

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1931

Fight the Imperialist War

(Delivered in the Cleveland Federal Court, July 1917, reproducing speech delivered at the Public Square, May 27, 1917)

Comrades and friends: We have witnessed here this afternoon an incident such as has happened in Russia on many occasions. No doubt, under the reign of the Czar there have been many times when attempts have been made to stop the telling of the truth. There have been many occasions when those who are the servants of the ruling class in society have tried to prevent those who were fighting for the liberties of the people from uttering the things that they desired to state, and this afternoon we have here in the United States witnessed a thing which we have so often condemned in Russia, the land of darkness and dread things. But, in spite of this having taken place, I will proceed with my speech just as I proposed to make it to you before it happened. I am going to present to you my ideas, my thoughts, in regard to the present war and the things which the people of this country face at the present time.

This is not a war for freedom. It is not a war for the liberties of mankind. It is a war to secure the investments and profits of the ruling class of this country.

The only reason we are in this war now is because it is to the interests of the ruling class, the capitalist class of this country, to have us in the war, and I am going to show it to you.

I am speaking to you as Karl Liebknecht spoke in the German nation, as he spoke in the Parliament of that country, when he denounced the war as a war of the ruling class and stated his unalterable opposition to that war. And I say to you that if you are inspired by this ideal... if you are inspired with that which will bring about a better world, then you must stand up and fight for that ideal. You must fight side by side with those who are fighting this war.

We of the Socialist Party are carrying on this fight. We are here to carry on this fight. We are here to organize the workers of this country for this struggle. We are working towards this end, that out of the chaos of this war there may come a new society, a new world, a new organization of the people, which will end the cause of war by ending the private ownership of the



C. E. RUTHENBERG
Born July 9, 1882—Died March 2, 1927.

industry which brings war into existence.

RUTHENBERG BEFORE A CAPITALIST COURT

We are re-printing excerpts from the 1920 trial which took place in New York. Comrade Ruthenberg was indicted under the New York Criminal Anarchy Law for the publication of the Manifesto which was issued by the conference of delegates representing the left wing of the Socialist Party, held on New York on June 21, 1919:

Questioned By District Attorney
Q: You spoke about the Second

International, was that the Basle Conference?

A: No, it had repeated conferences every three years during the period it existed.

Q: Now, I think that you told us that the Second International broke to pieces, because it did not

carry out the Basle Resolution?

A: That and its general attitude in regard to the tactics of the revolutionary movement.

Q: Those are generalizations. What I am trying to get you down to is just the specific acts. What was there in the Basle Resolution

that the Second International failed to carry out that caused its break-up?

A: The declaration that in case an imperialist war broke out, the Socialist Parties of the various countries should act against that war. In place of so doing, the Socialist parties betrayed their trust and supported the governments in the war.

Q: What other acts do you say that the Second International failed to perform in order to prevent the war?

A: That would be about my idea of what the resolution required.

Q: The Basle Resolution spoke about the desirability of civil war in the event that the nations went to war, didn't it?

A: I do not think those are the words of the Basle Resolution. It states that the imperialist war should be turned into civil war.

Q: Should be turned into a what?

A: Into a civil war.

Q: You mean by that if the governments go to war, one with another, that the proletariat should take advantage of the situation, and change it into a civil war in the country, so that the proletariat might succeed in conquering the government?

A: My view of that statement is that if it required any action on the part of the organized workers in opposition to the war, to the extent of overthrowing the existing government and establishing a working class government in its place, in order to stop the war...

Q: And is what I stated one of the acts...

The Court: And if necessary to accomplish that, by a civil revolution?

The Witness: If the conditions were such that the proletarian strength and the developments of the situation in any particular country made that possible, as it happened in Russia through the breakdown of the existing government, then the Basle Resolution required such action.

The Need for Social Insurance

By C. E. RUTHENBERG

(From the "Chicago Daily Socialist," August 8, 1910)

The most glaring anomaly of our modern industrial system is the fact that those who produce the wealth of the world are least sure of their subsistence. The men and women who by their efforts bring forth the necessities of life are least certain of securing enough of these necessities to supply their own needs.

The lives of the workers are one constant uncertainty. They know not whether on the morrow an accident may not incapacitate them for further work, or whether illness, often the result of the work they do, may not make it impossible for them to continue to labor, and if they are lucky enough to escape both these they have still to fear the loss of their jobs and consequent unemployment.

And should they be so fortunate as to have accident, illness, and unemployment pass them by, they still have to face the problem of providing for their old age. When industry has squeezed them dry of strength and energy, when they can no longer keep up the pace set in modern machine production,

they are cast out and left to face slow starvation or the poorhouse. In their declining years the soldiers of industry, who have given their all to society, must suffer the greatest misery and the most privations.

Of course, the capitalistic minded will ask why, in the time of prosperity, the worker does not provide for the time of adversity. Why in years of health and strength he does not save enough of his earnings to keep him in old age, illness, or when accident has laid him low.

Yes, WHY?
Because he does not receive enough for his services even when regularly employed to keep himself and his family in common comfort. If he saves at all it must be

at the expense of depriving himself of many comforts.

How can they provide for accidents and illness? How can they lay away enough to provide for old age? For them it is a struggle to secure a livelihood now, and they can give no thought to the future. And how often are their already small wages cut down by unemployment! They are ready and willing to work to secure for themselves food, clothing, and shelter, but our crazy industrial system forces them to remain idle.

When the workers show they are really in earnest, when they really revolt, they may expect legislation which will provide against some of the insecurity which is now their lot.

LET'S FIGHT ON!

(On March 2, 1927, Charles E. Ruthenberg, Secretary of the American Communist Party since its organization in 1919, except for the period he spent in prison, breathed his last. Conscious of approaching death he gave his last thoughts to the Party and the movement to which he devoted the best years of his life. He asked those who were at his bedside to convey the following message to all his comrades in the Communist movement.)

TELL THE COMRADES TO CLOSE THEIR RANKS, TO BUILD THE PARTY. THE AMERICAN WORKERS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF OUR PARTY AND THE COMINTERN WILL WIN. LET'S FIGHT ON!

The Aim of the Communist Party

By C. E. RUTHENBERG

(From "The Farmer-Labor United Front," 1923)

What is the aim of a Communist Party? For what purpose is it organized? When we answer these questions we will lay down the principles which must guide us in all our work. As a Communist Party we are fighting to bring about in the United States the proletarian revolution, establish a Soviet government and the dictatorship of the proletariat. That aim is the reason for our existence and all our policies must lead us to the achievement of that aim. If they lead us in that direction then they are correct Communist policy.

Lenin said, in one of his arti-

cles, that the conditions for a proletarian revolution were: first, that the capitalist class could no longer rule, and second, that there must be a will to power on the part of the working class. . . .

The inability of the capitalists to rule is not something which grows out only of the work of our party, but this condition comes into existence as a result of the development of inner economic forces of the capitalist system.

The task of our party as a Communist Party is to create the second condition for the proletarian revolution; that is, the will to power on the part of the working class. In order that such a will to power may exist we must win the support of the majority of the working class for the proletarian revolution.

Join the Party of Your Class—The Communist Party!

Before the Red Kremlin Wall

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

Before the Red Wall of the Kremlin in Moscow are the graves of three fallen fighters in the American revolutionary struggle: C. E. Ruthenberg, the founder and leader of the American Communist Party; William D. Haywood, feared strike leader, and John Reed, writer, speaker, author of "Ten Days that Shook the World."

The fourth anniversary of the death of Ruthenberg, March 2, 1927, recalls sharply the fact that his ashes lie buried in Moscow. One almost hears again the salvo of shots from the rifles of Red Army infantry atop the Kremlin Wall, as the Red Army Band in the Square beneath ends the Funeral March. In the Red Square itself stood thousands of Red Army soldiers and other thousands of workers from shops and factories. They had just listened to speeches delivered from the Tribune of the Lenin Mausoleum.

Symbol of Solidarity.

The Ruthenberg Funeral had been reviewed in these speeches as an expression of the growing unity of the workers in two nations at opposite poles—the workers of the Soviet Union just entering upon the period of Socialist construction, and the workers of the United States of America, the land of the most powerful imperialism.

In the days quickly following the Ruthenberg Funeral in Moscow, black world reaction moved quickly in its 1927 war moves against the Workers' Republic. The British government raided Arcos, the Soviet trading organization in England; trade and diplomatic relations were broken off; the Soviet ambassador, Voikov, was assassinated in the Warsaw railroad station as Poland's effort to provoke the war on behalf of her masters; American ambassadors in West European countries joined verbally in the attack on the Soviet Power.

These were the 1927 days of boasted American "prosperity" with huge profits, when the "Ford System" of mass production and good wages was heralded especially by the German social democracy as the cure for the ills of capitalism. In these days the British trade unions, as well as

others on the continent, fulfilled the hopes of Samuel Gompers by adopting or aping the "industrial peace" program of the American Federation of Labor.

The four years since Ruthenberg died have brought great changes. The bubble of American "prosperity" has exploded. The "Ford System" has been forgotten as the cure-all for the ills of the profit system. Workers in Europe sweating under it have repeatedly rebelled. Under the lash of the British Labor Party, the German social-democracy and the French Socialists, the workers in these and other countries suffer increasingly, through wage cuts, the lengthening work-day, intolerable conditions, lockouts, the terror of boss class justice, especially when they go on strike.

All this time, however, the Soviet Union of the Five-Year Plan and Wall Street imperialism of mounting unemployment and increasing misery remain at opposite poles leading the struggle for the building of the new social order, on the one hand defending the old, decaying, disintegrating social order on the other—Communism against capitalism. This means that today the war danger is greater than ever. It was immi-

nent in 1927 when the Five-Year Plan was still on paper. It stands black and murderous upon the horizon in 1931 in the third year of victory of the tremendous Five-Year effort of Russia's toiling millions that will be completed in four years, even in three and one-half years.

Ruthenberg was a fighter against imperialist war. He suffered many months, years, in prison because of his opposition to the last world slaughter, 1914-18. The burial of Ruthenberg's ashes in the Red Kremlin Wall in Moscow is an American Communist pledge to struggle more energetically than ever against the growing storm—the threatening imperialist war. The four years since Ruthenberg died seem to have passed swiftly. But they cover years of tremendous change—the Workers' Republic rapidly on the upgrade, the premier capitalist republic slipping, plunging downgrade, yet seeking by every means to organize the attack, the war, against the Workers' Power that threatens its existence. In memory of Ruthenberg the American Communist Party gives greater energy than ever to building the war against the war, for the rising of American labor and its revolutionary victory.



A delegation of the Communist International which met the train on which Ruthenberg's ashes were transported to Moscow. J. Louis Engdahl is among the group.

Ruthenberg and the Youth

By GIL GREEN

Comrade Ruthenberg, was an uncompromising fighter against American imperialism. He fought relentlessly against the reformists and betrayers of the A. F. of L. and the socialist party. His heroic struggle against the last war, marks one of the best examples of revolutionary struggle against imperialist war.

Fought Against War.

On May 1, 1917, Ruthenberg organized the largest demonstration ever held in Cleveland, against the war. He spoke to the tens of thousands of workers and called for a fight to the finish against capitalism, as the only way to abolish war. For his courageous struggle against the war, C. E. Ruthenberg, like Karl Liebknecht in Germany, was thrown in prison.

When the Russian workers took power in November 1917, Comrade Ruthenberg was one of the first who worked for the aid and the defense of the Soviet Republic.

Realized Importance of Youth

Many times Comrade Ruthenberg wrote and spoke of the importance of the young workers in the class struggle. In the youth, Comrade Ruthenberg saw the new generation of fighters that would lead the American class battles. Just prior to his death, Comrade Ruthenberg wrote:

"On the new generation of workers, which is just learning from bitter experiences the character of the existing system of exploitation, rests the hope of creating a working class movement..."

The importance of the Young Communist League as the instrument through which the youth are to become imbued with a new fighting spirit, was constantly emphasized by Comrade Ruthenberg.

"The work of imbuing this spirit in the young workers who will be the militant fighting center of the working class move-

ment tomorrow, is the task of the Young Workers (Communist) League. In directing the work of the League into these channels in an effort to reach and influence the young workers in industry, teaching them the necessity of their organizing to fight against the capitalists to make of them militant trade union fighters, the Young Workers (Communist) League is taking up one of the most important problems of the working class movement."

Comrade Ruthenberg, realized that in order to be successful in winning the working class youth, the Communist Party must give the Young Communist League not only political guidance, but every day help. He wrote in the same article, "The Youth and the Trade Unions"

"Our Party must give earnest and enthusiastic support to the work of the League. The task of spreading our ideas and our campaigns among the young workers has not been supported to the full extent, that the Party is able to give support... The Party members must study the proposals, organization plans, campaigns initiated by the Young Workers (Communist) League, and devise ways and means of aiding them in carrying out the campaigns."

The young workers today, with the growing danger of an imperialist war, especially a war against the Soviet Union, must turn more and more to the life and struggles of Comrade Ruthenberg, for inspiration and guidance. We must conduct a merciless struggle against the preparations for war, and prepare the youth for the active defense of the Soviet Union. This can best be done thru following the guidance of Comrade Ruthenberg, by giving "earnest and enthusiastic support to the work of the Young Communist League."

Ruthenberg As A Practical Worker

By ALFRED WAGNKNECHT.

It is fitting, upon this anniversary of the death of Comrade Ruthenberg, to place before our Party and all workers a scene from his revolutionary activities which is seldom referred to.

As secretary of the socialist party in Cleveland he created one of the largest and best functioning organizations in the movement at the time. Allowing fully for the left trend in the Cleveland organization, due to Ruthenberg's class struggle policies (as differentiated from the opportunist, class collaboration policies of the socialist party leaders at the time) and which wrote May First in Cleveland indelibly into the history of working-class struggles, Ruthenberg understood thoroughly the immense value of practical day to day work.

Every day for many years, after a full day's work for his boss, he would come to the headquarters at prompt 6 p. m. He then began his second day's work in one, laboring feverishly to midnight in order to break the chains that bound him and all workers to the capitalist system.

No tasks were too routine, too ordinary, too small for him. He kept the books, receipted for dues and other income, edited the Cleveland Socialist, developed its circulation, participated in a dozen local committees, himself kept a careful card file of every contact and of every worker's name and address he could get. In short, he understood clearly that although political leadership was paramount, to achieve organization and mass power it was fundamentally necessary to weld and to rivet, to bind and tie the members into a solid unit by constant attention to every small and large practical and organizational detail.

He did this all, these six hours'

work a day for years, upon a volunteer higher achievements, build a mass Party.

He mobilized similar loyal elements around him to give voluntary assistance. When a committee had to know upon what night an A. F. of L. local union met, his file would tell. If a hurried mass meeting had to be called he could write to ten thousand sympathetic workers whose names and addresses he had on file.

When the world war broke out in 1914 Cleveland at once stood out as a fighting center against this imperialist sham.

We were both sentenced to prison (1917-1918) for one year for anti-war activities and when, during the first days, we were hanged by the wrists in the black hole for rebelling against prison rules, it was apparent to me that it was not so much the prison regime that Ruthenberg was rebelling against, as it was his reaction to being jailed just when the well-functioning, tightly welded together organization he had created could hit its hardest blows for the working class.

The lesson is plain. Lenin was as practical as he was political. Ruthenberg laid great stress upon the hundred and one tasks, little jobs, that had to be accomplished day after day to create organized mass power. Our Party members and functionaries must be mindful of all the practical details which some even now in derision call "dirty work." This work for the Party is not only dirty, but it constitutes the vehicle upon which the further political development of the masses of workers goes forward. The carrying out of practical tasks is highly essential. Without this the Party cannot live. Without this we have no Party. We must perfect our organizational machinery if we are to enter greater struggles,

Facts of Ruthenberg's Life

Born July 9, 1882. Died March 2, 1927, at 11 A. M. in the American Hospital, Chicago, Ill., after an operation for appendicitis, at the age of 44. His father was a longshoreman, and he himself after primary school education in a German Lutheran school, and completion of Business College was in turn factory worker, clerk, newspaper correspondent, and from 1909 until the day of his death, active fighter in the labor movement.

Activity in the Labor Movement: Helped to build I. L. G. W. U. and took active part in the Cleveland strikes of that organization. He participated in and took a leading part in many other strikes in Cleveland and in the state of Ohio. Joined the Socialist Party January, 1909. Remained in it until 1919 when the Communist Party was formed, and was one of the founders of the Communist Party and of its successor the Workers (Communist) Party. He was an official of the Socialist Party from 1909 (a few months after joining) until he entered the Communist Party.

In November, 1917, after conviction for anti-war activities, and while pending appeal, he ran for Mayor of Cleveland and received 27,000 votes out of a total of 100,000 cast.

First Communist Secretary. Delegate to every Annual State Convention of the Ohio Socialist Party from 1910 to 1919. Delegate National Convention of the Socialist Party 112. National Committee Convention of 1915 and National Emergency Convention of 1917. Elected secretary and organizer of the Socialist Party in 1919. Editor the Socialist News from 1914-1919. Executive Secretary Communist Party of America

1919-1920. He went to jail and was therefore unable to serve. Upon getting out of jail he became secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party from its inception and remained secretary until the day of his death. He was at all times a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party and its successor, the Workers (Communist) Party. For the last few years of his life he was a member of the presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Indicted June, 1917, charged with obstructing the draft through speeches made on the public square in Cleveland.

First Jail Sentence. He served one year in the Canton Ohio Jail. It was after Debs visited him in the Canton Jail that he (Debs) made the speech that caused his own indictment and imprisonment. He was indicted and convicted under the Criminal Anarchy Law of the State of New York in November, 1919, and served 22 years in Sing Sing Prison on an indeterminate sentence of from 5 to 10 years which was terminated by pardon issued by Gov. Smith, who based his decree upon the minority opinion of the Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court to the effect that the conviction was unconstitutional.

Died in Shadow of Jail. In 1922 arrested for attending the Michigan Convention of the Communist Party and convicted and sentenced to an indeterminate sentence of from 5 to 10 years. At the time of his death he was out on appeal against that sentence which had already been upheld by the State Supreme Court of Michigan and was in the hands of the United States Supreme Court.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ON RUTHENBERG

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International expresses its profound sorrow in the death of Comrade Ruthenberg, member of its presidium. We express our deepest sympathy to the Workers (Communist) Party of America in the loss of its general secretary and leader. Our mutual bereavement is a great loss especially to the working class of America. At no time since Comrade Ruthenberg raised the Red Flag against the imperialist war and led the way to the formation of the Workers (Communist) Party, has his leadership been more needed than today."



Group of children of a photo of a Moscow Factory.

Socialism Liquidates Unemployment

By A. DEUTSCH (Moscow)

The Soviet Union has entered the period of Socialism.

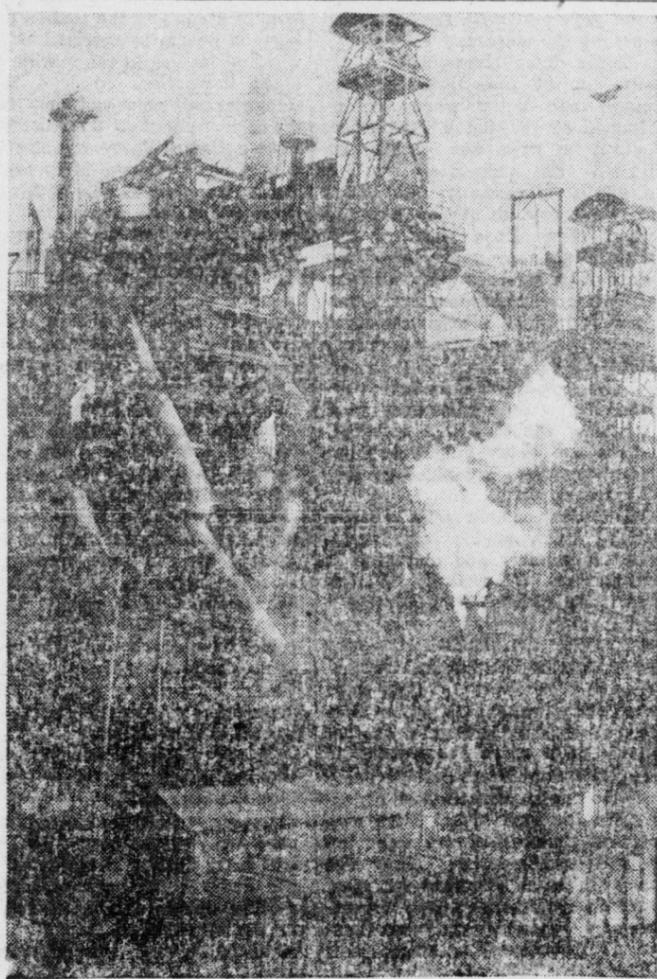
At the beginning of the third year of the Five-Year Plan there are no longer any unemployed in the Soviet Union.

There were countries in which for the time being unemployment was not very acute. But there is only one country, namely the Soviet Union, in which unemployment has been finally liquidated because the root cause of unemployment, the capitalist system of economy, has been abolished.

In time of the reconstruction of national economy which has been destroyed by war, civil war and imperialist intervention, there existed unemployment in the Soviet Union. At the same time, however, there was an extensive social service. The unemployed received not only adequate unemployment benefit, but also considerable privileges in regard to housing, clothing and food.

The period of socialist reorganization of the whole of the national economy was characterized by the Five-Year Plan, the rapid industrialization of the country, the socialistic transformation of agriculture on the basis of collectivization, the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, the improvement of the material situation and the raising of the cultural level of the masses, as well as the systematic liquidation of unemployment. At the time of the commencement of the Five-Year Plan there were still 1,468,000 unemployed in the Soviet Union. On the first of January 1930—after the successful carrying out of the first year of the Five-Year Plan—there were only 952,000 unemployed, and on the 1st of January 1931, after the successful carrying out of the second year of the Five-Year Plan, unemployment was completely done away with in the Soviet Union.

The rapid pace of socialist construction, the colossal development of industry and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture resulted in



Blast Furnaces at the Voroshilov Mills in Alchersk.

a tremendous increase in the number of workers employed. Whilst in the capitalist countries the number of workers employed is continually declining and millions of workers are doomed to permanent unemployment because capitalism has no prospect whatever of absorbing them in the process of production in the Soviet Union the working class is continually growing at an ever increasing pace. In the past

few years the number of workers employed in the Soviet Union has increased as follows:

1929	5,988,000 workers
1930	7,412,000 "
1931	anticipated	8,388,000 "

This means that in three years the number of workers employed in industry has increased by 67.5 per cent.

In the third year of the Five-Year Plan 2 million fresh workers

will be engaged. The number of workers and employees will increase from 14 million in the year 1930 to 16 million in the year 1931.

One of the most important social-political measures of the Soviet Power was the decree regarding the introduction of the seven-hour day issued on the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution (1927). The going over to the seven-hour day could only take place gradually with the adaptation of the old factories and works, whilst the newly erected factories are immediately commencing to work the seven-hour day. Up to 1930, 50 per cent of the workers in the State big industry went over to the seven-hour day, and in 1931 the whole of the workers in the State big industry will be working the seven-hour day.

Another important measure was the introduction of the five-day week. By this measure the number of rest days was increased, the health of the workers was greatly improved, the workers had the possibility of making full use of the cultural and educational institutions, and at the same time there was a more rational utilization of the existing workshops and plants.

It is obvious that the introduction of the seven-hour day and the five-day week contributed greatly to the abolition of unemployment.

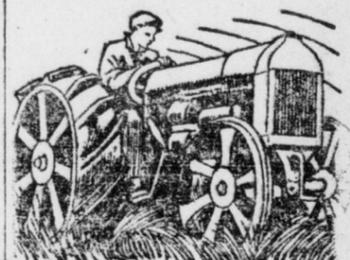
With the liquidation of unemployment socialist construction entered on a new phase, which is characterized by the shortage of labor. The demand for workers, not only skilled but also unskilled, cannot be satisfied in good time and to a sufficient extent. The fulfilment of the building plans calls for hundreds of thousands of skilled workers and millions of semi-skilled and non-skilled workers from the ranks of the former artisans, the women and poor peasants. Thus the Soviet Union is able to give its Labor Exchanges a quite new function. The Labor Exchanges are converted from institutions whose task it was to find positions for unemployed workers and employees, into

State offices for recruiting and training new workers. Every Soviet citizen who wishes to work has the possibility of registering immediately at the Labor Exchange and has the right to be sent to work at once. The Labor Exchange must find him suitable work within three days or send him to a training centre, at the cost of the Labor Exchange.

In order further to meet the demand for highly skilled workers it is intended in the year 1931 to retrain 600,000 adult workers in the factories and place them on skilled work. Further, 200,000 highly skilled workers must be promoted to leading positions. Tens of thousands of workers are studying in the technical, vocational and high schools and in the course of the year will take over leading functions in industry as qualified technicians and engineers.

In addition, in the year 1931 1,106,000 apprentice will be trained in the factory schools. Thousands of foreign expert workers are already working in the factories and workshops of the Soviet Union assisting in the work of socialist construction.

The great successes in this sphere are one of the heaviest blows which the Soviet Union has dealt world capitalism. They show the working class of the whole world that only under a socialist economic system it is possible to introduce a planned organization of work and thereby finally and completely liquidate unemployment.



Tractors in the Soviet Union.

The Disappearing Jobs in Capitalist America

By HARRY GANNES.

THERE is no let-up in unemployment. Never before was there such a mass of workers thrown out on the streets to starve as there is in the United States today. Every development of capitalism makes for unemployment. Mass production, even when the factories are running, means mass unemployment.

When a crisis of the present severity comes about all the factors make for still more unemployment. How does it work? The factories slow up, and thousands are thrown out. But the men that remain on the job must do the work that two used to do before. Very soon, even if production remains at an even pace, less workers are required to do the job.

Endless Process

In a crisis, when there is overproduction, prices begin to drop—not for the workers—but wholesale prices. This means that the bosses have to produce their commodities at lower costs of production, so that they can meet the lower prices. Then begins the increased process of speed-up. They lay off workers and speed up those on the job. The speed-up constantly eliminates more. It is an endless process.

Hoover says there are only 5,500,000 out of work in the United States.

This is just as believable as his "sixty-day" prosperity promise back in the early part of 1930. Ten million unemployed is a conservative estimate of the number of American men and women who want to work and can find no jobs and who face starvation as a result.

8,000,000 In 1928

In 1928, Professor Irving Fisher, economist of Yale University, a recognized supporter of Hoover, prohibition, capitalism in all its phases, wrote as follows about unemployment at that time:

"The recent estimate of the number of unemployed made by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics show a shrinkage in the actual number of employed in all industries of 1,874,050 between 1925 and January, 1928. The Secretary of Labor Points out that immigration has added more than 250,000 to the population each year and that about 2,000,000 boys and girls in our native population reach the working age each year. If these figures are acceptable as dependable the number of employable age who were not employed in January, 1928, would be close to 8,000,000 instead of 4,000,000 as estimated by the Labor Bureau, Incorporated. . . . The actual decline of 15 per cent in



Negro Workers Repairing Street at Lowest Wage

employment from 1919 to 1928 becomes a decline of 25 per cent when the increase of population is taken into account."

This learned professor tells us that 8,000,000 were unemployed in the "prosperity" year of 1928! What must be his estimate today? He has been silent on this point, and for a good reason. One quarter of the workers were unable to find jobs in

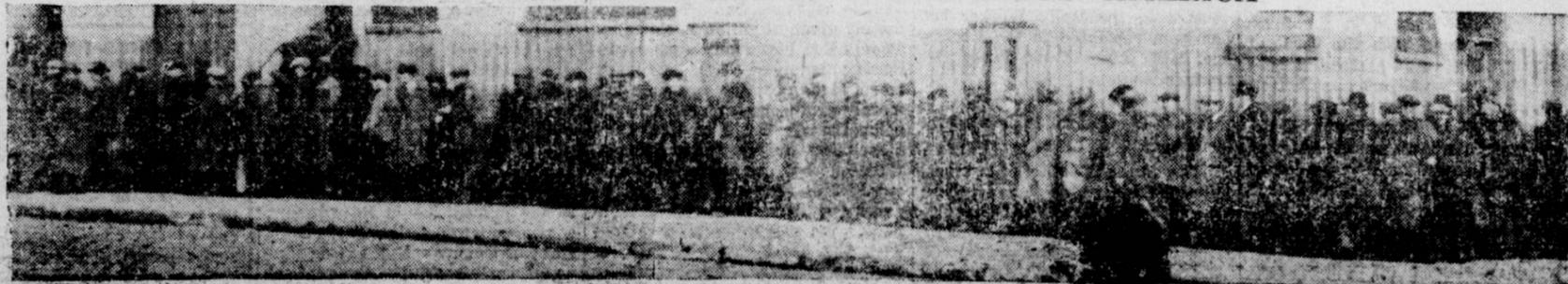
1928. Between 1919 and 1928, nearly 2,000,000 were displaced. Right now, during the crisis, this displacement process is being speeded up so that even if production goes ahead, it will leave in its wake an army of over 8,000,000 permanently unemployed.

Hunger, permanent hunger, is the prospect for the American working class. On the job there

will be killing speed-up, low standard of living and misery, poverty, disease and degradation.

The fight for unemployment insurance is not a temporary matter. Those workers who have a few dollars and eke out a miserable existence waiting for the day when capitalism is going to begin hiring by the millions better get disillusioned now. Waiting for capitalism of its own free will to feed the workers is waiting for slow death by starvation. The fight must go on now, must rally every worker in the country. The conditions of the unemployed are tied up unbreakably with that of the employed. The struggle for unemployment insurance and against unemployment is not a matter of just this crisis, of its uneven phases. It is the main question that will face the American workers until the end of capitalism. It is becoming more evident to the workers that to end unemployment and all the misery that flows with it capitalism must be destroyed. The final fight will be won only when capitalism is overthrown. The immediate fight is for unemployment insurance against starvation of millions.

JOBLESS ON THE BREADLINE IN "PROSPEROUS" AMERICA



The Party As the Vanguard

By J. STALIN.

First of all the Party should be the vanguard of the working class. Its membership should comprise the pick of the working class. It should embody the experience of the finest stalwarts, their revolutionary spirit, their unbounded devotion to the cause of the proletariat. But in order to be an effective vanguard, the Party must be armed with a revolutionary theory, with a knowledge of the laws of the movement, of the laws of revolution. Lacking this, the Party is not fit to rally the proletariat for the fight, or to take over the functions of leadership. The Party is no true Party if it limits its activities to a mere registration of the sufferings and thoughts of the proletarian masses, if it is content to be dragged along in the wake of the "spontaneous movement" of the masses, if it cannot overcome the inertia and the political indifference of the masses, if it cannot rise superior to the transient interests of the proletariat, if it is incapable of inspiring the masses with a proletarian class consciousness. The Party should march at the head of the working class, it should see further than the latter. It should lead the proletariat, and not lag in the rear. The parties affiliated to the Second International, the advocates of "Khvostism" or "tailism," are the bugle-men of bourgeois policy. Their leadership condemns the proletariat to becoming a tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Only a party which is conscious of its function as vanguard of the proletariat, which feels itself able to inspire the masses with a proletarian class consciousness, only such a party can lead the workers out of the narrow path of trade unionism and consolidate them into an independent political force. Such a party is the political leader of the working class.

I outlined above some of the difficulties of the proletarian class struggle, and some of the complications arising therefrom; I spoke of strategy and tactics, of reserves and of maneuvering, of offensive warfare and of retreat. The circumstances arising from the proletarian class struggle are just as complicated, if not more so, than were those arising out of the great war. Who can find a way out of the labyrinth of these complexities? Who is competent to guide the millionfold masses of the proletariat? No army can venture forth to battle without an experienced general staff to direct its actions. If it tries to dispense with a general staff it is foredoomed to defeat. To a greater extent, if possible, does this apply in the case of the proletariat. It, too, must possess a general staff it is to avoid being handed over to the tender mercies of its enemies. Where shall we find such a general staff? In their revolutionary party of the proletariat. The working class without a revolutionary party is an army without a general staff. Our Party is the war staff of the proletarian army.

The Party is not only the vanguard of the working class. If the Party is to function as the genuine leader in the class struggle, it must likewise be the organized detachment of the working class. Under the bourgeois regime, the tasks confronting the Party are manifold and of the utmost importance. The Party has to guide the proletariat in its struggle, and has to do so, everywhere, under extraordinarily difficult conditions; it has to lead the proletariat to assume the offensive when events warrant an attack, and it has to withdraw the proletariat from the onslaught upon the foe when the retreat is indicated; it has to instill into the minds of the masses of unorganized workers a sense of discipline, of method in the fight, to inspire them with the spirit of organization and steadfastness. But the Party will not acquit itself of these tasks unless it is itself an embodiment of discipline and organization, unless it is in very truth the organized detachment of the working class. Lacking this, the Party is in no condition to act as the leader of the millionfold proletarian masses. The Party is the organized detachment of the work-

The Party Leader

By JACK STACHEL

On March 2nd the revolutionary workers of this country and the world over will commemorate the death of Chas. E. Ruthenberg, the leader of our Party from the date of its birth until the day of his death. The whole history of the development and growth of our Party from the beginnings of the left wing in the Socialist Party through the various stages in the formation and consolidation of the Communist Party can not be separated from the life and work of Ruthenberg during this period. Ruthenberg was a true revolutionist. It was his great devotion to the cause of our class and his confidence in the masses that steeled him in the struggle and made it possible for him to master every storm in which he found himself in the history of our Party. It was his deep understanding of the international character of the working-class struggle for emancipation that made him the loyal defender of the Communist International, which expressed itself particularly in critical moments in the history of our Party. It was his hatred of capitalism that made him the mortal enemy of every shade of reformism which tended to divert the struggles of the masses away from the revolution. It was his clear understanding of the class struggle in all its aspects that placed him at the head of the revolutionary workers in this country in the struggle against imperialist war and the pacifist phrase mongers. That placed him side by side with the Bolsheviks, with Karl Liebknecht and the other small groups of revolutionaries in a number of countries that held high the red banner of the revolutionary class struggle when the Socialist Party here and the world over was serving the master class of its respective countries whether through open jingoism of the Gompers-Russell type of the opportunist pacifism of the Hilquit-Thomas type.

Comrade Ruthenberg associated as he was with the history and development of our Party made contributions to its theoretical development and definition of its tactics. His contributions in the work of the trade unions, among the Negro masses, and numerous other problems of other Party were great. But greatest of all was his contribution in the field of organization and the correct emphasis on the role of the Party. His contributions in organization were of the greatest significance in the formation and consolidation of the left wing.

Builder of Communist Party

But particularly important were his contributions to the building of the Communist Party. This was not an easy task. With more than 15 different language groups forming the basis of the Communist Party, with lack of clarity as to the course of the left wing and later the Party resulting in the organizations of many Communist currents, with the persecution of our Party which drove it underground the organizational problems were as difficult as they were important. It was through the great services of Ruthenberg and his wide experience that many of these problems were solved. He was enabled before he died to see the Party under his guidance and the direction of the Comintern welded together into one unified Party, with the language federations abolished, and the Party on the road to reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei.

One of the last important articles written by Ruthenberg before his death was on the subject **How to Strengthen the Party** written about two months before his death in December, 1926. This article can be of great service to us at the present time in the **Recruitment Campaign**. It was originally written in the *Daily Worker* but has been reprinted in the December, 1927 issue of the *Party Organizer*.

In the opening paragraphs in this article Comrade Ruthenberg writes:

The Party has not, however, thus far been able to crystallize the influence it won as a result of its campaign into organizational strength. The organized strength of the Party as represented by its membership has

not kept pace with the influence among the masses.

These lines characterizing the situation at that time are even more true today when the influence of the Party Ruthenberg helped to build has greatly extended its influence, but in strength numerically the Party stands today about the same as when these lines were written more than four years ago. We must take seriously this analysis of Comrade Ruthenberg and transform it into an intensification of our activity on the present recruitment drive.

The combined circulation of the Party papers is over two hundred thousand . . . Yet there are today only ten thousand members organized in the Party.

And what can we say about this today? Our papers have multiplied in number and increased in circulation. The *Daily Worker* has today double the circulation it had at that time. The number of papers in the English language have increased (*Southern Worker*, *Woman Worker*, etc.) also there are today papers in other languages that did not exist at that time. As a whole the number of readers of our Press has increased but the number of members organized in the Party is no more than at that time. Here are some important lessons for us. They also show in what direction we must work in order to increase the number of members in our Party. Comrade Ruthenberg then adds:

The Party influence extends beyond the circle of readers of its press. More thousands of workers are reached by mass meetings held under the Party auspices and through the various struggles in the worker's



interests which the Party initiates and carries on.

And again how much more true is this today when we have demonstrations and mass meetings involving not many thousands but tens and hundreds of thousands of workers. When our influence has been extended among the exploited masses not only in the east but in the south and west as well. Truly the lessons set forth by Comrade Ruthenberg must be taken most seriously by us today. They apply with even greater force to the present situation in which our Party finds itself.

Need it be pointed out in detail how much more true and necessary this is today? Does a day pass when we are not hampered in our work by lack of forces? Is it not a fact that the spontaneous mass movements today develops far more rapidly than we are able to give it the necessary guidance and leadership? Do we not hear every day of strikes and demonstrations of unemployed developing and we are not on the scene nor able to dispatch forces to lead the movement? Only last week a spontaneous demonstration of over 2,000 unemployed took place in Greenville, N. C. And were we there? No. Fortunately our National Textile Workers Union has immediately given attention to this situation. But how many such situations go unnoticed? And how many more struggles are brewing but merely await our leadership to develop them? The fact that these movements are unquestionably influenced by our agitation only emphasizes the point made by the quotation from Comrade Ruthenberg. We are today face to face with the developing struggles of the unemployed, the struggles against wage cuts already taking the

form of strikes in the textile, mining and needle industries. Of developing strikes in the marine and other industries. To lead these struggles we must not only have the correct policies. We must have a strengthened Party organization. With a strengthened Party organization we shall be able with more than redoubled energy to give leadership to the mass struggles and build the Industrial Unions and Unemployed Councils of the Trade Union Unity League. To give leadership to the organization and struggles of the Negro masses of the poor working farmers.

Again we quote Comrade Ruthenberg to show how much importance he attached to Party building as a task of the entire Party and every individual member.

Our Party has never taken advantage of its work among the masses to win new members. . . . The members of our Party are hesitant about approaching the workers with whom they come in contact and who are sympathetic to the work of the Party. . . . There are no persistent and systematic efforts to recruit new members.

If the whole membership of the Party were to throw itself into the work of winning new members with the same enthusiasm and energetic work which has been developed in some of the Party campaigns we could quickly double the membership of the reorganized Party.

And again very timely suggestion:

The attitude which does not consider every member of prospective member as precious material for the upbuilding of the revolutionary movement must be rooted out of the Party. . . . The membership figures of the Party are the best test of whether the Party is conducting its work in an effective manner. We may have the most correct program and the best policies and tactics in carrying on our work but if we do not couple this with the recruiting of the best elements among the workers who support our Party our work will not be permanent and we are not taking full advantage of our opportunities.

And comrade Ruthenberg did not fail in this article to take up the minutest details of this work. He speaks about the utilization of mailing lists of our readers, of organizing the Party members for visiting the readers and numerous other important details. Then he adds:

Together with this work among the workers whose names are on our Party rolls and who read our press the members of the Party must be stimulated to take up the recruiting campaign among the workers with whom they come in daily contact. The recruiting campaign must be carried on in the factories thru the shop nuclei in the trade unions by the members if the trade union fractions in the fraternal organizations by the members of the fractions in these organizations.

And finally we wish to quote the following section of this article:

"Build the Party" must be the slogan which every member of the Party transforms into reality by active participation in the campaign to win back old members and win new members for the Party. . . . Let every one of the 10,000 members of the Party become a recruiting agent for the Party with the object of having every worker who is sympathetic to the Party become a member of the Party.

And we all of us in commemorating the path of our dead leader. In honoring his memory can do nothing better than to follow in his footsteps, to remain loyal to our Party and to the masses whose struggles it leads. To build that Party which he helped found and develop, to strengthen it, for greater struggles, so that we can carry forward his work with greater force. To work in the interests of our class and to gain final victory in the great class war in which he was a brave soldier and devoted leader. In the present Lenin Recruitment campaign let us follow in the footsteps of Comrade Ruthenberg. Let us all work to achieve the goal set in this . . .

Fighter and Organizer

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

On this fourth anniversary of the death of Comrade Ruthenberg, our Party, to which he devoted his life's work and for which he burned himself out while still in



WM. Z. FOSTER
Secretary of the T. U. U. L.

the prime of life, is now facing the greatest opportunity in its career. The American workers, long seemingly asleep are beginning to wake up. Under the fierce pressure of the crisis on one side, with its mass unemployment and starvation, its wage cuts and terrorism, and on the other side under the inspiring influence of the victoriously advancing Soviet Union, the workers in this country, like the workers all over the world, are awakening and beginning to struggle.

If we appreciate the splendid revolutionary work of comrade Ruthenberg, we can show this only by throwing all our forces into the development of the Party, so that it may come forward in the sharpening capitalist crisis as the real leader of the working class. Ruthenberg was a worker and a fighter, as well as a clear thinking revolutionist. It is these qualities that are supremely in need in the present situation for the building of our Party.

It is with disgust that one observes antics of Lovestone in trying to steal the Ruthenberg tradition from our Party. What his counter-revolutionary struggles against the Communist International? Nothing. Ruthenberg was a real Communist. There cannot be the slightest doubt that were he alive today he would be the bitterest enemy of all that Lovestone stands for and the most militant battler against it.

The life of Ruthenberg should be an inspiration to our whole Party. Especially is this the case with regard to the youth. For the young worker just developing in the class struggles the activities of comrade Ruthenberg stand as a beacon lighting the way to effective struggle for and with the working class. His revolutionary work was invaluable for the development of our Party.



R.I.L.U. CALLS RUTHENBERG STAUNCH

"The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions expresses deep sympathy with all members of the Workers' Party and revolutionary workers of the United States in the loss of Comrade Ruthenberg, one of the staunchest fighters against imperialism and the capitalist system of wage slavery."

RUTHENBERG'S STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

By E. BROWDER.

Before the United States entered the last World War, the Hillquit-O'Neal official leadership of the socialist party could well afford to "oppose" war. In this they merely reflected the indecision of the ruling class as to when, under what circumstances and on whose side to participate in the last World War. The early "opposition" of the official socialist party leadership was of a purely pacifist nature. Their policy was then in harmony with that of the Wilson administration.

The pacifism of Wilson was the expression of the strategy of American imperialism to play its own

with Comrade Ruthenberg as one of its outstanding leaders, clashed with the pacifist, jingoist policies of the Hillquits. The St. Louis Convention, held April 7, 1917, expressed the attitude of the members in the adopted left wing resolution against war. This resolution was opposed and after its adoption "sabotaged" by Hillquit and company. The St. Louis resolution attempted to reject the jingo pacifism of Hillquit when it stated:

"Modern wars as a rule have been caused by the commercial and financial rivalry and intrigues of the capitalist interests in the different countries. Whether they have been frankly waged as wars of aggression or

can say that in those days he came nearest to the following Leninist conception that:

"A propaganda of peace at the present time, if not accompanied by a call to revolutionary mass actions, is not only capable of spreading illusions, of demoralizing the proletariat by imbuing it with confidence in the humanitarianism of the bourgeoisie, and of making it a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries. In particular, the idea of the possibility of a so-called democratic peace without a series of revolutions is deeply erroneous."

And, "Whoever wishes a durable

APPEAL ON THE WAR

By N. LENIN

Comrade Workers:

For over a year the European War has been going on. According to all evidence, it will be continued for a long while, for if Germany is best prepared and at present the strongest, the Quadruple Entente (Russian, England, France, and Italy) on the other hand has more men and more money, and besides, it freely receives war materials from the richest country in the world, the United States of America.

What is this war being fought for? Why these untold horrors? The government and the bourgeoisie of every belligerent country are squandering millions of rubles on books and papers blaming the opponent, arousing in the people a furious hatred for the enemy, stopping before no lie whatever in order to picture themselves as the country that was unjustly attacked and is now "defending" itself. In reality, this is a war between two groups of predatory great powers, and it is fought for the division of colonies, for the enslavement of other nations, for advantages and privileges in the world market. This is a most reactionary war, a war of modern slave-holders fought for the purpose of retaining and strengthening capitalist slavery. England and France are lying when they assert that they fight the war for the freedom of Belgium. In reality, they have long been preparing the war, and they wage it for the purpose of robbing Germany, taking away her colonies; they have made a treaty with Italy and Russia stipulating the pillage and division of Turkey and Austria. The czarist monarchy in Russia is waging a predatory war in which it strives to seize Galicia, to take away territories from Turkey, to enslave Persia, Mongolia, etc. Germany wages a war for the purpose of robbing English, Belgian, and French colonies. Whether Germany wins or Russia, or whether there is a "draw," in any case the war will bring humanity new oppression for hundreds and hundreds of million of people in the

colonies, in Persia, Turkey, China, new enslavement of nations, new chains for the working class of all countries.

... The war fills the pockets of the capitalists to whom an ocean of gold is flowing from the treasures of the great powers. The war is provoking an unreasoning bitterness against the enemy, and the bourgeoisie does its best to direct their attention from the main enemy, the government and the ruling classes of their own country. The war, however, carrying with it untold miseries and horrors for the toiling masses, enlightens and steels the best representatives of the working class. If perish we must, let us perish in the struggle for our own cause, for the cause of the workers, for the Socialist revolution and not for the interests of the capitalists, landowners, and czars—this is what every class-conscious worker sees and feels. Revolutionary Social-Democratic work may be difficult at present, but it is possible. It progresses in the whole world, and in this alone lies salvation.

Down with Czarist monarchy, which drew Russia into a criminal war, and which oppresses peoples! Long live the world brotherhood of the workers and an international revolution of the proletariat!

N. LENIN



Born 1870—Died 1924.

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TEN THOUSAND CHEER RUTHENBERG AS SOLDIER MOB BREAKS UP MEETING

Organized Labor Gives Great Ovation to Socialist Candidate

HOW THE PAPER'S LIED

imperialist independent role, maneuver between the allies and the central powers and at the convenient moment step in as a deciding factor in the World War. Wilson's pacifism was the most imperialist weapon in concealing the true nature of the strategy and aims of Wall Street in order to mobilize the masses for a "holy" war. The socialist leadership opposed war as long as Wilson could afford to parade as the president "who kept us out of war." The moment, however, the U. S. joined the allies, one section of the socialist party leadership (Spargo, Russell), openly adopted a jingoist policy and left the socialist party and the official leadership, consisting of Hillquit, O'Neal and Lee, supported American imperialism with a cloak of pacifist phrases, a la Kautsky.

If we examine the 1916 presidential platform of the socialist party, we can easily detect the chauvinist nature of its official leadership. In its "Measures to Ensure Peace," it had the following point: "That no war shall be declared or waged by the United States without a referendum vote of the entire people (!?) except for the purpose of repelling invasion." (Our emphasis.) Thus we see that under the cover of pacifism behind the phrase of admitting the need of war for repelling an invasion, there is the call for participation in the eventual imperialist war. In the stage of imperialism, all wars between capitalist nations are necessarily wars of aggression and invasion on both sides. The same presidential manifesto in many respects anticipated the 14 points of Wilson, when it stated:

"The government of the United States shall call a congress of all neutral nations to mediate between the belligerent powers in an effort to establish an immediate and lasting peace without indemnities, or forcible annexation of territory, and based on a binding and enforceable international treaty, which shall provide for concerted disarmament on land and at sea for an international congress with power to adjust all disputes between nations, and which shall guarantee freedom and equal rights to all oppressed nations and races."

And when one reads this peace manifesto and the policies of the socialist party leadership, one cannot help recalling the following statement of Lenin:

"Some of the means employed to fool the working class are pacifism and the abstract preaching of peace."

The overwhelming majority of members of the socialist party, under the guidance of the left wing,

have been hypocritically represented as wars of "defense," they have always been made by the classes and fought by the masses."

However, the serious shortcoming of the St. Louis resolution is that it did not give a revolutionary line of struggle against the war. In fact, it sponsored pacifist measures of struggle, as for instance not to register in the draft, and did not see the fallacy and futility of the petty-bourgeois "conscientious objectors' movement."

Ruthenberg's role and importance lies in the fact that he was the only one of the left wing leadership that favored and developed the first steps in a revolutionary mobilization of the masses against war. The anti-war activities of the Ohio organization of the socialist party, under the leadership of Ruthenberg, also were the most militant and best organized. The best expression of this we find in the famous May 1, 1917, Cleveland demonstration, organized and led by C. E. His mayoralty campaign of that year was carried through on a clear-cut anti-war program. The explanation for Ruthenberg's pioneering in carrying through revolutionary struggles against America's participation in the last war is to be found in the fact that he of all the left wing leaders understood best the imperialist nature of the war, and, we might say, sensed the Leninist teachings of revolutionary struggle against imperialist war. Herein lies the difference between Debs' struggle against war and that of Ruthenberg. Herein lies the explanation why Debs remained with the socialist party and Ruthenberg became the founder and leader of the Communist Party.

Ruthenberg, in his speech delivered in the Cleveland Federal Court, July, 1917, reproducing speech delivered at the Public Square, May 27, 1917, stated:

"This is not a war for freedom. It is not a war for the liberties of mankind. It is a war to secure the investments and profits of the ruling class of this country. . . .

"I am speaking to you as Karl Liebknecht spoke to the German nation, as he spoke in the parliament of that country, when he denounced the war as a war of the ruling class and stated his unalterable opposition to that war."

While at that time Ruthenberg suffered from the Marxian immaturity of the left wing in his approach in developing revolutionary methods of struggle against the war and a thorough Leninist understanding of imperialist war, yet we

and democratic peace must be for civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie."

Since 1912, when the left wing became to crystallize, Ruthenberg stood close to it. The last World War demonstrated most painfully and dramatically the need of a complete break with the parties of the Second International. It demonstrated the absolute correctness of Lenin's teachings and the need of the building of a Third International. Lenin, in a letter to the American Socialist Propaganda League, written in 1915, stated:

"We do not preach an alliance with the present socialist parties which are dominant in the Second International. On the contrary, we insist on breaking with the conciliators. The war is the best object lesson (our emphasis). The conciliators, their leaders, their most influential papers and magazines in every country, are in favor of the war; in other words, they have actually formed an alliance with their national bourgeoisie (middle class, capitalists) against the proletarian masses. You say that there are socialists in America who express themselves in favor of a war of defense. We are convinced that an alliance with such people is criminal. This would be an alliance with the national middle class and capitalists, and a break with the international revolutionary working class. We, on our part, stand for a break with the nationalist conciliators, for an alliance with the international Marxists-revolutionists, and with the parties of the working class."

Indeed, the last war and Ruthenberg's struggle against it was an object lesson for him, as to the role of the socialist party and the need of a complete break with it. The struggle against war therefore enabled him to become one of the best Leninists in the country and staunchest supporter of the Communist International.

Today, American imperialism has matured. It is desperately fighting for world hegemony. It is fighting for leadership on the imperialist anti-Soviet front. And with the maturing of American imperialism, its lackeys of the socialist party have matured also. It has become social-fascist. The socialist party is howling for war against the Soviet Union. Hillquit, O'Neal and their left wing cousins, are the shock troops of American imperialism in its war preparations, and particularly in the war preparations against the Soviet Union.

Now, more than ever, Ruthenberg's tradition of revolutionary struggles against war and the socialist party must be remembered and continued

Debs On Russian Revolution

(Written in the Federal Penitentiary, Atlanta, and Published November 7, 1920)

Greetings, comrades, in our glorious celebration of the third anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The proletarian world and lovers of liberty everywhere thrilled with joy at the news of the great victory of the Russian people. The triumph of the workers' cause in Russia is an historic milestone in the progress of the world and its influence for good had circled the earth and will direct the course of the future.

The emancipation of Russia and the establishment of the Workers Republic is an inspiration to the workers of the world, and this people's government is a bright star in the political heavens and will light the way of the world; it is the great hope of the human race and its example will lead to the

emancipation of the workers of the world; all hail to those noble comrades who have carved out a people's government on an impregnable foundation of granite that shall stand for all time.

Comrades, you have weathered the storm; the faithful cooperation of comrades has been able to defeat the world-wide alliance of capitalism. I am sure that the same spirit that conquered capitalism will develop the geniuses that will conquer the devastating diseases you inherited from capitalism in Russia and combat the present mad methods of alien capitalist governments who seek to destroy the newly emancipated people of Soviet Russia.

Have faith, comrades, your triumph is complete. Other nations will become liberated and together shall form a brotherhood of the world.



Persecution of Negro and Foreign-Born Workers

By CYRIL BRIGGS

As the workers move forward to the struggle against the hunger system of capitalism, the bosses and their tools attempt every trick to split the ranks of the working-class and divert the struggle against unemployment and starvation into fights among different groups of workers: whites against Negro workers, Negroes against the foreign born workers, etc.

Discrimination Against Negroes

In the South, unemployed white workers who have been thrown on the streets to starve by the bosses, are told by boss agents that the few Negro workers still holding some miserable underpaid jobs are responsible for their plight, not that the bosses who have cynically thrown them on the streets to die

ers of the Negro masses, carry out the manouever of splitting the working-class and continuing the isolation of the Negro masses under the guise of a struggle for jobs for the tens of thousands of unemployed Negro workers. They do not demand that the bosses and their government provide jobs for the unemployed. They give no support to the demands of the unemployed for unemployment insurance, for work or wages. They treacherously oppose these demands with the usual hypocritical phrases. They do not demand that the bosses cease their discrimination against Negro workers, that the Metropolitan Insurance Company, the New York Telephone Company and other big concerns discard the deliberate capitalist policy of confining Negro



Negro worker lynched and burned at stake.

of starvation and cold. The boss agents declare that the Negroes are holding jobs that should be held by the white unemployed, that the Negroes have no right to hold jobs when white men are unemployed. This is the boss policy of maintaining the Negroes in the class of marginal laborers—a surplus labor supply to be kept at starvation level even in "good times."

In the South, this vicious manouever is lead by the Ku Klux Klan, the Caucasian Crusaders and other fascist organizations supported by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and the social-fascists. In the North, we have another phase of this attempt to split the working-class to the detriment of the struggle against unemployment and hunger. Here the attack is centered on the foreign-born workers. And among the most active of the boss tools carrying out this manouever are the Negro reformists.

In Harlem, Chicago and other cities, these misleaders and betray-

workers to the roughest, most menial and ill paid work. No, they demand that the foreign born workers who may still receive occasional employment be denied the right to hold a job.

The "solution" of the Negro reformists in the North is identical with the "solution" proposed by the white fascists in the South. Only in the South, this "solution" is directed against the Negro, while in the North the Negro reformists seek to direct it against the foreign born.

Negro workers! White workers! Fight this vicious manouever to split your ranks and weaken the struggle for real relief, for work or wages. Unite your ranks, Negroes, native whites and foreign born, and let us move forward with irresistible force in the struggle against mass hunger and misery, in the struggle for the overthrow of the starvation system, and for the establishment of a workers and peasants government.

Rehabilitation Colony at Moscow

By ELLA WINTER

It is not called a reformatory or an industrial school, nor does the stigma attach to it which those names carry with them. It is called a "Rehabilitation Colony," and it is run by the OGPU, a soldier at the head and a doctor as assistant.

But Kusnazore, the director, looked little like a soldier and less like a member of the secret police. He was young, kindly-faced, smiling. It was a hot day and he wore his uniform unbuttoned at the neck and his cap on the back of his head. As he sat in the summer-house telling of the colony, about forty boys and young men and women and a few small children hung over the wooden railings, listening intently. They were the prisoners with their wives and children and they were listening to their warden tell of the arrangements for their training and welfare. Every now and then they would corroborate his account with nods.

"I did not want to come here at first," the young soldier said. "I did not know anything about boys or about criminals. And I knew it would be very hard work. I had never been anything but a soldier. But now I have been here two years and I shall stay. This is my life work." Quite simply he said this, as the Russians do say and do things—simply, without pose or pomposness.

A few years ago, in 1924, a small group of prisoners were brought to a summer resort and started at the work of organizing shops. Out of this handful the present colony grew, till now there are a thousand and more men and women, from 18 to 26 years of age, being taught trades and a new slant on life. The colony is about two hours from Moscow, deep-in the woods. One sees no guards, no cell blocks, no convict uniforms, no bent heads. The men have their shirt sleeves rolled up, working. The girls mix freely with them.

The buildings, dormitories, dining rooms, workshops, are low, white-washed bungalows or cottages. Doors and windows are wide open, there are neither bars nor fences. The single men sleep in dormitories, the married couples have separate cottages. Any prisoner may marry, either another prisoner or a girl from outside. So far there are only 100 women in the colony. "We are combing the prisons for more," said our guide, "but there are not many women in our prisons now."

Trades are taught and the chief articles manufactured is sports goods. This is a new industry for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, since Russia was never a sporting country. The boys enjoy making these goods; there is a sense of adventure in turning out racquets, skates, skis, footballs and boxing gloves. The occupation is far from being routine "hard labor." And, as with other social institutions in the Soviet Union, the practical objective is not lost sight of. "We have two policies," said the director "one to re-educate thieves who were forced into stealing by unequal conditions existing in the Soviet Union, the other to satisfy the market for sporting goods."

The further practical scheme is to create a town around the colony so that those who want to stay after their sentence has expired may settle there permanently. "They will have their wives and families here, they are bound by long ties to the commune, and they can earn their livelihood here, in the country, away from town and temptation," said the director. "Indeed, so popular is our colony becoming that thieves have come here and given themselves up and others have taken up crime in order to be brought here."

Nevertheless, the ordinary conditions of life are rigorous. The first year they come out the men are confined to the grounds; they are "pupils," and are paid very little—just enough to cover food, lodging, clothes and the cost of instruction. A the end of three months the pay is raised, but any debts incurred during the first three months are deducted. "Since a thief likes to dress himself in flashy style on the proceeds of his crimes and to get drunk," said the director, "the small pay is a hardship. But wages are being revised at present to reach the level of trade union rates." Education, men-

tal and medical attention and holidays are free, as everywhere else in the Union. During the second year at the colony all bans are removed.

The colony has its own club, little theatre, cinema, creches, schools and other of the cultural adjuncts so important in Russia today. Vacations are a fortnight a year on full pay, and the men go away without guard or escort. "But don't they stay away?" one asked incredulously. "There are not more than 8 to 10 per cent of departures," answered the OGPU man, "about as many as the escapes from an ordinary prison. We never follow a man. He will either come back to us—most of them do—or he will earn his livelihood honestly somewhere, or he will fall into a life of crime again, and then he will have to go to prison." A man who takes to stealing again cannot return to the colony, though a few who were caught begged so hard—and their relatives begged for them—that they were accepted a second time. One man jumped out of the window of his prison, risking his life, in order to run back to the colony.

In charge of the colony are seven paid instructors, three soldiers who have served in the active army and know army discipline, and three prisoners advanced from among the men. There is an unmistakable tone of equality between men and officials. The men ask the authorities advice about what shirt to buy, how to deal with bothersome relatives, and what girl to marry, as they might ask one another. The colony has self-government; the conflict commission, made up of prisoners

only, sits on all infringements of rules—"hooliganism" (what we would call breaches of the peace), drunkenness, stealing and "departures."

The sentences inflicted are very severe and sometimes the authorities intervene to advise leniency, but they never command. In serious cases the commission asks that the transgressor be removed from the colony to a prison, perhaps even to have his sentence lengthened. (The maximum sentence allowed in Russia for non-political offenses is eight years—this for the crime of murder.) Punishments are strict confinement to the room for a period, abolition of all privileges such as days off, use of the club, etc., and exclusion from society.

Social disapproval is a form of punishment which plays a large part in all institutions in Russia. The punishment of being out of favor brings many a slacker to heel. The men are free in their movements while their behavior is good, however, and there is a vodka hop in the village nearby to which they may go. A number have come home from these expeditions drunk and have then raised a row or even run away; the men's committee has asked the authorities to have the "pub" shut, but the authorities refuse. The law allows vodka to be sold; they say, and it is up to the men to re-educate themselves, not merely to be legislated into good behavior.

"The above article is reprinted from the New York Times of its Feb. 15 issue. Mr. Fish, how about "convict" labor in the Soviet Union? . . .

International Women's Day

By ANDREW OVERGAARD

While the Capitalist press howls about the "Sanctity" of the home while hypocrites and liars howl about the Bolsheviks "breaking up the home" the number of women and young girls employed in the metal industry increases from day to day.

Young girls are working at break neck speed in Electrical factories 9 and 10 hours a day, at much lower wages than formerly paid to men. In the R. C. A. Radio plant in Camden, N. J., girls are slaving on the conveyor belt without time to draw their breath. The wages of these girls are continuously being cut.

In many steel plants woman workers are employed sorting tin for much lower wages than formerly paid to men. The employers are using the women workers to further lower the standard of living of the workers. The story told by a young worker in a can factory in Canton well illustrates how the bosses break up the homes of workers in this period of rationalization and speed-up.

This young worker was working for six years in a can factory for 50 cents an hour and on the eve of the "Hoover prosperity" was laid off. After the using up of all his savings his wife went out looking for work and finally secured a job in the same factory and on the same machine. But for 25 cents

an hour. In radio plants as low wages as \$5.00-\$6.00 a week is paid to girls working nine and ten hours a day.

Unemployment Seriously Affecting Women Workers, House Wives.

The conditions among the steel workers are almost indescribable. When some of the organizers for the Metal Workers Industrial League visited the homes of steel workers in Youngstown they reported that actually no food was to be found in most of the homes visited. Children of steel workers go to school hungry and in many cases they can not even be sent to school for lack of clothes. A steel worker after being out of work for over a year was called to work at the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. and after working half a day dropped dead. The workers in looking into his lunch box found potato peelings which he was trying to live on while his wife and children was freezing and starving at home. The Metal Workers Industrial League realizes the need of organizing not only the women in the factories but also the wives of the steel workers who are suffering starvation and misery as a result of the economic crisis. The League is preparing to organize women's auxiliaries in steel centers and unite the wives and children of the workers in the coming struggles in the steel industry.

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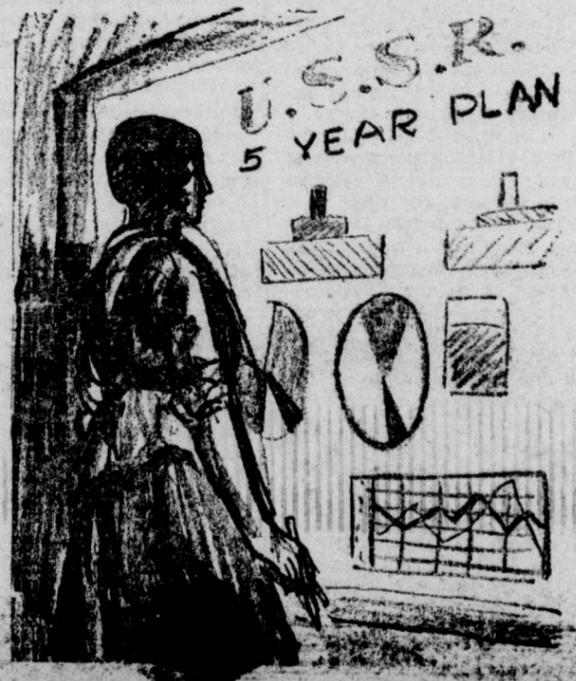
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BOOK REVIEW



War Clouds Are Gathering

By HARRISON GEORGE.

THE chancelleries of the imperialist governments are astir. In Washington a capitalist journalist (McCormick) notes with mild astonishment that the War Department offices are as busy as they were during the last World War.

They are preparing for another World War. The London "disarmament" treaty is a scrap of paper before the ink dried upon it. France is pushing naval building, and Italy, which has balked at American pressure exerted through the recent "visit" of Gibson, Hoover's agent, threatens to match France "ton for ton and gun for gun."

"America First"

Arthur Henderson, British foreign minister, makes a sudden visit to Paris for a secret conference. Meanwhile Britain hints broadly to Hoover that if France builds more warships, Britain will "have to" exceed—to violate—the London treaty. Promises and papers mean nothing when colonies and trade are at stake.

America, with a \$1,000,000,000 navy building program, chastises Mussolini with artful scandal and is deaf to British intimations about war debt cancellation. Its Fish Committee and Russian white guard organizations springing up like mushrooms with the aid of the "socialist" party and the American Federation of Labor bureaucrats, tries to take leadership in the "moral preparation" for war against the Soviet Union.

France, with her vassal states on the Soviet borders, is utterly shameless in war plots against the Soviet Union. Poincare, the war-maker of 1914, plots with Russian monarchists who parade Paris under arms, with Russian counter-revolutionary "socialists" who are allied with them, and with counter-revolutionary elements inside the Soviet Union through spies in the French embassy at Moscow.

Briand tries to build an "All-Europe" Federation—leaving out most of European territory, which is under Soviet rule, and sends, only when diplomacy compels it, an ambiguous "invitation" to Moscow to attend. Briand calls "agricultural" conferences attended by more generals than agriculturists.

Alternate pressure upon and concessions to Germany is a studied policy to strengthen the anti-Soviet bloc. French munitions and military advisors flood the border states around the Soviet frontier. France spends 40 per cent of its budget on the army.

In Finland fascism is put in power and Carol is put on the throne of Rumania by American imperialist intrigue. Munitions is the only thriving industry in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. Japan finds an excuse for future reference in the Soviet barring of a Japanese bank on Soviet soil.

Keepink It On Ice

The Kuomintang butchers of the Chinese masses (tools of American bankers) stall interminably on making final the Kharbarovsk agreement settling their violation of the treaty with the Soviets concerning the Chinese Eastern Railway—they, too, wish to keep on ice a quarrel with the Soviets until a war offers a chance to press into action.

When will that day come? The eight famous plotters who were tried in Moscow confessed that their imperialist fellow conspirators plan to begin war this year! In 1931!

Will they dare? Will their intense desire to wipe out Bolshevism, which stands as a living challenge to the capitalist world, overcome their fear of revolution at home should they launch an attack on the First Workers' and Farmers' Government?

That decision lies with the capitalist rulers. But which way they decide lies with you—the workers and poor farmers! By your rallying on every occasion against your own capitalist rulers, by your demanding with a voice of millions, Down with imperialist war! Hands off the Soviet Union!

I'LL BE USING YOU SOON!



—By FRED ELLIS

Debs' Speech Against War

(Delivered at Canton, June 16, 1918)

I have just returned from a visit from yonder (pointing to work-house), where three of our most loyal comrades(1) are paying the penalty for their devotion to the cause of the working class. They have come to realize, as many of us have, that it is extremely dangerous to exercise the constitutional right of free speech in a country fighting to make democracy safe for the world. I realize in speaking to you this afternoon that there are certain limitations placed upon the right of free speech. I must be extremely careful, prudent, as to what I say, and even more careful and prudent as to how I say it. I may not be able to say all I think, but I am not going to say anything I do not think. And I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than a sycophant or coward on the streets. They may put those boys in jail and some of the rest of us in jail, but they cannot put the Socialist movement in jail. Those prison bars separate their bodies from ours, but their souls are here this afternoon. They are simply paying the penalty that all men have paid in all of the ages of history for standing erect and seeking to pave the way for better conditions for mankind.

If it had not been for the men and women who, in the past, have had the moral courage to go to jail, we would still be in the jungles.

Why should a Socialist be discouraged on the eve of the greatest triumph of all the history of the Socialist movement? It is true that these are anxious, trying days for us all, testing those those who are upholding the banner of the working class in the greatest struggle the world has ever known against the exploiters of the world; a time in which the weak, the cowardly, will falter and fail and desert. They lack the fiber to endure the revolutionary test. They fall away. They disappear as if they had never been.

On the other hand, they who are animated with the unconquerable spirit of the Social Revolution, they who have the moral courage to stand erect, to assert their convictions, to stand by them, to go to jail or to hell for them—they are writing their names in this crucial hour, they are writing their names in fadeless letters in the history of mankind. Those boys over yonder, those comrades of ours—and how I love them—aye, they are our younger brothers, their names are seared in our souls.

I am proud of them. They are there for us and we are here for them. Their lips, though temporarily mute, are more eloquent than ever before, and their voices, though silent, are heard around the world.

(1) Reference is made to three Cleveland socialists who were imprisoned for their opposition to war—Charles E. Ruthenberg (died March 2, 1927, while secretary of the Workers Communist Party), Alfred Wagenknecht and Charles Baker.

Greetings from the Red Army

(A letter from the Red Army in Moscow)

The proletarian Red Army, the armed defenders of Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union, will celebrate its 13th anniversary on February 23rd. We, Russian Red Armymen and Commanders, want to utilize this opportunity to transmit our comradely greetings to the international revolutionary proletariat, and, at the same time, to acquaint you somewhat with our life and our work.

Army of International Working Class.

The immediate political situation is recognized as the period of preparation of war against the Soviet Union. World capitalism is feverishly preparing for an attack on the revolutionary stronghold of the world proletariat, the U.S.S.R. The imperialists avail themselves of any means to plunge the Soviet Union into a warlike adventure.

But we are vigilant. We do not want war, but we are, nevertheless, ready to defend our revolutionary achievements. Therefore, we shall strengthen our workers state and arm the whole country. We must be armed against a world of capitalist states that encircled us in order to invade our country.

The Red Army of the U.S.S.R., is the army of the international working class which carries the flag of the liberation of the world proletariat, and becomes more and more proletarianized from year to year. The percentage of workers

in the army is constantly growing as well as the number of members of the Communist Party. More than 60 per cent of the commanders are members of the Communist Party. The percentage of workers in the military schools is constantly growing. In 1927 there were 39 per cent, in 1930 69 per cent. The Party nucleus embraces one-quarter of all the Red Armymen. You see therefore that our Red Army is built up on a firm proletarian foundation.

There are in the army over 900 clubs with more than 10,000 circles and 1,500 libraries. The 1,500 libraries are visited by 450,000 readers, practically by the entire army. Furthermore, there are 5,484 Lenin-Corner and more than 60 Red Army Houses. This is an indication that our cultural strength is just as great as our military strength, and that we are always progressing.

Red Army in Peace Time

What is the work of the Red Army in peace-time? First, we study military technique intensively so as to be prepared, in case of necessity, to "knock the head off" the international bourgeoisie. Second, we carry on different kinds of culture and social work, for example, groups of Red Armymen work as teachers so as to eliminate illiteracy. They also act as political instructors for the Young Pioneers, the Communist youth, the factory workers and the workers' clubs. They also fight against al-

coholism and for the elimination of uncouthness in the intercourse with women. They also establish circles for atheists which publish their successes in the wall newspapers. Others, again regularly attend courses at the technical high schools in order to become pioneers of industry. More than 30 per cent of the peasants in the army study modern collective farming, the management of tractors and other agricultural machines.

The Workers and Red Army.

The life of the Red Armymen is closely bound up with the life of the workers; they, therefore, take an active part in all political campaigns and support the international proletariat during strikes by voluntary monthly contributions. Factory and trade union committees (also foreign) often visit detachments of the Army, control them and thereby strengthen their mutual bonds in the spirit of brotherhood. The Red Armymen reciprocates this friendship because, to the best of its ability, it participates in the industrialization and cultivation of its country.

Such is our daily life and work. But that is not all. We are conscious that we must strengthen the international proletarian brotherhood and keep in touch with the whole proletariat, which will be our ally in the coming decisive struggles.

We greet herewith the fighting masses of the world proletariat, as well as all the fighting unemployed and the proletarian youth.

Long live the international solidarity of the world proletariat.

Long live the victory of the proletarian revolution in the whole world.

The Red Armymen: Atsikashov, Voitenko, Dunaev, Kirilin, Kuznetsov, Korotkevich, Kozhanov.



Red Army at maneuvers.



STALIN AND THE VICTORIOUS RED ARMY

By K. Voroshilov.*

During the 1918-20 period, Comrade Stalin was probably the only person whom the Central Committee despatched from one fighting front to another, choosing always those places most fraught with danger for the revolution. Where it was comparatively quiet, and everything going smoothly, where we had successes, Stalin was not to be found. But where for various reasons the Red Army was cracking up, where the counter-revolutionary forces through their successes were menacing the very existence of the Soviet Government, where confusion and panic might any moment develop into helplessness, catastrophe, there Stalin made his appearance. He took no sleep at night, he organized, he took the

leadership into his own strong hands, he relentlessly broke through difficulties, and turned the corner, saved the situation. Stalin himself wrote about it in one of his letters to the Central Committee in 1919 saying that "he was being transformed into a specialist for cleaning out the stables of the war department."

I remember, as though it were today, the beginning of August 1918. The Krasnov Cossacks were attacking Tsaritsyn, trying with one concentrated drive to throw back the Red Army units to the Volga. For many days the Red troops, headed by the Communist division composed entirely of workers from the Donetz Basin, withstood the extremely powerful attacks of the excellently organized Cossack units. These were days of great trial. You should have seen Comrade Stalin at that time. Calm as usual, deep in thought, he literally had no sleep for days on end, distributing his intensive work between the fighting positions and the Army Headquarters. The position at the front became almost catastrophic. The Krasnov troops, commanded by Fitzhalaurov, Mamontov and others, by a well-planned manoeuvre, were pressing our exhausted troops, who had already suffered great losses. The enemy front, formed into a horse-shoe, with its flanks resting on the Volga, pressed closer every day. We had no way out. But Stalin had cared nothing for this. He was inspired with one single thought—victory! To smash up the enemy whatever happened. And this indomitable will of Stalin was passed on to his closest colleagues, and despite the almost hopeless position, nobody doubted in our ultimate vic-

tory. We were victorious. The enemy was beaten and thrown far back in the direction of the Don. In the Civil War, in varying,

complicated circumstances, Comrade Stalin, with an enormous talent for revolutionary strategy, always correctly, estimated the chief directions to be taken for the main blow at the enemy; and, skilfully using the tactical method appropriate to the circumstances, obtained the desired results. This quality of proletarian strategist and tactician have remained with him since the Civil War. This quality of his well known to the whole Party. Trotzky and his friends could best relate about this, who have paid full sore for the attempt to substitute their petty-bourgeois ideology for the great teachings of Marx and Lenin. The right opportunists, who only quite recently suffered complete defeat, also know this only too well.

Comrade Stalin in peace time also, together with the Leninist Central Committee of the Party, is conducting a no less successful and relentless struggle against all the voluntary and involuntary enemies of the Party and of the building of Socialism in our country.

But at the same time, while long ago he ceased formally to be a military man, Comrade Stalin has never ceased to occupy himself most seriously with questions of the defense of the proletarian state. Now, as in past years, he knows the Red Army and is its nearest and dearest friend.

* In connection with the Thirteenth Anniversary of the Red Army, which occurred on February 23, we are reprinting excerpts from an article written by Comrade Voroshilov, written on Stalin's fiftieth birthday, celebrated last year throughout the world.



STALIN AND VOROSHILOV



STALIN

General Secretary of Communist Party of U. S. S. R.

COM. VOROSHILOV'S FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY

On the 5th February 1931 Comrade Voroshilov, the Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army, was fifty years old. Comrade Voroshilov was a mechanic and knew nothing of military affairs, knew nothing of military strategy and tactics, but he rose to be the leader of the victorious workers and peasants army of the Soviet Union.

One of the workers who fought under Voroshilov during the darkest days of the civil war, Comrade Strokatenko, tells how he arrived in Pyatichatki and was received by Comrade Voroshilov. "Comrade Voroshilov ordered me to take over the command of a detachment and attack the cossack Ataman Grigoriev and his troops. I was in a quandary and objected to his orders. 'How on earth shall I take command of a detachment', I asked. 'I do not know anything about it.' Whereupon Voroshilov shouted at me: 'Am I a General because I'm commanding an army? Go and do it, it's enough that you come from the Don Basin.'

It was this invincible confidence in the power of the revolutionary proletariat that replaced for Voroshilov the Military Academy and made him the leader of the Red Army of workers and peasants. He comes from a purely proletarian family and at the age of 7 years he went out to earn his living. He became a mechanic. The factories of Alchevo, Yuryevo and Lugansk were his schools. Intense exploitation was the order of the day. It was not long before Comrade Voroshilov came into the working class movement and as a young man he was the leader of a series of strikes. In 1899 he organized a strike of the cranemen and mechanics in the Yuryevo foundries, and from that time on he was constantly under police supervision.

In 1903 Comrade Klim Voroshilov joined the Bolshevik Party and the second schooling began and turned him into an iron revolutionary, trustworthy in all situation. During the 1905 revolution Voroshilov was in Lugansk. The 24 year old worker became one of the recognized leaders of his class. He was

elected chairman of the delegate meeting of the workshops which then developed into the first Soviet of Lugansk. The strike movement swept through the Lugansk district. Voroshilov was its leader.

In 1906 Voroshilov met Lenin at the Stockholm Party Congress. In the years of the reaction following on the 1905 revolution Voroshilov experienced banishment, flight and illegal revolutionary work in Baku and Petersburg. He was imprisoned and again banished. This was

the career which steeld him for the greater tasks he was called upon to perform as leader of the proletarian and peasant battallions. When he took command of the revolutionary detachments in the Don district he had had 20 years of revolutionary struggle and experience. His army occupied Zaritsin (Stalingrad) and defended it against the white attacks for a whole year. Voroshilov and Comrade Stalin organized the defence.

He was always to be found at

the most dangerous posts. He gave up his position as People's Commissar for the Interior in Ukraina in order to take charge of a handful of brilliant soldiers and wipe out the bands of the Ataman Grigoriev. At the head of the XIV Red Army he dealt the counter-revolution in the south one heavy blow after the other.

Voroshilov himself was constantly in the firing line. His personal courage and steadfastness fired on the men and strengthened hesitating detachments. An old comrade Rakitin describes the taking of Novograd-Volynsk:

"The Poles had fortified Novograd-Volynsk strongly. For four days the red cavalry division battered their heads against its walls. Exhaustion and disheartenment was the result. The detachments began to waver and lose confidence. And then Comrade Voroshilov arrived and took over the V division. His firm, clear voice, his fire and conviction gave new life to the tired soldiers. He went from detachment to detachment, from squadron to squadron, Voroshilov led the attack. The exhausted men took on a new lease of life: the hungry ones pulled in their belts, the pessimists received new courage. The charge of the V division swept all before it and drove the Poles helter-skelter out of the town."

The civil war came to an end. The organized white armies were wiped out or driven out of the country, but banditry and revolt still delivered severe blows at the revolution. On the way from Northern Caucasia to the Polish front the red cavalry under Budenny and Voroshilov rounded up the Machno bands in Ukraina. After the close of the civil war the red cavalry made its headquarters in Ekaterinoslav.

In the days of the Kronstadt revolt Comrade Voroshilov crossed the frozen bosom of the Gulf of Finland with the most daring fighters. He practically led this most complicated operation. In the streets of Kronstadt he took part in the fighting as a simple fighter.

When the death of Comrade Frunze left the post of People's Commissar for the Red Army and Navy free, there was only one name mentioned—Klim Voroshilov. "The victorious leader of the Red Army, the steadfast bolshevist, the unbending fighter for the Party policy became the leader of the Red Army and Navy. Under his leadership the imperialist mercenaries in the Far East have received a taste of the fighting qualities of the Red Army. Under Voroshilov's leadership the Red Army is concentrating on technical and mechanical efficiency. On the fiftieth birthday of their leader the soldiers of the workers and peasants Red Army declared: "Should the imperialists attack us, we shall fight against them with the fierce passion of a free people. We know that we are fighting for the whole of humanity, and we know that we shall be victorious!"



VOROSHILOV

Head of Red Army and Navy of U. S. S. R.



Y.C.I. ON RUTHENBERG'S DEATH
 "We express deepest regret over the death of Comrade Ruthenberg, one of the founders and outstanding leaders of the Party, and sympathy to the whole Party. We call upon all Communists to close their ranks for struggle against capitalism."

Revolutionary Greetings to the Red Army on It's 13th Anniversary!