



Fred Ellis

On the Road to Power



RUSSIAN WORKERS MARCHING IN THE FAMOUS RED SQUARE, MOSCOW

enrichment of private owners, who obey the command of accumulated riches?

"It was easy," he says, "to take possession of our factories and mills seven years ago. When the workers and the peasants combine to oust the oppressors, who can withstand? We were like an avalanche that smashes and sweeps away everything obstructing its rush. It was just as easy to possess ourselves of the power of state. But what a terrible effort was required to make the wheels of the industrial machinery move! What devilish struggles we went through before we made our newly won power secure!

"Do you see that frame building on the right side? It is a storehouse now. Three years ago the lot it stands on was vacant. The structure had been taken apart, piece by piece, to be used for fuel. We could not help it. We had to live somehow. We had to keep on working at any price."

A hardly perceptible shiver runs across the face and down the body of our friend. Shadows hover on his forehead, making his eyes darker and deeper.

"Your freedom-loving democracies," he continues, and there is the bitterness of gall in his expression, "your rich and mighty states drew a ring of fire around our young republic. We were being strangled. We choked. We were hungry, sick and hungry and miserable and desolate, and bleeding, bleeding. . . .

"Picture to yourselves. This plant with its fifteen hundred workers was reduced to a little over four hundred. The rest dispersed. Some went to the countryside in search for food. Some joined the Red Army. Some tramped the width and length of the country hoping to find a refuge. Some engaged in illicit trade to stave off starvation. We who were supposed to stay and work, idled for months at a stretch because of the lack of either raw materials or fuel or tools or equipment. It was torture. We lived in a trance. We were hungry. We ate a quarter pound of bread a day. In winter time we saw water freezing in our bedrooms. We saw our children becoming waxen, resembling little skeletons covered with a yellowish skin. We were so feeble it took an effort to move our limbs. How

could we work in such a state? Yet we worked. We managed even to give something for the boys at the front. We were surrounded by fronts. My boy joined our workers' and peasants' army. He died a brave revolutionary fighter under the ramparts of Perekop."

There is the shadow of moisture in the corner of our comrade's eye. Maybe we only imagine it. He is too composed for such expression of weakness. And he has seen things. After a while he continues:

"We stood everything. Behold these streets and squares and roads; go from here to the North or the South, to the far eastern provinces or to the western frontiers; wander through cities, villages, forests, gardens and fields, hills and dales,—they have all been made wet with our blood, the red blood of the working class. We have given all we possessed, all we could; our very lives—and we have won.

"There is this plant now. The number of its workers is at present nineteen hundred. We have mended its buildings, improved its machinery, increased the productivity of our labor. Ours is a rising industry, and we are working at full speed. There is life in the plant now. There is new life in every one of us. We realize that things are not as far ahead throughout the Republic. But we read and we know that the industrial output of the country has increased these last three years by leaps and bounds, that in certain industries it has reached the pre-war level, that our fellow workers are learning the lessons of efficiency, that our labor is becoming more and more productive. What is more important: We know we can do things, we have the confidence, we have the strength and the endurance. Tell your comrades in the land across the water that nothing in the wide universe can break our will."

As we return to the waiting columns which in the meantime have been increased by several squads of young workers with a flood of crimson banners giving the illusion of a flaming torrent, our friend points at some of the men and women in the line.



"KOMSOMOLS," YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

"This is Comrade Popov, the chairman of the shop committee. He was taken prisoner by a band of Denikin's army as he served at the front. He pretended to be a fool of a peasant who had been forced into the Red Army under threats. They did not think it worth while to kill him, and so they made him a soldier in their ranks. He is a sly one, brother Aleixei Popov. He has a way about him. Once in the heart of the hostile army, he began to conduct an underground propaganda among his fellow soldiers, many of whom were plain folks ignorant of what they were doing. He succeeded beyond his expectations. At the crucial moment of the civil war the entire regiment he served in deserted the white general and went over to our side. Popov received the Order of the Red Banner. Now he is our representative on the union administration. He is a hard worker. He sometimes quarrels with us and sometimes has a row with the union, but we all have complete confidence in him. He does his level best. Besides, he is under our vigilant control.

"And do you see that square-faced fellow yonder, beside the carrier of the first banner? This is Comrade Arkhipov, the manager of our plant. The man he talks to, that broad-shouldered giant with the drooping, black moustache, is the president of our trust. Do not be surprised, dear friends, at the mention of trusts. The Russian proletariat has taken from America the name but it gave it a new content. A trust in our land is a cluster of kindred factories located in approximately the same region and managed as one industrial unit. This combination is made for the sake of efficiency. A manager of a trust has several managers of individual plants under his jurisdiction. The trust is under jurisdiction of the Supreme Industrial Council of the Union. Both the plant manager, Arkipov and the trust president, Philipenko, are former workers of my shop. We are old friends. We sat together in jail, in the same cell, for six months."

"What for?"

"Eh, that was an interesting story. There was an overseer in our shop, a servile soul to whom a smile of the boss meant more than the life of the workers. He made us work like hell, which was bad enough, but he had a foul mouth besides. Well, one fine morning the workers of our shop seated the dog of an overseer on a wheelbarrow, wheeled him out of the premises to dump him on the refuse heap. There was a rumpus in the entire plant after this. Many were discharged. Myself, Arkhipov and Philipenko got away with six months. I tell you, it was worth while.

"Now those two between themselves represent the employer. They are the combined 'Boss' of our plant. It is between the trust and the union that the wage problem is being settled. The union represents the workers. The trust represents the state. But we are all of the same kind. The union is interested in the welfare of the proletarian state. The trust has the in-

terests of the workers at heart. Shop committee, management and trust are so many departments of the same workers' and peasants' republic. This is why we have full confidence in their work. It is ourselves in action."

A thrill passes through the ranks. Backs straighten. Arms stiffen. Eyes sparkle. A word of command flares up somewhere ahead of us. A band of music starts a lively tune. The November sun throws sheaves of pale gold in which the first snowflakes are zigzagging through a misty air .

The comrade says:

"Come on with us, friends! This is a holiday of holidays for all the workers of the world. Seven years ago, on this very day, we dumped the employers' government with all its machinery on the refuse heap of history. We seized the power of state in order that we may seize the industrial apparatus and become the masters of ourselves. This day is a crimson line drawn across the book of history. From then on, the world revolution began."

We join the lines. We march. To the right and to the left of us we see only marching columns. There is music in the air. There is song in the air. Gladness reigns. A battalion of children flows into the general stream through a side street. Pioneers. Young Leninists. The Soviets of the future. The climbers of the tomorrow's cultural heights. Their forces are a field of marching multi-colored flowers. Their eyes are a chorus of joy. They are wild with joy. They are drunk with the intensity of life. As they pass by us to put themselves at the head of the procession, they wave their sparkling banner, they shout something which none can understand which, however, goes into the depths of our hearts to warm them and make them quicken with awe-inspiring joy.

Ecstasy reigns.

Our friend speaks to us as we proceed along suburban streets where shops are closed and low-roofed houses opened their doors to pour out young and old.

"Keep your eyes open and it will become clear to you that we are the ruling class. Never mind poor clothes. You of the other countries have grown to identify state power with riches, luxuries, extravagance. This is because state power is used there for the private gain of a few. We, for the first time in history, are using state power for the final liberation of all. This is why we economize. We must live in poverty till the time we shall be able to secure a comfortable living for all. Poverty, however, must not make you misjudge our position in the state. We possess the power of the state. We are the power of the state. Do you note those men in black uniforms with red trimmings, red batons in their hands? They are the police of our state. They guard the revolutionary law and order of our state. They have closed the main thoroughfares for private traffic in order that



YOUNG LENINIST PIONEERS

our procession may move undisturbed. They allow nobody to pass through the route mapped out for our march because they wish to keep possible enemies away from our ranks. As we approach, they raise their gloved hands to their caps to salute—whom? Our flags and ourselves, the masters of the state.

"And now we come nearer to the central parts of the city. Watch the stores. They are all closed because it is the wish of our proletariat that no work be done on this revolutionary jubilee. The wish of the proletariat is law. Most of the stores, as you may conclude from the signs, are owned by our state. They display flags and emblems and the portraits of our leaders. But some of the stores are owned by private businessmen whom we allow temporarily to trade, up to the time we shall have perfected our own machinery of trade. These private businessmen are certainly opponents, if not enemies of our state. They have good reasons to hate it. Still, they also have hoisted the red flag, and some of their show windows exhibit the pictures of famous Bolsheviks. This is to acknowledge their submission to our rule. They do not like it, but they wish to live in peace with us, and so they say by means of pictures and flags: 'You are the masters, yours is the power, we do not dare oppose.'

"We have now approached the heart of our industrial city. This is a historic square. From that five-story apartment house in the southeastern corner we fired, seven years ago, at the students of the military school who defended the capitalist regime. This granite column is a memorial to the comrades we lost in that stubborn fight. The speakers' platform has been erected on the very spot where the red coffins of our dead stood open for a day and a night while masses of plain people, workers and peasants, came in an unending, mournful procession, to bend their knees before the remains of the brave comrades who had sacrificed

the masses—all this could be secured only because we were led by the Communist Party, disciplined by the Communist Party, organized by the Communist Party. No revolution and no proletarian dictatorship without the Communist Party.”

Our friend has hardly finished his last sentence when one deep sigh of adoration escapes the hearts of all assembled. A curtain has slipped down a frame that stood on the side of the platform. A picture inclosed in the frame has been illuminated from behind. The picture represents Lenin. He waves his hands as he gesticulates in an impassioned speech.

The big square is steeped in the silence of reverence. He was the man who planned and led the revolution. He lives in the proletarian masses. He will be more and more alive with the advance of world revolution.

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We have allowed our thoughts to wander to the Land of the Social Revolution. We have listened in our thought to one of the millions. We have participated in the great celebration.

Is it imagination? No. This is what the Russian comrades announce to all of us here on the seventh anniversary of their Revolution. As to the celebration, it is up to us to make it as powerful and as glowing as befits the Great Day.

Long live the Russian Revolution!

Long live the Russian Communist Party!

Long live the Struggle for World Revolution!

## The Great Strategist of the Class War

THE first booklet in the English language that attempts a comprehensive approach to a study of the many-sided genius of the greatest working class leader, Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin, has just been published by the Trade Union Educational League. It is entitled, “Lenin: The Great Strategist of the Class War,” and is written by A. Losovsky, General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions. Translation from the German edition was made by Alexander Bitelman, who also writes an introduction for the American edition, in which he says:

“If I were asked to tell in a few words what is the most pronounced feature of this pamphlet by A. Losovsky on “Lenin; the Great Strategist of the Class War,” I should say this: It is a desire to extract from the experiences of Lenin’s life as many lessons as is humanly possible for the advancement of the class struggle and for the promotion of the proletarian victory thruout the world.

“A. Losovsky has been prompted to write on Lenin, it seems to me, not merely by a desire to perpetuate Lenin’s memory. No. Lenin’s name will live in the world as long as toiling masses struggle against exploitation, and as long as oppressed nations and persecuted races tread the path of revolt against their masters in a fight for freedom and human equality. The motive that produced this little book is much more immediate, direct and practical than a mere wish to perpetuate the memory of a great leader. It is an earnest attempt to make Lenin in his death as nearly useful to the



VLADIMIR ILYITCH LENIN

working class as he was in his life, and a study of this pamphlet will show that its author has acquitted himself of his task with more than ordinary excellence.

“What is it that we are primarily interested in about Lenin? We, I mean those that are part and parcel of the labor movement and of the proletarian class struggle and that are fighting for the dawn of a new day. What do we want to know about Lenin and for what purpose?”

“Lenin was the founder of a great party, the Communist Party of Russia. He was the leader of the first successful proletarian revolution. He was for over six years the head of the first Workers’ and Peasants’ government in the world. He was also the founder and recognized leader of the Communist International. For us, working class militants in the cause of labor, there is a world to learn from the the experiences of Lenin as to how to educate, organize and arouse the masses to action against their capitalist exploiters. What we all want to know is, how did Lenin do it? What theories did he hold? What tactics did he pursue? What means did he employ? In short, what is the essence of Leninism?”

From all the thousands of workers to whom this question, “What Is Leninism,” has become of intense interest, this pamphlet by Losovsky will receive a hearty welcome.

“LENIN: The Great Strategist of the Class War,” by A. Losovsky. 48 pages, heavy paper cover with artistic drawing of Lenin, published by the Trade Union Educational League, Price 15c.

weave silk in the country, has fast become the silk center of America. In 1919 it had 574 silk establishments, about forty-two percent of the total number in the United States, and employed 21,836 wage earners. Since then the number of mills and looms has rapidly increased.

Because of its important position, Paterson saw the first serious attempts to organize the silk workers. There was no concerted drive for organization, but as the various trade unions arose in the textile industry, each tried to establish its own local. Under the leadership now of one union, now of another, the silk workers of Paterson have made repeated efforts to better their lot. In this they have from the very beginning met with the most bitter opposition of the silk manufacturers, together with the various agencies of government in Paterson.

#### The "First Revolution" of 1913.

While strikes had taken place before, there happened in 1913, what might well be called the first revolution in the Paterson silk industry. In that year occurred the general stoppage in which over 20,000 silk workers participated. The strike was called by the Industrial Workers of the World, mainly against the introduction of the three- and four-loom system. It was a long, intense battle lasting more than six months, and accompanied by acts of brutality and terrorism on the part of the police and courts which established Paterson as an outstanding center of industrial warfare in this country.

As a result of this strike, though no agreements were made with the union because the Industrial Workers of the World refused separate settlements, better conditions were gained in many individual mills, and a temporary halt was called to the spread of the multiple loom system. Far more important, however, was the brilliant manifestation of working class power and solidarity which has made that strike a landmark in the history of the struggle of the silk workers against exploitation.

Following that, a degree of improvement in working conditions was gradually obtained. In 1916, when the war prosperity in the silk industry was just beginning and the demand for labor increased, the nine-hour day was won. Three years later a conference was called of the various trade unions in Paterson, which decided to press the demand for an eight-hour day. The bosses, with the memory of the 1913 strike still vivid in their minds, were unwilling to face another stoppage at that time, and granted the demand.

Up to 1920 there were four unions of silk workers in Paterson—locals of the United Textile Workers, the Amalgamated Textile Workers, the Industrial Workers of the World, and the Associated Silk Workers. None of them had any strength, but each had its own show control here and there. Then came the after-



RELIEF COMMITTEE IN FRONT OF COMMISSARY

math of the war—a severe industrial crisis. Most of the silk mills closed down. Workers were idle eight, nine, and ten months. Wages were slashed more than forty per cent. This practically destroyed whatever trade union organization had previously existed, but it also gave an impetus to the movement for one union of silk workers in Paterson. When the remnants of the various locals, excluding the United Textile Workers, united with the Associated, the first step was taken to end the chaos caused by the existence of separate local bodies, and to build a united organization. Within a short time the Associated succeeded in organizing about thirty per cent of the broad silk weavers, and became a definite factor in the labor movement.

#### The New Revolt.

The struggle now being waged in Paterson is in many ways a second revolution in the silk industry which may well overshadow in results, if not in extent, the strike of 1913. It was precipitated by the gradual encroachment of the mill owners upon the standards won by the workers, and particularly by the rapid spread of the three- and four-loom system.

Early this year the depression began in the silk industry which now marks textile manufacturing generally. Immediately an assault was made upon the laboring conditions of the silk weavers. Mill after mill began to introduce the multiple loom system. Many of them closed down for a month, and opened only on condition that the weavers agree to operate three or four looms instead of two. What the workers had feared in 1913 had become a reality. The three- and four-loom system had brought about unemployment, decrease in wages, longer hours. Its introduction necessitates no new machinery. Shops operating on the two-loom system introduced the four-loom system by cutting their

labor force in half and doubling the number of looms each weaver must attend. The result is an increase in the army of unemployed, with the consequent competition for jobs and the lowering of labor conditions, not to mention the greater nervous strain which menaces the health of the workers.

As an excuse for their attacks the mill owners claim they are becoming impoverished by the excessive demands of the workers. But while the average weaver earns the miserable wage of twenty to twenty-five dollars weekly, the silk manufacturers of Paterson build large annexes in other towns out of the riches amassed from the toil of the silk slaves. While whole families are forced into the mills in order to earn enough to meet the cost of living, the wealth accumulated in the business of silk production has enabled the silk barons to own and control the biggest banking houses of Paterson.

To resist the multiple loom system, to restore the eight-hour day, to increase wages and force recognition of the union, the Associated Silk Workers union decided to call the broad silk weavers out on strike. Within two weeks over 10,000 workers were out and three hundred mills tied up. Eighteen nationalities are involved, chief among whom are the Italians, Americans, Syrians, Jews, Poles, and Lithuanians. A signal proof of the exploitation in the silk mills of Paterson is given by the Syrians. Brought from other towns to scab in the strike of 1913, and later the backbone of the three- and four-loom system, they are today the most enthusiastic supporters of the strike and the most bitter enemies of the silk manufacturers.

#### The Government Versus the Workers.

Throughout the strike the silk workers have seen how class government functions. Though this strike is the most peaceful ever conducted in Paterson, police terrorism has been rampant. Weavers on picket duty have been subject to arrest from the beginning. On one occasion 107 strikers, following out the union policy of mass picketing, were arrested in a body while they were quietly patrolling the streets before one of the mills most bitterly opposed to the union. Blanket injunctions have been obtained by the leading silk

manufacturers of Paterson forbidding the strikebreakers to leave the employment of the firm either at their homes or on the streets. Turn Hall, historic meeting place of the Paterson silk strikers, has been closed by the chief of police, as it was closed in 1913. All the so-called American rights of free speech and assemblage have been violated by the public authorities who are backing the silk manufacturers today, as they have done in previous strikes.

In answer, the strikers have adopted a policy of defiant resistance. An outstanding feature of the strike, and one which makes this struggle especially important for the labor movement, is the fact that mass picketing has continued, despite injunctions. For the first time, striking workers have in a body disregarded this infamous weapon used by the owning class in their war against labor. The silk weavers of Paterson have not merely talked—they have acted. The day after the decision was taken to go on with picketing, over a thousand silk workers encircled the mill that had obtained the first injunction, giving a splendid demonstration of militancy. In thus violating the injunction, they set an example for the entire working class. Their heroic stand has deterred the courts from taking definite action against them; for while picketing of "injunction shops" continues, few strikers have been arrested for contempt of court, and hearings on their cases have been constantly postponed.

#### Virile Fighting Forces.

The spirited determination shown by the strikers to see the fight through at all costs has been due to the influence of those workers who are members of the Trade Union Educational League and the Workers Party. From the very first day of the stoppage the League militants have been in the front ranks of the strike. Communists are found on all the principal committees, helping to shape policy and direct activity. It is their voice which encourages the workers to mass picketing, and arouses the enthusiasm of those battling against the silk magnates.

To divert attention from the real issues of the strike, the silk manufacturers, together with the Paterson Chamber of Commerce, the chief of police, and the kept press of the city, have seized upon Communist activity in the strike to raise the cry of red menace, hoping thus to intimidate the workers. They have sought to demoralize the strikers by threatening to drive out of town all "outside agitators"—meaning the Workers Party speakers who have been the most influential factor in keeping intact the ranks of the striking weavers. This campaign of the capitalist masters of Paterson, however, has failed of its purpose. The Communists have won the confidence of the silk weavers by their loyal service in the struggle. Attacks against them have but served to open the eyes of the strikers to an undersanding of class rule.

The strike has been in progress for two months. About the silk manufacturers, together with the Paterson Chamberments with the union, conceding all the demands. What the final outcome will be, however, it is impossible to predict at this writing. The strike committee, anticipating an extended conflict, has organized relief machinery, established a food commissariat, and sent appeals to labor bodies. In this relief campaign, the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League have actively participated. They have organized a relief committee of their own which sent a

(Continued on Page 47)



LEAVING TURN HALL FOR THE PICKET LINE

# Torchbearers

By Moritz J. Loeb

WHEN a year ago we organized and struggled and sacrificed, it was a great dream we had that pushed us on with all our energy. We were visionaries, impractical idealists, fanatics, for we dreamed of establishing and operating a Communist daily in America. What a crazy idea! With a hundred thousand dollars we purposed to start a daily in the English language and to maintain it in the face of the hostility of not only the capitalist class, but also that of the entire officialdom of the organized labor movement.

We didn't get the hundred thousand; less than three quarters of that amount was collected all told. Almost a year has passed since the first edition of *The Daily Worker* was published. *The Daily Worker* still lives. It thrives. Its circulation is increasing, its influence extending. The \$75,000 bought not only a Communist daily paper; it bought also a home for the center of the Communist movement in America and a printing plant with which it is possible to do that which is the dread of all the enemies of labor, to flood the country with Communist literature.

We have secured for ourselves the machinery to set the wheels of revolution moving. We have laid the basis for a real communist press in America.

Already tremendous steps have been taken. Not only is *The Daily Worker* published in our printing plant, but also *The Young Worker*, *The Young Comrade*, all of the leaflets and pamphlets of the Workers Party, and up until now the *Labor Herald*, the *Liberator*, and the *Soviet Russia Pictorial*. And now the WORKERS MONTHLY unites these last three to complete the cycle of Communist literature in this country.

The daily, the monthly and the party publishing department, united under one roof, almost unlimited in capacity are ready to fill the educational and propaganda needs of the American Communist movement.

## A Barometer of the Class Struggle

The Communist movement in America is passing out of infancy. We are entering a period of steady, healthy growth—growth in membership, in structural strength, in organizational permanence and in mobility. Ordinarily we would now be beginning to plan and create our propaganda machinery, our permanent party press. It is particularly fortunate that to some extent that task has already been performed. Around the *Daily Worker* has been built the printing machin-

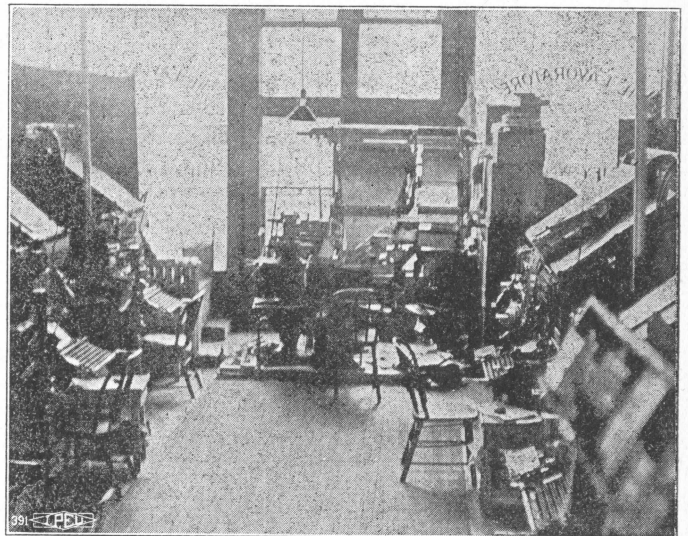
ery upon which our press may be erected, upon which the permanency of our press is maintained.

Upon our press depends the rapidity and the healthiness of the growth of our party. Upon the quality of our press depends the education of our membership, the "bolshhevizing" of our Party, the making of Communists out of Communist Party members. Upon the circulation of our press depends the increase in our numbers. For it is axiomatic that our press is our barometer. Its nature reveals the state of our health. Its abundance testifies to our virility and our attained and potential power.

## The Party Press Machinery

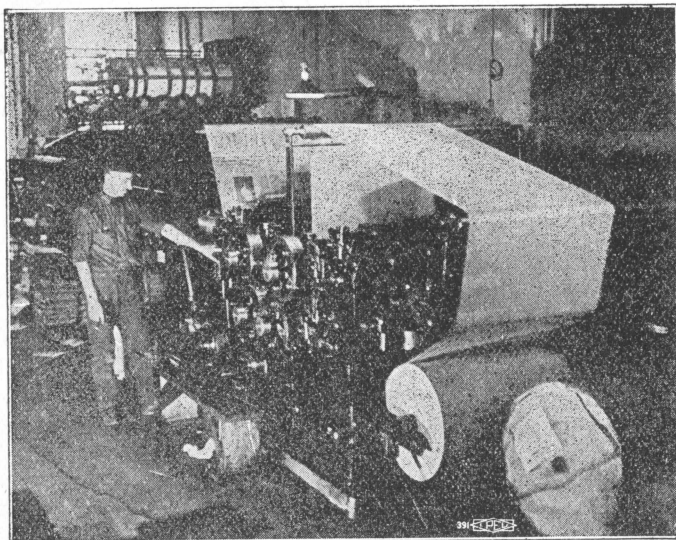
It has been stated that around the *Daily Worker* has been built printing machinery upon which our press may be erected. In truth, we have realized that much of our wonderful dream. But printing presses do not make Communists, nor do they build Communist Parties. Nor do Communist newspapers and magazines and books. Not they alone.

In addition to our printing plant and as a complement to it, must be built the *human* machinery which will make possible the growth of our movement and the continuity of our publications.



A VIEW OF THE DAILY WORKER COMPOSING ROOM. SIX UP-TO-DATE LINOTYPE MACHINES ARE KEPT BUSY FIFTEEN HOURS A DAY TO SET THE TYPE FOR OUR PARTY PRESS. FROM THE SAME TYPE SET UP HERE CAN BE PRINTED ENOUGH DAILY WORKERS, WORKERS MONTHLIES AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE, TO SUPPLY MILLIONS OF WORKERS INSTEAD OF THE TENS OF THOUSANDS WHO NOW READ OUR PRESS.





THIS NEWSPAPER PRESS PRINTS THE DAILY WORKER AND IL LAVORATORE, OUR ITALIAN DAILY; THE YOUNG WORKER, OUR GREEK AND SWEDISH WEEKLIES TOGETHER WITH MANY OTHER PUBLICATIONS AND LEAFLETS.

IT IS CAPABLE OF PRINTING 200,000 COPIES OF THE DAILY WORKER EVERY DAY IN ADDITION TO TURNING OUT ITS OTHER WORK.

WHAT IS NEEDED IS THE HUMAN MACHINE OF LABOR PRESS BOOSTERS TO SECURE ENOUGH SUBSCRIPTIONS TO KEEP THE PRESS BUSY.

It is no easy task which we have set ourselves. Many a labor daily with much more rosy an outlook than ours, with much more simple a financial problem, has met an early and often dishonorable end. And yet we have undertaken not only the obligation of a daily paper but also weekly and monthly publications, together with the operation of a large printing plant as well. It takes work to keep these going... and **organization.**

Built inside of our party and parallel to it must be erected the machinery which will have as its task the sale and distribution of the party publications. An army composed of hard working, unrelenting propagandists must be created which will cover the country with a sales organization which will advance the interests of our daily, our monthly and our books and pamphlets in every factory, at every working class meeting, in every working class home in the country.

A great forward step has been taken in the centralization of the communist publishing enterprises into the one organization, the Daily Worker Publishing company and the building of an adequate production equipment. Now the next step is obvious and equally necessary. **Centralize the distributing machinery for the Communist press and build an adequate organization to make it live.**

In general, every Communist, every militant, must become a cog in this machine. Always it is a first duty to support the press. In particular it is the duty of every Communist organization and every unit thereof

to organize the machinery, so that each unit has its press director and committee.

The results from the organization of such machinery are as sure as they are obvious. As the erection of the printing plant has made our party press possible, so the erection of the distribution machinery will make our press fruitful.

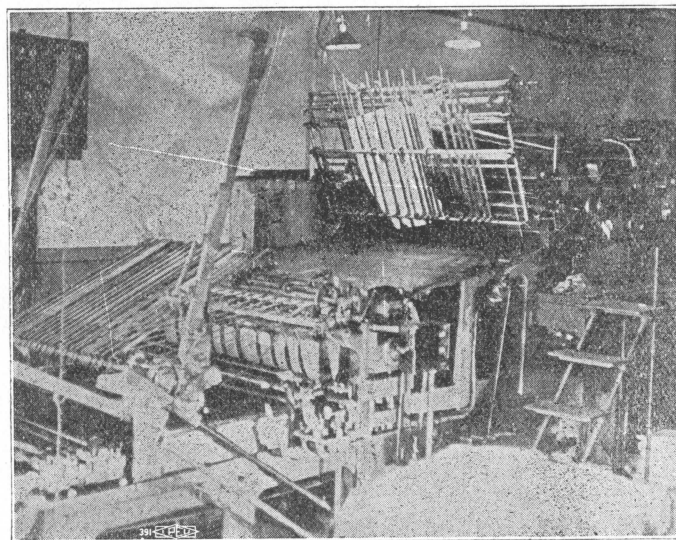
**The First Time in History!**

The first Communist industry in America has been created! Our press is established, our organization is being effected!

To be sure, its future is not yet secure. There have been no miracles. Our papers are small in size and in circulation. They have little or no advertising income. There are deficits; not so large as had been expected, but large enough and dangerous enough. But here we are; and while our future is difficult, after all we are workers, and we are fighters.

Now we campaign again for our press. But how different is this campaign from any in the past. Then we campaigned for a dream (an illusion, many called it), or we campaigned for some debt ridden, hopelessly money-losing paper, to keep it going a little longer until a miracle happened. Now we campaign for a reality, for a press which is growing and healthy. We campaign to build our press stronger and faster, to secure for the revolutionary movement a militant, virile, self-sustaining press, the **WORKERS MONTHLY** and the *Daily Worker*.

We light the dark places in the minds of the workers. We light the flame of the class struggle. We are torchbearers of the revolution!



THE CYLINDER PRESS ON WHICH THE **WORKERS MONTHLY** AND THE PARTY PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS ARE PRINTED. THIS PRESS CAN TURN OUT 200,000 COPIES OF THE **WORKERS MONTHLY** EVERY MONTH IN ADDITION TO OTHER PARTY PUBLICATIONS. HOW LONG WILL IT BE UNTIL IT RUNS TO CAPACITY?



SAVINKOV MAKING HIS CONFESSION BEFORE THE SUPREME TRIBUNAL.

thing was permissible; unity with Czarist ministers and generals; paid service to foreign capitalist governments; pogroms; bandit expeditions; assassination of leading communists; foreign intervention.

**A Story of Blood and Betrayal.**

Savinkov tells the story himself.

Immediately upon the seizure of power by the workers in November, 1917, Savinkov attempted to arouse the Cossack regiments to overthrow the new government. Failing in this he joined Kerensky's Staff and jointly with General Krasnov continued the fight against the Bolsheviks.

At the beginning of 1918, we find Savinkov on the River Don, in company with the monarchist generals Alexeiev, Kaledin and Kornilov, impressing upon these generals the necessity of waging an armed struggle against the Soviet power. From that time and until the end of 1920, Savinkov is engaged in building the so-called Volunteer Army which was ravaging and destroying the Ukraine, the Don Province, the North and South of the Caucasus, supported by the English and French capitalists.

Later in 1918, Savinkov arrives in Moscow and forms a counter-revolutionary organization, known by the name: "Union for the defense of country and freedom." And whom did this organization consist of? Savinkov himself gives the answer. Officers of the Czar's select regiments, monarchists of all kinds

and sorts, led by the generals Rytchkov and Perchurov.

Savinkov reports to General Alexeiev, head of the monarchist counter-revolution in the South, the formation of the above "Union" in Moscow, requesting further instruction. This "Union for the defense of country and freedom" has been operating, according to Savinkov's own words, **under the guidance and with the financial support of the former French ambassador to Russia, M. Noulens, and the present president of the Czecho-Slovakian republic, M. Masaryk.**

In the spring of 1918, Savinkov received from Masaryk, through the intermediary of one named Clenanda, 200,000 roubles for the conduct of terrorist work, and organized a system of espionage upon Lenin, Trotsky and other leaders of the Soviet government for the purpose of assassinating them.

During the same spring of 1918, Savinkov received from ambassador Noulens, in various sums, the total of about two and one-half million roubles with specific instruction to organize armed uprisings on the Upper Volga. These uprisings were to serve as protection and assistance to a proposed landing of French troops through one of the ports on the White Sea.

After several conferences with the French military attache, Laverne, and the French consul, Grenar, Savinkov had mobilized the military strength of the "Union for the defense of country and freedom," and supported by the Mensheviks and local merchants, had

# In Which We Solve the Chinese Puzzle

By Harrison George

CHINA is embroiled in a huge civil war. This may appear singular to those who have heard endless slurs by American militarist-capitalist newspapers at the "spineless Chinese" who were insultingly compared to pacifists. Astonishment naturally increases when these supposedly "backboneless creatures" of China, following the example of the "Christian" Occident and rushing into battle armed with gas bombs, tanks and airplanes, are "warned in the most solemn manner" by the great robber powers to cut it out and be "pacifists" again. We see, besides, American warships rushing toward the ports of China. And one must remember that warships make war—not peace.

China has long been divided up among the robber nations into "zones of influence." Their "diplomatic corps" at Peking has met and divided up the various provinces among their imperialist business men who sought a higher return—a superprofit—on capital, than they could get at home. If China's government ever objected, the whole band would threaten to call their warships and let China "tell it to the marines." This has gone on for decades. Everybody knows it. It worked all right for everybody but China as long as the robbers didn't fall out among themselves.

The necessity for expansion of Japanese imperialism on the Asiatic continent and to widen and intensify her exploitation of China clashed with the imperialist designs of other powers. But with the weakening of Japan since the earthquake, and the "understanding" between Britain and America, the robber alliance is broken by internal quarrels, and the United States is taking the lead in threatening Japan with elimination.

In the first six months of 1924, Japan sent \$100,000,000 of exports into the Shanghai district, her heaviest customer in China. This is worth fighting for. Shanghai is the greatest commercial city in China and the Yangtze River is the greatest water trade route. Besides this market area, Japan controlled Manchuria, and had there great oil prospects as well as those in Sakhalin.

## Schurman Stirs the Pot.

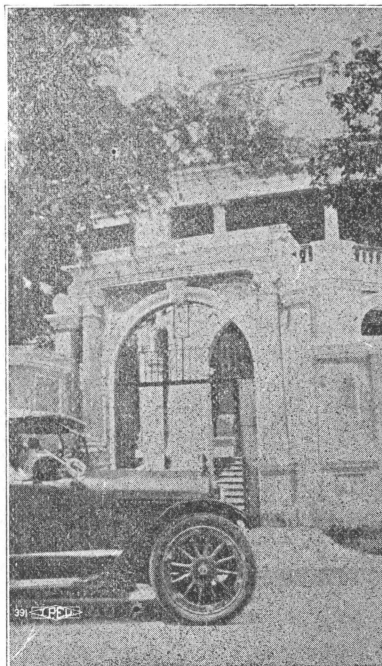
Since Jacob Gould Schurman, Standard Oil appointee as United States minister to China, appeared at Peking, things have begun to happen. A fund of corruption money, said to be \$3,000,000, was used to bribe a majority of the Chinese parliament to elect Tsao Kun, a former bandit, as president. But as Tsao was an irresponsible cuss not altogether likely to stay bribed, the real power, the head of the Peking government's army, Wu Pei Fu, was the one depended upon for action.

Several years ago, Lu Yung-hsiang, governor of the province of Chekiang, in which lies the port of Shanghai, probably being backed by Japanese interests, declared his province independent of Peking. As all China is decentralized, he got away with it—until Uncle Sam in the person of Schurman showed up.

Last January, Schurman, at the "invitation" of the agent of the British-American Tobacco Company, went to Shanghai and warned Lu Yung-hsiang that "the powers" would demand that Peking stop Lu from collecting consumers'

taxes on cigarette smokers. This was taken as a sanction and has been used as justification of Peking's present war against Chekiang. This, of course, is an excuse.

Obviously, American control of the Peking government will profit American imperialism only in so far as Peking controls the rest of China. General Wu is given the job and declares war to effect unity by force. He has competitors. Besides Lu Yung-hsiang, who sits pat on his rice paddies around Shanghai, in Manchuria, subsidized by Japan, is General Chang Tso-lin, with an army of 180,000 men, well equipped, drilled by foreign officers and just waiting for this. From Mukden, Chang is



KUO MIN TANG PARTY HEAD-  
QUARTERS, CANTON.

throwing his army against Peking to relieve Chekiang and actually to resist American imperialism in behalf of Japanese imperialism.

## The Kuo Min Tang Party.

The one force in China which fights alike against the native feudalists and capitalists as well as against the foreign imperialist wolves who have pillaged China's resources and exploited China's workers through the infamous "Open Door" policy, is in the national-revolutionary "Kuo Min Tang Party," the group gathered around Sun Yat Sen. For thirty years Sun has fought for his vision of a China freed from exploitation by an overthrow of feudal remnants and an importation of the machinery of capitalist production without permitting capitalist ownership of that machinery. He thought to skip over the capitalist stage between feudalism and Communism. The example of Russia not, indeed, skipping capitalism, but shortening its dominance and, under the Soviets, reducing the capitalist class to a subject class whose days are numbered, has quite probably greatly aided Sun Yat Sen.

The personality of this leader of the Chinese masses is most amazing. On foot, disguised as a peddler, Sun Yat Sen for years went about China preaching socialism and the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. His life was continually in danger. Spies of the emperor dogged his steps. On a trip to England he was framed-up and nearly deported to China where the headsman waited with the axe. Locked up at the mercy of enemies, only the chance help of a scrub-

woman got word to friends who prevented deportation. He has had many narrow escapes and one instance at least is known of his receiving assassins sent to kill him, convincing them they were wrong and turning them into friends.

After Sun Yat Sen had been the active spirit behind the overthrow of the empire and the establishment of the Republic, he declined to take office though easily the popular choice. He refused the offer of the parliament in favor of Yuan Shi Kai, who turned out to be a scoundrel who sold out to foreign imperialism and suppressed the socialist party of China with the remark that it was "not like the socialists of other countries, who only study socialism." In the last few years Sun Yat Sen has by armed rebellion established a government of South China at Canton, from which as a center he hopes to unify the Chinese workers and peasants against both native and foreign exploiters.

**Chinese Bourgeoisie Betrays Nation.**

The native capitalists and merchants in South China are opposed to Sun Yat Sen. When the clash of arms sounded in the north, the merchants of Canton in collusion with English and American interests formed a real "white guard." They imported arms on the Norwegian steamer Hav. When Sun Yat Sen's government seized this ship, the White Guard seized a portion of Canton by armed sortie, barricaded the streets, and called for foreign assistance. Capitalism recognizes its own. America and England rushed warships to Canton, and to save the city from bombardment Sun released the ship load of arms—sent in, of course, contrary to law.

It is significant that the Cantonese labor unions support Sun Yat Sen enthusiastically. They enlisted to fight the White Guard. So did the poorer peasants. The capitalist press immediately branded these workers as "brigands" and "mercenaries." Needless to say the Communist Party of China is the organizer and active force within the "Kuomintang" which it regards as an armed mass party of farmers and workers.

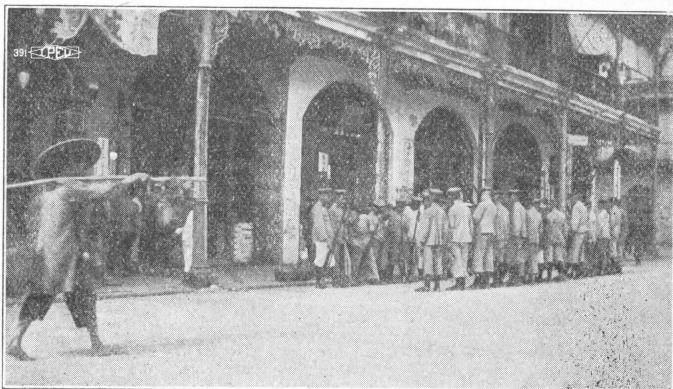
When Schurman's intrigue began to work into war, he suddenly left for Washington, refusing to talk or explain his departure. He came home to report on the eve of "Mobilization Day," which was a prelude to war just as "Prepared-

ness Day" in 1916 was a prelude to the great "war to end war." Since he has been away the Peking correspondent of a Tokyo paper telegraphed to his paper that "Secretary Hughes has sent four secret cablegrams to Wellington Koo, Chinese minister of foreign affairs. Undoubtedly the United States is plotting to take advantage of the trouble in China."

**Preparing the War With Japan.**

Undoubtedly the correspondent is right. American imperialism having carefully aroused the war spirit in America is now directing it against Japan. At the same time she legally furnishes Japan the excuse of a formal and studied insult by the Exclusion Act, she encroaches physically on Japan by force of arms in Chinese hands along the Yangtze and the Great Wall. In its turn Japanese imperialism is becoming alarmed. It holds counter demonstrations and business men "plead with the government" to protect Japanese interests in Manchuria. Meanwhile, French airplanes, German shells, American, English and Japanese munitions are pouring into China in complete disregard of "covenants" and "conferences."

If this puppet show of American-Chinese armies fighting Japanese-Chinese armies does not settle things satisfactorily to both parties, i. e., until one is satisfied with being beaten, then the major force of Japanese and American armies and navies will be called upon. So get down your tin hats, boys, for the war with Japan.



RECRUITING THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST ARMY ON STREETS OF CANTON

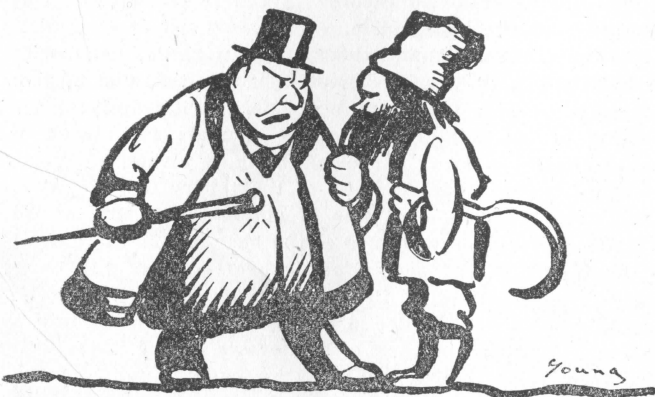
**Tribute**

SHE made a little song  
I could not understand;  
It was as if she lived  
In some enchanted land;

She hummed it through the day—  
It was a lovely thing;  
I could not understand  
What there was to sing.

I was a weary wretch  
And toil was all I knew;  
But she had made a song  
And sang her short life through.

N. Bryllion Fagin.



**FRENCH BANKER TO RUSSIAN PEASANT:**

"Ivan, throw off the Communist tyranny; then you'll be free to pay me 999,999,999,999 quadrillion gold rubles."

as a classless party, that the party of the Cadets\* is a class party, because it represents a definite class of land-holders and the bourgeoisie. Now, glance backward, and you will understand why Miliukov represented himself at one and the same time as a bourgeois scientist and as a militant statesman. As a militant statesman, he was interested in concealing from the people the class nature of this party, its substance as a party of land-holders. The party of the Cadets could not very well tell the masses that it defends the interest of the landholders and of the upper sections of the bourgeoisie—that is, the interests of a small propertied group of the population. As a militant statesman, he felt and knew that in appearing before the masses, he had to keep his party under a veil, covering its true features, and in this work of masking his party, Miliukov, the statesman, was ably assisted by Miliukov, the professor, who proved with the aid of his bourgeois learning that a party need not necessarily be a class organization, but that it is merely a group holding common views, having definite ideals, which are not determined by the class affiliations of the people holding them. This example illustrates how easy it is to construct a bridge between the academic definition of Vodovozov to the perfectly concrete, bourgeois, militant politics of Miliukov. Vodovozov's formula was very useful to Miliukov, who by bringing his party under this formula disguised his class party under the mask of a classless organization.

#### The Formula of the Social Revolutionists.

Now let us take our neighbors closer by—the Socialist Revolutionists. The Socialist Revolutionists, as you know, called their party, not exactly a “classless,” but an “interclass” organization. This definition was based upon their program. You will remember the classic formula of the Socialist Revolutionists, which said that they represent, first, the proletariat, second, the peasantry, and third, the intelligenzia—that is, they represent at one and the same time three social groups. It was for this reason that the first theoretical battles between the Marxians and the Socialist Revolutionists were waged around our conception that there is no such thing as an “interclass” party, each party is bound up with a definite class. Consequently it must defend definite interests. We said: We have bound up our faith with the proletariat. This did not mean that we intended to assume a hostile attitude



GREGORY ZINOVIEV

toward the peasantry, particularly in a country predominantly peasant. The task of the proletariat in such a country was to create a certain measure of co-operation and collaboration with the next largest class in society. We, the Marxians, came out of the proletariat. We are the party of the proletariat. Being the party of the proletariat, we will nevertheless lead the struggles of the peasants also, because we have many interests in common with the peasants.

After what has happened—in the course of recent years, the practice of the Socialist Revolutionists has become sufficiently clear to explain why they clung so tenaciously to the definition of their party which they had given in the beginning of 1900, when their party came into existence. At that time many young revolutionaries shared the idea that Plechanov (at that time universally recognized leader of our party) was paying too much attention to this controversy on definitions. These young revolutionaries believed that Plechanov was waging a struggle over issues that did not mark the real differences between the parties. They thought that a controversy between Plechanov and Chernov was merely an academic discussion, while others reproached both with needlessly fighting between themselves on the question of party and class, instead of jointly fighting the autocratic government of the Czar. However, we can see now that this was

\*Popular abbreviation for the party of the Constitutional Democrats, organized in 1904.

not an academic discussion, but an important political struggle.

This is why it is necessary that we first of all agree on what we shall understand by the term "party," thereby introducing the whole subject-matter with clearness and exactness. We understand by this term a political organization, which is part of a definite class. In other words, there are proletarian parties and bourgeois parties. To us, a party is not simply a group of individuals holding similar views, or the meeting-ground of people agreeing on a common ideology which is independent of and can be preached to any class at all. I repeat: To us, a party is part of a definite class and having its faith bound up with the faith of the class. This class derivation or genesis stamps the party with its psychology and determines the party's life and its role in society.

#### Class and Party.

We are now using the terms "working class" and "class" as terms which are clear and understood by everyone and which no longer present a subject for controversy. The conception of class is part of our flesh and blood. We have seen our class in action in two revolutions, and have studied the characteristics of our class. To us, all this is elementary and fundamental. But the same was not the case in the past. From my lectures you will see that the entire struggle between the Marxians and the Narodniki (Populists)—at least, the first phase of it—was waged around the formula of "class" or simply "people." There was a time when the whole struggle in the Socialist ranks of Russia revolved about the questions: What is a class? Must a revolutionist conceive of his struggles as class struggles or is he bound to defend the interests of the people as a whole? As you are aware, it was Karl Marx who formulated the theory of the class struggle. This does not mean that Marx discovered the class struggle. This struggle is not a theory, but a living fact, which Marx had formulated and generalized, thereby presenting to us the conception of human history as the history of class struggles. Hence, the whole fight of the founders of our Marxian party against the first generation of the Narodniki was substantially a clarification of the theory of the class struggle, an interpretation of this theory in the light of Russian experiences, which enabled the Marxians to define the real substance of the Russian working class. This is why this simple conception, which is now the property of every one of us, the conception that our party is part of the working class, had to be hammered out in the course of long struggles of a theoretical and practical nature, and if we want to understand the history of our party we must first of all grasp the significance of these first battles.

Before concluding with this phase of the question, I want to say this: It may be said that very

often one class has several parties. This, of course, is true. The bourgeoisie, for instance, as a whole, has several parties—Republicans, Democrats, Radical Socialists, merely radicals, independent liberals, conservatives, etc. It might be asked whether this fact does not contradict my definition. I think that it does not. It must be taken into consideration that the various bourgeois parties are not so many individual independent parties, but only fractions of one bourgeois party. These fractions are fighting each other once in a while, particularly on the eve of elections, but the swords used in these battles are usually made of paper. Very often it is very much to the interests of the capitalists to appear before the masses apparently divided and in disagreement, while they are definitely in agreement on the fundamental and basic issues, the issues which really form the basis for the unification of millions of people. These bourgeois parties will struggle on matters of secondary importance, but on matters of a fundamental nature which are able to move masses to struggles on the barricades, to revolutions, to undergo starvation and suffering in civil war—on these matters and first of all on the matter of private property, all bourgeois parties are unanimously agreed. We are therefore justified in saying that in the last analysis and in relation to the main issues there exists only one great bourgeois party—the party of slave-holders and defenders of private property.

To be continued in December issue.

