

TENTH ANNIVERSARY

of the Russian Revolution

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TWO SECTIONS—SECTION TWO

DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION!

Statement by the Central Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America on the Tenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

TEN YEARS AGO, on November 7, 1917, the workers and peasants of Russia, under the leadership of the Communist Party, overthrew the rule of the capitalists and big land-owners, nationalized the land, the factories, the mines and the banks, and established a government of their own. This brought the dawn of a new day for the oppressed and exploited throughout the world. It put an end to the imperialist world war. It ushered in a new period of the world proletarian revolution, which will only end with the end of capitalism itself.

In spite of all the predictions of failure, in spite of all the misrepresentations and slanders, in spite of economic blockade and the financing of counter-revolutions and actual invasion by all of the big imperialist powers, the Soviet Union has endured for ten years, and developed so that all the world can see that the workers can get along better without their bosses.

Report of the Trade Union Delegation

SUCH success have the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union made in the construction of socialism during these ten years, that no lies, no campaigns of misrepresentation, of slander, of calumny, can any longer hide the fact that the workers and peasants are now better off than they were under capitalism. Through numerous delegations of trade unionists, of poor farmers, of peasants from all parts of the globe, the toiling masses are learning of the tremendous work of economic reconstruction in the Soviet Union, of the constant strengthening and growth of Socialist industry, of the steady improvement in the working conditions and the enrichment of the cultural and social life of the toilers.

During the past few months, the first American trade union delegation visited the Soviet Union and is now making its report to the American working class. The reactionary officials of the American Federation of Labor, feeling that the American workers would be inspired to more militant methods of struggle and to imitation of the example of the workers of the Soviet Union, desperately tried to prevent the delegation from going. But it refused to be terrorized and went to see with its own eyes what is happening in the land of the workers and peasants. The delegation carried with it prejudices which prevented it from fully appreciating what it saw there. But the essential superiority of the new social order in the Soviet Union over the old order and the tremendous progress that the Russian workers are making in the building up of Socialism was strongly impressed on the minds of the American trade unionists. They were convinced by the evidence of their own eyes, and they so report.

James Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, who headed the trade union delegation, had this to say about the Soviet Union:

"The workers of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics are building up that about which the working sections of mankind have been dreaming for ages—a socialist economic system which excludes exploitation of man by man. Socialist forms of economy have shown their superiority over capitalist economy. In spite of post-war destruction, blockade and backward technique, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has been able to raise the standard of living of the workers to a higher level than that of the pre-war period. This means that, under favorable conditions, the U. S. S. R. will astound the world by its economic and cultural construction work."

An Inspiration to All Who Toil

THE Soviet Union is an inspiration to the workers and poor farmers of America and to the oppressed peoples throughout the world. Its growth strengthens the labor movement everywhere. That is why the capitalist press of America is so busy lying about the Soviet Union. That is why Matthew Woll and William Green and other reactionary labor officials who support capitalism will not send a labor delegation to the Soviet Union to investigate conditions at first hand. That is why they do their best to prevent such delegations from going. The example of the Russian workers helped to inspire the British miners in their struggle against wage cuts. During their general strike, the workers of the Soviet Union raised millions to aid their brothers of Great Britain. This act, which called forth the admiration of every worker loyal to his class, called forth the hatred of the entire capitalist world. The inspiration of the Soviet Union has strengthened the Chinese people in their determination to be free, has stirred up Ireland and Egypt and India and all the colonies of Great Britain, has inspired the workers and peasants of the Philippine Islands, Latin-America and other peoples ruled by Wall Street. That is why the imperialist

world, under the leadership of British imperialism, is planning a new attack against the Soviet Union.

Capitalism Is Plotting War Against USSR.

EVERY DAY, new steps are taken openly to bring about intervention and actual war. The American capitalist class is working hand in hand with British and Japanese imperialism in attacks upon the Chinese revolution and in attempts to bring about war against the workers' and peasants' republic. We call upon the American workers to defend the republic of the workers and peasants against imperialist attack.

Why Workers Should Defend the USSR

IN the Soviet Union, they have just established the seven-hour day. The American capitalist papers have not breathed a word about this big piece of news, because they are afraid that the American workers, with their eight, nine, ten and twelve hour day, will want to imitate the example of their Russian brothers.

In America, the land of the speed-up, workers grow old early. Most industries will not employ a new worker over 45. Old age means poverty, means dependence. In the Soviet Union, they have done away with the economic terrors of old age by their system of old age pensions.

Unemployment on a large scale is again beginning to show its ugly head in America. The government reports that over a million workers are marching the streets in search of jobs and more than three million are working half time. In America, unemployment means starvation. In the Soviet Union there is a system of social insurance for unemployment.

In America, there is child labor, inadequate education for working class children, pitiless exploitation of women. In the Soviet Union, the child of the worker has the first claim on the education system. Child labor has been abolished, women receive equal economic opportunity, are protected from difficult work and get two months leave of absence with pay before and after child-birth.

In America, our bosses are fighting bitterly to prevent the organization of the unorganized workers, and to smash the existing unions by means of terrorism, persecution, blacklists, spy systems, company unions and open shop drives. They use the government openly to issue injunctions, to break strikes, to smash picket lines and destroy unions. In the Soviet Union, the workers are their own bosses and the government of the workers and peasants does everything in its power to aid in the organization of the trade unions.

In America, the unions are weak and divided. Their leadership is corrupt and supports the capitalist system, showing energy only in struggling against the militant workers, never in fighting the bosses. Eighty-five per cent or more of the American workers are unorganized. In the Soviet Union over 90 per cent of the workers are organized, and the unions are powerful, well led, well organized industrial unions, that play an important role in the administration of industry.

In America, the overwhelming majority of the working class still has no political party of its own. The reactionary officials of the American Federation of Labor try to keep the workers tied to the bosses' political parties and trade support for bribes and favors. There is no powerful labor party including the entire labor movement. In the Soviet Union the workers rule through the Communist Party.

In America, corrupt politicians and open grafters are elevated to high office. In the Soviet Union, grafters are severely punished and even shot.

In America, the plight of the farmer goes from bad to worse. Mortgages and tenant farming grows. Politics is played with farm relief measures. The working farmers leave the land by the hundreds of thousands, because they cannot continue in the face of the exploitation of banker, railroad magnate and middleman. In the Soviet Union, the land has been given to the users. It has been nationalized. A system of electrical power, of reduction of the prices on things that the farmer needs, of old age pensions for peasants, of progressively reduced taxes has been inaugurated. The banks and the railways are the servants and not the masters there.

In America, the trusts own the government. In the Soviet Union, the government owns the trusts.

America is the land where militant workers are framed-up, where Mooney and Billings still lie in jail, where Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered, where picket lines are broken and strike leaders arrested. The Soviet Union is the land where the workers rule and the government is used, not against the workers, but against the bosses.

In America, the foreign-born workers are terrorized and the Negro suffers discrimination, persecution and



Vladimir Ilyich LENIN

Leader of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolution, Founder of the Communist International.

even lynching. The marines are sent into Latin-America and China. The Filipinos are denied their freedom. Wall Street has become a symbol of imperialist dominance throughout the world. In the Soviet Union, there is freedom for all national minorities, for all races and peoples. There is help for all peoples struggling for freedom. The Soviet Union has become the symbol of freedom to the oppressed peoples all over the world.

We, the workers of America, have much to learn from the workers of the Soviet Union. We must strengthen our labor movement, give it a policy of militant class struggle, amalgamate our weak craft unions, organize the unorganized workers, fight for a system of social insurance, of unemployment and old-age pensions and wages during sickness and compensation for accidents. We must fight for a shorter work-day, such as the workers in the Soviet Union have already won. We must fight for a labor party. We must fight against the bosses' control of government and for the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government in America.

The greatest lesson of the Russian workers for the workers of America is the lesson that to achieve the things they have achieved we must build a powerful Communist Party in America.

The Workers (Communist) Party is the American section of the Communist International as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the Russian section. The Communist International is the leader of the oppressed throughout the world in the struggle against war, in the struggle against imperialism, in the struggle against capitalism, in the struggle for a new social order.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America is the party that fights in America to strengthen our unions, to organize the unorganized, to stop imperialist war, to defend the Soviet Union, to stop injunctions, to stop the use of courts and police and government against the workers, to build a labor party, to take the govern-

ment away from the bosses, build a workers' and farmers' government, to abolish capitalism and establish a better social order.

On the tenth anniversary of the victory of the Russian workers under the leadership of the Russian Communist Party, we call upon the workers of America to join the Workers (Communist) Party and fight for the things the Workers Party is fighting for.

The workers of America must prevent America from being drawn into a new war against the Soviet Union. We must stop the danger of a new world war. We must pledge ourselves never to raise a rifle against our brothers of the Soviet Union. We must pledge ourselves on this tenth anniversary of the revolution of November, 1917, to defend with all our might and all our power the conquests and achievements of our class which now rules over a sixth part of the earth and will yet rule over the entire world. We must demand that the American government recognize the Soviet Union as a step away from war and as an aid to the farmers and workers of America. We must send more delegations of workers and farmers to see with their own eyes the amazing achievements that are possible where the workers rule. We must bring about a closer relationship between the Soviet Union and the workers and farmers of the United States.

Demand Recognition of the USSR!

WORKERS of America! Demand the recognition of the Soviet Union! Send delegations to the Soviet Union! Strengthen the bond between the American and the Russian working class! Stop before it is too late, the plans for a new world war! Pledge yourselves to defend the workers' and peasants' government! Build a powerful labor movement in America! Fight to realize in America what the Russian workers have won in the Soviet Union! Fight for a Workers' and Farmers' government in the United States!

Letters by Lenin in Revolutionary Crisis of 1917

General Seizure of Power

Letter to the Conference

A letter to a Bolshevik Party Conference, written in the middle of October 1917:

TO BE READ IN CLOSED SESSION

COMRADES, permit me to call the attention of the Conference to the extreme seriousness of the political situation. I can base myself only on the news of the Saturday morning papers. That news, however, compels us to put the question this way:

The absolute inaction of the English fleet in general, as well as the English submarines, during the occupation of Esel by the Germans, coupled with the government's plan to move from Petersburg to Moscow,—does it not prove a conspiracy has been organized between Kerensky and the Anglo-French capitalists to yield Petersburg to the Germans and thus to stifle the Russian revolution?

I think it does prove.

The conspiracy may not have agreed upon directly, but thru some Kornilovists (Maklakoff or other Constitutional Democrats, "non-partisan" Russian millionaires, etc.) but this does not change the thing itself.

The conclusion is clear:

We must admit that the revolution is destroyed if Kerensky's government is not overthrown by the proletarians and the soldiers in the near future. The uprising question is placed on the order of the day.

We must mobilize all forces to persuade the workers and soldiers that it is absolutely imperative to fight a desperate, a last, decisive fight for the overthrow of Kerensky's government.

We must turn to the Moscow comrades, persuade them to seize power in Moscow by declaring the Kerensky government deposed and to declare the Soviet of Workers' Deputies in Moscow as the Provisional Government of Russia, with the aim of offering immediate peace and saving Russia from the conspiracy. Let the Moscow comrades raise in Moscow the uprising question immediately.

We must utilize the Regional Congress of the Soviets of Soldiers' Deputies of the northern region called for October 8th in Helsingfors to mobilize all our forces (when the delegates go back thru Petersburg) in order to win them over for the uprising.

We must turn to the Central Committee of our Party with the request and the proposal to hasten the withdrawal of the Bolsheviks from the Preparliament and to turn all forces to exposing among the masses Kerensky's conspiracy with the imperialists of other countries and to preparing the uprising, to selecting the correct moment for an uprising.

P. S.: The resolution of the Soldiers' Section of the Petersburg Soviet against moving the government from Petersburg has shown that also among the soldiers the conviction in Kerensky's conspiracy is ripening. We must gather all forces to support this correct conviction and to agitate among the soldiers.

I propose that the following resolution be introduced:

"The Conference, having discussed the present position which is generally admitted to be highly critical, establishes the following facts:

"1.—The aggressive operations of the German fleet accompanied by very strange inaction of the English fleet and coupled with the Provisional Government's plan to move from Petersburg to Moscow, arouse a very strong suspicion that Kerensky's government (or, what

is the same thing, the Russian imperialists behind him) have organized a conspiracy with the Anglo-French imperialists to deliver Petersburg to the Germans in order thus to suppress the revolution.

"2.—These suspicions are highly strengthened and acquire a maximum of probability, possible in such cases, in consequence of the fact that

"First, the conviction has long been growing and strengthening in the army that it was betrayed by the czarist's generals, that it is also being betrayed by the generals of Kornilov and Kerensky (particularly the yielding of Riga);

"Second, the Anglo-French bourgeois press does not conceal its mad hatred for the Soviets, a hatred reaching the point of rage, and its readiness to annihilate them at whatever bloody price;

"Third, Kerensky, the Constitutional Democrats, Breshkovskaya, Plekhanov and similar politicians, are conscious or unconscious tools in the hands of Anglo-French imperialism as completely proven by a half-year's history of the Russian revolution;

"Fourth, vague but persistent rumors of a separate peace between England and Germany 'at the expense of Russia' could not arise without cause;

"Fifth, all the circumstances of the Kornilov conspiracy, as evidenced even from the declaration of the papers 'Delo Naroda' and the 'Izvestia' which are generally in sympathy with Kerensky, has proven that Kerensky has been and is the most dangerous Kornilovist; Kerensky, in fact, has shielded the heads of the Kornilov affair like Rodzyanko, Klembovsky, Maklakoff and others.

"Proceeding from these considerations, the Conference recognizes that all the shouting of Kerensky and the bourgeois papers that support him about defending Petersburg are pure deception and hypocrisy, that the Soldiers' Section of the Petersburg Soviet was perfectly right when it sharply condemned the plan of moving from Petersburg, furthermore, that to defend Petersburg and to save the revolution it is absolutely and most urgently necessary that the tired-out army be convinced in the sincerity of the government and that it obtain bread, clothing and footwear at the price of revolutionary measures against the capitalists who hitherto have sabotaged the struggle against economic ruin (as admitted even by the economic division of the Menshevik-Socialist Revolutionary Central Executive Committee.)

"The Conference therefore declares that only the overthrow of the government of Kerensky and of the packed Soviet of the Republic and its substitution by a workers' and peasants' revolutionary government is capable of

"a.: Giving the land to the peasants instead of suppressing the peasant uprising;

"b.: Offering an immediate just peace and thus give faith and truth to our entire army;

"c.: Adopting the most decisive revolutionary measures against the capitalists in order to secure for the army bread, clothing and footwear and in order to fight against economic ruin.

"The Conference urgently requests the Central Committee to take all measures to lead the inevitable uprising of the workers, soldiers and peasants for the overthrow of Kerensky's government hostile to the people and favorable to serfdom.

"The Conference decides immediately to dispatch a delegation to Helsingfors, Vyborg, Kronstadt, Reval, to the military units south of Petersburg and to Moscow, in order to agitate in favor of adopting this resolution and for the necessity by a swift, general uprising, and by overthrowing Kerensky, to open the road to peace, to saving Petersburg and the revolution, to give over the land to the peasants, and the power to the Soviets."

To the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers!

This appeal for immediate uprising was written on November 1st or 2nd, just a few days before the Kerensky forces were swept from power.

COMRADES! The Party of the "Socialist Revolutionaries," to which Kerensky belongs, appeals to you in its paper "Delo Naroda" (of September 30th) to "suffer through."

"One must suffer through," the Party writes, in urging to leave the power in the hands of Kerensky's government, in urging not to give over the power to the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Let Kerensky base himself on the landlords, capitalists and kulaks. Let the Soviets that have accomplished the revolution and vanquished the Kornilov generals, "suffer through," we are told. Let them "suffer through" until the speedy convocation of the Constituent Assembly.

Comrades! Look around, see what's happening in the village, what is happening in the army, and you will realize that the peasants and the soldiers cannot suffer any longer. Over the whole of Russia there sweeps in a broad river an uprising of the peasants, from whom the land has hitherto been withheld by fraud. The peasants cannot suffer any longer. Kerensky sends troops to suppress the peasants and to defend the landlords, Kerensky has again connived with the Kornilov generals and officers who stand for the landlords.

Neither the workers in the cities nor the soldiers at the front can suffer this military suppression of the just struggle of the peasants for land.

As to what is going on in the army at the front, the officer Dubasov, a non-partisan, has declared before all of Russia: "The soldiers will fight no more." The soldiers are tired out, the soldiers are barefooted, the soldiers are starving, the soldiers do not want to fight for the interests of the capitalists, they do not wish to "suffer," to be treated only by beautiful peace words while for months the peace proposal, proposal of a just peace, without annexations, offered to all the belligerent peoples, has been postponed (as did Kerensky).

Comrades! Know that Kerensky is again negotiating with the Kornilov generals and officers, with the purpose of leading troops against the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, with the purpose of preventing the Soviets obtaining power! Kerensky "will under no circumstances submit" to the Soviets, thus the "Delo Naroda" openly admits.

Go then to the barracks, go to the Cossack units, go to the toilers and explain the truth to the people:

If power is in the hands of the Soviets, then not later than October 25 (if the Soviet Congress is in session, October 29) a just peace will be offered to all the belligerent peoples. There will be in Russia a workers' and peasants' government, it will immediately, without losing a single day, offer a just peace to all the belligerent peoples. Then the people will learn who wishes the unjust war. Then the people will decide in the Constituent Assembly.

If power is in the hands of the Soviets, the landlords' lands will immediately be declared the property of the whole people.

This is what Kerensky and his government fight, basing themselves on the kulaks, capitalists and landlords! This is what you are called to "suffer through" for, these are the interests involved!

Are you willing to "suffer through" in order that Kerensky should quell with armed force the peasants who have risen for land?

Are you willing to "suffer through" in order that the war be dragged out longer, that the peace offer be postponed, that the severance of the secret treaties of the former czar with the Russian and Anglo-French capitalists be postponed?

Comrades, remember that Kerensky has already once deceived the people when he promised to convene the Constituent Assembly! On July 8th he solemnly promised to convene it not later than September 17th, and he has deceived the people. Comrades! Whoever believes the Kerensky government is a traitor to his brother-peasants and soldiers!

No, not for a single day is the people willing to suffer postponement any longer. Not for a single day must one suffer the peasants to be quelled by armed force, thousands upon thousands to perish in the war, when one can and must immediately offer a just peace.

Down with the government of Kerensky who connives with the Kornilov landlord-generals to suppress the peasants, to fire at the peasants, to drag out the war!

All power to the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies!

On the Eve of Revolution

On November 6th, 1917 (October 24th old time) Lenin addressed the following letter to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party:

COMRADES: I am writing these lines in the evening of the 24th. The situation is extremely critical. It is clearer than clear that now a delay of the uprising is really equal to death.

With all my power I wish to persuade the comrades that now everything is suspended on a hair, that on the order of the day are questions that are not solved by conferences, by congresses (even by Soviet Congresses) but only by the people, by the masses, by the struggle of armed masses.

The bourgeois onslaught of the Kornilovists, the removal of Verkhovskiy show that one must not wait. One must at any price this evening, this night, arrest the ministers, having disarmed (defeated if they offer resistance) the cadets, etc.

One must not wait! One may lose everything!

The price of the seizure of power at present is: defend the people (not the congress, but the people, in the first place the army and the peasants) against the Kornilovists' government which has driven out Verkhovskiy and has organized the second Kornilov conspiracy.

Who should seize power?

At present this is not important. Let the Military Revolutionary Committee seize it or any other institution which will declare that it will transfer the power only to the real representatives of the interests of the people, the interests of the army (immediate peace offer) the interests of the peasants (take immediately, abolish private property), the interests of the hungry.

It is necessary that all the sections of the city, all regiments, all forces be mobilized and immediately send delegations to the Military Revolutionary Committee, to the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks insistently demanding under no circumstances to leave power in the hands of Kerensky and Co., until the 25th by no means, — but to decide everything under all circumstances this evening or this night.

History will not forgive a delay by revolutionists who could be victorious today (and will surely be victorious today) while they risk to lose much tomorrow, they risk to lose all.

If we seize power today we seize it not against the Soviets but for them.

Seizure of power is the business of the uprising; its political task will be clarified after the seizure. It would be a disaster or a formality to wait for the uncertain voting of October 25th. The people have a right and a duty to decide such questions not by votings but by force; the people have a right and a duty in critical moments of a revolution to direct their representatives, even their best representatives, and not to wait for them.

This has been proven by the history of all revolutions and the crime of the revolutionaries would be limitless if they let go the proper moment knowing that upon them depends the saving of the revolution, the offer of peace, the saving of Petersburg, the saving from starvation, the transfer of the land to the peasants.

The government is vacillating. We must deal it the death blow at any price. Delay of action is verily equal to death.

THE NATIONAL PROBLEM IN THE REPUBLICS OF CENTRAL ASIA

BEFORE the revolution the small nationalities inhabiting the extremities of the Russian empire, particularly Central Asia, were given absolutely no right to participate in the government. Now the central institutions of Central Asia are governed primarily by natives. In the lower branches of the Turkmen government the natives constitute 41.8 per cent of the staff. In most districts the administrative work is carried on exclusively in the native language. In Uzbekistan everything is done in the Uzbek language. The extent to which the native language has succeeded may be seen from the activities of the courts and the work done in the other government institutions. Since the native courts have been organized, the others had to close down as the population ignored them.

Trade Unions and Cooperatives.

Cooperation is developing very rapidly in the Central Asiatic Republics. The managing boards of the Consumers' Cooperatives consist of 67.8 per cent of natives and the agricultural cooperatives 92 per cent.

There is quite a considerable increase of natives in the trade unions and in the Communist Party. In 1924 the natives constituted 17.9 per cent of the trade union membership. Now they constitute 34 per cent.

Cultural Revival.

Another phase of the practical solution of the national problem consists in the cultural revival among

the natives. During the last 4 years the expenditures on education in the Republics of Central Asia have increased 179 per cent. The school network has increased proportionally, the greatest increase being on the territories of former Bukhara and Khorezma, i. e., the most backward and downtrodden districts.

Before the war there was for instance not a single school in Turkmenistan in which the native language was taught except the religious schools. Since the revolution government and Communist universities, numerous second-grade schools, technical and other educational institutions have been established.

"UNITED PRESS" MANAGER ON THE SOVIET UNION.

Mr. Bickel, "United Press" manager communicated his impressions of the Soviet Union to press correspondents in Harbin. He said:

"The country made enormous progress in the course of a comparatively short period. The towns of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and its capitals are flourishing. Industry is developing buoyantly." (Translated from the Russian.)

Touching on the international situation of the U. S. S. R. and the possibility of war he said:

"The experience of former war campaigns has shown that any invasion of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is doomed to failure."

250,000 Congratulations To Soviet Republic.

The number of German workers signing the congratulations to be sent to the workers of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is many more than a quarter of a million.

In the Sphere of Education.

It is impossible to enumerate the enormous number of schools, anti-literacy stations, libraries and various other educational institutions to be opened on the day of the great

GREETINGS—

from

WORKERS CLUB
150 E. 28TH ST., N. Y. C.
to
The Workers of the World

GREETINGS—

NUCLEUS NO. 11
CLEVELAND, Ohio

jubilee. New educational institutions will be opened in the remotest corners of the U. S. S. R. For instance, foundations will be laid for five labor palaces in Azerbaïdjan. The cost of these five palaces will be about 2,800,000 roubles.

6500 Free Libraries for Reading Rooms and Cultural Institutions.

The Council of People's Commissaries in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics decided to organize 6,500 libraries costing about 1½ million roubles in the cultural and educational

institutions both in towns and rural districts.

The Councils of People's Commissaries of the Ukraine, White Russia, Trans-Caucasia, the Tartar Republic and Uzbekistan have been advised to do the same.

Besides the institution of new educational institutions extensive work is carried on in popularizing all branches of science among the masses. Lectures, discussions, excursions and exhibitions are widely broadcast throughout the country.

GREETINGS

TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF THE U. S. S. R.
FROM NEW YORK SECTION, INTERNATIONAL
LABOR DEFENSE

In the name of 50,000 New York workers, we extend our greetings to the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia on the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the first workers' republic in the history of mankind.

In the face of a threatened attack upon the proletariat, we pledge ourselves to do all we can to nullify the attacks of American imperialist power.

The seven-hour day, the 93 per cent trade union membership and a genuine workers' state, are examples which the American workers might well emulate.

The International Labor Defense greets the only state in the world where the Sacco-Vanzetti murder would be impossible. We greet the only country in the world where strikers are not shot down and imprisoned.

The past ten years have been fraught with famine, counter-revolution and intervention. The next ten years, we hope, will strengthen still further the workers' and peasants' republic.

GREETINGS TO OUR RUSSIAN BROTHERS
AND SISTERS!

ROSE BARON, Secretary.

SECTION 1, SS. 1 A. C., F. D. No. 6

OF THE

WORKERS' (COMMUNIST) PARTY

— DISTRICT No. 2 —

G R E E T S

The Militant Workers and Peasants of the
Soviet Union on the Tenth Anniversary
of the Revolution

For a Leninist Regime in the Communist Party

THE Moscow and Central Control Commissions established a fact, absolutely unprecedented in the history of the Communist Party of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics which guides the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This fact has no equal to it. An anti-Party illegal printing shop was discovered printing secret party and anti-party opposition documents for circulation, in spite of the repeated prohibitions by the Party. The 14 members of the Trotsky Opposition called to account by the Moscow Control Commission, are accused of "establishing jointly with non-Party bourgeois intellectuals an underground anti-Party organization with an illegal typography to carry on activities towards the disruption of unity within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) and the formation of a new Party." The fact that this work was carried on by Trotskyists jointly with bourgeois intellectuals, some of whom were found to be connected with avowedly anti-Soviet elements, is particularly striking.

The crime committed against the Party by these 14 Party members (12 of them have already been expelled by the Central Control Commission and two were strictly censured and warned) is monstrous. By committing it, they placed themselves outside the Party. The Control Commissions only had to strike the balance of the crimes committed against the Party.

However, the organization of an illegal printing press with a purpose of combating the Party, is the work not only of these 14 Trotskyists and their bourgeois intellectual confederates. It is the work of the entire Trotsky opposition as a whole, and the leaders of the opposition bear full and complete political responsibility for the deeds. They do not show any intentions to dodge responsibility for the deeds. They do not show any intentions to dodge responsibility. They defend the "clandestine" workers by every means. Moreover, three opposition leaders, Preobrazhensky, Serebriakov and Sharov openly declared, in a special document addressed to the Control Commission, that they are politically responsible for the affair and its organizers. Comrade Trotsky, the leader of the opposition, exhibited his solidarity with the participants in the illegal printery at a session of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. He openly praised their anti-party disruptive work. Can there be any doubt that the Party will call the leaders to account?

The opposition declares that it combats the existing "party regime." The question arises; against what regime is the opposition fighting, and by whom has that regime been established? There can be no doubt that it is combating the "regime" which was established in the Party under Lenin and under Lenin's leadership.

We should recall Trotsky's opposition activities in October 1923. In the well-known "declaration of the forty-six," signed by the Trotskyists, E. Preobrazhensky, L. Serebriakov, G. Piatakov, M. Alsky, E. L. Smirnov and others submitted to the Politbureau of the Central Committee on October 15th 1923, it was said:

"The regime established in the Party is absolutely unbearable. It kills the self-activity of the Party, substituting the Party by a selected bureaucratic apparatus, which acts well in normal times but which inevitably shows defects at critical moments, and which threatens to prove absolutely inefficient in the coming serious events. The existing situation may be explained by the fact that the REGIME OF FACTIONAL DICTATORSHIP ESTABLISHED WITHIN THE PARTY SINCE THE TENTH CONGRESS, has outlived its usefulness."

Comrade Trotsky, in his declaration "to the Members of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission, submitted one week before the declaration of the 46 (October 8th 1923), expressed the same idea only more hypocritically and jesuitically:

"The regime which IN THE MAIN DEVELOPED EVEN PRIOR TO THE TWELFTH CONGRESS, and was finally established and consolidated after it, is much further away from workers' democracy than the regime of the most severe periods of war communism."

Thus there can be no doubt as to against which and whose regime the opposition declared war and is fighting without our Party. It is the regime established by Lenin and under Lenin's leadership.

The Tenth Party Congress took place in 1921. It was a congress at which the Party, under Lenin's leadership, smashed the Trotsky opposition on the trade union question, and categorically prohibited factions within the Party. The regime "which in the main developed ever prior to the Twelfth Congress," as Comrade Trotsky puts it, is Lenin's regime, because "prior to the Twelfth Congress" we had Eleventh and the Tenth Congresses, which worked under Lenin's guidance, and at which this very "Party regime" was formally established, and which was and is so "unbearable" for the Trotskyist Opposition.

Thus it is precisely "Lenin's regime" that was characterized by the opposition as a "regime of factional dictatorship within the Party." After this, it is easy to determine the real value of the present false alarm of the opposition about the "dictatorship of the majority fraction" within the Party. In reality, the slander about "factional dictatorship," both under Lenin and after, served and still serves as a simple covering of the anti-Leninist struggle carried on by the Trotskyists.

What does the "horror" in the regime consist of which is so hated by



JOSEPH V. STALIN
General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

the opposition? It consists of the fact that by enacting extensive internal democracy, the Party firmly prohibits the existence of any kind of factions. Here is what the decisions of the Tenth Party Congress, written by Lenin, and which calls forth such vituperation on the part of the Trotskyist opposition about the regime, says:

"The Congress prescribes the immediate dissolution of all groups, without exception, which have been formed around various platforms, and authorizes all organizations to follow closely and see to it that there should be no factional activity. The infringement of this Congress decision entails the unconditional and immediate expulsion from the Party."

"In order to realize strict discipline within the Party, and in all Soviet activity, and to attain the

highest unity by liquidating all factionalism, the Congress authorizes the Central Committee to apply in all cases of violation of discipline or degeneration, or admission of factionalism, all measures of party punishment, even to the extent of expulsion, and in respect to members of the Central Committee, reducing them from membership to candidacy, and as an extreme measure, even EXPULSION FROM THE PARTY." (Pages 6, 7 from the Unity Resolution, Russian Edition).

The Trotskyist faction wanted in 1923 the abolition precisely of this decision of the Tenth Congress. It insisted on an amendment to the Draft Resolution of the Political Bureau, to permit "factions and groups" within the Party.

Why does the Party side with Lenin on the point of unconditional in-

admissibility of factions within the Party which is guiding the Proletarian Dictatorship in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics? An answer to this question is given by the same Unity Resolution of the Tenth Congress, written by Lenin, which says:

"It is necessary that all conscious workers should clearly realize the harm and inadmissibility of any kind of factionalism, which inevitably leads to the weakening of our joint work and to more vigorous repeated attempts ON THE PART OF THOSE ENEMIES WHICH CAME INTO THE RULING PARTY UNDER FALSE COLORS to deepen the division and to utilize it for COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PURPOSES. . . ."

"These enemies having realized the hopelessness of counter-revolution under the open white guard banner, exert now all their efforts in order TO HELP THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION, UTILIZING DIVERGENCIES WITHIN THE RCP, in one way or another, BY HANDING OVER THE GOVERNMENT TO POLITICAL GROUPS WHICH ARE EXTERNALLY MORE IN FAVOR OF RECOGNITION OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT."

"Our propaganda must make clear also the experience of former revolutions when the COUNTER-REVOLUTION SUPPORTED THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS GROUPS WHICH WERE MOST CLOSELY RELATED TO THE EXTREME REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES IN ORDER TO SHATTER AND OVERTHROW THE REVOLUTIONARY DICTATORSHIP, thus opening the road for the further complete victory of the counter-revolutionary capitalists and landlords."

Factionalism in the ruling party endangers the proletarian dictatorship. Not so very long ago, Kamenev and Zinoviev, the present followers of Trotsky, understood this perfectly well. Factions within the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union are used by a "third factor," outside the Party, consisting of anti-Soviet elements hostile to the proletariat, and inspired by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie in its own interests. Following Lenin, the Party warned the opposition about this on many occasions, but without success. The opposition slid from step to step and has finally reached such a depth that anti-Soviet elements begin to use it, not only politically, but even organizationally, establishing contact with it through non-party bourgeois intellectuals.

The August Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission this year, gave a "final warning" to the opposition, demanding the abandonment of factional activity. The opposition itself made a statement in which it declared its readiness "to do absolutely everything towards the liquidation of all factional elements." It turned out that the Opposition once again deceived the Party as it did before by giving the statement of October 16th last year in which it said:

"We declare that we resolutely abandoned the factional methods of defending our views in view of the danger that these methods constitute to party unity, and we call upon all comrades, who hold our views to do likewise."

In face of the new and unprecedented accentuation of factional struggle on the part of the opposition, in face of the new deception of the Party by the opposition, the Executive Committee of the Communist International was compelled to take measures of an organizational character against Comrade Trotsky, as the leader of the opposition. The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, jointly with the International Control Commission, decided to Expel Trotsky and Vuyovitch from the Executive Committee of the Communist International. By this decision, the Executive Committee of the Communist

International appraised the disruptive "work" of the opposition, which on the one hand, utilizes Hindenburg's "freedom" of the press in Germany, to slander the Comintern and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in the pages of Maslow's and Ruth Fischer's yellow sheet, and on the other hand, organizes underground printing presses in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, with the purpose of organizing a split in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, helping thereby the enemies of the dictatorship of the working class.

The Party will welcome unambiguously the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to expel the disruptors. People who take the liberty to do what is essentially incompatible with ordinary membership of a party affiliated to the Communist International, can at any rate not remain any longer in the leading organs of the Comintern.

Our Party was founded, trained and nursed by Lenin. Lenin made the statutes of our Party. Lenin wrote the decisions of the Tenth Congress concerning the expulsion of factionalists from our Party. Lenin established our Party regime the basis of which established itself many years before Trotsky was accepted to our Party, they were established not accidentally, but in a fierce struggle of the Party against Menshevism and particularly against Trotskyism.

The Party will allow no one to change Lenin's regime. No one can come into our Party with his "own statutes." Those whom "Lenin's shoe" pinches should make their choice: they should either continue their disruptive work against the Bolshevik Party and thereby forfeit their right to be called Bolsheviks, or remain in the Party and unconditionally submit to all Party decisions and the decisions of its leading organs and immediately stop all factional activity. They must make this choice.

The Finnish Bureau and Finnish Workers' Federation

EXTEND GREETINGS TO THE AMERICAN WORKERS ON THE
OCCASION OF THE GREATEST REVOLUTIONARY HOLIDAY OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT—THE
TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN
REVOLUTION



GREETINGS
from Comrades
Anna, Ruth and Milton
Stein.

GREETINGS
to the Workers and Peasants
of the Soviet Republic on the
TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.
Workers (Communist) Party
Dist. 6. East Liverpool, Ohio.

Greetings to the Workers and
Peasants of U. S. S. R.

We extend our heartiest greetings to the Workers and Peasants of the Union of Social Soviet Republics on the Tenth Anniversary of their November Revolution.

Comrades, we are with you in the struggle for the defense of the First Workers' Republic and for the emancipation of the working class of the world from the yoke of capitalist imperialism.

The Lithuanian Daily Laisve

Newark, N. J. Section
of the Workers' (Communist) Party

sends its

Revolutionary Greetings

to the

Workers and Peasants of Russia

On the Occasion of the

Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution



YOUR SPLENDID ACHIEVEMENTS IN FACE OF
TREMENDOUS ODDS ARE ACTING AS
AN INSPIRATION TO US

"THE PROLETARIAT ARMED"

THE RED ARMY

By SHIRLEY REEVE.

Its Character and Composition

THE RED ARMY of the Soviet Union is an out-spoken class army. Whereas the whole working class and peasant population, that is the toiling population, at one time or other, goes thru a definite period of military training, learning how to use arms to defend itself, the kulak (rich and labor exploiting peasant) and nepman (industrial employer of labor and trader) as far as they are still in existence, are not permitted to carry arms at any time, let alone enter the army.

They are, however, obliged to pay a proportional defense tax in peace times and in a time of war the laws of the Workers' Republic call for the conscription of all nepmen and kulaks for the very necessary if comparatively safe tasks of dish washing, laundry, toilet and stable cleaning and a host of other services which the Red Soldier will be too busy fighting the enemy to look after himself. Based on the fundamental principle for the defense of the Soviet Union; "A small standing army but every citizen an able defender of the interests of the First Workers' Republic," there exist two systems of military training.

One is called the "regular" system and the other the "territorial" system.

Only a small percentage of the male citizens reaching the age of 21 are called to serve under the

regular system which means service for a period of from one and a half to two years. The technical troops serve from 3 to 4 years, the air force 4 years and the fleet 5 years.

The great majority of the male citizens reaching the age of 21 are called to service under the territorial system. This means that instead of serving two years in the regular army they serve from one and a half to two months a year for five years. Under this system the place of training is in the same city and often in the very ward of the soldier's home. Thus neither the development of industry or agriculture suffer through a withdrawal of a great number of able workers and peasants for a long period of time.

Standard of Living Same as Workers'.

Upon entering the army, the Red Soldier receives all his equipment, food and shelter and in addition a small stipend every month. In connection with this it is interesting to note how utterly false are the statements of the capitalist press that the Red Soldier is kept loyal thru bribing him with a much higher standard of living than the civilian workers and peasants enjoy. Having visited many workers' private homes as well as their cooperative restaurants, I can state from personal observation that the standard of living of the Red Soldier is exactly the same as that of the average worker. No better and no worse.

Economic Privileges.

Receiving but a modest wage, Red Soldiers serving under the regular system, that is a period of from one and a half to ten years or more in the



Detachment of Red Sailors, Pride of the Revolution.



CLEMENT VOROSHILOV
People's Commissar of War.

various sections of the army as already explained, are exempt from all social taxes.

Where the income of the soldier's family suffers from the withdrawal of his contribution to the family income to the extent that they cannot pay taxes, the family also is exempted. Besides this the families of Red Soldiers are given first place in the "dochered" (waiting list or line), when land or timber is being divided up among a group of peasants. If the soldier's family lacks a horse to work his field with in his absence, the local Soviet is bound to provide one for the necessary period of time. The soldier coming from a working class family also receives the same privileges of exemption.

As for his family, he is able to rest assured, since according to a special law his family will not be moved out of their living quarters under any circumstances unless given other equally good ones and the necessary moving facilities provided free of charge to them. His family is also freed from paying any communal taxes that may be in existence.

Citizens who are the sole support of their dependents are not called to serve under the regular system at all.

In the Soviet Union elections to the Soviets are carried out at meetings of all the workers and peasants of enterprises in a given ward or section of a ward as well as all members of the Red Army whose barracks are situated in this locality.

At these meetings the outgoing Soviet Deputies report in detail on all the activities of the Soviets for the whole period of office, building and development of new factories, workers' living quarters, clubs, street repairs, improvement of sanitary conditions, educational institutions, the army, the international political situation, etc. Each enterprise or barracks nominates a number of deputies in ratio to their number. The soldier choosing the civilian deputy as well as those from the army and

vice versa, then the whole meeting votes on them.

Thus the civilian workers and peasants as well as the Red Soldiers are closely knit together in their participation in the affairs of the Soviets. There is therefore not the slightest ghost of a chance for the professional soldier attitude which is prevalent in capitalist armies to develop in the Red Army. "Red Army School of Conscious Military Citizens." It is a well known fact that before the revolution, Russia was one of the most backward of European countries. The Soviet Union, consequently inherited millions upon millions of illiterate adults and children. The Red Army having as its aim a conscious and not a stupid mechanical discipline which in capitalist countries is held firm thru the soldiers' fear of punishment, makes one of its first and foremost tasks that of teaching the illiterate soldiers to read and write.

In the case of complete illiteracy the first three months are entirely devoted to teaching how to read and write. And as one commander told me, even the dullest and most backward peasant becomes enthusiastic and diligent in this study when he is reminded "how proud his folks will be to receive a letter written in his own hand."

One of the Bonds.

This letter writing helps also to maintain the "smytka" (fraternization) between the Red Army and the rest of the toiling population. Another method the Red Army uses in providing the broadest possible education during the soldier's term of service under the "regular" system is to send soldiers coming from the villages to cities for training. Invariably they are sent to a city in an entirely different part of the union so that they may learn not only from books but from personal experience and observation.

The letters written home form a link between the backward village and the modern city. And when

written by the peasant himself with all his fresh enthusiasm and amazement at his new surroundings one can easily imagine what excitement they create at home and what a stimulus they become to social development there.

Oh, yes! One must not forget to mention that postal service is free to all members of the Red Army.

Red Soldiers who have completed their term of service are given the privilege of first choice among the applicants wishing to enter the Normal Military School. (Trade unions and the Young Communist League can also send candidates to the Normal School but they are admitted only after the Red Soldiers wishing to enter have been placed.)

The Proportion.

The proportion of soldiers and expenditure per inhabitant of the Soviet government on military defense is amazingly low as compared with that of countries bordering the Union. Following are some eloquent figures, showing the proportion and expenditure of the Soviet Union on defense and that of countries at its borders.

Country	Per 10,000 Population	Expense of defense per inhabitant
Soviet Union	41 soldiers	2.97 rubles
Finland	95 soldiers	7.55 rubles
Rumania	95 soldiers	5.30 rubles
Poland	98 soldiers	11.00 rubles
Latvia	100 soldiers	6.52 rubles
Estonia	126 soldiers	6.90 rubles



Famous Red Cavalry Commander Budenny (in front, left), inspecting Red Troops.



Vasilyevich, Red Commander in Moscow.

Revolutionists Under Fire

The Recent Trial of Zoltan Szanto, Stefan Vagi and 64 Others in Budapest.

In the early morning the police cordoned off the court building and the surrounding streets with strong forces of police. Entry into the court was only possible after a strict control.

When the accused appeared in the corridor escorted by gendarmes with fixed bayonets, the few workers who had managed to effect entrance despite the control, raised a cheer. This demonstration was repeated in the court room itself when the chairman of the court Szemak commenced to examine comrade Szanto.

At the commencement of the process, the leader of the defence, Professor Dr. Vambery, stood up and declared that the prosecuting authorities had made it impossible for the defence to carry out its tasks thoroughly. The noting of the descriptions and details of the accused lasted from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m. It created a stir of interest that amongst the accused almost all parts of the country were represented. The accused are mostly industrial workers, but there are also quite a number of agricultural workers in their ranks.

At 2 p. m. the examination of the chief accused comrade Zoltan Szanto commenced. Replying to the chairman of the court Szanto declared that he only felt himself responsible towards his Party and the Third International and that he therefore considered it superfluous to make any answer to the question of the chairman as to whether he felt himself guilty or not guilty. He went on:

"I joined the Social Democratic Party as a young apprentice and when the Communist Party of Hungary was founded I joined that immediately. As a red soldier I took part in the war of Soviet Hungary against the robber imperialists.

"I returned from abroad with a false pass to Hungary. I did that because I considered it my duty to take an active part in my own country in the daily struggles of the workers and in the preparation of the revolutionary struggle for emancipation in this country where there is the most terrible oppression and exploitation.

"My aim was to take part in the organization, in the leadership and also in the petty work of the Communist Party of Hungary in order to make this Party great and powerful. Every day of my eight months stay in Hungary was dedicated to this aim. Even in prison I am doing all I can to this end and when I am finally released I will continue my work outside once again."

The chairman, interrupting:

"You mean the illegal Communist Party?"

Szanto: "The Communist Party cannot rely upon the mercy and upon the permission of the ruling class. Without an illegal party there could be no serious revolutionary movement, but our whole efforts are directed to creating a legal party in Hungary through the power of the masses, by winning the confidence of the masses and by mass struggles in Hungary."

The chairman (interrupting): "Let us hear what you actually did in Hungary."

Szanto: "I am only responsible to my party for my actions. I refuse to answer all questions referring to my own work or to the work of my comrades, as far as the details of that work are concerned."

Chairman: "But you made a detailed confession to the police."

Szanto: "Yes it was a detailed statement, but it was no confession. It was a protocol dictated by the police and forced upon me by moral pressure. At the time of our arrest the police headquarters was the scene of the most dreadful brutalities for more than ten days. The police

presented the tortured, beaten and bloody workers to me. Loevy, Poll, Kossis and Krissl in particular, were almost beaten to death. When I saw this Schweinitzer (the police commandant) said to me that he would leave it to my conscience what the fate of my comrades would be. When I asked him how it depended upon me, he answered: 'Either you confess everything, or we shall show you your comrades in quite another condition tomorrow.' I was then led into a near-by room from where I could hear the shrieks of agony of my tortured comrades. In this terrible situation

I signed the protocol and then withdrew it completely at the proceedings before the exceptional court and I repeat my withdrawal now."

Chairman: "Tell us under whose orders you came to Hungary?"

Szanto: "It is high time to kill the fairy tale about Moscow. The Communist Party of Hungary is a section of the Communist International. The struggle for the emancipation of the world's workers is carried on by a joint organ. The general directives are laid down by world congresses and determined in practice by the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Communist Party of Hungary however, has its own Central Committee, in Hungary itself, and within the general boundaries laid down by the Communist International it comes to its own decisions independently. My own con-

science and the decision of my own party brought me to Hungary to work with all the means at my disposal to build up the Communist Party so that with the assistance of that Party the mass struggle of the working class can destroy the present system which is gagging the workers."

Chairman: "Is this to be done with the use of force also?"

Szanto: "Yes, with force. For us, violence is no aim, it is only a means. The dictatorship of the proletariat is also only a means to an end. The Communist Party is also a means for the emancipation of the working class and for the setting up of the proletarian State. I declare that I consider the immediate task of my life to be the strengthening of the Communist Party of Hungary into a mass party capable of setting up a new and victorious dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary."

The chairman then closed the proceedings. The proceedings were reopened later and the defendants convicted.

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from

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- A. F. W. -

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GREETINGS FROM

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GREETINGS

The Working Women's Club of Mass City, Michigan Sends Greetings to The DAILY WORKER.

Workers and Peasants

of the

Soviet Union

GREETINGS!

from

SS. 1 AC 7 F. WORKERS' (Communist)
PARTY OF AMERICA, District 2

GREETINGS
TO THE DAILY WORKER
FROM
YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE
OF DULUTH

GREETINGS TO

The 10th Anniversary

NUCLEUS NO. 103

BUFFALO, N. Y.

We the members of the Workers (Communist) Party of the City of Flint send our congratulations to the Tenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

SUB-DISTRICT COMMITTEE,

FLINT, MICH.

GREETINGS to THE DAILY WORKER

on the occasion of the

Tenth Anniversary of the

Russian Revolution

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Greetings from

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DETROIT, MICH.

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What the Revolution Gave to the Youth

How Young Workers Lived Under Czarism

In pre-revolutionary times the youth represented a fairly large proportion of the total number of wage earners in Russia. Thus, in 1897, out of a total number of 9,144,000 wage earners recorded by the All-Russian Census of that year there were 1,500,000 young workers between the

age of 12 (and less) and 18 years (17.5% of the total). Out of that number of young wage earners there were employed: 29.5% in industry, 34% in agriculture, and 23.9% in domestic service. The distribution of the total number (1,600,000) according to the ages, is expressed in the following table:

12 yrs. (and less).....	238,000 or 2.6%
13-14 years.....	363,000 or 4.0%
15-16 years.....	644,000 or 7.2%
17 years.....	355,000 or 3.7%

of the total number of wage-earners of the total number of wage-earners of the total number of wage-earners

Total.....1,600,000 or 17.5%

of the total number of wage-earners to the most ruthless exploitation. The data on the hours worked by minors (children of the age of 12 and less, up to 14 years), collected for the period of 1882-83 in the province of Moscow, present the following picture:

Industries.	—Work by Shifts—	
	One Shift Day Work.	Night
1. Cotton Spinning.....	13-13½ hrs.	12 hrs.
2. Printed Cotton.....	12-13½ hrs.	13 hrs.
3. Cloth Mills.....	13-15 hrs.	12-13 hrs.
4. Sugar Refineries.....	12-12½ hrs.	10-10½ hrs.
5. Glass Works.....	13 hrs.	12 hrs.

the adult workers, and the earnings of minors (children) amounted only to 36% or \$2.55½. According to the individual industries, the average monthly earnings of minors may be presented in the following comparative table:

	Average Monthly Earnings of Adult Workers.	Average Monthly Earnings of Minors.
1. Nail Factories.....	\$15.12	\$5.25
2. Engineering Works.....	14.50	4.00
3. Glass Works.....	12.00	2.75
4. Silk Mills.....	10.00	1.75
5. Cotton Spinning.....	8.00	3.50
6. Cloth Mills.....	7.75	3.12

the rural districts. Particularly hard was the life of the young agricultural laborers. Thus, for instance, on the tobacco plantations in the Crimea the working day of the youths lasted from 16 to 17 hours a day. For such slavery the youths and children were earning an exceedingly miserable pittance fluctuating between 15 and 30 kopecks a day, depending on the season and the kind of work, which constituted 46-54 per cent of the earnings of the adults under similar conditions of labor. At the same time it should be mentioned that among certain categories of minor employees in agriculture, such as shepherds, nurses, etc., the remuneration in the majority of cases took the shape of a simple "crust of bread."

The wage conditions did not undergo any improvements in the subsequent years. Thus, in 1901 the apprentices were earning from 12½ cents to 20 cents a day, which amounted again to \$3.00-\$4.50 a month. During the war (since 1914) although there was a certain rise in the wages of adult workers and youths, (41.4%), but on the other hand there was an increase in the cost of living (150%), consequently, the conditions of the young workers did not at all improve during that period.

The overwhelming majority of the peasant youths were illiterate. The poverty-stricken peasant family was too much interested in having an extra pair of working hands, so that it was quite reluctant to send the boy or the girl to school, particularly the tsarist educational authorities were not calculated to give any useful and practical knowledge to the pupils, and they only stuffed their brains with sundry religious and "patriotic" nonsense, imbuing them with the spirit of humility and submission to their "betters." The road to a better life was closed to the peasant youth.

A number of laws concerning the labor of youths was issued by the Czar's government, but in none of those laws was there a single word said about the wages of young workers, about the protection of their health, about safety measures, and so on. Moreover, whatever laws were issued by the czarist government did not produce any appreciable improvement in the condition of the young workers as all such laws were met with stubborn resistance on the part of the employers, who, in the majority of cases, found convenient loopholes for the evasion of the law.

To all the hardships suffered by the working youth under tsarism should be added the scourge of "soldiering," the long spell of thralldom to which the peasant lad was doomed under tsarism, where he was condemned to spend the best year of his life in the service of the capitalists and the landlords. Such was the gloomy existence of the peasant youth in tsarist Russia.

The hard and exhausting toil in the capitalist establishments during 13-14 hours a day was bound to tell on the health of the young workers, to which no one paid any attention. Neither could the young workers themselves look after their own health.

Needless to speak of any political rights possessed by the working and peasant youths, since the whole of the proletariat and the peasantry were entirely disfranchised. To all efforts at gaining their freedom, the tsarist government replied by ruthless repression. The police, the spies, the gendarmes, the agents-provocateurs the black hundreds, the Cossack's whip, the bourgeois court, the prison, the penal settlement, and the scaffold, etc.—these were the parts of the huge machinery set in operation by the tsarist autocracy for the subjection of the masses, for the suppression of the people's strivings for freedom. It was a machine which mowed down large masses of workers and peasants who fought against tsarism, capitalism and landlordism.

Thus, for instance, during the annual recruiting of conscripts there used to be disqualified for military service about 47% of the youths on account of ruptures, eye diseases, heart diseases, etc., contracted through hard work in the factories. Moreover, such hard conditions of oil had their effort not only upon the health, but also upon the education of the young workers, who had no spare time left under such hard conditions of labor.

The Leninist Young Communist League carries on colossal activity in the education of the proletarian youth and of the young generation of peasants, training them into active builders of Socialism and devoted fighters for the world revolution.

The elementary schools of those days, in which the young workers were allowed to be taught, were not equipped to afford much instruction to the young workers. Under such conditions the young workers naturally were steeped in ignorance and darkness.

The Leninist Young Communist League carries on colossal activity in the education of the proletarian youth and of the young generation of peasants, training them into active builders of Socialism and devoted fighters for the world revolution.

No better were the conditions of the young workers under czarism in

League is part of the world Communist Youth Movement, it is a section of the Young Communist International, its foremost vanguard. The Young Communist League agitates the youth in the international spirit.

This very organization, the Leninist Young Communist League with its two and one half million membership, constitutes the fundamental political conquest of the October Revolution for the young workers and peasants.

Another fruit of the October victory is the Communist movement among the children. Only five years ago, at the time of the Fifth Congress of the Young Communist League (in October 1922) there were only 4,000 children in the ranks of the Young Pioneers, whereas on June 1st of the current year there were already 2,028,430 children enrolled among the Young Pioneers and "Octobrists," of whose number 40 per cent were girls. Among these Pioneers and Octobrists, along with 41 per cent of the Russian children, there were children of the other nationalities, 27.7 per cent were the children of workers, 49.5 per cent those of peasants, 15.6 per cent those of office employees, and 7.2 per cent of other elements. The Young Communist kernel in these organizations, in absolute figures, amounted to 147,054.

The Pioneer organization slowly but surely worked out its particular forms of educational activity, and of its participation in the building of Socialism. There grows up the type of the constructive pioneer and the missionary of culture in town and village; there grows the participation of the Pioneer organization in the public and political life of the country. Thus, in the last Soviet elections about 200,000 pioneers took part (by distributing notices to the electors, by canvassing for the "children's demands," etc.); the pioneers responded in a body to the appeal made by the Soviet Government for the strengthening of the defensive power of the country (the development of military sports, rifle range competitions, anti-gas exercises, etc.).

The October Revolution has brought radical changes in the position of the young workers. Whereas under czarism the labor of young people was the object of the most cruel exploitation, to-day it is essentially of an educational and industrial training character. The labor of young people is now based to a considerable extent upon the elements of Socialism.

(a) In the first place, the working hours have been shortened. Young people between 14 and 16 years of age are working 4 hours a day, and those between 16 and 18 years are working 6 hours. The present working hours of the young people were not introduced all at once; but the shortening of the working day for the young people was gradually introduced in accordance with the general progress of peaceful construction.

(b) Secondly, the young workers get paid for the shorter as for a full day. The earnings of the young workers have been steadily increasing in recent years, as shown by the following figures:

In 1923-24 the average monthly earnings were \$3.05.
 In 1924-25 the average monthly earnings were \$9.35.
 In 1925-26 the average monthly earnings were \$10.65.
 As compared with pre-war rates of \$3.50, \$4.45 and \$4.60.
 In 1926-27 the wages were increased by a further 20-30 per cent. On comparing the present wages of the young workers with those formerly received (amounting to a maximum of \$4.50 a month) we see again the

tremendous difference which has taken place. It should be observed that the Soviet State, in addition to the money given the young worker directly in the shape of wages, spends also considerable funds on the education of the young, on taking care of their health, and so on.

(c) Thirdly, the industrial and general education facilities for the young workers lead to a general raising of the efficiency of labor. The young workers have their Factory Work-Schools in which, along with the training in their particular occupations, they are also given a general and political education. The network of these schools is steadily growing, and so does the number of young workers attending them.

(d) One of the greatest gains of the October Revolution for the young workers and peasants is the opportunity to study in the higher schools. It was only under Soviet rule that the young workers and peasants have been given sufficient opportunities to gain higher education, and numerous measures were carried out to facilitate the admission of the young workers and peasants to the higher schools.

(e) Among the other October gains of the young workers, should be mentioned the particular care and attention given by the Soviet State and the public in general to questions of protecting the labor and health of the young workers. Periodical medical examinations, additional vacations, free medical aid and health resort treatment, the sanatoria and rest homes, the control of the labor of youths in the factories, etc.—these are the forms in which the Soviet State looks after the well-being of the young workers. The young workers were deprived of all this under czarism, as well as under the bourgeois Provisional Government. The young workers appreciate the attention devoted by the Soviet State and the public to the development of physical culture, of the physical training of the rising generation of the proletariat. Physical culture too constitutes one of the October gains.

(f) In the life of the young workers there are still many difficulties and shortcomings. Chief among these difficulties of the present moment, particularly felt by the young workers, is the question of unemployment which has assumed a somewhat protracted character. This unemployment is hard to combat because the young workers looking for employment through the Labor Exchanges consist mostly of the unskilled. Nevertheless, we are having an intense campaign against unemployment. Gigantic industrial enterprises are under construction in the Soviet Union just now, involving the building of new factories and workshops, as well as the overhauling of the old ones. The economic life of the country is steadily growing stronger, and thereby the conditions are created for the reduction of unemployment. Among other measures for the relief of unemployment should be mentioned the organization of industrial communes of the unemployed, the opening of training courses to raise the skill of unemployed workers, and so on.

The October Revolution has brought radical changes in the life of the young peasants too. October has opened wide to them the avenue to knowledge and culture. The young peasants constitute at present a considerable proportion of the number of students in the higher schools, in the technical schools, and in the workers' faculties.

The peasant youth school, the agricultural circles, the cooperative training courses for peasant boys and girls, the peasant courses of Soviet officials, these are the fundamental



The Young Pioneer

Soviet Russia teems with hundreds of thousands of the Organized Children of the Revolution—the Pioneers.

gains of October for the peasant youth. The network of these establishments, which cater to the needs of the young peasants and help them rise to a higher economic and cultural level, grows year by year, embracing ever-larger circles of the young people in the rural districts.

Particularly striking and conclusive are the gains of the peasant youth on their road to "literacy." This is

shown in the following figures:

The percentage of young recruits who were found literate on joining the army (in per cent to the total number of recruits):

1912	1924	1925
66.8%	80.6%	87%

A further contribution to the raising of the general cultural level of the young peasants are the reading-huts, the literacy schools, the econ-

omic stations, the movie and the radio which are penetrating more and more into the social life of the villages. All these things the villages owe to the October Revolution.

(5.)

At the present time there is no "soldiering." The service in the Red Army is no longer a penal settlement, but a real school for the edification of the young recruits coming from the rural districts. The Red Army, along with military knowledge, affords education and instruction to the young peasants on subjects which vitally concern them, so that on returning to their fields they might become progressive cultivators of the soil.

There has been a radical change brought about by the revolution in the position of the agricultural young workers too. The protection of labor by law, the agreement with the employer, the trade union card—these are the October gains for the young agricultural laborers.

Last but not least, the tremendous change in the position of the peasant girls must be mentioned. From a down-trodden and defenceless being under Czarism, she has now become a citizen possessing full rights, and taking part in the cultural and political life of the country.

Suffice it for a young peasant lad or girl to compare their present working and living conditions with those of the time of autocracy, to grasp at once the priceless value of the October gains to them.

We have dealt with some of the fundamental gains of October for the young workers and peasants. It were difficult to enumerate all that has been gained by the young workers and peasants by the October Revolution. Many of the things now enjoyed by the young people are likely to be considered as matters of course; in reality they are the result of the prolonged and stubborn struggle of the working class for its rights which led to the historic victory in October 1917.

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How Young Workers Live in Proletarian U.S.S.R.

THE tenth anniversary of the October Revolution finds the young workers and peasants organized into the Leninist Youth League with a membership of two and one half million. The Communist Youth League embraces more than one half of all the young workers employed in the factories and workshops, and over a million peasants, boys and girls. Such is the basic result of developments in the course of the nine years under revolutionary conditions. This organization of the young workers and peasants could come into existence only owing to the victory of the proletarian dictatorship.

shops are building up the socialist industries, improving the quality of the products, and reducing the manufacturing costs. The Young Communists in the rural districts are the promoters of the new forms of agricultural labor, are cooperative organizers, and are taking part in the building of the "new culture in the Soviet village. The Youth League comes forward as an active helper of the Party in consolidating the defensive forces of the country. The Communist Youth League helps the Party in fortifying the Soviets, and in attracting the young workers into the trade unions.

The Communist Youth League, during the nine years of its development, has grown into a tremendous force which plays a prominent part in the public and political life of the Soviet Union. Under the guidance of the Communist Youth League, the young workers in the factories and work-

The Leninist Young Communist League carries on colossal activity in the education of the proletarian youth and of the young generation of peasants, training them into active builders of Socialism and devoted fighters for the world revolution.

Greetings from

Shop Nucleus No. 3
 Section 2, Workers'
 Party, District 2

Greetings from

Factory District
 Unit 2F, Section 2,
 Workers' Party, Dist. 2

UNIT 3 F., SUB-SEC. D., SECTION 1
 — Workers' (Communist) Party of America —

WE GREET THE VICTORIOUS RUSSIAN WORKERS ON THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY AND PROMISE TO DEFEND THE FIRST WORKERS' REPUBLIC AND HASTEN THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION THE WORLD OVER

ON THE ROAD OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Ten Years of Cultural Work in the U. S. S. R.

NOT all of these years were favorable for normal activity, on the cultural front—by far, not all. Civil war, intervention, blockades, famine and cold arrested the attention of the toiling masses of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics at the beginning almost entirely to the military and provision fronts and later to the economic front.

Nevertheless even under such unfavorable conditions the cultural work never stopped for a moment in the Soviet Republics. The country was culturally developing in the trail of the revolution. The political enlightenment of the masses has developed during these ten years to a marvelous extent, rousing tremendous enthusiasm of the classes oppressed under the czar and organizing them under the leadership of the Communist Party against the forces of the old world, against the nobility and the bourgeoisie.

With all this it may be said that during the first few years following the October Revolution, not so many new values have been created on the cultural front as were renovated and cleared of their rust the remnants of the old bourgeois culture and the ground cleared for a new culture. Therefore the results of the first ten years of the October Revolution in the domain of culture must be regarded as an achievement of a period less than ten years, an achievement of comparatively only a few years, the years of peaceful creative work.

Democracy and Culture. Bourgeois democracy proclaims formal equality of all citizens. But in reality there is a colossal distance from formal to real equality. As long as private property, land and other means of production exist, particularly of the large mills and factories, as long as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie exists, the proletariat classes will always find a "machine for the exploitation and oppression of the great majority of toilers" (from the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union).

No republic in the world, even the most "democratic" republic, no matter how far it may go in meeting the demands for "full equality of all citizens before the law and at the polls," the toilers cannot free themselves from this "machine for their exploitation." The working class can free itself from it only through proletarian democracy which, with the abolition of economic exploitation of the toiling masses, is capable of converting the organizations of the classes oppressed by capitalism into a basis of the machinery of proletarian government. By having done this, Soviet democracy really realizes self-government and develops the self-activity of the masses in contra-distinction to bourgeois "democracy" which in reality conceals the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

If there is no full equality in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the roots of such inequality must be sought in contra-distinction to the inequality under capitalism, not in the oppression of the toilers by a handful of capitalists but in the heritage from the past on the one hand and in the different levels of culture organization and self-activity among the

different sections of the toilers on the other.

One of the greatest obstacles in the realization of absolute democracy under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship is undoubtedly the presence of the so-called "cultural scissors," i. e., the sharp cultural differences between the towns and villages, between the men and women, etc.

"No one will deny," said Lenin, "that for real and not paper democracy, for the drawing in of the workers and peasants to political life we have done as much as the best democratic republics did or could do in the course of centuries. This has assumed its significance and as a result the Soviets have become the watchword of the proletariat of all countries. But this does not in the least remove us from the fact that we have to contend with insufficient cultural development of masses." (Our emphasis, Vol. VIII, p. 123-9, Russian edition.)

The Struggle For Cultural Hegemony. The proletariat creates conditions for unprecedentedly rapid cultural development as the experience of the Russian Revolution has shown only after it had attained its October victory. The October Revolution must be the forerunner of the cultural revolution and not vice versa.

In his article "On Cooperation," Lenin wrote:

"Our opponents told us many a time that we are undertaking an impossible task, the task of implanting socialism in an insufficiently developed cultural country, but they were mistaken in their idea that we started not from the right end as this was supposed by theory (of the different pedants) and the political and social revolution proved to be the forerunner of that cultural upheaval, that cultural revolution which we are now nevertheless 'confronted with.'" (Volume XVIII, part II, page 145, Russian edition.)

There can be no doubt that the proletariat received as a heritage from the old regime a country backward both in an economic and cultural respect. But it is not absolutely necessary that a high cultural level should create the prerequisites for the capture of power by the proletariat. The experience of the last ten years has shown that the victorious October, i. e., the political and social revolution, the passing over of power to the working class proved to be the forerunner of the now developing cultural revolution. In an article dedicated to an exposition of the opportunity of the "Left" Menshevik Sukhanov, Lenin wrote:

"If a certain cultural level is necessary for the creation of socialism (although no one can definitely say what this certain 'cultural level' must be) why then can we not start from the beginning with the conquest by revolutionary means of the prerequisites necessary for that level and later, on the basis of the workers' and peasants' government and the Soviet order catch up with the other nations?" (Vol. XVIII, part 2, page 113.)

The proletariat fights from the beginning for hegemony in the sphere of social and political relations, it fights for the consolidation of its leadership over the toilers against the



Science Comes to the Peasant—the Radio.

hostile forces, it fights for its hegemony in the revolution. When it conquers power it aims at the preservation and consolidation of that power in order to give rise to the necessary prerequisites for the development of Soviet democracy; it aims at the creation—insofar as outside forces do not interfere—of a hitherto unparalleled development of culture closely

linked up with the matter of socialist industrialization of the country. The proletariat aims at the conquest of the hegemony of the bourgeoisie not only in the social and political sphere but also in the cultural sphere. This necessitates that the proletariat should master all knowledge accumulated by humanity through the agents of the past.

From the Monarchists to the Anarchists

(On the Freedom of the Press.) The October revolution transformed the proletarian press which was still persecuted on the very eve of the revolution and driven entirely underground into a government press. The working class received for the first time in the history of the human race the opportunity to utilize extensively the technical means of the press for the illumination of its own needs and tasks, for the organization of its ranks, for the realization of its ideological hegemony.

To the demand that freedom of press be granted to all parties "from the monarchists to the anarchists," Lenin replied:

"The freedom of press throughout the world wherever capitalism predominates is the freedom to buy papers, to buy writers, to buy and manufacture public opinion in favor of the bourgeoisie. This is a fact. No one can ever deny this. But can anyone deny that there the bourgeoisie is smashed, but not destroyed? Is it not a fact that the bourgeoisie is in secret hiding? This cannot be denied. The freedom of press in the RSFSR surrounded by bourgeois foes throughout the world is tantamount to freedom of political organization of the bourgeoisie and its loyal servants, the Mensheviks and SRs." (Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 339.)

Depriving the bourgeoisie and its servants from the opportunity to organize openly, the working class created its own press, permeated with a sound proletarian truth and it created it not only with the hands of professional journalists, but with the participation of the toiling masses, the mass collaboration of the rank and file workers and peasants. One of the most interesting mass movements has appeared during the last few years in connection with the press, namely the worker and rural correspondent movement.

The Soviet and Party press differentiates itself not along Party tendencies, but on the basis of the cultural niveau and special interests of the leaders. Instead of the usual classification of newspapers in the capitalist countries into bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and proletarian papers (if they appear openly), we have in the USSR the following papers: leading central papers, leading district or provincial papers, newspapers for the working masses, newspapers for the peasants, national, trade union, cooperative, economics, military, Young Communist, Pioneer, literary, sport, evening, and wall newspapers, etc., etc.

The Soviet press surprises everyone who happens to get acquainted with its depth and business-like arrangement, the simplicity of style, seriousness of tone, absence of any

traces of yellow "sensationalism," the scope of articles and notes written by workers from the bench and peasants from the farm (the worker and peasant correspondents).

The total number of worker and peasant correspondents in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is, according to approximate estimates, over 350,000. The Newspaper circulation has reached by the end of 1925, 7,300,000 (before the war the newspaper circulation in Russia was not over 2,500,000). The largest circulation falls to the "Krestianskaya Gazetta" (peasant newspaper) which is about one million. The second largest is the "Pravda" with a circulation of about 700,000, and the third is the "Izvestia," with a circulation of about 500,000.

The imprint of the same matter-of-factness lies also on the Soviet books published by the state, Party and cooperative publishing houses. Text books, popular science, popular and political books in general have a tremendous circulation. A colossal growth of publications is to be noted as compared with the pre-revolutionary period. Comrade Lunacharsky pointed out in his report at the Sixth All-Union Congress of Educational Workers that circulation of scientific publications according to the figures of the Gosizdat has increased two and a half times as compared with 1913. The output of 14 largest publishing houses of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (there are over 1,000 publishing houses in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, but most of them are insignificant) expressed itself in the first half of 1926 by 2,730 book titles and 238 million printed sheets. The Gosizdat is one of the most remarkable publishing houses of the Soviet government. The Gosizdat has 8 powerful typographies, a paper factory, a music printing works, an extensive network of book-shops, and so forth and so on. The Gosizdat and the stock companies affiliated to it employed about 18,000 workers and employees.

The Gosizdat is a true producer of Soviet books, the like of which is not to be found throughout the world. This is true as to its activity and of the ideological value of the books published.

"Children of the Common People." The October revolution wrought enormous changes in all phases of educational work, including of course the most important phase, namely, the school.

The idea of the vocational school has become the central axis of popular education of the USSR.

Under Czarism the children of the "lower" classes had no access to the schools of the propertied classes,

although there were some rare exceptions. The nobility had their special caste schools where even the children of the bourgeoisie were not accepted. The elementary rural schools were in the hands of the clergy who crammed into the heads of the children the "laws of god" and imbued them with monarchist sentiments. The high schools prepared the children of the propertied classes for the universities, but in themselves they gave absolutely no practical knowledge or ability of orientation to the students. In other words, the high school was a scholastic, lifeless institution. The universities taught the ideas of the big bourgeoisie and produced captains of industry and men of the free professions, such as lawyers, doctors, etc., imbued with a reactionary spirit. Even if the bourgeois sons have had some free ideas while at school, they usually refer to them with a smile after leaving school as to sins of their youth and devote themselves entirely to "making a career."

The October revolution reconstructed the entire school system. The main forms of elementary and high schools are now the first and second grade schools, the nine years school, the special courses (the supplementary 8th and 9th year of education to the 7-year terms with a vocational tendency), professional schools and schools for young peasants. Originally the Soviet government intended to have only one vocational school, but life has made some changes in this plan and necessitated the organization side by side with the principal school of the first and second grade, a network of professional and technical schools, and recently, schools for the peasant youth, giving a special education to the young peasants along agricultural lines, in the course of seven years.

As always life proved to be more complicated and multi-colored than abstract theory, but at the same time it has shown to what extent the theory of the Soviet school corresponds with the real requirements of the workers and peasants. It may be boldly stated that the ten years of Soviet rule confirmed the vitality of the great idea of one vocational school.

Even Marx wrote in his days that labor is the best form of training and education. Marx was of the opinion that education must be closely linked up with production and that labor must become the basis of education. This of course does not mean hard physical and extenuating labor, but light work suitable to the potentialities of the child and such to be of a polytechnic character, i. e., which gives an idea of all elements of production and not only of one phase of it. A study of production must be linked up with the study of science on the basis of which production is carried on, for instance, mathematics, chemistry, physics, etc.

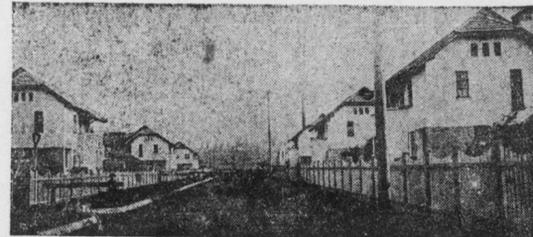
The Soviet factory vocational school comes near to the realization of Marx's idea of the vocational school which was warmly supported by Lenin. In the factory vocational schools, apprentices are trained to become qualified workers. Workers' children not employed in the factories wanting to become skilled workers can go through a course in the shops connected with the special technical schools. These schools are organized mainly for the artisans and small-scale industry. During the last few years a great need has developed in the large-scale industry for high-skilled labor. With this in view special vocational training schools have been opened in the factories (7 year terms). There are about 50 such schools in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics at the present time. Professional schools which raise the qualifications of workers, have now greatly developed.

The total number of schools for young workers in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics was 629, embracing 65,000 pupils in 1925-26. The number of pupils in all professional and technical schools is at the present time 590,000 as against 267,000 in 1924-25. The network of technical schools in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has increased 12.5 per cent as compared with the pre-revolutionary period.

The number of pupils in the elementary and high schools has greatly increased. The success in this sphere can be judged from the following figures: if the number of pupils on the present territory of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics before the revolution is taken as 100 their number in 1924-25 was 116.5, in 1925-26 130.9, in 1926-27 136.9. There are about ten million children attending elementary schools. (In 1914-15 there were only 7,000.) As a result of intensive work during the last ten years, 69.2 per cent of the children attended the elementary schools of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics in 1925-26 as against 50.7 per cent before the war. The growth of the school network proceeds most rapidly in the republics having the least schools. The republics Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan of Central Asia have the biggest increase of schools.

The number of high schools, particularly the seven year terms, also increases. In the industrial centers and in the largest towns the nine year courses increase considerably. In many districts the seven year

BUILDING WORKERS' HOMES



courses are about to become the elementary schools instead of the existing four year courses.

The workers now permeate the high schools and correspondingly the composition of the high school students is changing. About half of the high school students are now workers' and peasants' children.

The other half of the high school students are children of office workers, artisans, small business men, etc. This fact alone—the gradual changing of the correlations of social groups of the school—shows the profound changes made in the high schools by the revolution and that practically every stone has been moved from its place. Let us be more exact; the buildings remain intact and undamaged if we leave out of consideration the damage effected by the civil war and the destructive action of the time. The only heritage we have from the old school which did not require any profound ideological and methodological destruction are the school buildings.

If we compare the "army" of students of the present time with that of before the revolution we will see an enormous increase.

The number of students in the old empire was 8,200,000 out of a population of 140,000,000, i. e., one student out of every 17 inhabitants. In 1925-26 there were in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics (not including the autonomous republics) 8,000,000 students to a popu-

lation of 83,000,000, i. e., one student to every ten inhabitants.

Commensurate with the increasing number of students the number of teachers has also increased, and is now one and a half times as great as before the war. The educational budget has also increased. Before the war the expenses for education amounted to 3 roubles 83 copecks per capita. The average annual revenue per student was 31 roubles, 70 copecks, or in present currency 63 roubles, 40 copecks. The expenditures on education in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics (not including the autonomous republics) were in 1925-26, 315,000,000 roubles allowed by the government and local budgets. This does not include the funds allowed by the trade unions, public organizations, etc., for educational purposes. The average expenditure per capita was 4 roubles, 11 copecks, and per pupil 45 roubles, 80 copecks a year. The expenditures on education in 1925-26 were 6.8 per cent above the pre-war level.

This is how education increases in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics from year to year. This is how the network of schools for the children of the "common people" who were not admitted under czarism to the "decent" educational institutions is becoming the main school system.

The proletariat "invades" not only the elementary, but also the high schools, and not only the high schools, but also the universities.

The Architectural Iron, Bronze and Structural Workers' Union

greet the workers of Soviet Russia and the workers all over the world

on the occasion of the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Long live the first workers' government!

Long live the world's revolution, which will emancipate the working class.

Greetings from

ARMENIAN FRACTIONS' BUREAU

for the

Tenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

Greetings to the

WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF THE SOVIET UNION, ON OCCASION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION - - -

LEO KLING, Daily Worker Builder.

SUB-SECTION 1 D, 1 F, DISTRICT NO. 2

GREETINGS

The Workers of Soviet Russia

on the occasion of the

Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution

GREETINGS FROM

The Architectural Iron and Bronze Structural Workers' Union

TO THE

10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The Militant Workers

of the

Cap and Millinery Workers

—Section of T. U. E. L.—

send Greetings to the

Russia

on the occasion of the

Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution

GREETINGS

to the

Tenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

Members of Bakers Union

— LOCAL 164, A. F. W. —

— BUY UNION BREAD —

Letter to Comrades-Bolsheviks Participating in the Regional Congress of the Soviets of Northern Region

Written by Lenin on October 8, 1917.

COMRADES! Our revolution is passing thru a highly critical time. This crisis coincides with the great crisis of a growing world socialist revolution and of a struggle against it by world imperialism. The responsible leaders of our Party are burdened with the gigantic task, the non-fulfillment of which threatens with a total collapse of the Internationalist proletarian movement. The moment is such that delay is verily equal to death.

Look at the international situation. The growth of an international revolution is beyond dispute. The outburst of indignation of the Czech workers has been suppressed with unbelievable bestiality which indicates that the government is extremely frightened. In Italy things came to a mass explosion in Turin. Most important, however, is the uprising in the German navy. One must picture to oneself the enormous difficulties for a revolution in a country like Germany, especially under present circumstances. It is impossible to doubt that the uprising in the German navy signifies the great crisis of a rising world revolution. While our chauvinists who preach Germany's defeat demand a sudden uprising of the German workers, we Russian revolutionary internationalists know from the experience of 1905-1917 that one cannot imagine a more imposing sign of rising revolution than an uprising in the troops.

Think in what position we find ourselves now before the German revolutionaries. They can tell us, we have one Liebknecht who openly called for a revolution. His voice has been stifled behind iron bars. We have not a single paper which would openly explain the necessity of a revolution, we have no freedom of assemblage. We have not a single Soviet of workers' or soldiers' deputies. Our voice hardly reaches the real broad masses. Still, we made an attempt at uprising, having perhaps one chance out of a hundred. Whereas you, Russian revolutionary internationalists, have behind you one-half year of free propaganda, you have a score or more

of papers, you have a whole number of Soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies, you have gained the upper hand in the Soviet of both capitals, you have on your side the entire Baltic fleet, and all the Russian troops in Finland, and still you do not reply to our call for uprising, you do not overthrow your imperialist Kerensky, having as you do ninety chances out of a hundred to see your uprising victorious.

Yes, we will be real betrayers of the International if, at such a moment, under such favorable conditions, we will reply to such a call of the German revolutionaries by mere resolutions.

Add to it that we all know perfectly well of the rapidly growing connivance and conspiracy of the International imperialists against the Russian revolution. To stifle it at any price, to stifle it both by military measures and by a peace at the expense of Russia,—this is what international imperialism approaches ever closer. This is what particularly sharpens the crisis of a world socialist revolution, this is what renders our hesitancy in the matter of an uprising particularly dangerous, I would almost say criminal.

Take, further, the internal situation of Russia. The bankruptcy of the petty bourgeois conciliation parties that express the unconscious confidence of the masses towards Kerensky and the imperialists in general is an obvious fact. The bankruptcy is complete. The voting of the Soviet delegation at the Democratic conference against a coalition, the voting of a majority of local Soviets of Peasant Deputies (in spite of their Central Soviet where the Avassentiev and other Kerensky's friends are seated) against a coalition, the elections in Moscow where the working population is closest to the peasantry and where over 49 per cent voted for the Bolsheviks (among the soldiers fourteen and seventeen thousand),—is all this not a total collapse of the confidence of the masses of the people towards Kerensky and the conciliators headed by Kerensky et Co.? Can one imagine that the masses of the people should say still more clearly than they said by this vote to the Bolsheviks, Lead us, we follow you?

And we, having thus won the majority of the masses of the people on our side, having conquered both the capital Soviets, shall we wait? What for? Wait till Kerensky and his Kornilovist generals deliver Petersburg to the Germans, thus entering, directly or indirectly, openly or covertly, into a conspiracy both with Buchanan and with Wilhelm completely to stifle the Russian revolution.

It is not sufficient that the people, by the Moscow vote and by the reelections to the Soviets, has expressed confidence in us. There are signs of a growing apathy and indifference. This is easily understood. This means not an ebbing of the revolution, as the Constitutional Democrats and their chorus declare, but an ebbing of confidence in resolutions and elections. The masses in a revolution demand of the leading parties action, not words. Victories in the struggle, not talks. The moment is near when the opinion may appear among the people that the Bolsheviks are no better than the others, since they did not know how to act, when confidence in them was expressed. . . .

Thruout the whole country, the peasant uprising is a flame. It is clearer than clear that the Constitutional Democrats and their satellites are minimizing it in every way, reducing it to "pogroms" and "anarchy." This lie is destroyed by the fact that in the centers of the uprising the land is being given over to the peasants: never have "pogroms" and "anarchy" led to such splendid political results! The tremendous power of the peasant uprising is proven by the fact that both the conciliators and the Socialist Revolutionaries in the "Delo Naroda" and even Breshko-Breshkovskaya began to speak of giving the land to the peasants in order to extinguish the movement as long as it has not swept over their heads. Shall we wait until the Cossack units of the Kornilovist Kerensky (who just now has been exposed as a Kornilovist by the Socialist Revolutionaries themselves) has succeeded in suppressing this peasant uprising piecemeal?

It seems that many leaders of our Party have not noticed the specific meaning of that slogan which we

all recognized and repeated without end. This slogan is, All power to the Soviets. There were periods, there were moments during a half-year of revolution, when that slogan did not mean uprising. Maybe those periods and those moments have blinded a portion of our comrades and made them forget that at present and for us, at least beginning from the middle of September, this slogan is tantamount to a call to uprising.

There can be not the shadow of a doubt about this. The "Delo Naroda" has recently explained this "in a popular way" when it said: "Kerensky will never submit!" Of course not!

The slogan, "All power to the Soviets!" is nothing but a call to uprising. The blame will fall on us fully unconditionally when we, who for months have called the masses to uprising, to repudiating conciliation, will fail to lead those masses to an uprising on the eve of a collapse of the revolution, after the masses have expressed their confidence in us.

The Constitutional Democrats and conciliators frighten us with the example of July 3-5, with the growth of Black Hundred propaganda, etc. However, if there was an error on July 3-5, it was the error of our failing to seize power. I think at that time there was no error because at that time we were not yet in a majority, at present, however, it would be a fatal error, worse than an error. The growth of Black Hundred propaganda is easily understood as a sharpening of the extremes in the atmosphere of a rising revolution of workers and peasants. To use this as an argument against an uprising is ridiculous inasmuch as the powerlessness of the Black Hundred elements bribed by the capitalists, the powerlessness of the Black Hundred in the struggle, does not even require any proof. In a struggle Kornilov and Kerensky can have the support only of the wild division and the Cossacks. At present, demoralization has set in also among the Cossacks, besides the peasants are threatening them with civil war inside of their Cossack regions.

I am writing these lines on Sunday, October 8th, you (Continued on next page.)

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