

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

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World Capitalism and the Soviet Union

By KARL RADEK

IN the course of the past year the following two main phenomena could be observed in the economic development of the capitalist states: the first is the restoration of the system of international credit, the second is the commencement of the restoration of the shattered, or entirely collapsed, monetary system of the capitalist powers.

THE RESTORATION OF THE CREDIT SYSTEM.

In the year 1924 the United States of America exported 1,500,000,000 dollars abroad, to Asiatic and European countries. This sum exceeds the total of all the capital exported from America during the last few years—and apart from the war years—constitutes a record figure as regards the export of capital from the country.

The United States of America, during the war and post-war period from 1914 to 1923—earned no less than 20 milliard dollars by export to the belligerent country and to Central Europe. Of this sum the debts of the European powers to America alone amount, in round figures to 18 milliards.

From whence did the United States of America obtain this immense accumulation of capital which led to such an enormous export of capital? The correct answer to this question brings with it the answer to a no less essential question; whether we have to deal here with a temporary and accidental or with a permanent phenomena connected with the entire economic life of the country. To what extent has the national wealth of America increased during this period? According to the calculations of the American census, in the year 1922 the national wealth of America was 50 per cent greater than before the war. (In this calculation allowance is made for the depreciation of the dollar consequent on the increase of prices). As result of this accumulation of capital, there followed an enormous development of industry. The accumulation of half of the gold reserves of the entire world in the cellars of the American banks led, however, to the reduction of the rate of interest. An American bank which lends money receives two to two and a half per cent interest, whilst Europe (not to mention such countries as Germany, where in the past year in the provinces, 18 per cent was a usual rate of interest) is paying the same per cent for the loans received from America. Under such conditions contradictions naturally arose between the interests of industrial capital and the interests of finance capital. Whilst finance capital was interested in forcing up the rate of interest, industrial capital was interested in obtaining credits at a low rate of interest. The policy of the United States, however, was determined by industrial capital, whose representatives comprise the leading cadres of the republican party.

It was only the agrarian crisis, the crisis which arose as a result of the shrinkage of the market and the other complicated causes, and which forced the masses of the farmers into movements, which led to the victory of finance capital. Finance capital opened wide prospects to the peasant masses of enriching themselves at the cost of Europe, which is compelled to build up its economy with the help of American credits and thereby to increase its producing power as regards the products of American agriculture. In this manner an alliance was concluded

between finance capital and the masses of the farmers, which led to a change in American politics. The United States of America decided to take an active part in the restoration of capitalist Europe. This policy is expressed before all by America setting the initiative and carrying out the expert's report, and by the fact that America really conducted the London conference in the year 1924, the aim of which was to remove the Franco-German antagonism and to pacify Europe in order that capitalism might be put into working order again. In addition to this diplomatic act,

Austria, Hungary, Poland—all these countries found themselves in such a position that their monetary systems had completely collapsed. This was the result of two causes: on the one hand, after the war, all the above-mentioned countries were compelled to import more from abroad than they exported, they consumed more than they produced. As a result, they were compelled to export gold, to sell gold abroad in order to be able to obtain the most necessary industrial and agricultural products, in the first place corn, cotton, etc. On the other hand, the possessing

monetary system can be regarded as permanent. The restoration of these valuations is to be attributed in part to the restoration of the system of international credit. The stream of gold from England and America—provided the means for covering the new international credit. (SECONDLY, the bourgeoisie, who stood on the edge of a precipice, was obliged to resort to an increase of the pressure of taxation and thereby self-taxation, which it had happily avoided up to now. Thus the German bourgeoisie, which in October, 1923, passed through the sharpest political and economic crisis, made a sudden change in its policy and in the course of the year 1924, with the help of extra taxation, succeeded for the time being in balancing its budget. The third factor is of a psychological character. Let us take Germany as an example. The mark had fallen at a continually increasing rate, the noose around the neck of the population had been drawn tighter and tighter, with the result that an instant demand had arisen among the masses to stabilize the valuta at any price, even at the price of self-deception. The governments took advantage of this and issued the Rentenmark, representing it to be a stable valuta, although it depreciated just as much as the "paper money."

They Are Trying to Scare Him



The capitalist governments of Europe are trying to scare Soviet Russia with military conferences, the "Security pact", etc. But Russia can afford to smile at these scares. The Red Army is always ready to meet unwelcome guests.

America also participated in the financing of European commerce and industry.

The 500 million gold marks which the Anglo-American money market lent to Germany, the 100 million dollars Morgan placed at the disposal of the French government for the support of the franc, the various private credits—Germany, for example received in the past year, besides the above-mentioned 300 million gold marks, private credits to the amount of one milliard—all this is characteristic of the commencement of the restoration of the system of international credit. If it is asked whether this implies a fundamental organic change, one is compelled to reply: yes, the heaping up of wealth in America undoubtedly forces America to become the credit power of the capitalist world. This factor will continue to exercise its effects.

The Restoration of the Monetary System.

THE second factor, as to which I have already spoken, is the restoration of the monetary system. There was a time when the German mark sank even lower than our ruble.

classes after the war actually paid no taxes, the existing system of taxation did not suffice to maintain the valuta. Taxes which were collected one day had no value on the next, owing to the depreciation of the currency. In order to maintain the officials, the army, etc., with the sinking valuta, the state was compelled every year, every month, every week, and later on every day and even every hour to issue more and more paper money, whilst the stream of money into the state treasury became less and less. This led to the fall and collapse of the monetary system of central Europe.

THE year 1922 marked the lowest point in this process, but the end of the same year brought about the commencement of a change. Thus Germany introduced the Rentenmark and Austria stabilized its valuta with the help of a league of nations loan, Poland, by taxing the bourgeoisie, obtained the means for the introduction of a gold currency. We must examine here whether Austria, Poland and Germany—these countries whose economy was shaken the most and who stand nearest to the revolution—have stabilized their valuta to a sufficient extent and in what manner they have done so. The next question is whether the present valuations of their

one compares the gold cover of the Rentenmark with that of the Soviet Tcherwonets, then, as regards ability, our Tcherwonets was right on the commencement a giant conquest for the Soviet Union, because was based upon a favorable trade balance. In the years 1922 and 1923 we sold more than we purchased. The Tcherwonets was supported by certain metal reserves of the state bank. The Rentenmark, however, was only supported by its guarantee by the German landowners. The land and he soil, however, cannot be exported, in the event of the collapse of the Rentenmark but a single American would have bought as much land in Germany as would have sufficed to bury a dog. As however it was necessary for the Soviet Union, the German bourgeoisie the Rentenmark was introduced and was maintained by means of taking advantage of the psychological condition of the masses, until the Americans furnished gold and the mark obtained a gold cover. What is the significance of the restoration of the system of international credit and of the re-establishment of the money system?

Extension of the Industrial Basis

ONE can only judge the significance of this phenomenon if one takes into consideration those facts which have hitherto received very little attention, i. e., that during the war, and also in part after the war, the industrial basis of the capitalist countries had been extended. During the war, for the purpose of providing the army with weapons, munitions, etc., production, before all the metallurgical production, in all countries had to be extended. America, England and after the occupation of the northern districts, France also had to set up a new metallurgical center. Italy and Japan also extended their metallurgical industries.

The armies, however, had not only to be supplied with weapons, but also to be equipped with other articles. And that led to the extension of a number of other branches of industry. If one reckons therefore the number of lakes and spindles and the amount of motor (Continued on page 3)

Colonizing a World



By Jay Lovestone

A PERUSAL of the daily press is sufficient nowadays to give one a picture of the outstanding economic position and the imposing political role of the American imperialists.

We need not go thru ponderous editorials. We need only attempt to read between the lines in order to have evidence of the growing power of the dollar in international politics. In a sense, all we have to do to get a line on the swift and menacing advances being made by the Yankee capitalists to dominate international finance and politics is to glance at some of the big advertisements in the financial columns of the daily press.

A fifteen million dollar loan for the city of Berlin; a twenty million dollar loan for a bank in Chile; a five million dollar loan for the province of upper Austria; and a huge loan for a province in the Argentine—all in the brief period of a few days! These are the announcements to be glanced at, facing the face of the reader in the bold-est of type.

Three Gigantic Strikes

THIS is the terrific pace at which American capital is being exported. Last year our bourgeoisie exported more than a billion dollars worth of capital to every corner of the globe. Three significant events mark the development of this "colonization" process of the world.

1. The organization of the Federal Reserve System as a means of coordinating, increasing the stability and centralizing American capital.
2. The change in the gold-holding relationship among the capitalist countries.
3. The change of the United States from a debtor country into a creditor country.

These three events are of monumental importance in the annals of the growth of American imperialism into the giant stage which it has reached today.

The Federal Reserve System became the unifying force in the financial system of Wall street when the world war hastened the assumption of world capitalist leadership by the United States. Then, having become the manufacturer as well as the pastr of the world because of the fundamental disruption of the European economic order by the outbreak of the general slaughter, the United States became the possessor of the greatest quantity of monetary gold ever held by any national group. The imperialists now hold more gold than the rest of the world put together. The climax in this series of imperialist strikes is the role now being played by the Yankee bourgeoisie as the greatest creditor in the world. Before the world war the American national capitalist group was a debtor nation.

Significance of Home Capital Export THE struggle for the control of the markets for the sale of manufactured and food products has been a source of capitalist wars. For the bourgeoisie of any country the certainty of controlling a market in which they can export their "surplus" commodities, a market in which they can sell the articles produced by buyers from their exploited working class, is a paramount importance. The actual and even greater potential value of China as a market for these commodities is perhaps the most prolific source of dissension among the international imperialists in the Far East.

But for the weaker and colonial peoples themselves the conflict among the imperialist powers for the control of these economically underdeveloped countries is fields for the most profitable source of surplus capital an even more acute menace. In this instance, far more than in the conflict among the various strong bourgeois national groups for the domination of the market for the sale of manufactured and food products, the weaker colonial peoples tend to become pawns on the imperialist chessboard.

Let us examine a concrete situation. Let us take the Latin-American countries as a market for the "surplus" manufactured and food products and the surplus capital of the British and American imperialist groups.

The American bourgeoisie and the British capitalists are angling let us say, to control the Brazilian and Argentinian markets for the disposal of their "surplus" shoes. Well, this is a source of strife between the British and American capitalists. But when the shoes are sold the British and Argentinians are not necessarily interfered with on a large scale by the British capitalists.

On the other hand, let us say that the British and American steel interests are competing to sell Brazil or Argentine steel and rail equipment with which to build railroads in these countries. The export of British or American steel into these economically underdeveloped countries lays the basis for a much more permanent stay in these countries by the British and American steel interests or their agents. The building of railroads must be financed. For this purpose Brazil or Argentina must float a loan, must

export thirty-five million dollars worth of capital to Poland, they stipulate that in default of regular payments they will have the right to operate the Polish railways and collect the revenue therefrom to meet the payment of interest or principle in the loan floated. Here we have a source of direct, positive domination of the internal affairs of an economically weaker country by the ruling class of an economically stronger country. Japan also has the source of conflict between the American exporters of capital and, let us say, the British or French exporters of capital, who also make stipulations and receive guarantees for the payment of interest and principle on their investments in Poland, or in any other country to which these imperialists export their surplus capital.

There is no doubt that the exporters of capital, the international financiers who control the railways, the oil-wells,

in the public utilities, banking enterprises, mercantile houses, railroads, mining and meat-packing in the Latin-American countries.

Here, we have the material, the economic basis for Yankee imperialist interference with and domination of the political, economic and social life of these Latin-American countries. Here we also have the economic basis of another source of war between the British and American imperialist capitalist groups. Here we also have the economic, the real, basis of the resentment of these weaker peoples towards the policies, political doctrines and diplomacy of the mighty imperialist powers like the United States.

The Dawes Plan Issue: The situation in the Latin-American countries is now being introduced into the war-ravaged Germany. If we lift the diplomatic veils from the intense competition between the British and American exporters of surplus

Four Fighters for Communism



Some of the leading figures in the Russian Communist Party and the Communist International. Left to right: Stalin, Rykoff, Kameneff and Zinoviev.

import capital. This necessary capital is today controlled by certain leading national capitalist groups.

There is all the difference in the world between exporting shoes and "exporting" railways, waterpower systems, harbor facilities, and other public utilities. First of all, the "exporting" of railways, electrification enterprises and mines, grows out of the "exporting" of vast amounts of surplus capital. Secondly, when a national capitalist group exports such commodities as shoes the process of collecting the payment for these shoes is of far less duration than the process of collecting the interest and principle on the exported huge quantities of finance capital.

Of course, the various bourgeois groups are protected by their respective governments in the collections of such payments and debts.

Therefore, it is obvious that the shorter the duration of the process of collecting these bills and debts the shorter will be the period of the protection of these debt and bill collectors by the respective imperialist governments. It follows, then, that the shorter the period of the protection of the exporters of manufactured commodities or finance capital by the various imperialist governments, the less likelihood there will be of interference in the internal affairs of the weaker peoples by the powerful national capitalist groups and their imperialist governments.

This is the economic basis of the continued increasing interference with the political economic and social affairs of the weaker and colonial peoples by the stronger imperialist powers. When the American bourgeoisie

the water power resources, the harbor facilities, the electricity enterprises, and other basic public utilities also wield a tremendous influence on the political and economic life of the industrially underdeveloped countries. Colonialism is but a phase of imperialism in practice. Colonial empires are but the geographical expressions of the boundary lines of imperialist aggression.

The Mexican "Incident": It is probably an "incident" of this sort which occurred recently when the United States Secretary of State Kellogg sent a warning to Mexico. Few realize the sharp conflict for surplus capital the export of capital to Latin-America that is now being waged between the United States and Great Britain. Altogether there are more than thirteen billion dollars of surplus capital invested in the Latin-American countries by the leading imperialist powers. Prior to the world war, Great Britain had by far the largest mass of capital invested in these countries. Since the world war, the Yankee imperialists have been giving the British financiers, the exporters of British capital, a merry chase. Great Britain now has invested in the Latin-American countries approximately five billion dollars. The United States already has invested by these countries about four billion dollars. This sum is growing. It is largely an after-war growth. The American investors hold nearly one-half billion dollars of the government securities of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Peru and Uruguay. All of these securities were issued within the last ten years. Great quantities of American capital are also invested

capital to Germany we will see clearly the why and wherefore of the developing difference in attitude towards the likelihood of the success of the Dawes plan.

Sir Josiah Stamp is one of the leading financiers of Great Britain. He is afraid that the Dawes plan may go on the rocks. Sir Josiah Stamp and the satellites of the British imperialist group have apparently decided that the time had arrived to give the world the truth of the situation as seen by business men.

But the American financier, Willis H. Booth, vice-president of the Guarantee Trust Company; John W. O'Leary, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and the Yankee Reparation Agent, Mr. Gilbert, Jr., himself, are still waving enthusiastic over the Dawes plan succeeding.

Surely, experience has taught the working class of the world that when international capitalist financial interests fall out, the dangers of imperialism was multiply and intensely. Already, rash rumblings of proletarian discontent are drowning the hypocritical applause which the German bourgeoisie are today according the Dawes plan.

A Big Stink Policy. Already, the Latin-American countries are reacting sharply to the threatening arrogant notes of Secretary of State Kellogg. We quote the following editorial comment from the LOSTIN DIARIO OF SANTO DOMINGO: "As to Pan-Americanism, it has become discredited because it has served only to further the interests of American industries, big business (Continued on page 7)

Russian Electricity Works Construction

By A. A. PURCELL.

TO see the Russian republic in its working clothes, one might almost say at his best, take a trip to a few of its several huge stations, now in the course of completion, for the purpose of generating electrical energy. They are all, as it were, set out according to a well thought out plan in keeping with their national economy, and would seem as consistent as practicable with the process of utilization of the natural resources of the country.

THE great theme of electrification is not merely propounded in the technical circles, it is, so to speak, part of the curriculum of the elementary education of the child and youth in the many workers' clubs throughout the vast territory of Russia.

In certain workers' clubs there is a very fine working model of an entire village built with timber hewn and transported by electrical energy, and finally heated, lighted and cleaned by the same force.

IN 1923 the writer visited Chatari, some 60 miles out of Moscow, where a fair size station was being erected, and owing to the blockade the boilers from a torpedo boat destroyer were being installed in the powerhouse, and all around the earth's crust was being peened and drilled into to secure peat, which was to form the base of power and energy for lighting, traction and heat en route to and in Moscow proper.

Visited again in 1924 the place had grown enormously. There were thousands more workers on the job and building workers were to be seen everywhere. The 1923 station was gradually shrinking into oblivion, just working whilst a huge station nearing completion was being equipped with power-house requisites from Czechoslovakia, with men from that country on the job, the transformers and switch gear being installed and intended by Metro Vickers, with a technical engineer from Trafford Park, Manchester, in charge of this part of the job.

It was quite a tonic to go with the latter to see his wife and two children residing in a fine house placed at his disposal by the management.

THE old power-house was designed to give off 5,000 kilowatts, the new one is to give 45,000 k.w., and is expected to reach this figure by 1927. The other stations visited in 1924 were the Magesa near Moscow, the Zemo Chavalla near Tiflis in Georgia, where water power is to be exploited, Sierofka in the Donets Basin, where inferior anthracite is the chief fuel, the Central Moscow station, which is run on oil fuel, and the Volkhof station, with water power from the River Volk.

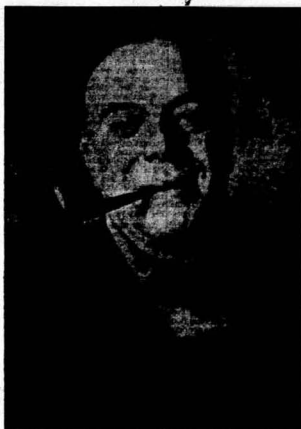
It is this latter which affords the best idea of the great capacity to engage in huge tasks so frequently demonstrated by the administration and workers of Russia.

VOLKHOVSTROY, as it is popularly termed, is an undertaking complete with every detail of the engineering undertaking. It is in the Leningrad district, about 80 miles distant from the city. The scheme is to harness the tides of the river Volk, which is signed so as to secure a maximum of 500,000 k.w. The river is bridged, crossed and narrowed at its vital parts. A huge coffer dam has been constructed, and there are the usual necessary diversions.

This will be the largest station in all Russia. Viewed from the rising ground it gives the impression of a tremendous structure of galleries and terraces, with leading tracks and bridges linking each other up, down and around, and vanishing at the distance into a series of dead ends. Already it has swallowed up four million square feet of timber and is bedded with thousands of tons of concrete cement, stone and brick work.

WHEN finished it will have as a partner and helpmate the backing of the Utkala station, which is to work with peat burning fuel, and will only work at full pressure when at the Volkhof station, owing to seasonal

Militant Leader of British Labor



A. A. PURCELL

A. A. PURCELL is the one of the fraternal delegates to the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor from the British Trade Union Congress. He is the chairman of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) and National Organizer of the Furnishing Trades and Vice Chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, Chairman of the English-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee.

HE was chairman of the delegation of Trades Union Congress General Council which recently visited Russia and the whole official report on conditions there has created havoc in the ranks of the reactionaries.

This article is taken from "The Operative Builder", official organ of the British building trades unions.

changes, the river Volk is not giving its full measure of energy.

The main scheme is expected to be completed during 1925, and the total estimated cost is about eight millions sterling.

At the moment there are not less than eleven thousand building workers employed on the job, all members of the All-Russian Building Workers' Union, and they have a journal of their own with some 11,000 copies purchased monthly.

As a contrast, it is stated that when the undertaking is completed the total staff on the works will not exceed 75 workers.

THE workers of themselves are mighty in strength, but a temporary, self-contained town has been erected around and about it.

There are hospitals, dispensaries, schools, khumaa, a theater, gymnasium, athletic and recreation grounds, baths, baby care centers and creches, and a very fine workers' club, with hall, library, reading rooms, art and educational circles.

There are electric cars for passenger and material transport, cranes and electric conveyors, and concrete forming mechanism and other equipment.

THERE are also huge canteens, cooperative stores, quarters for single men and homes for married men and their families, the usual adminis-

trative offices, and finally the trade union office, with its finance committee and secretarial departments, all well and efficiently organized.

Medical organization is properly established and equipped, special efforts being made to protect the health of the workers' children, and in this connection regular reports are made as to the health progress of each child, which comes under the care and observation of the children's hospital and baby care center, while skilled nurses and doctors are part of the make up of this huge organization.

WHILST the wage is equal for men and women workers, there are no charges whatever for medical care and attendance, whether expert or ordinary. They are free from rent, rates, lighting and transport charges. Food and fuel they pay for. They are paid for all holidays, inclusive of

a full fortnight per year, free tickets for excursions and entertainments, but ten per cent of their wages has to be paid to the trade union as a regular contribution.

The average wage appears to be about 60 roubles per month, that is to say about 31s. per week of 48 hours.

To this must be added all the free services, insurance and holiday payments mentioned above, together with the free clothing supplied in many instances where there is undue risk attaching to their work.

THIS is it that is that great feature of present-day Russia whereby numerous country houses have been converted into adequately equipped rest houses for the worker. These institutions, the neither of the hospital nor sanatoria type, with a competent medical staff on the spot are available for the run-down or fatigued worker upon application by his trade union, who send him to one of these many establishments entirely free of all charge.

If the electrification scheme of Russia is a great plan to exploit natural resources, it is, in common with the general run of economic undertakings, has to make the necessary minimum provision for the well-being of all who work regardless of their occupation or calling.

This it is that holds so many of their people together and secures in return unmitigated service - the great cause for which the toll has been its inimitable sacrifice.

UNDER the czarist regime in Russia little or nothing was done to develop the resources pertaining to electricity, altho British, German, French, Belgian and American capitalists were competing for the right to exploit in various directions.

But it was not until the great Lenin scheme of 1920, with its concrete and detailed plans, which were placed before the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets and the technical details approved by the congress of 1,500 electricians, engineers, experts and working engineers which met shortly after that the whole business was coordinated and work commenced.

A fast work progress is quite slow, on the ground that foreign capital and credits were not available, but nevertheless amazing progress has been made when it is understood that the stations now nearing completion must be reaching in the direction of a million or more kilowatts.

If this proves anything at all it would seem a very definitely indicate that difficult as the proposition is the capitalist regime need not necessarily be even a minute part of the workers' state of the future in places additional to Russia.

So long as the admirable spirit and esprit de corps observable on undertakings such as these prevail, Russia will surely and certainly, if ever so slow, emerge as the greatest healthy and really wealthy industrial democracy the world can know in our day and generation.

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A Communist Group in a Russian Factory

By ANISE

MOSCOW, June 15.—(By Mail)—I spent two days this past week in a Russian factory a few miles west from Moscow. A former New York comrade in charge of "propaganda" for the district and invited me out. I first had the chance to see how Russian party workers live out in the provinces, for he moved over to share the room of a comrade and gave me his room. Certainly a few hours' ride in America, who has a job, lives so plainly. A wooden plank bed, without springs, a large table on which to work, a wash basin in one corner with a tiny pall of water hung above it, one chair and one stool—these were the furnishings. No rug, no wardrobe, not even a hook on the wall for clothes.

For cooking food, there was an electric teapot. The water had to be brought from a distance, and carried to a distance after using. There was no plate, no dish-pan, no pall and only one teaspoon. . . . He laughed: "When they go to the bath, they have more comforts. But I am too busy. Besides, I get a hot meal every day at the factory." . . . At home cold food eaten on the spot.

WE went in the evening to the meeting of the Party "kafkha" of the communists of the factory. Originally, the word *zafkha* signified a little nucleus, but now it is a big meeting; so have the numbers of communists grown. Now also, at most of the meetings they allow outsiders or non-party people, since the subjects considered have to do with the affairs of the factory. The non-party people take part even in discussions, but do not vote.

The young secretary of the Party Committee, a group of nine elected by the whole gathering to conduct the affairs of the party in that factory, was just finishing his report on the last six months as we entered. There were 180 members of the party, of whom 60 were received this year and 120 more last year. Sure as the numbers were new ones, almost swamping the machinery and requiring much labor to organize into work. For work some kind had to be assigned to all of them; if they were not "active" they were no use, and might be dropped. The party in the factory existed as the active, energetic political force, correlating every activity.

OPPOSITE me as I sat down was the director of the factory—also a Communist. But he did not look happy. He was possibly attacked the report of the committee, whispered R, "for they have been making it hot for him. He is likely to be removed from his job any time now on his recommendation. The Trust thinks he's a good man, but he somehow doesn't get the cooperation of the workers. He is sincere and has tried to learn; perhaps he has learned something here that will be useful to him elsewhere. But he cannot apply it here. For in the process he has used too many party methods, and also recommending to the Party that he be transferred."

As we sat down, questions were being asked from all over the room taken down rapidly in writing by the chairman of the meeting. "Why have we no report from the Pioneers? Are there the party members of this factory members also of the MOPR? (The relief of communist political prisoners in many lands.) Have we organized a movement to help the Red Starkest students? Has the Party looked into the matter of the Club and observed that we have no summer grounds or equipment for the Red Starkest activities? How large is the active membership; how many members have no party duties? What has our Village Committee done in the work by county of which we are now the "guardians"? Why haven't we a sanitary organization?"

When this list of questions and demands more had been collected, the young secretary, a worker in black leather jacket, only recently elected to the job, rose to answer.

THE Village Committee has spent two or three weeks investigating the village soviets throughout the

township. They had sent speakers to all holidays and special days: the First of May, the Anti-Tuberculosis day and other events. Now the party committee of organizing a day nursery for the peasants during the summer field work. It was time now, he thought, to proceed to the organization of a voluntary Society of Guardians, taking the summer months who would be willing to work. Only so could the connection with the village be put on a broad enough basis, with energy and desire to carry on all the activities needed.

No, he said, there was no sanitary organization, but there was a very good small sanitary committee which had been doing some good work. It was not possible, in such a small factory with only a few hundred workers, to start so many organizations. It was best to start organizations for the important things, but merely have commissions for others. I began to get a conference between "commissions" and "organizations." In facting any problem, from sanitation to the relation with the peasant, from health to property relations abroad, the Party group in the factory first organized a commission, chosen from among its own members. When this had been going for some time, and had aroused some enthusiasm, then an attempt was made to create a larger organization, drawing from villages as much of the work as possible. But the line in direction had always been fixed first by the Party's commission. Thus they were promoting the larger and wider groups of workers and drawing them into active participation in many new movements.

THERE were many such movements in this part of the country. With Military Society, the Friends of Children, raising money for homeless children, the M. O. P. R., the Village Committee, the Friends of the Cultural Bureau, the organization for the Protection of Labor, the organization for Speeding up Production. All these had been recently launched by the Party, but were not functioning, not under the Party, but under the Factory Committee, elected by all the workers. The Party had become part of the accepted life of the factory. But the Communists who had launched them still kept a guiding hand on them, assigned members to work in them, received reports from them and made suggestions to them, with the aim of keeping all the life of the factory, its production, its workers' rights, its culture, its relations with the ultimate progress towards Communism.

The most interesting job in the factory is that of party secretary, whispered R to me, as the meeting went on. "After that comes the job of managing the plant. But the Party secretary really has more responsibility. If anything at all goes wrong—in production, or in the life of the workers, he is going to get knocked for it. It is the duty of the manager to see that the factory produces well; he must satisfy the trust. It is the duty of the factory committee to see that the workers are satisfied with the conditions of labor; they must satisfy the workers. But in the reconciling of these two demands, and in the big picture of the factory, the Party secretary serve the ultimate needs of a social state—that's where the party secretary has to satisfy everybody. If he sees friction growing between manager and workers, he must forestall it, trouble, sometimes by arguing politics with the workers and showing that what is and is not possible, and sometimes by recommending the removal of the boss."

THE young secretary had just answered a question. A mild clamor arose in the back of the hall. "Our party committee is getting to be regular pets of the administration," said a discontented worker. The young secretary paid no attention. R turned to me with a grin. "And he has just recommended the removal of the boss! That's how much he is a pet of the administration! But this, of course, cannot be announced, for his recommendation may not be accepted, and there is no use in cre-

ating a scandal." How many "active members" was the next question. The secretary explained that of the 180 party members there were about 30 who had no regular party duties during the summer conditions which brought this about. Some of them were new members who could not read and write yet, and consequently could hardly take the active part demanded in party work. There were working women with children; it was hard for them to do party work after working all day. However, each individual case was being gone into, to see how soon this passivity could be removed, so as perhaps would have to be dropped as pure ballast.

"Couldn't you find a stronger, more energetic woman organizer?" came the question. "Well, if you can name one," said the secretary, "and I'll get for a reply. Getting none, he went on: "She was appointed with your assistance six months ago. She is not doing badly. But she lacks training. We are recommending her next year to a Party School."

And what have you been doing about illness? came another question. The secretary explained that cases of drunkenness had been reprimanded, but that he really must ask for facts before proceeding against individuals about whom there were rumors.

"Does the Workers' Cooperative Building Association report on its work to the Party committee?" I remembered the new houses I had seen going up near the station and I caught the secretary's answer: "Of course it does."

OTHER questions came to an end. I. Who has anything to discuss? asked the chairman. One after another they rose from various parts of the room and contributed their ideas to the meeting. One man was a long-winded rascal. "That fellow was secretary of the Party here a year and a half ago," said R. "He could not do it. He talks too much. He is not a clear thinker and can't deliver the goods. The demand of the working class are now greater, and the people growing up able to fill the places."

The boss of the factory also asked for the floor, but he made no attempt to lead the committee, but contented himself with platitudes. He was not at home; there had been too much unhappy gossip about him. "If he is a Communist and uses the factory horses to go and buy sausage with for his home, naturally every-

body talks about it. He's a fool to do that in a little town like this. The meeting was drawing to a close when there was a movement of protest among the women: "Aren't we going to get the floor at all? Only one woman has spoken—the woman's organizer."

"Why didn't you speak up? The floor is free," said the secretary. Then a member moved that since it is past closing time, nobody else be allowed to speak except women. It is passed amid mild applause. Dead silence from the rest of the women gets up. "When are you going to do up that mechanical laundry and free us? You haven't bought us washing basins. Each woman delegate has two or three 'young boys' and she hasn't time to attend to them."

A LITTLE more discussion on this line and then comes reception of the members. Several "candidates" known to all present are received into full membership; two or three workers are presented as candidates. Their sponsors tell how long they have known them and how they recommend them. The applicants rise to answer any questions. There are no questions in this matter known to all; he lives in his own actual barracks and his life is an open book to his fellow workers. But suddenly a man in the back of the room throws a question: "Are you sure you will get married in the church?" "No," says the applicant, and after a pause sits down. His working history, and his peasant parents have already been announced.

It is extraordinary to think all over the largest republic on earth, from Leningrad to Vladivostok, in every factory and in every town, to see this vital organizing life, starting cultural societies, guiding them, keeping them true to a certain line. And that all this has been organized in eight years in a country where workers were formerly not allowed to organize anything at all.

"I know how it's done," says R. "If a factory has no Communists, we send down three or four. After six months there are fifteen. Then we send a couple more with new ideas. Change the method, get different things started. In a year we have forty. We form societies, MOPR, friends of children, day nursery, pioneers; we get non-party people working. We draw them in next. We are changing personnel and bringing in new ideas and methods to keep things stirring. That's how it goes all over the land."

"All Men Are Born Free and Equal"

By ISRAEL AMTER.

THREE days after the Fourth of July, when the patriots of this country reannounced that "all men are born free and equal," thousands of children of New York and the vicinity are applying to be adopted by a wealthy man.

E. W. Browning, a wealthy real estate speculator for a companion for his foster daughter, and has advertised to that effect. Thousands of letters have poured in to the Browning mansion, appealing to Browning to adopt the orphans.

"Mothers plead poverty," says the New York Times, declaring that they are "too poor to give their offspring the best education" and who asked whether she wished to leave her mother and be adopted, wept bitterly.

Mothers giving up their children, because they cannot properly support them? Children being torn from their parents, because their parents cannot take care of them? This is the "freedom" and "equality" that 99 percent patriots talk so much. The same "freedom" and "equality" that "Current History Monthly," in an article in the March issue, mentions

when he states that "children at the age of 2 and 3 have been found stalling away their days of mere infancy, living in the tenement houses of New York and other cities." "The custom flourishes at California, children as young as a pick from sunrise to sunset."

"Margaret A. McGrouarty, a visiting teacher from California, reports that in the Italian section of New York. . . Children as young as 3 work in artificial flowers. Their wages are deplorable," she testified. "Conditions in East Harlem are simply appalling."

"All men are born free and equal." Facts prove it!

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CHINA FIGHTS BACK

By Alfred Wagenknecht.

A SHARP report like the crack of a mallet. I turned around quickly. There stood a petty naval officer, holding the ears of a rickshaw coolie. Countess Chiamen were walking up and down the Bund in Canton, and yet not one stopped.

This happened just a year ago. Coolies ears are not being holed by sailors from foreign battleships on the Bund, in Canton, China, today. The imperialists' battleships and the internationalist battleships are there, yes, but the sailors are standing by to defend Shameen, the foreign quarter, the home of the internationalists and the trading corporations of the imperialists, and are not promoting the Bund, full of whiskey and soda, spitting into the faces of the natives.

THE year 1922 in China was eventful. The immense strikes of the railway workers of Peking and Hankow and of the sailors of Hong Kong were the sparks which are setting the broadside today. It was Japanese yen which bought the knife and then paid the executioner of the Peking-Hankow railroad workers' strike leaders who were decapitated in public in order to teach the workers that labor unionism is not a healthy method of struggle. But the Chinese railway workers were taught quite another lesson. They formed groups of ten and continued their union activity under the very noses of the imperialists.

THIS same year saw the strike of 36,000 Chinese Pacific sailors at the British port of Hong Kong which spread rapidly into a general strike of all Hong Kong servants and laborers until the total involved numbered 50,000. There are strikes and strikes, but this was the kind that made the blood of every revolutionist tingle. The strikers had their own militia. The Canton workers and peasants took to arms when food became scarce in Hong Kong and when it was suddenly discovered that the boats plying between Canton and Hong Kong were not bringing down even a solitary squash to feed the thousands of Hong Kong, armed vessels went to Canton on a foraging expedition. But they came back empty. It was then that the retainers of the imperialists who resided in Hong Kong, whose wonderful mansions make the Peak so picturesque, began to see the city. They felt that the rebellion meant business. As it did.

THE strike was won. The transportation corporations, acting through



a compradore, had to agree to pay the union \$100,000 damages. The union thought the go-between honest. The fine against the imperialists has not been paid to this day.

Encouraged by the militancy of the Hong Kong sailors, the latter half of 1922 saw sixty labor unions organized in Shanghai alone. These unions conducted fifty strikes. Fifty strikes for and against what?

For more than three to twelve cents a day for children between six and twelve years of age.

Against a working day of twelve to eighteen hours.

Against Simon Legree methods in the factories.

For more than an average wage of ten dollars a month for married men. Against the inhumanity to the thousands of babies, who are dragged to work every morning upon their mothers' insufficient breasts, to be thrown into a corner upon a pallet of rags or straw, to lie until the twelve or fourteen hour day is at an end.

It might well be said that in China children go to work from birth, for from the mislaid the mother is rid of

birthpangs, the baby is in the mill.

AT the end of 1923 there came the convention of the Kuomintang party in Canton. The Chinese masses, especially in southern China, had at last heard the message from Soviet Russia—a message backed by deeds—which broadcasted world-wide the principle of self-determination of all colonial and semi-colonial peoples, of all nationalities. And the advanced workers, seeing that the compradore-merchant leaders of the Kuomintang were compromising with the imperialists, decided upon a new Kuomintang, a revolutionary people's party of the masses. It was this convention that has to its credit the first attempt to organize the peasant masses in China, to bring them into political contact with the struggle for liberation in China.

IN the succeeding months the Kuomintang struck deep roots in all the industrial centers of China. It was against the fascist troops organized by its own right wing, it maintained the leadership of Sun Yat Sen. Both against the imperialists' spies,

against the bribery of military commanders and others influential, against the advances of the crooked man of Christ, who is also the advance agent of imperialism in China, the Kuomintang grew.

During these months the sobered imperialismists stood by the socialism of MacDonald, so that they might enjoy another spree of super-profits. And we had the French, the Japanese, the British, the American bourgeoisie playing their little game to possess Peking, the seat of power.

And did not Soviet Russia diplomacy do them brown?

THE imperialists forced China to open its doors so that it might be exploited by them. Today the Chinese are pointing to this open door and demanding the immediate exit of the imperialists. Recent events in China have the prime ministers of all countries up a tree. Altho the cables have been kept hot in an attempt to unite upon some program of subjugation, no agreement has yet been reached. And we know in which direction one eye of the imperialist beast is looking!

One eye upon Soviet Russia, the other on China, with an occasional glance at Morocco and the RIF villages—this is enough to make almost any beast dizzy. And did not a South African warrior chief only the other day, while with one hand shaking the last vestige of empire, with the other shove under the prince's royal nose a demand for independence?

The world is not quite what it used to be for the dollar kings.

CHINA—a land of 400,000,000 of peasants for whom such a situation is the most appalling situation in all the world of labor obtains, here a halt is being called to the bloodsucking. Masses numbering 400 millions and how many times this many scrofula, syphilis, tubercular infections might we count!

Upon the docks, in every building recess, upon all junks, upon all curbs, everywhere where Chinese workers and peasants eat, sleep or work, there are to be found little boys and girls, men and women, resting a while every morning in order to make good their throats. Whenever you see a sore, there a sucker of the tentacle of the tentacle of the imperialist octopus has been sucking.

China is being sucked white. The Chinese masses are deciding to eat and to keep their blood. That's what it's all about.

In Memory of Ines Armand

By N. Krapaskaya.

This year was the fifth anniversary of our periodical "Kommunistka." During these five years, it carried out a work from month to month, pointing out the way in which work among women should be conducted. Those who organized the work among peasant and working women want to this periodical during these five years, but its initiator, our beloved comrade Ines Armand, is no longer with us. She organized this periodical, she put it in working order, but she herself was not given much opportunity to contribute to it. The periodical was founded in the spring of 1920, and in September of the same year Ines died in the Caucases.

I, A Friend of Lenin, Ines was something more than an ordinary worker. She was very gifted, she continually tried to improve herself, she was steady and capable of self-control, and devoted herself to the revolutionary cause. She was bubbling over with energy, and took to heart every success and non-success of the Bolsheviks. As far back as 1905, Ines took an active part in the movement. When in 1911 she came to Paris from Brussels, where she had lived as an emigre after her imprisonment and exile, she became closely connected with our Bolshevik group and was soon one of its most

active members. She got through an enormous amount of work in connection with the establishment of closer contact among our various groups abroad. She carried on an extensive correspondence and had many connections. One can say there is hardly a Bolshevik living as an emigre in 1911-1917 who did not know Ines. She was never downhearted, and encouraged others by her cheerfulness. I personally received very much from Ines. I loved her dearly. She soon became a close friend of our circle.

Vladimir Ilyich was particularly fond of discussing our plans of work with her. Half French, half English by origin, Ines knew French and English perfectly, and her services were very valuable in connection with our relations with foreign parties. She translated all documents, was before the war delegated by the Bolsheviks to defend the Bolshevik policy at the session of the International Bureau.

She fulfilled the same function at the International Women's Conference. In 1915 she was our delegate at the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conference and took an active part in the work of the Comintern. In 1911, Ines played an important role in the organization of a party school near Paris, where she lectured on political economy. Among those who attended the lectures in this school were: Com-

rades Oranokhin, Schwartz, Brevlav, Dogaorov, Zevind, Sagurin and others. This school did an important piece of work by linking up the Bolshevik cadres for energetic work at the time when the revolutionary war was in the ascendant. In 1912, Ines went illegally to work in Petersburg. She was soon thrown into prison, and subsequently became again an emigre.

Her Work Among Women.

She worked very energetically in all the branches of Party work, but paid special attention to work among women. Already in 1914, she sent from abroad articles for the Petersburg "Rabotnitsa" and was a member of the foreign section of the Editorial Board of this periodical. She prepared reports on work among women for the International Women's Conference, which it was proposed to hold in Vienna in 1914 simultaneously with the general International Congress, but which did not come off after all. When Ines came to Russia in 1917, she began immediately energetic agitation and propaganda among working women. She did not only speak at meetings, she also wrote for the working women. Her excellent pamphlet: "How I Came to Defend the Soviet Power," became very popular. Ines was the initiator of the "Working Women's Pages" in the "Pravda" and "Zvezda." These pages have been very useful for propaganda

among working and peasant women. But still greater were her services in connection with the organization of the working women.

A Pioneer in Women's Work.

In 1915 she was at the head of the working women's section attached to the C. C. of the R. C. P. (B), and issued very careful instructions to all working women's organizers. Now everyone can see how important it is to have women delegates, but during the first years of the revolution, the manner of carrying on work among non-party working and peasant women was a contentious question. Ines was a keen advocate of delegating most of the work to the organizers of working and peasant women.

Now, when we witness the increasing influx of working and peasant women into our Soviets, when we see that working and peasant women are eager to join the Party, we must not forget the comrades who laid the foundation of their organizations of working and peasant women, who accomplished and sacrificed so much for their emancipation.

Working and peasant women, let the memory of Ines Armand be ever with you.

Your neighbor would like to read your issue of the DAILY WORKER. He neighborly—give it to him!

The Why and How of Shop Nuclei

By Joseph Zack.

THIS last congress of the Communist International made its mandate upon all sections to reorganize on the basis of the new basic unit of the International Communist Party—the shop nucleus. For our party, with 25,000 members operating in a whole of a country with 90 per cent of the proletariat unorganized, divided into so many languages, the matter does not appear so very simple. It is exaggerating when I say that the bulk of our membership is as yet completely at sea on the theory of this question and especially on its application specifically to this country.

The Theory of the Shop Nucleus. The organizational structure generally should reflect the aim of the movement, and as every one knows, we inherited our present organization from the Second International, which was a social-democratic theory of peacefully going into socialism by reforming the capitalist state and gradually reducing capitalism. The program made it necessary for social-democrats to accept the permission of bourgeois parliament as its main objective. With this as the starting point, the whole movement was based on a reform basis; its organizational apparatus had to run parallel to the bourgeois machine and its parties. Furthermore, in order that the bourgeois should not throw some intemperate outburst resulting from the daily conflict of economic interests, disturb the bourgeois order and offend the ruling class to abolish these nicely won democratic privileges, social-democracy needed to manipulate such struggles into neutralities.

OURs, the Communist program, is exactly the contrary. The perfection of bourgeois democracy and the bourgeois parliament is not our objective. Our aim is to express its sham and hypocrisy and to use the show-room that it affords as a platform to preach the class struggle. Neither do we pacify the violence of the daily class struggle. We try to organize the masses of the exploited for action outside of the sphere of bourgeois parliamentary politics intensify the antagonisms of the daily struggle until it becomes one which will crush the bourgeoisie completely and establish the proletarian Soviet power.

Where to Organize. The whole capitalist political apparatus of the state, no matter what its democratic camouflage, is in essence the armed fist of the bourgeoisie to ensure and perpetuate the exploitation which is most serious at the point of production. It is there that the daily struggle to get a bigger share of life takes place in its severest form. It is there that we are "killed alive." And naturally it is there that the proletariat does and should organize for self-preservation, offense and defense. There is also the soil to plant the roots of a fighting revolutionary working-class organization, in factories, mills and mines, where the struggle takes place day by day, we can really participate in those daily struggles, broaden them, and organize the proletariat industrially and politically for our program. It is precisely here that we are at the present time weakest and cannot grow because of our present form of organization.

Hence the need to junk it and to build one that suits our program. **THE** achievement of the organizational form of organization is that it hitches the basic party unit to a definite group of workers in a shop or mine and charges that group of our party with the definite task of organizing these workers and participating in their daily problems and struggles; of matching their wits with the brains of the capitalist who exploits them; and thus truly becoming their vanguard, not only in words but in deeds, and thus this activity, establishing the party's leadership among them, politically as well as economically.

Our present party unit, the territorial branch does not link up with the workers. It is like a car engine generating lots of noise with little re-

sults. We have a Bolshevik program with a membership form of organization that makes the shop nuclei reorganization a major issue confronting the party. Let us make the big step in Bolshevizing our party by Bolshevizing its form of organization.

SOME comrades say the theory is all right but it won't work!

Let us. Because we cannot organize a nucleus composed of Russians, Germans, Finns and so on. They would not understand one another and we cannot destroy our federations. The nucleus idea is all right for the English comrades.

And our party is so small numerically, that there are but a few factories with sufficient members to form a nucleus. So let the party first grow big, say five hundred thousand members, and we will see. Meanwhile, we can form a few nuclei here and there, but this must not disturb the party.

In this country, we have the T. U. E. L. taking "that out of the movement," so we do not need it. It may work among the miners, but what about the seasonal and casual workers? How about the building trades, when a construction is finished, no more nuclei? Or the marine workers? What about unemployment, especially a big economic crisis in which ten million are out of work? The whole party machinery will come out of gear. What about the many members who do not work in industry?

In short, say those comrades, the C. I. must be convinced that in this country the nuclei proposition can be carried out. That about unemployment, it is all right, of course, in another country. We are for it in principle, etc. etc. These questions are quite interesting and each one has a problem. For each of them there is, however, a logical and practical solution, provided the principle of shop nuclei organization is really agreed upon as the desirable form of party organization.

The Problem of Nuclei Organization in the U. S. A.

LET us for simple illustration "assume" that our party is composed of English-speaking comrades and deal with the language problem later. We would in this case take all the party members of one factory or three, five or ten, and organize them into a factory or shop nuclei branch. During the transition period and until the party grows into considerable numbers we will be faced with the problem of having our members in ones or twos in a factory, mine or shop. In order that the party shall be in a position to hold these members to activity and responsibility for party work in their place of employment, such comrades until the time they can form a nucleus in their shop or mine, should be attached to the nearest nuclei branch or shop or street nucleus. If there is no nucleus in their area all the individual comrades should form a shop nucleus or street nucleus (international branch) and thus their organizing activity work it up into a genuine nuclei branch of the party.

RUESS says shop nuclei branches that elect their delegates to the section or city committee (at the beginning "each individual small shop nucleus of 3, 5 or more does so until a shop branch is formed), which then constitutes the city organization. In big cities section committees will be formed of all the nuclei branches or single nuclei in a factory area. The same principle can be applied to small cities or factory districts where several nuclei may form the city committee instead of being formed into a shop branch or section committee as in big cities. The various central committees within an industrial area then form a sub-district of the larger district or a shop territory. The basic unit of the party, the shop or nucleus or thru the nucleus branch, select delegates to the party.

THIS general party divisions will of course also be organized, not along the lines of predominant in-

dustries, such as coal, textile, oil, etc. it goes without saying that for nuclei to work also in industrial lines in one or another industry or union, the nuclei in the various shops, factories or mines will be connected with the national and local machinery of the T. U. E. L. Thus, the left wing will establish its organizational roots not only in the local unions, but also in the shops.

RUESS answers the problem of organizing into nuclei machinery on a great reorganization and coordination of the party machinery on shop nuclei basis, as well as the problem of organizing into this machinery, of the isolated comrades of one or two in a factory. We must of course go thru a transitional state in this work, but under this form the bulk of the membership can be drawn into the nuclei machinery and an honest attempt made to apply the nuclei reorganization to a numerically, as yet, weak party.

The Functions of Shop Nuclei

AS we well must know, the American proletariat is politically very backward. Whatever class consciousness there is amongst them is mainly economic in nature—hours, hours, etc. It will be the most difficult task of the nuclei to broaden this vague economic class feeling into real political class consciousness, to draw these workers into class politics. The party will succeed thru the shop nuclei to do this much better than now, because of its structure, leaflets, press and thru intimate contact with the masses be more suitable for this purpose.

However, especially at the beginning under the tremendous pressure of the politically ignorant working class, there will be an overwhelming temptation for the nuclei to work only on economic issues. This is not recommended at once by making the nuclei work difficult before they strike roots amongst the workers, but must be continually kept sight of and remedied thru better tactics and more care for our political agitation. Leaflets, press, stickers, etc. must always be distributed in various ways by the nuclei. In proportion to the growth of the political sentiment attempts should be made to pull the workers down on mass to mass meetings and demonstrations.

Aside from political work which applies to all nuclei in organized and unorganized industries alike, the work of our nuclei could be divided at present into two main categories: the nuclei in organized industries and those in unorganized industries.

A nuclei in Organized Industries. In order for the nuclei activities in organized industries are concerned, nuclei will have to follow the program of the T. U. E. L. in that industry, and establish the left wing as a factor in the shops, instead of only on the floors of the local unions. The nuclei in its every day contact with the workers in the shops will be in a better position to bring home to the workers the meaning of the basic slogans of our party, such as, amalgamation, shop committees, labor party, etc., because the need is more striking at the point of production where many fracts or trades work in the same factory and do fancy bureaucratic tricks are in order there to side-track the workers.

AMONG the ordinary daily activities of the nuclei it must be the objective of any nuclei or comrades in a union shop to get the shop chairmanship seat to see that the union agreement is interpreted and enforced in the interests of the workers. The nuclei must continually watch the boss and to fight every inch of the ground for the interests of the workers. A Communist must come into a shop with an attitude that he has something to say about conditions and production there and to get the workers to support our fighting policy.

In trades where the shop chairman system is not established, the nuclei members should fight for it to the

unions. If they have influence or the class content of the workers, they can force the boss to increase any trouble that may arise in their factory so that, although unofficially, but just as effectively, they will be completely in control of the work in the place where they work. Besides the daily struggle for the interests of workers on purely shop questions, the nuclei will all vigor fight for introduction of the shop committee system. In some unions, shop committees have already a legal basis, in others semi-legal.

THE nuclei committee idea will appeal mostly to those workers who, although working for the same boss in the same plant, are divided into different unions and can easily see the advantage of unity on the job. In some industries and localities we can, with a little fight, get the shop committee officially adopted, in its milder form as it already exists in some unions, viz: limited only to shop questions, instead of, as our demand is, control thru shop committees of the entire plant. While the fight goes on for official union recognition of shop committees, the nuclei must broaden out their organizational power and political influence by organizing all those that favor unity thru shop committees and amalgamation of the entire industry.

The nuclei must try to influence, as a sort of unofficial shop committee, as many workers as possible in the factory, with the object of uniting these workers for the struggle against the boss and for the introduction and establishing the machinery that will make it possible for the left wing, entrenched in the shops and led by the nuclei, to force amalgamation from the bottom and to enable the party to take leadership in the struggles, despite and over the heads of the union bureaucracy.

THE attachment of the nuclei in the shops will make it possible to bring broader layer of the workers into union activities and to bring them closer to the party. It is possible to organize and power of the T. U. E. L. fraction. The activities of the nuclei and the work of the T. U. E. L. fraction must go hand in hand. These are, generally, the functions of nuclei in organized industries.

Our Readers' Views

Socialist Likes Daily Worker. The DAILY WORKER, I am almost a life-time socialist, have belonged to the socialist party ever since it was organized and my first vote was cast for it. I have been a socialist for some time. I have been a radical, but for some reason I never had seen a copy of your paper until the Fourth of July meeting here in the Debs' meeting.

At that meeting I bought a copy of your paper and am enclosing a check for a three months' subscription to it. It is one of the most valuable and it certainly has the support of the laboring element.

We socialists have no organ, not even a weekly.

Fraternally,
C. W. ALANDER.

Unemployed Worker Subscribers.

To the Editor, The DAILY WORKER: I am sending you a 6 months subscription to The Daily Worker. I would like the rest of the year, but I have lost my money. Since the 31st day of December, 1932, having worked only thirty-three days since that date.

However, I am enclosing two dollars in addition as a special two months subscription card for a new subscriber.

Yours for Communism,
STEWY KUREPA.

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Jewish Colonization in Soviet Russia

By MORRIS BACKL.

WHEN the workers of Russia organized the Soviet form of government they established complete national freedom in their country. They took a deep interest in the list of all the people inhabiting the land, they found that the middle class among the Jews is too large. It is true that the peasant is also a middle man, but he is a productive one, while the Jew was non-productive, and a non-productive element stands in conflict with the entire situation of a Communist country.

The Jewish population in czaristic Russia were not allowed to live in large industrial cities and states. The industries in the Ghetto were not large enough to employ a great deal of workers, and the government owned factories, even in the Ghetto were closed to Jewish workers.

Jewish employers sometimes refused to employ Jewish workers, because they could find cheaper labor among other people, so the Jews in the Ghetto were compelled to become the go-between for the village and the city and be the merchant, the broker, the middle man.

Jews Back to Land.

At the conferences of the Jewish section of the Communist Party of Russia in 1919-1920, the question of settling the Jews on land was raised, but, Ukraine and a portion of White Russia was occupied in 1919 by the Germans, and the question was how to bring back the Jews to their former settlements. In June of 1919, at a second conference of the Jewish section of the Communist Party in Soviet Russia, the question of Jewish settlement on land was the central question of the gathering and the Jewish commissariat issued a manifesto in regard to Jewish colonization in Soviet Russia.

But in August, 1919, the Soviet government had to evacuate Ukraine. In 1920, in the Jewish districts the ter-

ror of the whites reigned and the Jewish population fled to the cities. In the streets and right after military Communism was striving for economic reconstruction which had on its program the settlement of the peasants to the city, and not colonization on soil.

It was Trotsky's plan of the labor army to bring thirty million peasants to the cities, and therefore the idea of settling Jews on land was out of question.

Restriction of Private Business.

In 1921 came the N. E. P. (New Economic Program) and some of the Jewish population had the illusion that the old possibilities of speculation had returned.

In 1922 this Jewish population of Soviet Russia awakened from this illusion. They understood that this is N. E. P., but the old times cannot be restored. The little merchant is unable to compete with the government owned stores and co-operatives, that private business must give place to the state.

In the meanwhile in Soviet Russia, labor became a very valuable element, people began to be proud of productive work, and therefore the change because of this new objective condition.

Productive Labor Necessary.

About a million and two hundred thousand Jews are now living on land, but there are six hundred thousand that have no source of livelihood, and the question for them is, either to starve or to organize themselves with productive labor.

The tendency to colonize the Jews on land finds its expression in voluntary settlements of Jewish cities that send Jews on soil, without anybody's efforts. The Jewish Communists of Soviet Russia, therefore, started a big campaign for colonization. They did not invent the problem, they did not also invent land, they only found the address to it.

In 1922, when the old Soviet Russia exhibited agriculturists took place the Jewish Communists demanded a pavilion for the Jewish peasants in the exhibition. In 1923, the pavilion was built and hundreds of thousands of visitors praised the great efforts of the Jewish peasants for their very modern agricultural accomplishment.

Land Committee Organized.

At the thirteenth Communist party convention in Soviet Russia, the question of colonizing Jews on land became a general government question because of the very elaborate discussion of how to change the government policy of private business, and as a result of the great discussion at the party convention, the Comzet (land committee) was organized.

What are the results? The government gave to the Jews forty-five thousand desiatins (a desiatin is over two acres) in the Ukraine, in the district of Cherson and Krirovgor. The Cherson circle is divided in three lines, first, Nikolaiav and Cherson, second Cherson and Melenopol on the way to Charkov, and third, Nikolaiav and Dolinskaya. It is a triangle. In the triangle alone there is thirty-six thousand desiatins. The district in Krirovgor district of the city of Jekaterinopol. The district of Cherson reaches the river Niropovick, which is surrounded by Jewish colonists.

Jews Give Land.

The second stretch of land was given to the Jews this year in Crimea, with eight thousand desiatins and ten thousand desiatins in White Russia, and also another piece of land in Crimea. The program of colonization is as follows: four thousand five hundred desiatins for Jewish cities, two thousand five thousand will be colonized this year.

Every person is supplied with transportation or which he pays only one fourth of the regular price. Every young man that is of military age gets a postponement for three years. They

also get an exemption of taxes for several years. The families that are going to Crimea are also getting wood to build houses free, and also getting seasonal credit for several years.

The Jews are colonizing first in towns, every small or larger town sends out first, a small group of its people and then, they are going to the country to colonize by whole towns. In Crimea settles this year, three hundred families, and in Ukraine three thousand and the rest in White Russia. It costs one hundred rubles to colonize a family. The Comzet is still short a half million dollars for this year, but for the next year the program is to colonize ten thousand Jewish families and yet a poorer class of Jews, and the need will be eight hundred rubles for each and every family.

American Jews Must Help.

The "Markomnet" of Soviet Russia is ready to give to the Jews enough land to colonize hundreds of thousands of Jews for several million and a hundred thousand desiatins in the district of Shelabek on the Urals, but the funds to make it possible ought to be raised in the United States. Jewish workers organized themselves in the "Iker", but they are finding difficulties to arouse the class consciousness of the Jewish workers in the United States who are still largely under the influence of the Forward and are blind even to such a great necessity.

The Jewish distribution committee on the other hand did receive favorable reports about Jewish colonization in Russia and is undertaking a big campaign to raise money. Over one hundred million Jews already colonized in Russia, occupying 350,000 desiatin land. This is only the beginning. In Palestine this fifty thousand desiatins are held by Jewish farmers and it is after forty years of activity, this shows what national freedom means in a Communist state.

Dollarizing a world

By Jay Loestone

(Continued from page 2)
and commercial imperialism. The very mention of the term is an insult to the purity of intention announced by Monroe.

And already, the imperialist watchdogs of Yankee capitalism are barking ferociously. Listen to the following declaration of the mouthpiece of the Yankee militarist caste, The Army and Navy Journal of June 26, 1923: "It is not at all unlikely that a display of force will be necessary a little later to make Mexico understand that American interests, too long ignored, must be protected."

Could any imperialist clique speak more "politely"?

Corrupting the Workers.

HERE we have the economic basis for the bourgeoisification of sections of the working class in imperialist countries. Here we have the economic basis for the growth of a labor aristocracy, in the United States for instance. Here we have the basis for the growth of that anomaly called by Lenin, a bourgeois working class.

In the United States, where imperialism is most powerful and highly developed, bourgeois working class leaders, labor leaders, and labor dominants. No doubt we will soon read on the tombstones of the late grand chief Warren E. Stow, a list of directorships in such banks as the Empire Trust Company of New York and the National Bank of Boston. The total resources of the banks and finance companies in which this labor leader was a director are approximately one hundred fifty million dollars. No less significant is the fact that at the funeral of this man of a working class, railway labor leader, there were present two union-busting railroad presidents like Daniel Willard of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad and J. D. Tobe of the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie railroad.

What worse source of corruption, what more menacing catastrophe, growth could there be on the body-politic of the proletariat in the United States?

Onward to the Next War.

BEFORE the great world war America was a debtor nation. Today it is a creditor nation. Before the world war, when the Yankee imperialist power was not yet so full grown, the United States toured a fleet of eighteen war vessels around the world. Today, exporting capital at the rate of about a billion dollars annually and occupying all the front row seats in the international imperialist arena, the United States is starting a "friendship" cruise of fifty-seven warships to Australia and New Zealand.

The rate of the militarization of

America is terrific. There are today seventy-three thousand college students and about forty thousand high school students getting military training for varying periods during the year. To facilitate the building up of a military caste in the United States the War Department has officially detailed seven hundred forty-five officers and seven thousand men for special training. The United States War Department is spending more than two million dollars annually on military training camps.

This year the United States will spend \$67,158,000 or nearly 23 percent of its total federal budget for the war and navy departments. In the fiscal year of 1924 this proportion was only 19.3 percent. It is interesting to note that Great Britain is spending this year only about 13 percent

of its estimated total expenditures for its military and navy departments. Last year Great Britain spent more than 14 per cent of its total government expenditures for the army and navy. The "Dollars" abroad of militarization at home. The export of huge quantities of American capital is paving the road for the exporting of war desiatins are held by Jewish farmers and it is after forty years of activity, this shows what national freedom means in a Communist state.

Imperialism means war sooner rather than later. War is hell. Imperialism is hell.

Letters From Our Readers

To My Fellow Auto Gypsies.

TO THE DAILY WORKER: Our daily press which like George Washington's paper is getting into the gutter train fever trying to invent a way to stop the influx of auto gypsies.

Headed by Miss Adeline Buffington, of Salt Lake, a more he on foot to wipe out this condition. These moron social workers charge the American people with packing their pockets and taking to the road to run away from work. "They use the plight of their children to gain sympathy and assistance. They are ruining the chances of the next generation by teaching them not to work, etc. etc."

But let us see why the citizens of this country are becoming auto gypsies. There are many reasons. There are many thousands of auto traps that are out of order. They come and go in every direction. As soon as a family plunders a trap to find questions asked are: Where can I get a job? How far to the next camp? How are the roads?

What do they seek you for gas, and how much for camp?

Then come tales of experiences and hardships, and there are many.

While writing this a family with a small baby is pitching camp. They have 12 1/2 dollars and a broken spring. They have not got the price of a new one which is \$2.50. Many have no tents and take pot luck with weather conditions out under the open sky.

What do these people eat? Certainly not healthy wholesome food, to which workers are entitled.

This morning a family of six left camp. They did not own their car, they had \$435 in their possession, their clothes were in rags and they had four little children. The father was willing to work at anything, he had not seen a day's work in months. Does anyone mean to maintain that these people prefer to take to the road home and a steady income? They are on the tramp, simply because they cannot get work. They cannot pay rent so the landlord drives

them out. The grocer cuts their credit. Once on the road, it is steal, beg or starve. Another class of tramps can be found on the road. They travel in fine big cars, stop in hotels, resorts and beaches. Money they have plentiful but they do not toil. They bring with them a maid servant to do the chores and a male servant to drive the car. They have a big broken spring bodies. They are the parasites and they exist because you workers will not organize to fight our common enemy, the three cut rate boss. Meekly we crawl into fifty places called auto camps, and pay a dollar for the privilege while they go to the beauty spots of the world. We pay their bills with life blood and that of our children.

In winter you go to some city, get a dingy, smelly room in the tenement and the three cut rate boss.

Get into the Workers (Communist) Party of America and fight like men and women.

Only a car lies down to die.

Frances M. Dickey,
Big Timber, Mont.

World Capitalism and the Soviet Union

(Continued from page 1)

power in industry, 288 perceives that capitalism emerged from the war with an extended base of production.

In the post-war years only a portion of this industry was employed—many countries below 50 per cent of its capacity. The chief causes for this were: The collapse of the monetary system and the depression that followed. After the war, capital only accumulated in America. America, however, cut itself off from European affairs.

Now, when the international credit system, the international monetary system is being restored again, a revival in industry is commencing; all its earlier accumulated forces are being set in motion and are working in the direction of the stabilization of capitalism.

The Extension of the Market by Means of the Reduction of Prices

WILL this process of stabilization be maintained? What are the difficulties which confront it? etc.

In replying to this question we must withdraw a little from current events and engage in a series of general considerations. One cannot come to the conclusion that capitalism has finally worked its way out of the post-

war morass. Capitalism means exchange of commodities and its stabilization depends upon the question of markets and comes up against the fact of the shrinkage of the markets. Capitalism knows of two ways whereby it can extend the market:

The first way consists in the cheapening of production. If goods are sold at a lower price, it finds a wider circle of purchasers within the limits of the existing national wealth, of the existing national income.

The second way is the capturing of new markets. Reduction of prices requires either a change in the organization of industry and commerce, or a new technical equipment of economy on a mass scale.

Does capitalism possess such technical possibilities, the use of which would enable goods to be cheapened? Yes, these possibilities consist in the employment of electricity, in the transition from steam power to electrical power.

FOR capitalism, however, this is at present a purely theoretical possibility. The hindrances in the way of its practical realization are: first, the accumulation of capital is only taking place to any considerable extent in America. Europe is poorer than before the war, and the investment of big capital sums for the pur-

pose of extending the electrical basis of industry on a mass scale exceeds the powers of international capital. Very interesting results were furnished in this respect by the London electricity congress which took place last year. The results of this congress show that New York alone consumes more electric current than the whole of England, the richest country of Europe. Old England, cannot afford to transfer to electricity, altho the most far-seeing bourgeois politicians perceive this to be the only way out of the deep crisis under which the country is laboring. The published report of the commission of the liberal party, with a preface by Lloyd George: "Current and Coal," states what enormous expenditure is necessary in order to electrify England.

Another reason why the countries of old capitalism encounter such great difficulties in transferring to electricity is the following: they have invested an enormous amount of capital in industry driven by steam power and they cannot therefore transfer to electricity before amortizing the plant and equipment of this country without great losses.

We therefore maintain that the development of electricity can only proceed in the first place in the young capitalist countries, and in those countries where the rule of capitals al-

ready belongs to a certain extent to history—we speak now of Russia. Our advantage consists in the fact that we are creating many new things and can create them with the help of electricity. The steam basis of Russian industry is not very great and its basic capital has been consumed to a very great extent.

Of the capitalist countries America is the first to be capable of developing its industry in this direction.

Let us mention a characteristic trait: Before the war it had been calculated how much money Italy would require in order to go over to electricity and to free itself from the heavy tribute which it had to yield to other countries for coal. This sum amounted to half of the annual expenditure of the country for the war. Bourgeois Italy could not bring itself to expend this money for the reorganizing of industry, it could, however, demand the same sum from the Germans for war purposes. As a result it is now no longer in a position to go over to electrification.

For the capitalist countries, therefore, the way to the cheapening of goods is scarcely possible, all the more so as the policy of the trusts leads to higher prices.

(To be continued.)

The Anthracite Coal Miners' Convention

By PAT TOOHEY, (A Delegate.)

THE much talked of tri-district miners' convention is now a matter of history and the anthracite miners are now wondering what comes next.

It was this convention that the new wage scale would be drafted, that is, a uniform set of demands of the miners to be presented to the anthracite operators at a conference of the existing agreement. It was at this convention that the hand picked scale committee would be given to understand just exactly what the rank and file wanted. But to those not acquainted with the usual procedure of miners' conventions, let it be understood at the beginning that it did not differ in the least from any other miners' convention, that is, that the delegates did not transact the business but the "fat boys" on the platform did that little thing.

THEY appeared at the convention a small but well organized opposition to the fakers. On practically every question of an important character it was this group that led the offensive. That this group was recognized as a force to be reckoned with was demonstrated on several occasions. It was this group that Lewis was forced to deal with through the convention, as a definite opposing group, opposed to the collaborative tactics of Lewis-Cappellani Co.

Many progressive measures were placed before the convention and fought for by the Communist delegates and their sympathizers. On the resolution demanding the release of all class war prisoners none spoke but the Communist delegates at the convention decided not to assist the causes of these prisoners in a financial way, but decided to give them their "moral support."

A resolution favoring the labor party was introduced by the Communists. The resolution committee attempted to evade the issue by submitting a report recommending the resolution be referred to the International convention, but this move of the "fat boys" was blocked. After much debate the committee was instructed to reconsider the resolution and submit another report, which was done, the report recommending concurrence.

HIS ROYAL LOWNESS, John L. Lewis said in his preface. John's paunch has increased in size since I saw him last (we must not forget an assessment was levied this spring). After signing the delegation to sleep by concentrating the wicked deeds of "that great American" Schwab, Rockefeller, etc., etc. John had to cook up something frightful to awaken them and to do it promised if the coal barons and "the great Americans" would continue to "scrap"

the Jacksonville agreement that a national strike would be called. The Communists realize that this would do for the union but know also, that it will never materialize with Lewis heading the union.

The scale committee, jokers picked from a stacked deck by the way, reported a 10 per cent increase for contract miners and \$1.00 in crease for company labor, including the check-off, tonnage, etc., would be demanded by the miners. The Communists fought militantly for higher demands

but the machine was too well oiled and the fight was lost. It was pointed out by the Communist delegates that the anthracite operators made millions of dollars in profits in the last few years and that the demands as formulated by the scale committee, regarding increase in wages, was not equitable and sufficient compensation for the work performed. Combatting the press propaganda that the operators were running the mines at a deficit it was pointed out that the

Barre Co., Penna. Coal Co., Philadelphia and Reading, and other large companies made a tremendous profit, making in the millions of dollars in the last few years. The instance which the Communists demanded 20 per cent for contract miners and \$1 per company labor route to the miners. His Royal Lowness was the chairman, who demanded of the Communists that they were not "ham-stringing" the officials.

THE scale committee, jointly with the scale officials of Districts 1, 2, 3, including the International officials will soon go to Atlantic City to meet the operators. Lewis will demand the establishment of the check-off and will make this the paramount demand, not because the checkoff will be a powerful thing for the union, but insuring Lewis and Co. tax on all the membership, some local unions do not paying tax for their full membership. Even if granted, the 10 per cent and \$1 per day wage demand is a reward for the position of the miners, who are very poorly paid at the present time, considering the wage scale of other organized territories. The scale committee forgot entirely the plight of the thousands of ill-paid boys ailing in the mines for a miserable wage, they did not demand the establishment of wages for these boys who perform work, men's work, that is fundamentally necessary in the production of coal, the scale committee, leaving to His Lowness, for many things.

Measures introduced by the Communists and adopted by the convention were the following: Child Labor, War Prisoners, War Prisoners, coal to be paid for on tonnage basis and that the existing system of paying on a car basis be done away with, time and a half for all overtime and the anthracite miners be bettered. Several other of a minor nature.

ONLY under the leadership of the Communists, and fighting on the Communist program, will the lot of the anthracite miners be bettered. To continue in the future as in the past will be suicidal and to the destruction of the organization. The Communists have demonstrated to the members, miners and holders, that they are the only element who really fight for the betterment of their conditions and for their happiness generally. To the delegates to the convention, miners and holders, the Communists call upon you to support them and their program, support them in their fight against the Lewis-Cappellani machine, support them on the issues they will fight for on the convention floor.



BUILDERS AT WORK A BUILDER WALKED INTO OUR OFFICE. A Very Short Story.

A very anxious and enthused Communist Builder walked into the DAILY WORKER office. Eureka—he had discovered something new—something that he was sure would get more results than ever, something "so simple," he told us, "that it's a wonder no one ever thought of it before."

The truth of the matter was that others had thought of it before—often. But not often enough to repeat it, over and over until this fact stuck in every Communist Builders mind so clearly that it would make him act automatically.

The anxious and enthused Communist Builder who walked into the DAILY WORKER office proposed that the best way to "Build the DAILY WORKER was TO TALK ABOUT IT" in the shop, and in the trade unions where it counts most, said the comrade, "but not only there—everywhere!"

"Surely our comrades will see the value of this. In my shop when crooked trade union officials are mentioned, I join the conversation; 'Sure!' I tell them, 'the other day the DAILY WORKER showed up in France'" When China was mentioned—I got every article of Bill Dunne's 'The Enslavement of China' in my shop locker, and whenever I get a chance, I talk about the Daily. Just talk—that's all—and you know how many souls I got—."

The comrade stopped to light a cigarette and began all over. Just imagine how much a capitalist concern would pay to have thousands of their present sales up their products. Why they'd pay millions of dollars—and do it right now for free!

We have the best advertising medium in the world for Communist—thousands of convinced Communist!

If every one of them talked—just talked—in the 57 varieties of languages we have—we'd have thousands of Communist agitators and organizers—and our party and the DAILY WORKER would be many times their present size up.

Our Communist Builder put on his hat with this closing advice:

"I got so many results that I'm going to keep it up whether anybody else does or not. But just tell the other DAILY WORKER Builders about it—will you?"