various Canadian universities and scientific institutions. The normal communication with Moscow was greatly hindered by detaining and opening the agency's mail. Also mail was detained and opened that was addressed to the agency from the United States.

The white guards in Canada furnished all sorts of nonsense for the



Left to Right: I. Lambert, B. Solasko, A. Yazikov, L. Kulik and I. Kulik.

press regarding life in the U. S. S. R. In the newspapers various personal attacks on the members of the agency were continuously being published, as well as all other nonsense about some "tens of tons of inflammatory propaganda literature that members of the agency tried to bring in as wraping for their personal luggage." In spite of this the agency has continued its work, striving towards the re-establishment of trade and cultural relations between Canada and the U. S. S. R., also being of great assistance to subjects of the U. S. S. R. living in Canada.

Not only the presence of the agency

in Canada, but also the coming of all other persons from Soviet Russia to Canada was being utilized as propaganda against the U. S. S. R. At the last International Congress of Mathematicians held at Toronto there were present as delegates six Soviet professors. Instead of interviewing them there was published in the Toronto newspapers an interview with a white guard. The Soviet scientists, resenting this, had to publish a protest against such false and slanderous actions.

Next Sunday Night and Every Sunday Night, the Open Forum.



Headquarters Soviet Agency in Montreal.

Stack Hit in Egypt.

LONDON, Nov. 21.—Sir Lee Stack, commander of the British forces in Egypt, was wounded seriously when bomb throwers made an attempt to assassinate him today, according to a news agency despatch from Cairo.

KOMBRIG IVANOV

From the Russian by I. YAROVSKENKO

The guns have stopped firing! "That is good," says everyone. But is it good? We wonder. Everyone wonders. Soon the soldiers will come. After a battle soldiers always come. Lucky that the armies met twenty versts away. Old Vassily remembers—but what does it matter what he remembers? Anyway, he tells of villages in which not a house was left standing. Or a woman unharmed. Terrible stories. Perhaps they are only stories.

The rich landowners have been cheerful these days. The fat priest, also, his paunch shakes when he laughs, like a bowl of warm *Washa*. The poor peasants do not like these signs. They walk unsmilingly, resigned to the future. In other villages when the "Whites" came—but perhaps they are only stories.

Dust on the steppes. Music on the air. The soldiers are far off. Five versts, perhaps six. What matters a verst more or less? Too far to distinguish their uniforms. Or their martial tunes. From a distance armies look the same. It is when they come near—let us hope that they are but stories, tales told by idle women at the fish market.

In the home of old Kulak the table is spread with good things to eat and drink. As fast as a plate is empty the servant brings something else. This is a fat land and has not been touched by armies. But today! We shall see. The steward, he who watched over the old baron's estate these many years, is talking. About the civil war, of course. Now those "Reds" will be overthrown. The good times will come back. Perhaps the baron might even come back—just for a visit.

The firing has ceased. Yes, yes, of course, Kulak had heard it! Who had not? Soon there would be jovial officers at his table. Perhaps one of them might take an interest in his daughter. His beautiful Olympiade. Daughter of heaven. So she was. An officer was the right husband for her. Those good looks should be set off by a swagger uniform. An officer. Yes, a brigadier even. Of artillery—no, cavalry. This was a country for a horseman. The glasses were filled again and the wine was no more good to look upon than the maiden's blushes. An officer! A brigadier, no less!

The music came closer. What can they be playing? Surely that is not the "Hymn to the czar." What else

can it be? Surely not. . . it cannot be. . . ?

But it was. From fifty brass horns, and behind them a thousand lusty throats, the tune that inspires worker and peasant to great things, the tune known as the battle song of the rebellious workers of all the world—"The International"!

Gone is the gravity of the worker and peasant—a smile is on his honest open face. A smile from the young mother. A smile from the gray bearded veteran with back bent with toil. A cheer from the young workers, who already vision themselves in the proud brown cloth of the Red Army.

Gone is the smile from the well-nourished faces of the wealthy farmers, the merchants. Gone are the de-bonaire prophecies of the steward and the priest. Gone are rich old Kulak's hopes for an officer for his daughter. Even a subaltern would do. Gone! But are they?

All is activity in the village. Orders are posted. Two soldiers shall be quartered in each house; they shall adhere strictly to the "political manual" which tells them that worker and peasant must be treated with love and respect. It is easy to love your fellow worker. Sometimes it is easier.

The horses, too, are warriors. They are well cared for. School and club-room are opened for the soldiers. Chess and checkers are favorite pastimes, books and papers are passed from hand to hand. From town to town there rushes a wretched horseless wagon, an "automobile" it is called, the first ever seen in these villages. Hundreds of leaflets are tossed from this machine; they tell of the workers' victory.

The soldiers make themselves comfortable. Workers welcome them with open arms. The old women are busy at the big stone stoves; daughters primp excitedly in front of the cracked mirror. Make yourselves pretty, my maiden, a Red soldier is a good husband. Perhaps an officer even? Who knows?

The soldiers tell of their exploits. They help with the threshing, the rain must not spoil the grain. They dance on the village green with the bright-eyed maidens. These are happy days in the village. The poor moujiks are happy. Has not the army said, "The land is his who works it." They have worked it all their lives. You cannot argue with an army.

At the home of old Kulak there are also two soldiers. The biggest house must contain the brigade office. So here is Kombrig Ivanov himself, with his chief aide. The old scoundrel's face fell as the two soldiers entered. An officer, yes, but he had hoped for a different kind. Not so with the girl. After all, he was an officer, and a handsome one at that. A brigadier! Perhaps.

It is easy to listen to a soldier. He talks so well. Especially to an appreciative audience. What wonders could Kombrig Ivanov relate to the open-mouthed Olympiade. Marksman, orator, hero. And here was a gold watch to prove it, the general himself had come out to present this gift of the Moscow Soviet. So after all, she was to get her officer, and he was a brigadier.

Ask not what wiles a woman can wield for a man's fancy. The maiden was interested and therefore, interesting. She listened to his stories. She even read what he read, tho it be "The A. B. C. of Communism." She found it much more interesting than "Klyuchy Schastyia"—especially when his arms were around her to help hold the book.

Days speed past like hours, nights like minutes. There came the day when her head was pillowed on his chest, her star-bright eyes looking up into his, and she gave him the answer he desired. But, alas, this was not the end of trouble; it was but the beginning. Enthusiastically she outlined her plans for a high church wedding in all its splendor, veenjetz on head and svetchka in hand as they made their vows before the bejewelled priest. But this did not suit Kombrig. He was a Bolshevik, and the civil registration of marriage required by Soviet law was enough ceremony for him. In vain did he quote authority after authority out of the very books they had read together. She hurled them at his head, even Bucharin, Plechanov, Karl Marx, in hard bindings. Their dream was done.

But youth will be served. Day and night he thought of the fair Olympiade. Day and night the maid dreamed of her Kombrig. If he went to her it would be surrender. If she went to him, the same. It could not be. Yet they must meet. Kombrig soon found a way. An announcement that the division of land would be stayed if any former owner could give a good reason why he should be permitted to retain it.

Everybody came to that meeting. Poor and rich. Young and old. Kulak was there. Also, despite parental commands, was his daughter. Kombrig was in his glory. His logic was unanswerable, his eloquence most inspiring. The girl drank in his words with her whole being. When he finished the chairman asked for opponents. Very unwillingly, certain defeat facing him, old Kulak allowed himself to be pushed to the platform by his small clique. But he could only stammer and stutter meaningless phrases about the holy czar and the "good old times." The heart of the youth was with Kombrig, and the heart of the girl also. She waited for him after the meeting and told him so by the banks of the moonlit river.

Yet the last obstacle was not yet removed. Her parents would surely object. Well, let them. They would be told, not asked.

It was harder than they anticipated. The old father was especially set on a church wedding. "No civil ceremony will hold your fine Kombrig away from other women!" he raged. "So?" answered the girl, "And has the high-church wedding held you? Why not tell mother just where you lost your hat?"

Ah, that cursed hat! Old Kulak had a fondness for fishing, not necessarily in the stream, an orchard bench with a plump little applewoman by his side would do nicely. One night the lovelorn Kombrig has seen him go "fishing," and that night Kulak had lost his hat. It was now in Kombrig's room.

The old rake started an explanation

to his wife that will take at least five years to finish, and we are not interested in that outcome. Neither were the young people. In five minutes they were before the "Commissar of Vital Statistics," had signed the marriage register, and accepted the license under the benign smile of the big picture of Trotsky that hung on the wall.

This is a romance, not a war story. So we will not pursue the tale of Kombrig and Olympiade any further. Some of the soldiers insist that the brigade has a new Commandant who, except for skirts, wears the regular uniform of the Army. Soon marching orders were received and Olympiade bravely broke with the life of her past and took to the road with her soldier husband.

She had her officer. She looked well in a uniform. She was happy.

And in the village the poor peasants sang as they sowed their grain—this time the crop would be theirs.

Note: This story, with very slight changes, is told in motion picture form by the new Russian feature film, "The Beauty and the Bolshevik," which can be rented by working class organizations on very favorable terms. For particulars address, International Workers' Aid, 19 S. Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill.

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THE BRITISH ELECTIONS

(Continued from page 1)

who are not class conscious.

MacDonald issued definite instructions to the labor party candidates not to fight the election on the Campbell case or the Russian treaty, but to fight on "the record of good work done by the labor government." Nevertheless the treaty and the Campbell case have been important issues in the election and have served to retain for labor the enthusiasm of active workers who would otherwise have treated the election as a sham fight between three completely capitalist parties.

The only points worth noting in the election platforms are that labor did not mention the capital levy or the working class in its "appeal to the people" and that the tory party kept the issues of the Campbell case and Russia well to the front all the time. The liberal party discovered during the election a new agricultural program on vaguely socialist lines and tried to revive the old fear of taxes on food. Both these efforts fell very flat, and the liberal party lost heavily in votes and seats.

Liberals Smashed.

With regard to the nomination of candidates which plays a considerable part in British election maneuvers, owing to the method of election, there has been either an open or tacit agreement between the liberal and tory parties—with regard to most of the seats in which labor had hitherto

been faced by both of their opponents. In such three-cornered contests labor has had the advantage of the fact that the capitalist vote is divided. Now in 127 such constituencies labor had to meet a solid capitalist vote, with the result that many of these seats showed an increased labor vote but a loss in representation. It is a sign of the weakness of the liberal party that they withdrew their candidates in 107 of these 127 cases.

The final election maneuver was the "bombshell" note from the foreign office to Russia enclosing an alleged letter from Zinoviev to the Communist Party of Great Britain. This was termed by the London Daily Express, a capitalist newspaper which supports trade with Russia, "the foreign office election manifesto." The Zinoviev letter is an obvious forgery. MacDonald's part in the matter is ambiguous. It is impossible to believe that this attempt by reactionary officials to provide the capitalist parties with election material has actually changed many votes. MacDonald remained silent for three days after the publication of this most unconvincing document, but from hundreds of labor platforms up and down the country the "letter" was denounced as a forgery.

If the work put in by the Communists during the election has been as effective as it seems to us to have been, we are a good step forward towards a Communist mass party in Britain.