

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."

—Karl Marx.

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**THE DAILY WORKER**

SECOND SECTION

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# The Lessons of MacDonaldisim

Speech of Comrade Zinoviev at the Opening of the Course of Instruction for Party Functionaries.

I should like to make a few observations regarding the most urgent question of world politics—the Anglo-Russian relations.

"Democracy" and MacDonald.

The MacDonald government took office about nine months ago. It was the day of the death of Vladimir Ilych. The whole Second International endeavored to characterize the taking over of the government by MacDonald as a tremendously important historical event. One of the so-called "socialists," the "democratic" president of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, Massaryk, regarded it as symbolic that MacDonald entered office on the same day on which Vladimir Ilych died. He said:

"That is the replacement of one system by another." "I noted in my diary on the 21st of January the news regarding the voting in the English parliament, which decided the entry of MacDonald into office. On the 22nd of this month I noted the news of the death of Lenin. Lenin departed precisely on the day on which the vote took place in London over the new government. . . . In England, social democracy triumphed without a bloody revolution, in Russia it triumphed by means of bloody revolution. That is to say, in England Marxian tactics were victorious. But in England there triumphed the more mature Marx. The revolutionary of the 'old tactics,' the tactics of blood departed. The revolutionary of the 'new' (bloodless) tactics arrived."

This idea is common to many statesmen of "democratic" Europe and of the whole Second International. They all believed that the entry of the labor party into office really opened up a new era, and that its rule would mean the greatest blow for the tactics of the Communist International. They wished clearly to demonstrate by the example of this event in England, the richest country in Europe, the advantages of the so-called peaceful democratic tactics of "constructive" socialism.

However the approaching elections may end, there is not the least doubt that they will mark a certain conclusion to the past nine months. MacDonald himself has for long been an apostle of petty-bourgeois, or as he himself calls it, "constructive socialism." He was often ridiculed by Vladimir Ilych and subjected to a merciless and cutting criticism. The representatives of this "constructive socialism" have only overlooked a trifling thing, and that is, that MacDonald succeeded to power, not through the will of the working class, conscious of its interests and victorious over capitalism, but by the will of the bourgeoisie, and that therefore his rule could not be otherwise than extremely uncertain. Whenever Baldwin and Lloyd George seriously desired it, they only had to wink—and MacDonald was no more. Lloyd George and Baldwin have often attempted to beckon, not only with the eye, but also with money bags, warships and occupation troops in order to "remove," not a sham labor government, but the real workers' government of our country. They found it a more difficult job with us than with MacDonald.

The representatives of the Second International have not noticed this "mere bagatelle." They threw sand in the eyes of the workers and tried to kid them that the MacDonald government signified an actual seizure of

power by the working class. They characterized a peculiar parliamentary combination, originating in the special English conditions, as the victory of a new peaceful tactic of "constructive socialism."

How the "Labor Government" Came into Power.

Parliamentary elections have taken place rather frequently of late in England: in the years 1922, 1923 and now in 1924. In 1922 the conservatives were victorious. In the elections in 1923 the conservatives lost 89 seats. This was the direct consequence of the conflict which had arisen between them and the liberals. The conservatives obtained 257 seats, the labor party 192, the liberals 156.

At this time the policy of the conservative party, the personification of which was the notorious Lord Curzon, began to create great indignation

did the liberals and conservatives. Engels and also Lenin in a more concrete form often pointed out the fact that the English bourgeoisie, which in consequence of the enormous profits derived from the colonies, was in a more privileged position than that of other European countries and could allow itself the luxury of employing a few crumbs from these extra profits in order to bribe the higher strata of the working class. MacDonald did not even allow himself his luxury.

The Home Policy of the Labor Government.

As regards financial policy, MacDonald practically carried through the Curzon budget. He put forward the excuse to the workers that he had "no time" to prepare a budget for this year. The reformist leaders of the English trade union who are not

of five dreadnoughts because that provided work for 2000 workers. Whereupon an old worker, the secretary of a trade union, asked whether he would perhaps declare a little war in order to employ a further number of unemployed.

The Prognostication of the Comintern has Proved to be Correct.

How do things stand with regard to foreign politics? In this connection I will quote from an article I wrote on the 23rd of February, 1924 entitled "Five Years of the Comintern." With reference to the fate of the MacDonald government I indicated four possibilities:

"1. The MacDonald government will only remain for a short period, and will be overthrown in a short time by a simple adverse vote, leaving noticeable traces however behind it.

"2. MacDonald and Co. may adapt themselves to such an extent to the decisive groups of English imperialists, that the latter may deem it advisable to let them remain longer in office in order to carry on imperialist policy, and that at the same time thoroughly to discredit the present "labor" party in the eyes of the English working class and thereby to cause disappointment and confusion in its ranks.

"3. A process of differentiation can also set in within the working class itself. The left wing will become gradually stronger, the working masses will exert pressure upon the "labor" government and enforce effective measures for the alleviation of the life of the workers. MacDonald, Clynes and Henderson will of course offer resistance to the demands of the workers. All this will create the prerequisites for the formation of a Communist mass party in England.

"4. The 'labor' government, in spite of the incapability and the counter-revolutionary character of its members will, under the pressure of the masses, to a certain extent express the mood of the lower strata of the workers. A struggle is arising between the labor government of MacDonald and the bourgeoisie which can in a relatively short time mark the beginning of the sharpening of the crisis in England into a revolutionary crisis.

"In so far as it is possible to predict the development of events, it is highly improbable that the first and the fourth perspective will be realized. It is more probable that the second and third perspective will be realized."

We have come very near the truth.

If you follow the foreign policy of MacDonald you will see that the result of the first nine months of his government fulfill the two possibilities predicted by us.

The English Bourgeoisie Wanted, by Means of MacDonald, to Compromise the Labor Party in the Eyes of the Colonial Peoples.

There is not the least doubt that the bourgeoisie has throughout played with MacDonald as a cat with a mouse, this is particularly the case with regard to foreign policy.

In 1923 Curzon made himself impossible, chiefly because he conducted a too open and brutal foreign policy, especially towards the Soviet Republic and the English colonies. In the English colonies especially in India, upon which the fate of England depends, great hopes have been set for many years upon the labor party. The masses of the Indian people said: "When the labor party comes into power they will carry on another policy in India. Then India will be able to breathe freely."

(Continued on page 8)



THE GIANT AND THE PIGMY.

among the masses of English people. It was impossible to continue the policy of the brutal, arch-reactionary, big landowner Lord Curzon. In consequence of this the cleavage between the conservatives and the liberals increased. In consequence of the squabbles of these two chief parties, who for decades past, on the basis of the famous two-party system, have alternately succeeded one another, it was decided to make a venture and give MacDonald a chance of governing, as both parties were firmly convinced that he would not betray them.

MacDonald received in the first place the support of the liberals, as he had no majority in parliament and as he was not accustomed to revolutionary measures. This experiment lasted about nine months.

Why Was MacDonald Turned Out?

The question now arises why the bourgeoisie turned MacDonald out at this juncture and what is the balance of these nine months.

As regards his home policy the most fault finding representatives of the bourgeoisie could not find cause for any quarrel with him. He carried on an open bourgeois policy, even in purely trade union questions, although he was dependent upon the trade unions. As regards the working class policy, he often represented the cause of the working class much worse than

hard to satisfy accepted this excuse.

The second most important question of English home policy and which concerns all members of the trade unions is that of unemployment. It was expected that the MacDonald government would help the unemployed. MacDonald greatly disappointed the workers in this respect. He has even denounced "populism," that is, the policy in practice in one of the suburbs of London where the administration is in the hands of trade unionists and where the trade union functionaries, along with George Lansbury, carried through the policy of granting benefits to the workers and especially supporting the unemployed. MacDonald declared that "public doles, populism, strikes for increased wages, limitation of output, not only are not socialism, but may mislead the spirit and the policy of the socialist movement." This shows that he was also against industrial strikes in order that he might help the English bourgeoisie as much as possible.

He granted money for the building of five dreadnoughts, he continued the policy of militarism, instead of making an end of it as he promised before the elections. And when he was reproached with this at the conference of the labor party he sheltered himself behind the unemployed and declared, he sanctioned the building

# A Party of Shop Nuclei By Arne Swabeck

With the capitalist victory on November 4, the "progressive" illusions have received a severe shock. The working class will again face the grim realities of the class struggle in a more acute form.

This capitalist victory will be further consolidated. To reap the fruits thereof, labor's resistance to increased exploitation must first be crushed. Thus the workers will be called upon to battle for the life of their terribly weakened organizations and once gained. Their immediate task is to proceed from the present inertia to vigorous but well-planned preparations to maintain the standard of living to meet this situation.

From propaganda to action is the next task of the Workers Party. To lead in these struggles proceeding from the shops and factories where the workers will feel the weight of this further consolidation of the capitalist victory; to give the political direction and organize effective resistance to the coming attacks; to lead in the creation of the organs of resistance—the shop committees and factory councils—; to lead in the actions for relief of the unemployed masses and organize and strengthen the labor unions. These are some of the immediate tasks facing the Workers Party. The shop nuclei form of party organization will make a solution possible.

#### In Constant Touch with Workers.

The shop nucleus will be a permanent organization in constant touch with the workers. Its problems are those of the workers on the job. As a combination of militant fighters it will take up all these problems and work out the immediate plans of action. As a basic Communist unit, it recognizes that the proletarian revolution is the only solution for the labor problem and all its plans are worked out with that goal in view. The workers, learning by experience that only thru active struggle can any gains be secured, and any relief be obtained from the pressure of exploitation, will soon turn toward the party shop nuclei for direction and leadership.

The obstacles in the path of the proletarian revolution can only be removed gradually by the training, educating and organizing of the workers thru the struggles. These obstacles are present also in the industries where the trade unions have obtained a foothold. There the faithful capitalist lieutenants, masquerading as trade union leaders, are using all their powers of persuasion to discourage the workers from entering the struggle. They are making glowing promises to be fulfilled when the members completely submit to their class collaboration schemes. These schemes vary from the celebrated non-partisan political policy to plans like the B. & O. co-operation plan, proposed by the international president of the Machinists' Union, to make the unions efficiency instruments for the railroad companies; the plan of speed-up and cheaper production, as proposed by Frank Farrington of District 12, United Mine Workers, by which the operators of the union fields should be able to compete with the non-union operators and the plan of permanent compulsory arbitration boards set up in collusion with the bosses to have disciplinary powers, to impose fines, suspend or expel union members, as already pursued by the building trades, to mention a few examples.

#### Fight Class Collaboration.

The party reorganization does not in the least change its objects or its tasks, but it does change the methods of carrying them out. While the present branch formation allows only for an abstract treatment of such schemes due to the fact that altho the members work in the shops, they are scattered into many different branches, thus completely paralyzing any effort at united action in the shops. The shop nucleus, however, directed by the general party policies, will take these points up with the workers and, proceeding from the actual experiences on the job, expose the injurious character of class collaboration schemes, not only from the point of view of the need of the ultimate victory over the

capitalist system of exploitation, but also as an obstacle to the improvement of the every day conditions of work.

By planned united action of all party members in a shop, thru the shop nucleus and taking advantage of all experiences gained, it will be comparatively easy to convince the workers that any plan or agreement which pledges the organized workers to a greater speed and efficiency of production so as to make the cost of production of their work less than that of the unorganized, will only serve as an additional weapon in the hands of the employers, united in their organizations, to create an endless competition between organized and unorganized workers and thus force down the standard of living as a whole. It will be comparatively easy to convince the workers that arbitration boards composed jointly of representatives of labor and of the employers serve the interests of the latter because all accomplishments recorded in the history of the working class have been made only thru actual struggle. It will be easier yet to show that both methods weaken the organized power of the workers and strengthens that of the employers, thus giving the latter all the advantages in future struggles which, no matter what schemes are advanced, nevertheless become inevitable.

#### Strengthen Left Wing in Trade Unions.

Having learned this, the workers will naturally turn to the party members organized in the shop nucleus and listen to further advice. They will then be shown the need of attending to their union affairs and fight with the Communists, organized in the trade union fraction (the T. U. E. L.), to prevent the adoption of such measures and their strength will go to swell the ranks of the left wing trade union groups. Thru the diligent work of the party shop nucleus to unite the workers for the struggles in the shops and factories, it will soon become apparent to these workers, by actual experience, that the craft union form of organization has outlived its usefulness and now serves to divide their ranks. The demand for amalgamation of these unions into industrial unions will thereby be transformed from paper resolutions, buried in trade union headquarters, to the realities of life.

During the election campaign just concluded the lack of leadership in the shops was particularly apparent. The LaFollette movement everywhere presented its combination of so-called friendly republicans, democrats and "progressives" and appealed for the support of the workers. It was the non-partisan political policy of Samuel Gompers changed a little in its appearance and just another form of class collaboration to support capitalist politicians and strengthen the capitalist system. The capitalist propaganda machinery became very active indeed and the workers being unable to discover its class interests from such presentation, mostly voted for the imaginary "full dinner pail." Only those who were already class conscious supported the Communist ticket.

#### Political Education.

The real issues of an election campaign are insolubly bound up with the struggles of the workers in the shops. From there the fight for workers' power must be organized. However, it will take the party shop nuclei to make these issues clear and to organize that fight. One functioning shop nucleus within a factory will make a systematic practice of convincing the workers that the non-partisan political plan divorces the workers from their real class issues. It will demonstrate that no matter what capitalist politician the masses support, at the time of actual conflict he will immediately become their enemy because he is part of the capitalist system of government. It will show that the capitalist government is always an enemy of the working class. In the shops the election campaigns will thus assume the character of a class contest for power and on that basis the party shop nuclei will organize the work-

ers for the struggle for political power.

Our party must win over the large masses of workers for the revolution. The shop nuclei will easily gain the confidence of the workers because they are part of their ranks and the most active part, speaking their language and proposing practical measures for relief of their misery. Thru the shop nuclei the Communist units become organically connected with the working masses at the place of production. Thru the shop nuclei the connections will be established which builds the united front of the workers from the bottom. They become a counter balance against the treacherous and strikebreaking activities of the trade union fakers—the proponents of class collaboration. Being the basic political units of the party, they will establish the proper connection between its industrial and political activities and give political character to the struggles in the shops and from the unions by convincing the workers of the need of the conquest of power.

Altho the power of the trade unions, controlled by the reactionary leaders, is steadily declining, the workers in the unorganized industries are worse off. And today many of the great basic, raw material and manufacturing industries are almost entirely unorganized. The workers are left helplessly in the grip of the most ruthless capitalist exploitation. Their sporadic, unplanned and isolated strikes are either mercilessly crushed or slowly starved to death. Their latent forces as a factor in the struggle for working class power is dormant. The problem facing the Workers Party in these industries, as the militant champion of the working class interests, is that of organizing these actions, these strikes and organize the workers into shop committees and into industrial unions. To believe that the American Federation of Labor with its present methods will organize these industries would be an idle illusion. That task remains to be done by the militants.

#### Organize Shop Committees.

Shop committees, composed of representatives of all workers in the shops, is the basis of up-to-date unions are necessary to the workers in the organized industries. But in the unorganized industries they become

not only the organs of struggle of the workers, but also the most effective instruments with which to organize the unions. That is the starting point for party shop nuclei in the unorganized industries. While the nuclei themselves are confined to Communists, to party members, their task will be to initiate the formation of shop committees which take in all the workers.

During the sporadic, isolated strikes of the workers in the great car shops of Pullman and Hegewisch, Illinois, last summer, the lack of leadership became particularly apparent as it does in all such cases. The party took whatever actions it could under the circumstances as an outside force coming in to lend a helping hand, and actually succeeded in stiffening the morale of the strikers. Yet a party shop nucleus in each instance would inevitably have stepped to the fore. It would have gained the leadership of the strike because of its being an organized group and part of the strike itself. It would give organized direction to the strike and if it would accomplish no more in this first attempt, for all future purposes, the shop nucleus would map out the strategy of the struggles. It would make an estimate of the relative strength of the contending forces, attempt to choose the most opportune moment for an offensive, propose the measures needed for united action by the workers always bearing in mind the object of steadily gaining positions of more power to the workers and prepare for the actual organization of the workers. In Gary, Indiana, where one party shop nucleus has recently been organized in one of the large mills, it was demonstrated that the attention of the comrades naturally and immediately focused on the problems of the shop. At their first meeting they took action to carry out certain measures in regards to a couple of definite issues pending before the workers in the shop.

Of course, while the party is just taking the first steps toward the formation of shop nuclei some of the points here mentioned may seem a little novel. Yet, as the shop nuclei are being established, the basis is being laid for contact with the large masses of workers thru their struggles and for the united proletarian front for the conquest of power.

## WORKERS PARTY IN NEW YORK CITY PLANS LENIN MEMORIAL FOR SUNDAY, FEB. 1, AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

(Special to The Daily Worker)

NEW YORK CITY, Nov. 28.—Madison Square Garden has just been rented by the Workers Party for the huge demonstration which is to be held here Sunday afternoon, February 1, at 2 p. m., in memory of Nicolai Lenin. It will be remembered that fully 20,000 workers assembled on this occasion last year. It is expected that this figure will be far surpassed at the next meeting.

Organizations which are supporters of Leninism are asked to begin at once to make arrangements for this big affair. It is reported that a number of organizations have already planned to hold novel parades and demonstrations in honor of the occasion. There is every reason to believe that this affair will be one of the outstanding gatherings of the year. Further details may be obtained from the district organizer of the Workers Party, 208 East 12th street, New York City

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TICKETS 75c, \$1 and \$1.50, for sale by members and at the Freiheit Headquarters, 3837 W. Roosevelt Road.

# Letters From Moscow

By Anna Porter



A VIEW OF MOSCOW.

SINCE the first of September, the theatres have been working up to full swing, and there is more of interest than one can possibly hear and see. The grand opera first with its fine conventional presentation of standard operas—a large proportion of them old Russian tales set by Russian composers. The familiar ones are done in a particularly spectacular way—more impressive in this particular respect than I have ever seen them given. Around the corner, under the same direction, the more modern and more original presentation of the same operas. And then still more modern and original the setting of both opera and drama at the three Moscow Art Theatres or "studios."

For instance, in contrast to the splendid conventional "Carmen" at the Bolshoi, or Grand Opera House, there was the setting at the Art Theatre—"Carmen" restored to its original form and rhythms, and freed from its tawdriness, with an entirely modern idea of setting, the chorus a mere background of effective posturing and accompaniment. The same set was used thruout, some trifling addition of detail and a different diffusion or concentration of lights giving the required change of scene and atmosphere. The same treatment is given to "Boris Godonov," whose composer, Mousorgski, was so far ahead of his time that so good an artist as Rimski-Korsakov thought it necessary to reduce him to conventional standards. Now this opera is to be restored to the composer's own expression of the crude barbaric early Russian spirit.

At the Meyerhold Theatre in the Sadovaya Ring are given plays which are the last word in modernism. No concealment of stage mechanism, no curtain even, the scenery shifted around by the actors, sometimes as part of the drama—scenery that may consist of a floored scaffolding, on which characters are posed to indicate distance, or an effect of "scenic railway" curving down to the footlights—if, on second thought, there are footlights—representing the perspective of a country road. In a wild burlesque of old-fashioned comedy given at another theatre some evenings before, the family made exit from the drawing room thru a row of sheets on a line, which sheets were removed in the next act as the family wash. The action and dialogue were satirically distorted beyond recognition.

In this fashion was given the terribly impressive revolutionary play from the French of "La Nuit." Motor cycles dashes up the theatre aisle, and the fallen revolutionary hero was carried down it under a red pall past my elbow, to the strains of the revolutionary funeral march, "As Martyrs Ye Perished." Royalty and diplomacy were satirized beyond limits, and in the spirit of the mother of the fallen martyr, symbolized as a young woman, one felt the very tragedy of the revolution and its hope. On another night was given a fantastic conception, called "Let's Take Europe," which was described on the program as episodic material for a play. That, too, was satirical and revolutionary.

Revolutionary after another fashion was an evening of dance by Isadora Duncan and her pupils—The International, the Marseillaise, the Spirit of 1905—most beautifully given to a noisily demonstrative audience. Except for these direct interpretations, there does not seem to be anything very revolutionary in her art—not such as we find in the Russian dramatic art at the time of its introduction, it was a revolutionary change from the old ballet.

A young musician tells me there is also very little tendency in music to wander from the old ruts, which static spirit he deplors. There is, tho, the symphony orchestra which has rebelled against the dictatorship of a director, and directs itself democratically. The initiated say the result is the only manifestation to be found here of the revolutionary spirit in musical art, and this spirit is the sine qua non in Moscow.

The other evening in the Labor Council "pillared hall," was given that remarkable thing, a recitation chorus, with the different voice-timbres interpreting the ensemble and solos the different dramatic parts—these parts being assigned to the voices as they are to the instruments of an orchestra. So far as I know, this is a purely Russian development. Very effective was a proletarian number with the factory hum given by voices in the background. A vigorous youth in worker's blouse, with a high dramatic gift, recited an impressive fragment in the role of an iron worker who is himself iron, and then changing to a sailor's blouse, tramped out a recitation to the accompaniment of the "Left March." "We Sailors Too Are

Soldiers. We Are All Soldiers of the Red Army." Some effective and beautiful excerpts from Pushkin filled out the interesting program.

At the Moscow Art Theatre we have had Stanislavski fresh from his American trip. Some of the classic plays in new artistic presentations, and Aristophanes' comedy, "Lysistrata," with the feminist anti-war strike, which brought the soldiers out of the trenches to dance with their colorfully draped women, in a Greek frieze effect, about some grouped temple columns, on a revolving stage. A Moscow art setting altogether charming and original was the "Princess

Turandot," and at the Summer Hermitage, with its beautiful gardens to stroll in between acts, a morbidly interesting mystic Jewish play, "Between Two Walls," which had been seen by my companion at the Yiddish Theatre in New York. This was staged by the same artists as the "Princess Turandot," and in as grim a key as the other was gay and bright.

I am afraid to look at the theatre lists ahead because of all I simply cannot miss, and yet must in leaving Moscow. For it has come to that—I am leaving Moscow, and already I have stayed too long, long enough to make leaving an unhappy wretch.



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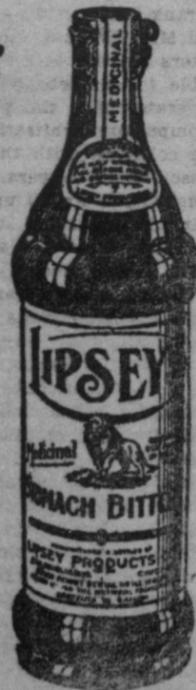
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# Parents and Children

By Max Shachtman

THOUSANDS of working class parents will be found to agree, in the abstract, that the principle of the junior groups is an excellent one. They will agree, again in the abstract, that working class children should be organized in the spirit of the struggle, trained in the ideas and ideals of the Communist movement. Many of them will even wax quite enthusiastic over the thing; they will contribute most generously towards the finances of the young Communists. But when it comes to getting them to urge their own children to join the red juniors, they begin to find numerous objections; when they are asked merely to do nothing to prevent their children from joining the groups or attending of their own wish, these same objections will be raised.

Yes, you will find workers who stoutly maintain that they are good revolutionaries, and yet refuse to have their children enter the ranks of the Communist movement. This type of radical is not confined to any one country, or any section, but can be found everywhere. And his hesitation brings up the problem of the new and old relationship between parents and children.

It is unfortunate and true that most parents, however progressive minded politically, do not rule their households in the spirit of the new society. They rely on their economic power, the fact that the child is financially dependent upon them, to tyrannize over their children, more over the mind than the body. Realizing their own very natural human shortcomings, their pride is disturbed when the child begins to question that which exists. And especially the children whose minds are sharpened by a growing consciousness of self and class; when their observation of social injustices brings to them at least an inkling of unjustified treatment and consideration at home; when they begin to feel and understand the economic basis of the family; when they acquire the critical outlook on society and the individual and see thru the foibles of those humans who are parents—in short, when they have received a training in the Communist junior groups—their attitude is certainly not relished by those parents in whose minds the poison of bourgeois life has not yet been eliminated.

These parents see in their Communist children only that which shatters their vanity. They are unconsciously annoyed, angry at the thought that the "impertinent brat" has the audacity to question their authority and superior brains and knowledge. They cuttingly answer all the child's arguments and counter their proposals with the unfair slurs: "When you've gone thru what I have, then you'll have the right to say something" or "Listen to that kid talking about politics!" And if the bitterness of life under capitalism has brutalized him inwardly, the child is given one of those old-fashioned thrashings which only widens the breach between the old and the young, which is remembered only with bitterness and hatred by the child.

And should our junior be a real rebel and earn the antagonism of his teacher, his father or mother may be inclined to be peevish when they think that their Jimmy has raised a rumpus in school, while Mrs. Brown's little Harry is always petted by teacher, get A-A's as his marks on the report card, and delivered a speech on "What Our Flag Stands For." Instead of being proud and happy to find their boy or girl developing into a protestant, a fighter, a rebel, many working class parents actually apologize for the terrible misdemeanors of their children.

The other type of working class parent who is opposed to his children joining the junior group is the one who wants to give his child a "good education," teach him to be an "engineer," a lawyer, or "doctor" or something; perhaps to set him up in business, and make of him a successful pants manufacturer or two-by-four banker. These parents have

felt the iniquities of capitalism. They know what it is to be wage slaves, to toil long hours for a meager wage, to attempt to support a proletarian family. But instead of seeking to train their children in the battle against the vicious system, instead of instilling into the children an undying hatred of bourgeois society, and the ideas and principles of revolution, they too often sacrifice all to make a business man out of him. How well we know the parent who denies himself everything, who scrimps and scrapes together enough money to send his boy to a university out of which the youth comes with a clear memory of fraternities, college yells, piffle about the "ol' Alma Mater," and the parting recommendation to some shyster lawyer where he is to receive his "practical training."

The proletarian parent has a duty towards his children. He must suppress the tendency that urges him on to exercise the big stick on his economically dependent child. To that stain on his revolutionary spirit which brings the pain of his annoyed vanity, at the development of the child's critical faculties, he must say: "Out,

damned spot!" Between the revolutionary child the bond of comradeship must be established. The child must be treated as a young, inexperienced comrade, who relies upon the adult for support and guidance in his own struggles. The "love" which parents ordinarily bestow upon their children is a relationship based on the child's meekness, upon ignorance, upon imposed authority. True love of children depends upon an understanding of their problems and battles, in the home and in the class struggle.

In the junior groups of the Young Workers' League, in the Communist children's groups all over the world, this new bond is being formed. A new relationship is springing up. It is based on a new community life; it is expressed in a wide comprehension, common struggles, mutual aid and comradeship. In the groups there is no authority but that of the children who have learned self-confidence, class solidarity, Communist initiative under the unobtrusive guidance of their friend and comrade: the group leader. Those parents who fear that their guardianship is having its place taken by the relation of the group

leaders and the children have two courses open to them. They can raise the cry of the pen-prostitutes of capitalism who shout that the Communists are breaking up the home, and thus play into the hands of their class enemies; or they can burn out the dross of bourgeois prejudices and ideology, and accept the new relationship.

The group leader is the new parent, and the new educator. The Communist child is the fighter of today and the embodiment of the child of the new society. To the hesitating parents I can do no better than to quote from one of Edwin Hoernle's pamphlets: "Children naturally expect and depend upon the support of the adults. The bourgeois educational system utilizes this inclination to make the children conform to rules and regulations which insure the comfort and peace of the adults. Communist education teaches the child to overcome this inclination and to accustom himself to independence."

Let the working class parents signify their assent by aiding us in our work of building the Communist movement among their own children!

## The Party Discussion

### HOW SHALL WE BUILD A MASS COMMUNIST PARTY?

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

THIS is the fundamental question: How shall we proceed to build in the United States a mass Communist party? The basis of the C. E. C. (majority) says: By building and strengthening the Workers' Party. To which the minority replies: No, in order to build a mass Communist party, we the Workers' Party, must first build a farmer-labor party and thru that party we shall create the mass Communist party.

I will deal with the minority thesis in my next article. Here I want to state very briefly the position of the C. E. C. on how we intend to proceed with the building of the Workers' Party.

When we say that the Workers' Party is good enuf as a basis and as a starting point for the creation of a mass Communist party, and that it is not our business to create other political parties for that purpose, we do not mean, of course, that the Workers' Party will become a mass party overnight and by the mere force of our wishes. No, we are not so simple or naive as that. We realize more fully than the minority that the building of the Workers' Party into a mass party is a process of hard struggle, involving complicated strategy and difficult maneuvering, and calling for the most active participation of our party in the everyday struggles of the workers. We have nothing in common with that brand of "Communism" which avoids the masses and their struggles for fear of losing its "purity." We are at one with Lenin in everything he ever said about the dangers of sectarian sterility.

But at the same time we must make it as emphatic as we can that we still have faith in the Workers' Party, that we still believe in its ability to develop and grow and become the recognized leader of the American working class. We are not disappointed in the Workers' Party.

#### It All Depends Upon Strategy and Tactics.

What we maintain is this; that the success of the Workers' Party will depend wholly (objective conditions developing our way) upon its strategy and tactics. And further, that our strategy and tactics must always be based upon the realities of the class struggle. If you accept this principle, then the first question to be answered is: Where are we at? What is the main link in the chain of present-day events that we must seize upon and

hold in order to pull developments our way?

The answer to that question is: The elementary needs and struggles of the workers in the shops, factories, mines, railroads, and on the farms. It is there that the masses will feel hardest the increasing pressure of triumphant capitalist reaction. It is there that revolt is brewing already. And if our party, the Workers' Party, can supply the proper economic, political, and organizational slogans and also determined leadership, we shall have linked ourselves with a growing mass movement which will carry us to great accomplishments in the near future.

#### The United Front From Below is the Way.

In other words, we propose to begin to practice in reality and in earnest the tactics of the united front from below. Just the other day we proposed and adopted in the C. E. C. a thoro plan for united front campaign to combat child labor exploitation. We also provided, something that has not been done before, for a special sub-committee of the C. E. C.—a united front sub-committee—to continuously survey the field for the initiation and development of united front action on every question that becomes a burning issue in the lives of the masses, such as child labor, the Dawes' plan, nationalization of the mines, etc. The basic principle of all these campaigns will be to arouse the masses to struggle, to direct that struggle into the channels of class political action in alliance with and under the leadership of the Workers' (Communist) Party.

Furthermore, we do not propose to wander around aimlessly and without definite immediate objectives in these united front campaigns. We have learned enough from the Communist International to know that each united front campaign must pursue a definite, concrete and immediate objective for our party. And we consider this immediate objective to be twofold in nature. One is to combat the LaFollette illusion in the labor movement by bringing large masses of workers into conflict with the C. P. A. and the LaFollette movement generally, and thereby into conflict with capitalism. The other objective is to absorb into the ranks of our party the mature sections of the workers and poor farmers. In this process we shall hasten the growth of our party and at the same time continue the development and crystallization of a powerful left wing in the American labor movement following the lead of

the Workers Party on the economic and political fields.

#### Farmer-Labor Party is a Poor Slogan.

The slogan, "For a Farmer-Labor Party," which the minority in their zeal have elevated to the position of a Communist principle, we say is at present a poor slogan. It is no Communist slogan at all, and for that reason we reject it.

#### What is a Communist slogan?

It is a tactical means of mobilizing large masses of workers and poor farmers for immediate struggles against the capitalists. A Communist slogan must, first, be of such a nature as to appeal to large masses. Second, it must contain enough dynamic power to move these masses to struggle and to action against the enemies of the working class. Third, it must offer a means for rank and file organization into direct organs of struggle. And fourth, it must enable the Workers Party to become part of these struggles and to win leadership over them.

Measured by these four requirements, we say, the farmer-labor slogan, which means a call for the creation of a new party to stand in between the Workers (Communist) Party and the LaFollette third party movement—this slogan is a dead one. It will not appeal at present to a single rank and file worker or poor farmer outside the farmer-laborites in our own party. This slogan does not possess sufficient dynamic power to move ten workers one inch. You will hardly get a gathering of 100 workers in any large center in the country to listen to a speech on the necessity of forming a farmer-labor party distinct from the LaFollette slogan.

Study the thesis of the C. E. C. (majority) and you will find the reason—mind you, not the facts, these you will observe in your own surroundings. Try to talk to your neighbors, in the shops and in the unions, about forming a farmer-labor party, distinct from the LaFollette movement, and see how much interest you will arouse. Then talk to these same workers about preparing to resist wage cuts, "open shop" drives, dangers of new imperialist wars, child labor exploitation, and about joining with the Workers Party in a united front for common struggle. Talk about forming shop committees to organize these struggles in the shops, and watch the reaction.

The thesis of the C. E. C. merely explains these facts and draws the proper conclusions. Study and discuss the thesis.

# Bourgeois Control of the I. W. W.

By HARRISON GEORGE

It is not with any pleasure that one must record the shame of an organization whose working class history is replete with instances of struggle consciously directed by leaders who understood the necessity of rallying the workers against the repressive forces of the capitalist state.

## To Expose Capitalist Agents.

But there is a duty to be done when the results of many years of syndicalist confusion have brot to a position of influence an editor on the Industrial Worker of Seattle, a man who is so impregnated with capitalist ideology that he puts out as mental pabulum for general working class consumption such abominable capitalist rot as that which is hereinafter set forth as taken from the issue of Nov. 22.

In the beginning it must be remembered that, about two weeks previously, about 150 I. W. W. strikers on a Stone and Webster construction job at Concrete, Washington, had been rounded up by Sheriff C. K. Conn of Skagit county, reinforced with a large body of armed deputies and assisted by Major K. W. Thom of the United States army, and deported from Skagit county into Snohomish county.

Some of the deported men were married men whose families were left destitute. Houses were broken into, men in them beaten, furniture wrecked, and all strikers run out at the business end of guns and told to stay out. Some who came back, and other I. W. W. who dared to go up to investigate the status of stranded families and property, were received first with searches, then—sure that none were armed, with a beating with brass knucks.

## Tolstoy Versus Brass Knucks.

"When Conn was asured that none of the party had guns," says the Industrial Worker, "he sneaked up behind Henry Gehrig and struck him with his brass knuckles behind the ear."

What is the lesson the editor of the Industrial Worker draws from this added incident of the function of the capitalist state? Is there any effort to clarify the minds of working class readers as to the necessity of removing by revolutionary action of the whole class this capitalist state, this engine of class repression, which stands like a huge monster between the working class and their goal in the society of the future?

## And in Army Pants! Scandalous!

Not at all! Even in the news item this sponge of capitalist class ideology is squeezed and gives out these precious drops of misinterpretative

statement: "Houses were broken into men beaten therein, household goods wrecked, and not a single officer charged with execution of law has moved a finger!" And again: "What almost passes belief is that a military man, Major K. W. Thom, assisted in these lawless antics. This officer was among the raiders with a rifle in his hand and he personally threatened workers and citizens. Scores of witnesses testify to this public scandal. It is stated that he had on pants of his uniform." What degradation the olive drab pants must have felt! Never again to be able to show their face, so to speak, among their honored fellows!

That an officer in the army, the essential section of the force department of the capitalist dictatorship should threaten workers, and even "citizens"—sacrosanct as they may be, with a rifle, may appear strange to the witless nincompoop who is pumping capitalist interpretations of capitalist society and capitalist opposition to Communist programs for overthrowing it, into the heads of trusting workers who accept this bunk as truth because of the influence the fighting traditions of the I. W. W. has upon them. But that policemen, sheriffs and officers of the army exist for just such function is well known by Communists, at least. This is the dictatorship of the capitalists in action. The Other Side of Anti-Communism.

But now we understand why it is that the Industrial Worker has been the receptacle for all the counter-revolutionary vomit the anarchists could puke up against the Workers' Republic of Russia, which makes no pretense of being a "neutral force keeping the peace between two classes" but which glories openly that it is a dictatorship of the proletariat, in which all the poppycock about "human rights," "justice," "decency" and "law" does not have the weight of a feather when the class interests of the workers necessitate the deprivation, repression, imprisonment or worse for one capitalist or for the whole bourgeoisie.

But the cream of this pollution rises to the top in a long and unspeakably idiotic editorial. It is proof positive that the I. W. W. of today is not the old I. W. W. of pre-war days, or else, before the issue in which this is printed had reached me, he would have been removed with none too easy hand by a box-car rebellion.

## The "Economic" Power of Rifles.

Here are some of the choice parts of this impossible stuff: "Without bother to go to court, Sheriff Conn was persuaded to swear in a large

band of deputies and gunmen and proceed upon a line of economic attack. Without warning he raided the homes of the strikers and ran them out of the county." A strange kind of "economic" action, one will admit. But this editor has discovered a new language according to which anything which really happens is always preceded by the adjective "economic" or "industrial." When Conn got on his brass knucks he hit Henry Gehrig an "industrial blow" behind the ear, we must remember.

But we must continue. And in doing so we see what a devastating effect this bourgeois ideology, which has been penetrating the I. W. W. for years, has upon the members when they are in conflict with the capitalist class. We are told that the chairman of the strike committee, Fellow Worker Rainey, "was threatened with bodily wounding by a deputy."

## To Police for Protection.

This deputy sheriff was a law officer, a part of the capitalist dictatorship. Did this discourage the faith of Rainey in the neutrality of the capitalist state? Did he perceive it to be one more instance of dictatorship and conceive of the repressive engine of governmental force as a unit opposed to the workers? By no means! If the sheriff and his deputies were evil and "lawless" fellows he would appeal to the police department, which he was sure was the haven of refuge for strikers attacked by "lawless" sheriffs. And he did.

## When an Arrest is in Doubt.

"He appealed for police protection two days before the raid," says the Industrial Worker, "and was thrown in jail." This astonished Rainey, perhaps, and certainly the editor who must bray every time he speaks, is hard put to it for an explanation. He ventures, thus: "This might be called an arrest, altho no warrant was ever issued. But this man was locked up and restrained of his liberty." Perhaps the police merely wished to introduce him to the bedbugs in the jail, who received him as a guest, not as a prisoner. Sociology, certainly has no other explanation for the editor.

Then, when deportation was effected, our editor rises on a point of parliamentary procedure and says—perhaps citing Roberts' rules of orders—"Was this a properly organized posse? If so, why were the prisoners dumped into another county?" This is no way for a capitalist government to act, at all, according to his conception. And his mystification increases when he states: "The sheriff of Snohomish county has made no move to vindicate the dignity of his shrivaltly. He accepts the insult and invasion."

## A Shrivaltly Insulted! Awful!

This is unbelievable to our long-earred editor. If the sheriff of Snohomish can bear with this indignity, he cannot! He will call attention to this depraved sheriff who has no regard for his "shrivaltly." A "shrivaltly" is something to be loved and cherished until strikes do us part! He, the editor of an I. W. W. paper, will protest this outrageous "insult" to the county government of Snohomish, incidentally using an ancient word which is approximately as obsolete as his ideas.

Such things are unprecedented in the class struggle, according to this emissary of capitalism in the editorial office of an I. W. W. paper. He says, "Mankind will be startled by . . . such unusual methods—and that the capitalist world accepts the fruits of this raid, unconscious that every guarantee of civic liberty has been violated." The Bisbee deportation, he says, "occurred in time of war when passions ran high, but even then the president protested against that outbreak of class hatred. Governor Hart has had more than a week to consider his position and has done nothing to remedy this break of public decency."

## After Twenty Years' Experience.

But what can be learned from this "unexampled" phenomenon of every official of the capitalist dictatorship from police to governor assuming such an "indecent" posture toward the relations of the working class to the capitalist class? "This indecency," says our editorial interpreter of the class struggle, "is only the herald of other and worse exhibitions of capitalist incompetence. Law is proving its inefficiency to restrain the power of the lords of industry." And this from an I. W. W. editor after twenty years!

## The Remedy? "Down with Politicians!"

But he is hard put to find a solution. He can only hang to the old tattered shreds and screech against "politicians." "Zealots," he remarks, "will propose polical nostrums." And he turns away with the hopeful proposal which has come echoing down the winds of futility for twenty years, "but with all its difficulties industrial organization is the only road to freedom." Then he has the unblushing gall to end up with, "No formula of words fits the present situation."

Not until all wordy formulas have been laid aside and the nature of the capitalist state and the necessity of the political struggle (the struggle for power) against it, to overthrow it and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, is accepted by the I. W. W., so long will the I. W. W. be in the control of the capitalist class, regardless of the proletarian composition of its membership.

# The Red Soldier's Manual

By L. Trotsky

## Solidarity and Mutual Aid.

22. The high fighting qualities of the Red Army can be kept up only thru its intimate, close contact with the toiling masses of the union and of the entire world. The moral strength of the Red Army is founded upon the best qualities of the working class. Solidarity is the first among those qualities.

23. The essence of solidarity consists in an understanding of the community of interests of all workers and in willingness to fight in closed ranks against betrayers and oppressors and by practicing mutual aid and mutual support.

24. Since the army is a part of the proletariat, especially organized and armed for battle, it follows that in its ranks solidarity must be of the highest and purest quality. All Red Army soldiers represent one fighting community. Each soldier is a faithful member of his regiment, each military unit remains under all circumstances loyal to the Red Army, and finally, the Red Army as a whole, is to the last drop of blood, to the last breath devoted to the interests of the working masses and of the workers' and peasants' government.

25. Solidarity demands mutual re-

lief in each individual case. Never leave your comrade in distress, especially on the battlefield. Remember that during the battle your life and safety depends upon the loyalty and support of your comrades. Remember that their lives depend upon your support. And above all, remember that success and victory can be won only thru mutual aid and support by all fighters. All for one, and one for all!

## Revolutionary Discipline.

26. Without discipline there can be no organization, no industry, no government, no co-ordinated action, no victory. In military affairs discipline is even more important, more necessary than anywhere else. Discipline in the Red Army means submission to the laws of the workers' and peasants' government, observance of the rules of the army, exemplary fulfillment of military duties and of the orders of the commanders and commissars.

27. In capitalist armies discipline is based on class divisions; the privates have to submit to the aristocratic and bourgeois officers. In the Red Army the commanding staff is being recruited from among the peasants and workers. The discipline of the Red Army is based not on class

submission, but upon the necessity for an adequate division of labor, adequate leadership and responsibility.

28. Revolutionary discipline falls like a heavy burden only upon those who do not understand its purpose and meaning. Therefore, try to penetrate into the meaning and spirit of the military rules and of the orders which are given to you, and your discipline will assume meaning and will cease to be a burden to you.

## Initiative.

29. Military initiative means independence of thought and action and adaptation to military situations. It is impossible to foresee everything in statute books, military codes and military orders. Time and place change. There may occur new situations, new environment, especially in war. The purpose of military training is to prepare for war. Discipline therefore, must go hand in hand with the development of individual and collective initiative. Without discipline there can be no unity of action and consequently, there can be no army. Without initiative the army is a dead organism.

30. The commander and commissar best fitted for his high position is the one who is able to combine in his own work as well as in the work of his subordinates, strict discipline with

individual initiative, individual activity, who is able to stimulate the creative abilities of his soldiers and to develop their confidence in themselves and in their power. It is not advisable to look after the subordinate too much, to watch over his soul, to annoy him with unimportant matters. Those in the higher ranks must show confidence in those under them, allow them freedom of action, helping and advising them in difficult situations. Let there be less of the official spirit, less of blind formality and red tape. First of all there must be a live interest in the living soldier, in his achievements and deficiencies! (Fourth installment next Saturday.)

## Fight Against Poison Gasoline.

NEW YORK.—Responses to the workers' health bureau plea for labor bodies to act against the dangerous tetraethyl lead gasoline are coming into the New York office. Schenectady Trades Assembly resolved to urge the state and local departments of health to take action. New Jersey state federation appealed to the state health department and is investigating the deaths of the five Standard Oil workers at Bayway, N. J.

# The German Elections and the Communist Party

By PAUL SCHWENCK.

The German reichstag was dissolved on the 20th of October. At no time has its character as a screen for the dictatorship of German and international heavy industry been revealed more clearly than during the last five months. The secret bargaining and negotiating which have been conducted during this time, particularly in connection with the Dawes' plan, constitute a record.

It would be quite a mistake if one saw in the eagerly conducted bargaining merely the business haggling which is usual between the various groups of capitalist interests. These, of course, were only a side issue. The main business was that of filling all the important positions of state power with representatives of German and international heavy capital, and to kick out the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the social democrats. The insolence with which the parties of the right have acted, proves how excellent has been the preparatory work of the social democrats, which they have carried on with such eagerness because they hoped thereby to make sure of their partnership in the business which is so fateful for the working class population.

Ebert Acted to Hold Job.

The question of "distribution of the burden," which the social democrats want to put in the foreground in order to delude the masses, has played no part in this. This question had already been decided quite definitely against the workers, with the active help of the social democrats, with the acceptance of the Dawes' report and of the laws connected with it. Reichs President Ebert would certainly not have regarded this struggle after soft jobs as an occasion for dissolving the reichstag if his own position had not been endangered. The heavy capitalists and the agrarian dictators believe they can now dispense with his assistance, which has been so extremely valuable hitherto. In order to maintain his threatened position, as a matter of fact, the sole reason which induced him to decide on dissolution. If the parties of the right had guaranteed his re-election next year, Ebert would have accepted any conditions, no matter how disadvantageous for the proletariat; and the social democrats would have made no difficulties for him, even if they there-

by ran the risk of the discharged functionaries entering upon a disagreeable opposition to the party executive.

The new elections will take place on the 7th of December. The elections for the Hessen and Prussian diets will be held at the same time. All parties, with the exception of the Communists, enter the election campaign with the handicap of having voted for the London pact, with all its resulting misery for the working class which is already making itself felt. Unemployment, short time, rising prices, falling wages, lengthening of work time and pressure of taxes—all these are heavily oppressing the broad masses. This is an extremely unfavorable fact for the parties from the social democrats to the German nationalists. But the

social democrats believe they have already hit upon the right trick by seeking to make it appear as if the bourgeois block and the government of the bourgeois block, which was so brilliantly prepared by them and by them alone, would mean the setting up of the dictatorship of capital. They wish to make the mass of electors forget that capital has already for long exercised its dictatorship and now believes that it can dispense with the help of the social democrats. They wish to make it appear that only by the bourgeois block government would there be carried thru "the taxation privileges of the property owners and the ruthless burdening of the broad masses by reduction of wages, increase of food prices, and lengthening

of work time." (Vorwärts, October 21, 1924.)

Program of Communist Party.

The Communist Party of Germany, as against this, has a clear position. Its policy has demonstrated that it is the only party which energetically stands for the interests of the workers in town and country. It is becoming more and more recognized that the C. P. of Germany is the only workers' party in Germany. Its unrelenting fight against the London pact is from month to month becoming more and more appreciated by the masses. The emergency program which it has set up against the enslavement plans, is becoming recognized more and more as the only way out. The Gotha demands, which the C. P. adopted as its own, are finding a great response in the factories and work places. The campaign for an amnesty for political prisoners is exercising effect beyond the confines of the party. Under these circumstances the C. P. of Germany welcomes the opportunity to lay before the masses in the election campaign its attitude and demands.

White Terror Against Communists.

The bourgeoisie, and its petty bourgeois social-democratic appendage, fully realize the advantageous situation of the Communists. They also perceive the danger which the Communist Party constitutes for them and they have therefore sought for a long time, by means of the most ruthless employment of white terror, to weaken and to cripple the Communist Party of Germany. They will redouble their efforts in this direction. The fact that immediately after the announcement of the dissolution of the Reichstag numerous comrades, who hitherto have stood under the protection of the immunity afforded to members of parliament, have been subjected to domiciliary searches and persecution—some comrades have already been arrested—gives a foretaste of what is intended. It is intended to make use of the most trifling pretexts in order to rob the party of its best forces and to hinder the Communist Party of Germany in its election campaign. No stone will be left unturned in order to prejudice the Communists in the eyes of the electors.

The difficulties which thereby arise for the Communist Party of Germany will serve as a stimulus to all its members to redouble their energies in order to frustrate the social-democratic bourgeois plans.



ALL SERVANTS OF MORGAN.

## True Proletarian Internationalism

Editor's Note.—Every day until publication has been completed, the DAILY WORKER will publish a new chapter from the book, "Lenin: The Great Strategist of the Class War," by A. Losovsky, secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions. The thirteenth chapter is entitled, "True Proletarian Internationalism."

AS with agrarian problem, so also with the national problem, Lenin has given us a new conception of its significance. The international social-democracy attempted the solution of this problem in a purely rationalistic manner. The social-democracy protested formally against the colonial policy of the bourgeoisie. It became apparent, however, right at the beginning of the last war, that international reformism is putting the so-called national interests above the class interests, and is accepting the point of view of the bourgeoisie in the matter of colonial policy. Long before the revolution Lenin had been studying the national problem. During the war he had been writing against the great Russian chauvinists, exposing the false position of even many of the left wing elements of the labor movement.

When Lenin came to power he commenced to put into effect his own policies. In doing so, it must be admitted, he found resistance even in the ranks of his own party. Lenin

had fought with particular energy against the attempt to carry on a nationalistic and Russifying policy under the cover of internationalism. It is known that Lenin was the spiritual father of the international policies of Soviet Russia. But it is not so well known that he had been following with particular attention Soviet Russia's eastern policies. From the workers of those countries which hold in subjection other nations, he used to demand not only platonic sympathies for the oppressed, but practical political and technical measures of support to the revolutionary masses which are struggling against the yoke of imperialism.

For Lenin the demand for "self-determination of nations up to the point of separation" was no mere demagogic phrase, but a real law of practical policy. If we follow the line of policy pursued by Soviet Russia since its existence we find that this was the actual policy of Lenin put into effect. He was never satisfied with general principles alone. He carried out his ideas in all details.

Lenin took part in the debate on the national question which took place in December of 1922. He wrote: "I have already mentioned in my writings on the national question that there is no use in considering this problem abstractly. It is necessary to distinguish between the nationalism of a people which oppresses, and the nationalism of a people which is itself oppressed, that is, between the nationalism of big

nations and the nationalism of small nations. We, as representatives of a big nation, are almost always guilty of endless wrongs against the small nations. And furthermore, unconsciously for ourselves, we perpetrate outrages and give offense. The internationalism of the so-called big nations, of one who is oppressing others, must consist not only in formally accepting the principle of equality of nations, but also in creating conditions for the abolition of the wrong doings of the great nation. He who does not understand this will not be able to assume a correct proletarian position on this question. He will assume substantially the point of view of the petty bourgeoisie, being liable at any moment to follow the lead of the bourgeoisie. What is it that is of importance to the proletariat? It is not only important but absolutely essential that the proletariat possess great confidence in itself. How can this be secured? To establish the principle of formal equality will not suffice. Only thru our deeds, thru the actual concessions that we make to other nationalities, which will wipe out their memories of former oppression by the old ruling classes, can we establish the necessary self-confidence. I believe that a Bolshevik or a Communist needs no further explanations. A true proletarian policy would demand of us in this sphere of activity, to be particularly careful and conciliatory, and in this given instance it would be much better to yield too much than

too little to the national minorities. The interests of proletarian solidarity, and consequently of the proletarian class struggle, demand that we consider the national question not merely in a formal way. We must take into consideration the difference of conception and ideas between the great nation and the small nation. Nothing is so detrimental to the development and consolidation of proletarian solidarity as a sense of national injustice. Nothing calls forth such bitter reactions from the national minorities as the sense of being oppressed by our own proletarian comrades."

This quotation shows the whole genius and simplicity of Lenin's deep understanding of the psychology of the oppressed peoples. Now, has Lenin's national policy brought any positive results? If there is any doubt on that score it can be obliterated by merely inquiring of the oppressed peoples of the East. The oppressed peoples of the entire East have a very correct understanding of the deeply international and revolutionary proletarian character of Lenin's national policy.

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# How Little?

By Robin E. Dunbar

This question is not a favorite one amongst the bourgeoisie, except when put to one of us out-of-job stiffs in search of a master. To ask a merchant how little he'll take for one of his choice adulterated wares, is to insult him terribly and to incur his bouncer's ill will forever, so that it becomes dangerous for us again to enter his emporium of bargains and the arts. Also to inquire in a dulcet voice in front of a theater box office how little is the price of admission is to meet with haughty scorn and an up-tilted nose. So with our contributions to the churchly collection box as it swings close to our gaping eyes of a Sunday morning. We are supposed to put in all our wad or the biggest part of it and no questions asked or answered. When we are arrested for indulging too freely in free speech and blocking the bootleggers' traffic, we should not ask how little, judge? That would be contempt of court besides our other crimes and misdemeanors.

However, we are forced too often to put this unwelcome query and to those we love best, owing to the h. c. l. and the l. g. w. (low going wage). Friend wife goes thru our pants and finds the usual vacuum there and then kindly requests us to get busy and fetch in a weekly wage of sin and misery, so that she can clothe and feed the family, purchase school books, pay rent, car fare, gas and light bills, water rent, and the monthly dues of the Workers Party, and the campaign stamps and literature, with a quarter for the open forum; we scratch our heads and say: Just how little can you get along on? And when she replies that it takes ten dollars and forty-nine cents per diem to run our small shebang of six souls and keep us in good standing in our party, we groan and ask: "Now, just where in h— do you suppose we are going to raise that amount from now on to the revolution?"

Mother replies voluminously and profusely that if she had to depend on me . . . Me . . . ME! . . . alone, the head of the family, she'd never get to see half or a quarter of that much. All she wants . . . all she expects . . . all she is looking for, is for me to get a job, any sort of a job, whereby I can earn wages, regular wages, so she can know what to depend on and she will, with the help of the older children, her needle and her dogs, dig up the rest.

"All the ten dollars and forty-nine cents?" I ask her innocently and meaning no offense. And then the storm breaks, comrades; the real storm, all others shrink into nothing in comparison with it. I have been thru Missouri with the mules in a ford stuck in the mud; I have been in Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois when the blizzards roared down the lake and the thermometer struck 20 below zero; I have been in Kansas and Nebraska when the cyclones made us hunt for cellars and none in sight; I have been on some pretty high mountains, and in some damned low valleys, including Death Valley and Hell's Half Acre, and yet I have never experienced half the severities that I got in reply to my simple innocuous family query mentioned above when put in a calm and soothing manner to my better half. You see, she is only half radical; she says she believes as I do, but she clings to her old bourgeois vocabulary. It is rich in all kinds of expletives, too, I'll tell the world. But then I'm used to her and to hard words too; for you see, I'm a proletarianized bourgeois, and that is to say I'm a pretty hard boiled member of the Communist Party.

Since the world war, I've had an alibi. I say now, "Mother, what's the use of complaining? We didn't lose any of our children in the war; all we lost was our real estate and our bourgeois ideals; they were all the better lost. Let's get busy and figure if we can't get along on less than \$2 and ten cents a day each; or if we can't, then try and devise ways and means to raise that sum without stealing, or incurring the unwelcome attentions of the police!"

And so we settled down to hard cold figures, and take a run around amongst the industrial stores and lay

in a second-hand wardrobe for pennies that would cost dollars on Broadway; drive Lizzie thru the wholesale vegetable and fruit market and collect a week's supply of edibles for half or quarter what they cost at the neighborhood stores, go along the railroad track and load up old ties thrown away by the section boss, for our fuel, pick up books and magazines cast off by thriftless members of the bourgeoisie, and settle down to making over furs, furniture and fol de rols for foolish folks, who pay us well for their silly fancies, including our high-bred Pekingese dogs. You see, when it comes to a show down, we are loaded for the bourgeoisie; we buy by the rule, how little? and sell by the formula, how much?

No; you'll not find our names on the income tax list, or on any other one for that matter. We pay enough indirect taxes to keep a couple more small children in board and round, and so we feel we are doing our share towards supporting the bourgeois government and the Wall Street hounds.

It is a waste of energy to have to do all the small contemptible tricks and turns we are forced to in order to raise our \$10.49. We are a well-

educated bunch and full of creative power and might be of high service to our country if allowed to exercise our talents free from the petty worries of sordid bourgeois cares. But, no! We must stoop to the smallest subterfuges and devices to raise enough money to live in comparative comfort and decency, and expend all our time or the most of it in employments beneath contempt in order to get along as well as the better sort of domestic animals do. If we did not put up a heroic and heart-breaking struggle against odds, we would be submerged instantly. The moment we lose courage we are gone. While we seem to boast on how little we can get along on, yet we realize that is nothing to brag about. One's living should be gained almost without thought or effort in these prodigious days of mighty machine production. One should be able to live well and even luxuriously on a couple hours' work a day; and have the remainder of his time for art, science, literature, music, philosophy and the higher walks of human life. Russia is slowly forging ahead in that direction; and when she begins to show the world how to live, how well she can live and

how much she can spend and still have a surplus, then the conundrum of our needing more than we can raise in spite of all sorts of ingenious makings, and savings in order to cling together as a family, will solve itself. The bourgeoisie can't be expected to embrace Russia's example; they'll have to be forced to do so by us Communists; who are only asking ourselves how little? now so we can answer to the roll call of how much? hereafter.

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# The Lessons of MacDonaldism

(Continued from page 1)

I have not the least doubt that it was one of the chief aims of the far-seeing representatives of the English bourgeoisie, to compromise the labor party in the eyes of the English colonial people, in the first place in India, Egypt, Iraq and now also in China. Has the bourgeoisie achieved this aim? Yes, to a considerable extent. The MacDonald government is seriously compromised in the eyes of colonial peoples. As regards Egypt, India, and particularly Ireland and now also China, it has carried on the old policy, the same predatory, imperialist, slave-holding policy as was carried on by Curzon. How pathetically MacDonald expressed himself over his own policy in his speech in Derby on the 27th of September, when he declared that not a single tory or liberal can prove to the intelligent electors of our country, that the name, the respect, the stability, the prospects and the position of our country have suffered in the least in the eyes of the world under the labor government.

This was as much as to say: I am no worse than Curzon or Lloyd George, what more do you expect from me? That is the import of the speech of MacDonald.

**For What Purpose Did the English Bourgeoisie Need the "Labor Government"?**

If anybody had asked us for what purpose the English bourgeoisie had ventured on so hazardous a game as to let MacDonald take office,—which it is true is a first class menshevik government but still connected with the working class—we already see that the game was worth the candle. To compromise the increasing power of the working class, the only power in which the suppressed colonial peoples believed,—this was something worth while to Curzon and Lloyd George. Paris is worth a mass. In this respect they have achieved serious results. And when the English working class will have settled with the traitors, when they have not a royal labor government, not a sham labor government, but a real proletarian workers government, then they will have considerable pains in wiping out from the consciousness of millions of colonial slaves of England the impression left behind by MacDonald.

The English bourgeoisie considered it necessary to meddle in Chinese politics. They were far better able to carry this out under MacDonald than they would have under Curzon. You could see that the English working class hardly reacted at all to the imperialist policy of MacDonald in China. The proletariat of our Soviet Union formed a "Hands off China" League; in Germany this organization met with great sympathy among the working masses. The English working class hardly raised a finger against MacDonald's policy in China.

If Curzon had done the same as MacDonald it would have been easier to rouse a protest amongst the working class against this policy.

Finally, if you are familiar with the notorious Dawes plan. This plan was almost hailed as a victory for "constructive socialism;" at any rate as a victory for pacifism. As a matter of fact, it is becoming continually clearer that it is a noose round the neck of the workers of Germany and of a number of other countries. It was more convenient for the capitalists to have this "work" carried out by MacDonald than by Curzon. In this question England outwardly played the first fiddle. It was not without reason that the leader of the conservatives, Baldwin, at the annual conference of the party in Newcastle, fully approved of the policy of MacDonald in this question and disclosed the true reason for the necessity for carrying through the Dawes plan. This is what he said regarding it:

"The Dawes report has shown clearly that the first preliminary step is in the negotiation of a loan for Germany. What kind of a loan is that?

I shall speak presently of the proposed loan to Russia, and I want you to be very clear in your minds what the essential difference is between those two loans. The loan proposed to Germany is a loan to be raised by private subscription, with no form of government guarantee. That means that the liability for loss, if any, will fall on those alone who subscribe to that loan.

"But all the same, there is a real risk to our trade in this country that Germany, relieved as she has been of all her mortgaged debts and prior charges, may have such an advantage in competition that we may find that her exports may do us serious damage.

"But there are opponents to the carrying out of the Dawes report. There are opponents to a loan to Germany. There are opponents to the rehabilitation of German trade. Now this has not been pointed out before, but it is a matter of very great importance. Who are the opponents to that arrangement, negotiated by the labor party, supported by us, and supported—I have no reason to think otherwise—by the liberals? The opponents of the Dawes report are the Communist Party. Two days ago there was a whole column in the daily press reporting a meeting of that party, full of objections to the carrying out of this report on the ground that it made Germany a servile state. But why do the Communist Party in England object to it? Because they have their orders from Moscow. Why does Moscow object to it? Because Moscow has never repudiated the ideal for which she has stood for the last few years, to cause world revolution, and she knows that a settled Germany and a contented Germany will be a barrier to her ambitions, that a Germany in its present condition cannot be feared.

"Western Europe has a civilization to preserve, and it is our duty to do all we can to preserve it in these days. The barrier of western European civilization must be made strong and firm against any subversive onslaughts that may come from the east, and there is no surer and no better way of doing that than to begin by carrying out the terms of the Dawes report and bringing once more that great German market into contact with the markets of the world. No one knows better than I do the cheap and easy argument that may be used against doing this, but I ask you to think seriously and deeply on this subject as to whether our plain duty to Europe and to the world is not to strengthen that common civilization to which all of us belong in the west of Europe." ("Times," October 3rd, 1924.)

The Dawes plan which was held up before the working masses of Europe as a triumph for democracy and pacifism, this robber plan, which was chiefly dictated by the English imperialists, could most conveniently be carried out through the mediumship of MacDonald. In a number of fundamental foreign political questions therefore, the menshevik labor government was the tool of the English bourgeoisie.

**The Attitude of the English Workers Towards Us.**

But there was one question regarding which the English bourgeoisie was not quite satisfied, that is the question of the relations between England and the Soviet Union. We have learned something of this question to our own cost. We still remember all the interventions in which England took such an active part.

The Russian revolution was so big a factor that it even stirred the heart of the most backward, petrified, the most moderate English worker. This was especially to be seen from the reception accorded our trade union representatives in Hull. Even the most moderate English trade unionists have been speaking lately to the following effect: "The Russian Bolsheviks may be as bad as you please, they may have destroyed a good deal, they have often called us social trait-

ors, but one cannot deny that they have overthrown the bourgeoisie, they have created something new, they have settled with the czar, they have not dealt with him so politely as MacDonald and his ministers have dealt with their king. The English workers have perceive this.

**Why Do the English Bourgeoisie Wish To Prevent Our Loan?**

MacDonald's allies in the camp of the conservatives and liberals are crying out on account of the treaty with the Soviet Union and proceed to wreck it in parliament. Discussion was particularly heated regarding the loan question. Why? There is a good deal of nonsense talked about it. It is claimed that it is a loan for the Comintern. The liberals and conservatives know perfectly well that it is a question of a loan for the reconstruction of our national economy and not for the Comintern.

Why then did they wish to prevent the loan? Perchance on account of the 30 or 40 million pound sterling which they are to give? Nothing of the kind. These people know quite well that the treaty signed by MacDonald and Rakovsky is not without advantages for them. We had to make large concessions. It created a certain amount of opposition within our own ranks, because we have been too indulgent towards the English. But taken as a whole it was and remains acceptable for both countries. From a purely business and commercial standpoint it is perfectly acceptable for the English capitalists. The assertion that it would be dangerous to invest a sum of 30 to 40 million pounds in a loan for Soviet Russia is absurd. Our regime is more stable than any other, and the obligations entered into by our government are more secure than the obligations of many other powers. Europe grants loans to Poland, Roumania etc. although it is clearly seen that the days of the Polish bourgeoisie and of the Roumanian landowners are numbered. Why then this opposition to the treaty? In the first place I believe that here the consolidation of the interests of the English and American imperialists is making itself felt. Pressure has been exercised here by the American imperialists. Pressure was certainly exercised on the part of Mr. Hughes. Only today we received telegrams from America, according to which all the most influential New York newspapers, even such

an ultra-conservative paper as the Sun, characterized the activity of the first labor government in England as being very successful. The American press in the leading articles devoted to the English crisis, speaks of the "great service" rendered by the English labor government regarding the question of home and foreign politics—with the exception of the treaty with the Soviet Union, which it describes as being "a great mistake."

The English lords and the American millionaires are beginning again to form a block against the Soviet Union. You know the policy of the American foreign minister Hughes, who wants to force us to our knees, and obstinately declares that America will never recognize the Soviet Union. This is what the English worker must understand.

I mentioned already that the treaty is more advantageous for the English capitalists than for us. They want markets and know that our country will develop into an enormous market. Our national economy is on the upgrade. They follow very attentively such petty prosaic details as the demand for textile goods. It is known thruout the world that we cannot sufficiently supply our market with textile goods. It is known to the American capitalists that we are buying many millions of gold roubles worth of cotton from them. Some of them say that we do not purchase cotton in order to extend our textile industry, but in order to gain de jure recognition from America. But they are mistaken. For us, cotton is a much more valuable product than recognition. We need cotton in order to produce textile goods and to supply the villages with them. It is therefore obvious that the English and American bourgeoisie, the richest in the world, do not always allow themselves to be led by immediate business and commercial considerations. They can sometimes look beyond their immediate pocket interests and judge these things from the point of view of the "broad-mindedly" conceived political interests of their class. And from this standpoint they have come to the conclusion that the treaty is politically undesirable for them. They hate the Soviet Union with a savage hate on account of the victorious revolution.

(To be continued.)

## CHICAGO SOCIETY FOR TECH. AID TO RUSSIA NOW FIVE YEARS OLD

The Chicago Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia will celebrate its fifth anniversary on Saturday, Dec. 6, at 8 p. m. in the assembly hall of the Soviet School, 1902 W. Division St., Chicago. Russian labor organizations are invited to send their representatives to the celebration. An interesting program is being prepared. Dancing by Russian children in costumes, a musical program, etc., workers of all nationalities are invited to participate in the celebration. Admission will be 35 cents.

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