

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

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

January 17, 1925.

Lenin As I Saw Him - *By Schachno Epstein*

Editor's Note.—During this period of the first anniversary of the death of Nikola Lenin, the DAILY WORKER will publish material keeping alive in the minds of the workers the memory of our great Communist leader. Starting today, and continuing thru next week, until it is finished, the DAILY WORKER will publish Schachno Epstein's very informing and inspiring article, "Lenin As I Saw Him." Comrade Epstein is the editor of the Jewish Communist daily, the Freiheit.

I. IN the Jewish social democratic "Bund," Lenin had very few adherents. All the "Bundists" knew that he was a strong personality with an iron will. But they hated him; they simply feared him, considering him a demagogue, a savage fanaticist and sectarian.

The cause of this hatred is understood. Lenin did not think very much of the "Bund." He did not deny the great significance of the "Bund" for the development of Russian social democracy; he also gave it due credit for its organizational ability. But he could not digest its contradictory dualism, its desire to be friendly to the Bolsheviks and mensheviks at the same time. On the other hand, Lenin foresaw danger for the class struggle in the separatist tendencies of the "Bund" and in its nationalistic aspirations.

In this respect Lenin was in perfect agreement with Plechanov, who had exactly the same attitude to the "Bund." Lenin was, however, more practical than Plechanov in that he used to utilize the inconsistent condition of the "Bund" in the factional conflict for his personal bend. Plechanov, naturally, used to do the same thing but not as ably as Lenin.

It is a known fact that Lenin, just as well as Plechanov, was a bitter opponent of the "Bund's" national program, of the so-called "national-cultural autonomy." He has not criticized its program as sharply as Plechanov, however.

Why?

Lenin, the practical man, who has always borne in mind one thing: to win over for himself a majority in the Russian social democracy, has, with his mild criticism, always left an open door to win over to his camp the "Bund."

At the London congress of the Russian social democratic workers' party, Lenin was even ready to yield to the "Bund's" "national cultural autonomy," so as to win its votes.

Then, at the time of the London congress, the "Bund" ceased to play the role of the advanced guards of the Russian social democracy. It was soon after the first Russian revolution of 1905 that the Russian working class, the workers of the great Russian centers, of Petrograd and Moscow, came to the front; they pushed forward the revolution and its final success depended very little upon the Jewish proletariat. From that time on, the "Bund," as an independent and separate party, was really going down hill. It has even lost its former weighty significance in the factional conflicts of the social democracy generally.

If I am not mistaken, Lenin made his last attempt to win over the "Bund" at the London congress. The "gulf" between Bolshevism and the "Bund" has grown wider and wider. The relationship between the "Bund" and menshevism on the contrary grew closer and closer. Plechanov, who had first called the Bundists "inconsequential Zionists," became friendlier to them; he has forgiven the Bund a

good many of the former "sins" because he found in it a supporter of and a friend to menshevism; he did not even mind the "national cultural autonomy," which was principally not more than a petit bourgeois demand, as it is now proven, at the present reality, when "democracy" is everywhere victorious.

Comrades are telling that at the London congress Lenin has tried, in private conversations, to argue with the Bundists thus: Well, I am ready

chanov was strongly in favor of such a democracy. Now the question arises: Why was Plechanov so bitterly opposed to the Bund's program of "national cultural autonomy"? This is, then, one of his inconsistencies in the conception of revolutionary developments.

Recently I have had the occasion to get at the logical explanation of it; and Plechanov's opposition to the "national cultural autonomy" he expressed not the Marxian principle, but his

tion, of his fixed idea, to even betray his own father. This is probably the reason why many leaders of the Bund have so energetically in 1917 circulated the rumor that Lenin is a German spy; they have explained it psychologically: it is easily believable of a "maniac" of the Lenin type, he will justify any means that lead to the attainment of his goal.

II.

IN a comparatively short time after the London congress, I was destined to be a political emigrant. Those comrades in whose minds those times are still fresh, can easily imagine with what thirst I threw myself on the various discussions and writings of the leaders of the Russian socialist movement outside of Russia.

I had then the occasion to hear Plechanov speak at Geneva. The impression of his readings and lectures was colossal; his satire, his brilliancy of speech, his thoro knowledge, his ability to polemize enchanted me.

At Plechanov's lectures the audience did not feel at home. The people did not breathe freely. Even the appearance of Plechanov gave the impression that he looks down to his audience, that he is fully conscious of his importance, that he is far above those around him. He was always dressed like an aristocrat in a black frock, high stiff collar and a beautiful necktie hanging down his snow white shirt; a gold ring on his finger, a monocle in his hand, his hair properly combed—all this was very often in disharmony with the poorly clad emigrants who made up his audience.

Another thing one could notice. When one dared to express his opinion in a debate, he did it with such fright as one who is undergoing an examination. This was the case not only with the ordinary rank and file but even with some of the prominent leaders of the movement.

I remember, once in Geneva, the now famous leader of the Russian Communists, Alexandra Kolontai was delivering a lecture on the woman question. The lecture was brilliant in content and form. In the middle of the lecture Plechanov appeared. Alexandra Kolontai seeing him, got confused and could not finish her speech; the brilliancy was lost, the enthusiasm gone so did he frighten her.

Usually, these things were ascribed to the great respect people had for Plechanov's great personality, to the fact that everybody felt small in his presence, fearing not to prove ignorant in his eyes.

The strange impression Plechanov's open forum made on me became stranger still when I had the occasion to be at his house having a personal talk with him.

The entire atmosphere in the house smelled with "bourgeois culture." The comfort which prevailed there was out of place for one who imagined Plechanov the revolutionist, who should also be different in his private life, not the ordinary bourgeois life—it was the comfort of a simple, bourgeois self-sufficiency, full of aristocratic snobbish "bon-tone." Such was Plechanov's behavior. One almost heard him say: Beware, dear fellow, that you stand before Plechanov himself, realize, then, the honor it gives you and be weak-kneed.

My knees did really tremble. And when I came out of the house my proletariat consciousness revolted. Where, then, is the example that the socialist leader and thinker must set for others by his own way of living?

I was then too naive to understand that one may be a great socialist thinker, a revolutionist in theory, and a quite ordinary citizen with all bour-

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to grant you "cultural autonomy." I wish to be frank with you; I need your votes, but do you not understand that in a bourgeois society, even in the most democratic, there can be no national freedom, even in the cultural sense?

This frankness Plechanov did not possess; Plechanov was cunning, tricky. In the attitude of both Lenin and Plechanov toward the national program of the Bund one could clearly differentiate their views on the development of the revolution. Lenin had no faith whatsoever in the bourgeois democracy even then when Ple-

Russian patriotism, his aspiration to assimilate all national culture into one great Russian culture. Lenin was never a patriot in this sense; he was never for compulsory assimilation, and when he did oppose the national program of the Bund, it was from a purely Marxian estimate of the revolutionary development.

The comrades of the Bund did not seem to like Lenin's frankness at the London congress. "A demagogue is always a demagogue!" they kept on saying, and the majority of them never imagined Lenin but as one who is capable, in the interests of his fac-

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Bolshevism or Trotskyism? By G. Zinoviev

(Continued from last Saturday)

THE REVISION OF LENINISM UNDER THE FLAG OF LENIN.

The last attack of Comrade Trotsky (the "Lessons of October") is nothing else than a fairly open attempt to revise—or even directly to liquidate—the foundation of Leninism. It will require only a short time and this will be plain to the whole of our party and to the whole International. The "novelty" in this attempt consists in the fact that, out of "strategical" considerations, it is attempted to carry out this revision in the name of Lenin.

We experienced something similar at the beginning of the campaign of Bernstein and his followers, when they began the "revision" of the foundation of Marxism. The ideas of Marx were already so generally recognized in the international labor movement, that even their revision, at least at the beginning, had to be undertaken in the name of Marx. A quarter of a century was necessary before the revisionists could finally throw aside their mask and openly pronounce that, in the field of theory, they had entirely broken away from Marx. This took place in a most open manner, in literature, only in the year 1924 in the recently published collection of articles devoted to the 70th birthday of Kautsky.

The ideas of Leninism at present predominate to such an extent in our country—that the "critics" of Leninism consider it necessary to have recourse to similar methods. They undertake the revision of Leninism "in the name of Lenin," citing Lenin, emphasizing their fidelity to the principles of Leninism. This "strategy" however does not help. It is already seen through by the Leninist party. It only needs a few weeks and all the sparrows on the house-tops will be twittering over the collapse of this remarkable strategy. Comrade Trotsky has overlooked one trifle: that our party is so Leninist and so mature that it is capable of distinguishing Leninism from Trotskyism.

The attack of Comrade Trotsky is an attack with inadequate means. Nobody will succeed in liquidating the foundations of Leninism, or carrying out even a partial revision of the principles of Leninism, or even succeed in getting Trotskyism recognized as a "justifiable tendency" within Leninism. Nobody will succeed in convincing the party that we now need some sort of synthesis of Leninism and Trotskyism. Trotskyism is as fit to be a constituent part of Leninism as a spoonful of tar can be a constituent part of a vat of honey.

What is Leninism? Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of the imperialist wars in the world revolution, which began in a country where the peasantry preponderate. Lenin was from head to foot a proletarian revolutionary. But he knew at the same time that he had to work in a country in which the peasantry predominated, and in which the proletariat therefore can only be victorious when it adopts a correct attitude towards the peasantry. After Lenin already in the revolution of 1905 had issued the slogan of "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry," he did not cease for a single moment to be a proletarian revolutionary; he made no concessions to bourgeois democracy (the mensheviks, among them comrade Trotsky, accused Comrade Lenin at that time that he, who called himself a Marxist, was an ideologist of bourgeois democracy), but he was the only one who, not with mere words, but by deeds, prepared the way for the socialist revolution in a situation when bourgeois democracy was still a force and was capable of shattering czarist despotism.

Lenin felt himself at that time to be the recognized leader of the proletarian revolution—and this he was in fact. He knew and believed that the Bolshevik party, that is, the genuine advance-guard of the proletariat, would help the working class as far as possible on the road to the realiza-

tion of its class aims, that is to proceed on the road to the victory of the proletarian revolution. He knew that he and his party, in every country, would do everything possible to extract from this situation the maximum for the final aim of the proletarian revolution. He so understood the connection between the bourgeois-democratic and the proletarian-socialist revolution, that the first precedes the second, that the second solves in passing the questions of the first, that the second confirms the work of the first.

And as Lenin knew this, he maneuvered with the mastership of a genius in three revolutions, always at the head of the working class, always concentrating his tactics so that every suitable historical situation is used to its fullest limits in the interests of his class. Lenin was, on Oct. 24, 1917, not the same man that he became on Oct. 26, 1917. "Who laughs last, laughs the longest" wrote Lenin some days before the October revolt in an article on the party program.

Therefore, Lenin defended at that time among other things the necessity of retaining the minimum program. But on the morrow, after the victory of the October insurrection, the ingenious commander of the working class was not the same as he was one day before this victory. My class has become stronger, the enemies of my class have become weaker, the forces of the workers' revolution have increased, hence, therefore, more pressure, more boldly forwards! That is the real Lenin! He knows that it is a very difficult way along which one has to lead millions of workers, behind whom, if we wish to be victorious, there must follow the millions and millions of peasants of our country.

From the great slogan! "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry" (1905-1907) via the "dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasants" (1917) to the actual "dictatorship of the proletariat" which will be realized on the basis of "alliance with the peasantry"—that is the road of Leninism.

From menshevism of the Axelrod type (1903-1905) via the "permanent" (1905-1907) variation of menshevism, to the complete abandonment of the revolution and its substitution by the menshevik free coalition (1909-1914), to the policy of vacillations (block with Tzeidse and fight against the Zimmerwald left during the war (1914-1917)—that is the road of old Trotskyism.

If one considers the literary history of bolshevism, one can say that it is essentially contained in the following works of Lenin: From "The Friends of the People," along with "Development of Capitalism" to "What is to be Done?" along "Two Kinds of Tactics" to the "State and Revolution" with "The Renegade Kautsky." These are the most important literary sign posts of Leninism.

Let us consider what these sign posts indicate. "The Friends of the People" and "The Development of Capitalism" constitute a penetrating analysis of the theory of Marxism and the most concrete, profound study of economics and of the social structure of that country in which Bolshevism commences to come into action. "What is to be Done" along with "Two Kinds of Tactics" is the incomparable criticism of social democratic optimism, the unsurpassed elucidation of the role of the workers party in the revolution together with the laying down of the tactics of the proletariat in a peasant country on the eve of the bourgeois-democratic revolution which one must endeavor so to carry thru that it begins as soon as possible to develop into the socialist revolution. The "State and Revolution" and the "Renegade Kautsky" are the application of Leninism to the world arena, are along with the book "Imperialism, the Latest Stage of Capitalism" the most profound analysis of the latest imperialism and the laying down of the tactics of the already beginning socialist revolution, which grows out from the first, i. e. the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Compare all this with Trotskyism! If Lenin is the classical type of the proletarian revolutionary, Trotsky is the "classical" type of the intellectual revolutionary. The latter has of course certain strong features, he succeeded sometimes in combining with the proletarian mass, but that which forms the nature of his political activity is the intellectual revolutionarism.

We give below a compressed political description of the life of Trotskyism which possesses the authority of coming from the pen of Lenin:

"He, Trotsky, was in the year 1903 a menshevik, left this party in 1904, returned to the mensheviks in 1905 and paraded round with ultra-revolutionary phrases. In 1906 he again abandoned this party; at the end of 1906 he again defended the election alliance with the cadets and in the spring of 1907 he stated at the London conference that the difference between him and Rosa Luxemburg rather constituted a difference of individual shades of opinion than a difference of political tendency. Today Trotsky borrows some ideas from the one fraction and tomorrow from the other and therefore considers himself as a man standing above both fractions." (Lenin's Collected Works, Volume XI, Part II, Page 308-309.)

"Never in a single serious question of Marxism has Trotsky had a firm opinion, he always squeezes himself in a division between this or that differences of opinion and always runs from one side to the other. At present he is in the company of the 'Bund' and of the liquidators."

Thus wrote Lenin in an article in the revue "Enlightenment," published in 1914.

"However well meant the intentions of Martov and Trotsky may be subjectively they support by their tolerance Russian imperialism."

Thus wrote Lenin in the "Social-demokrat" No. 1, October, 1916.

Let us compare the literary sign posts of bolshevism with those indicating the road of development of Trotskyism. These are the following books of Comrade Trotsky: "Our Political Tasks" (1903), "Our Revolution" (1905-1906), then his collaboration to the liquidatory journal "Nesha Sargja" (Our Dawn), then a bright moment—the book over Kautsky (1919)—which was followed by the "New Course" and "The Lessons of October" (1923-1924). The retrograde development of Comrade Trotsky finds particular sharp expression in the two last named works.

What was the book: "Our political tasks"? This book which appeared with a dedication of the menshevik patriarch P. A. Axelrod, was the most vulgar menshevik book which the history of menshevik literature has ever known. In this book Comrade Trotsky came to the conclusion of a liberal labor policy.

And what was the book: "Our Revolution," the most left of the books of Trotsky in the first epoch. In this book (see also his book "1905") there was laid down the notorious theory of the "permanent revolution" which Comrade Trotsky is now attempting to impose upon bolshevism. This "theory" was regarded by Comrade Lenin and all the Bolsheviks as a variety of menshevism. Not everybody will remember that in this "left" book in which Comrade Trotsky to a certain extent defended the "workers' revolution against the bolshevik idea of a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, Trotsky wrote:

"But how far can the socialist policy of the working class go under the economic conditions of Russia? One may say one thing with certainty: it will much rather encounter political hindrances than be supported by the technical backwardness of the country. Without direct state support of the European proletariat the working class of Russia will not be able to maintain power and transform their temporary rule into a long enduring socialist dictatorship. One cannot doubt this for a moment." (Trotsky: Our Revolution, 1904. Russian edition, Page 277-288.)

What is the meaning of the state support of the European proletariat? In order to possess the possibility of affording state support to the Russian revolution, the European proletariat would first have to capture power in Europe. In the year 1905 and in general up to the war 1914-18 there could be no talk of this. But Trotsky preached the "permanent" revolution in the year 1905.

What is to be inferred from this? Only this that Trotsky in the year 1905 either did not seriously believe in any permanent revolution or that he preached the permanent revolution in 1905 only under the condition that the European proletariat afforded us "state support," which meant that Trotsky "postponed" the workers revolution in Russia until the victory of the proletarian revolution in Europe. In the latter case Trotsky appears as the representative of the most stereotyped social democratic standpoint: let "them" first make the revolution and then "we" will "immediately" make the workers' revolution.

Trotsky wrote in those times a great deal as to a victorious Russian revolution being only possible as a part of a victorious international revolution, for western European capital supported czarism with loans, etc. There was a grain of truth in this and here Trotsky only repeated that which the Bolsheviks said. But Trotsky as usual conceived this connection of the Russian revolution with the international revolution too mechanically.

Comrade Trotsky did not grasp the concrete way of the revolution in our country. He does not even yet grasp the actual importance of the peasantry in our revolution. If any proof were necessary for this, Trotsky has provided this in his last work: "The Lessons of October." We quote the following:

"It was precisely the unripeness of the revolution under the thoroughly unique conditions created by the war which delivered the leadership or at least the appearance of leadership over the petty bourgeois revolutionaries which consisted in the fact that they defended the historical claim of the bourgeoisie to power. This however does not mean that the revolution could only follow that road which it followed from February to October, 1917. This last road resulted not merely from the class relations but from those temporary conditions created by the war.

"As a result of the war the peasantry appeared in the organized and armed form of the army comprising many millions. Before the proletariat could organize itself under its own flag in order to draw the masses of the village behind it, the petty bourgeois revolutionaries found a natural support in the peasant army exasperated by the war. With the weight of this army of millions from which everything immediately depended the petty bourgeois revolutionaries exercised pressure upon the proletariat and at first drew it after them. That the course of the revolution could have been different with the same class bases is best proved by the events which preceded the war." (Lessons of October, Page XVIII-XIX.)

The road from February till October, 1917, resulted, as you can see, not only from the class relations, but also from those temporary (!) conditions created by the war. What is the meaning of this brain wave? It assumes that the war did not arise from the class relations, that is to say it was a mere chance event. Now, the Russo-Japanese war, out of which grew 1905, the general rehearsal for 1917—was it also a chance? Was that not also created by the temporary conditions? What profundity of thought!

If there had been no imperialist war—and Leninism teaches that the imperialist war is the inevitable outcome of imperialism, as the latest stage of capitalism, therefore of the course of the class war; if Russia had not been a peasant country and therefore its vast army had not been a peasant army of a dozen millions; if

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The Results and Lessons of the Party Discussion

A STATEMENT BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OUR party has just passed thru its first great discussion, and from this discussion some unmistakable conclusions have been established.

The period of the discussion marks a turning point in the history of our party. Despite the intensity of the discussion, and the sharp tones with which it was carried on at times, the effects on the party have been beneficial. It was a symptom, not of decay, but of growth. These comrades who feared its effects and who became alarmed at its intensity, have missed the point. The discussion was a furnace from which the party is emerging strengthened and tempered, and better equipped for its historic task. A party which could stand such a severe discussion and grow stronger by it proves that it is maturing and developing into a genuine Communist Party.

Never in the history of our party was a minority given such full and free opportunity to put its case before the membership. There was absolutely no limit or restriction upon their rights. It was the aim of the C. E. C. from the beginning to widen and deepen the discussion and to draw the entire party membership into it. In this we were successful. Never before was the party so deeply stirred in the discussion of its tasks.

"Bolsheviks do not fight over trifles." So said Kamenev at a meeting of the Moscow party organization during the controversy with the opposition in the Russian Communist Party last year. These words of Kamenev apply very well to the discussion in our party. It should be clear now to all that the controversy which has shaken the party to its foundations, has not been over trifles.

In the discussion, the party had to consider two questions of fundamental importance. First, the question of the main line of party policy, and, second, the question of leadership. The prevailing policy of the party is indissolubly bound up with the proletarian leading group of the C. E. C. Consequently, the attempt of the minority to reverse our fundamental policy went hand in hand with the attempt to undermine and discredit the C. E. C. To both questions, the party has given a decisive answer. That answer is, against the policy and leadership of the minority and for the policy and leadership of the C. E. C.

The final results of the discussion could already be foreseen in the first series of membership meetings held on Sunday, December 28. The failure of the minority to carry such important party centers as New York, Chicago, and Minneapolis, showed that their case was hopeless. Comrade Foster was quite correct when he said that the results of the first series of meetings spelled the defeat of the minority, and the repudiation of their policy. This analysis, however, was disputed by the minority. They placed all their hopes in the second series of meetings and made glowing predictions in regard to them. But these predictions did not materialize.

Boston, Philadelphia, Buffalo and Pittsburgh all gave majorities for the C. E. C. This was followed by decisive and overwhelming victories in such important party organizations as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Baltimore, Milwaukee, the mining sections of southern Illinois, the industrial towns adjacent to New York, and a number of other centers, until the question of the minority gaining a majority in the party passed out of the range of possibilities.

But the membership meetings, decisive as they were, do not fully indicate the strength of the C. E. C. To understand the full significance of its victory, one must go deeper than the surface indications. When we take into consideration the fact that the controversy revolved around the question of the farmer-labor party, it is of great importance to inquire what was the attitude of those party organizations and those party members who had been most involved in the work of our party in the farmer-labor movement. The results of the membership meetings show it was precisely those

party organizations in the centers of the farmer-labor movement and those party comrades who had been most active in our labor party campaign in the unions during the past two years which made up the vanguard of the C. E. C. support. The labor party centers, practically without exception, supported the C. E. C.

Most illuminating of all were the results of the membership meetings in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. The minority passes over in silence the result in Chicago, the proletarian center of the party; but for their decisive defeat in New York they have brought forward a number of "explanations," each one contradicting the other. The events in the New York district during the recent months are of profound significance to the party. The minority wants to attribute their crushing defeat there to an "alliance" of the C. E. C. with the Lore group. But in this, as in many other matters, the minority is substituting wishes for accomplished facts.

These "explanations" of the minority do not in any way change the fact that during the discussion, and thanks to the discussion, a new group came to the fore in the New York district, standing on the platform of the C. E. C. and that this group took over the leadership of the fight for the C. E. C. policy, and proved itself in the struggle to be stronger than either the Lore group or the minority. The Lore group could live and grow on the stupid tactics of the minority, but in conflict with the group of the C. E. C., which, in accord with the decision of the C. I., puts the question on a political and ideological basis, it will have no more success than the minority.

One of the most fruitful results of the party discussion has been the emergence and crystallization of the C. E. C. group in the New York district. The fight between the minority and the Lore group for the control of the New York district no longer occupies the center of the stage. The group of the C. E. C. has proved itself strong enough to conduct a struggle on political grounds against both groups simultaneously, and to defeat them both. The leadership of the New York district belongs neither to the minority nor to the Lore group, but to the C. E. C.

The weakness of the minority was nowhere so clearly demonstrated as in Boston. Here the party apparatus was completely in the control of the minority. Comrade Ballam has for months been using his office of district organizer as an instrument in the faction fight, even going so far as to compromise the party in the C. P. P. A. conference, in order to make an "issue" against the C. E. C. The district executive committee, under his leadership has been occupying itself almost exclusively with the passing of factional motions which were used as a basis for the propaganda of the minority. Comrade Ballam used his well-known abilities as "caucus organizer" to the limit in preparation for the Boston membership meeting. But all these "preparations" came to nothing. The Boston membership meeting was a crushing blow to the hopes of the minority and to the factionalism of Comrade Ballam.

In Philadelphia, Comrade Jakira, who exceeded all bounds in his factional conduct of the office of district organizer, made an even poorer showing. The rank and file revolt in the Boston and Philadelphia districts should be a warning to Comrades Ballam and Jakira that the party members expect party discipline and party responsibility to be binding also for district organizers.

Pittsburgh and Buffalo, which had been thoroughly propagandized by the minority and which they relied on for big majorities, upset all calculations by their decisive support of the C. E. C.

Only in two cities, Cleveland and Detroit, did the membership meetings give any comfort to the minority, but those were "fluke" victories and will be short-lived. With more thorough consideration of the issues involved, the party organizations in Cleveland and

Detroit are already beginning to swing into line with the rest of the party in support of the C. E. C. The campaign of the C. E. C. to re-educate the party and to purge it of farmer-laborism will have the same success in these centers as elsewhere. More thorough consideration by the party of the fundamental principles involved in the discussion will enable the C. E. C. to go to the next party convention with the support of at least ninety per cent of the party membership.

The membership meetings not only registered a complete defeat for the farmer-labor policy of the minority; their fight for leadership shared the same fate in an even more decisive fashion. The real aim of the minority, which they have pursued in a conscious and organized manner, for the past year, was to overthrow the C. E. C. To this end a nation-wide caucus organization has been maintained. The minority has confronted the C. E. C. as an organized opposition ever since the last convention and has resisted all our attempts to come to an agreement with them and to dissolve the factional organization. In violation of all principles of Communist organization, the smallest details of C. E. C. proceedings were transmitted, by means of the minority caucus, down to the branches and the party was literally flooded with anonymous "documents," rumors, "issues," etc. A number of federation secretaries and editors were incorporated into this caucus under the leadership of C. E. C. members of the minority, and it was attempted by this means to mobilize the support of the federation members for the minority.

The leaders of the minority could not by any means reconcile themselves to a situation where the party leadership was in the hands of "half-educated workers" and "syndicalists," as they characterized the proletarian elements in the party, especially those who emphasized the importance of work in trade unions. They were not willing to recognize the validity of our mandate from the last party convention. They seemed to take it for granted that we would not be able to carry out our responsibility. They expected us to turn the party over to them in desperation, since they were the self-acknowledged "Marxian trunk" of the party. Our efforts to formulate policies received no sympathy from them. And that we should actually presume to write theses, etc., was considered almost a personal insult.

The party during the past year was confronted with the most difficult problems since its founding, which tested and tried the leadership of the party as never before. The wild exaggerations and overestimations of events, which had been committed by the C. E. C. last year, reacted against the party this year with full force. We were compelled to readjust ourselves a number of times and to adapt the party to an entirely new situation. Our party was sick with the fever of "high politics" and it was no easy task to lead it back to basic Communist work. The decision of the Communist International against the "third party alliance," the collapse of the farmer-labor movement, the presidential candidacy of LaFollette, the necessity that we put up our own party candidates—all these events required a series of quick changes in policy and it was a real achievement to carry them thru without any serious disturbances or crises in the party. Coupled with these external difficulties, we constantly had the problem of the organized opposition fighting for control of the party, striving to distort every action of the C. E. C. to seize upon and magnify every little mistake, real or imaginary, and use it for factional purposes.

One of the greatest weaknesses of our young party in the past has been the lack of stable and authoritative leadership. There never yet has been, up to this year, a central executive committee which has been able to withstand an organized opposition. Continuity of leadership was a thing unknown.

"Overthrowing the C. E. C." has hitherto been any easy "pastime." There is a section of our party which still carries with it the traditions of "permanent opposition," which grew out of the long fight in the socialist party and which was even a part of the philosophy of the syndicalist and anarchist movements. This hostility and prejudice against all leaders offered favorable soil in which to start an opposition and was fully exploited by the minority. Such comrades who have not yet assimilated the Leninist conception of proletarian leadership, who draw a line between the leaders and the party membership, and who do not understand their indissoluble connection, all rallied for the "raid" on the C. E. C.

But with all these factors in their favor, with a year-long caucus organization, and with a considerable amount of fundamental opposition in the party ranks to our main line of policy, the attack of the minority on the C. E. C. met with a decisive defeat.

This has an outstanding significance for the party. For the first time in the history of the party an organized fight against the C. E. C. has failed. The C. E. C. has proved itself fully able to lead the party thru the most difficult year of its existence, to execute a number of necessary changes in tactics, to adapt the party to the constantly changing political situation, to cope with an organized opposition, and at the same time to keep a firm hold on the party and to strengthen itself in the confidence of its most active and dynamic elements. These facts are the best augury that the party ranks will be unified and consolidated, and that factionalism will soon be liquidated.

In the course of the discussion, the opportunist and revisionist character of the farmer-labor policy of the minority was established beyond all question by the minority themselves; and the reactions of their rank and file supporters merely gave it the final confirmation. From the slogan raised in Comrade Pepper's pamphlet, "For a labor party" or "A labor party or the capitalist dictatorship," it was only one step further to Comrade Lovestone's book "The Government—Strikebreaker" and his pamphlet "The LaFollette Illusion" in which the role of the Communist Party is completely eliminated from consideration. And from these deviations the proposals of many rank and file supporters of the minority, expressed at all the membership meetings, "to bore from within" the LaFollette movement and create a left wing there, followed naturally and logically.

The C. E. C. does not follow a policy of reprisal and has no desire to prolong or accentuate the bitterness of the controversy. Nevertheless, we feel duty-bound to call the attention of the party to the superficial and cynical attitude toward the party, manifested in the concluding article by Comrade Lovestone. In this article, which from beginning to end is filled with misrepresentations and perversions of facts, with flippant sneers and jibes, Comrade Lovestone even goes so far as to speak derisively of the party apparatus as the "state power." We know of nothing more anti-Bolshevik and anti-proletarian than such a contemptuous attitude toward the party apparatus, and we believe that all that is serious, proletarian and revolutionary in the ranks of the minority will repudiate it. The proletarian movement is neither a game nor an adventure. The party apparatus is not something separate from the party. The party will find ways and means of making plain its point of view on these questions.

The central feature of the "opposition" in the Russian Communist Party was its attack on the party apparatus, made in much the same spirit as that of Comrade Lovestone, and in this, as in all else, it showed its fundamental departure from Lenin's teachings. In this connection our whole party can profitably study the words of Comrade Varski, of the Polish Communist Party, who now joins the cen-

(Continued on page 6)

WHEN LENIN DIED

By ISRAEL AMTER.

"He is dead." Thus I was greeted on the morning of the 21st of January, 1924, by a German comrade who had just purchased a special bulletin of the Pravda. "He is dead," everybody knew what he meant. It went like a stroke of lightning through everybody. "He is dead." The streets of Moscow were also dead.

Lenin had died and the whole population was cast into mourning. Sunday usually a day of life in the streets of Moscow, witnessed the streets entirely deserted. Every proletarian in the city was robbed of the greatest thing that he prized—and he remained indoors to ponder on his loss. The streets were deserted—not even the Neptun were to be seen. All Moscow was bent down—the leader of the revolution, the bulwark of the Soviet government, the founder of the Russian Communist Party and of the Communist International—the greatest statesman that the world has known in many a century—had passed away.

Blow Came Suddenly.

For many weeks, bulletins had been issued on the state of Lenin's health. Sometimes they were optimistic, sometimes they were gloomy. Only a few weeks before the fatal blow struck down the great man, photographs were published in the weeklies, which showed that Lenin had gone through fearful suffering—but yet he was with us. Lenin had been away from public life, had had no contact with the workers and peasants of his country for such a long time that no great hopes were entertained of his returning to active life. But the blow came so suddenly—it came with such violence that it stunned every worker and peasant.

The next day, they bore Lenin's body from the little town of Gorki, not far from Moscow to the capital. The funeral train, decked in black and red, was met at the station by delegations from all the factories and Soviet and Communist institutions. Slowly to the strains of the funeral hymn, solemnizing the death of the heroes of the 1905 revolution, they carried his body through the streets of Moscow, followed by tens of thousands of workers. The streets were lined with masses of workers and between these lines they took the remains of Lenin to the Temple of Labor.

Peasants Travel to Moscow.

Here he lay in state so that the millions of workers and peasants might go to Moscow to see his face once more—the face of the comrade and man who had fired them to the revolution, the man who had led them in the revolution—the man whom they recognized as their COMRADE and leader.

It is impossible for us in America

to grasp what this means to the Russian worker and peasant. These workers and peasants went through the worst suffering that a working and peasant class ever experienced. They learned to suffer more through the world war, and the counter-revolution. They sacrificed millions of their sons and fathers for the czar, that his brutal regime might be preserved. Then with one fell blow they drove him and his co-parasites out of the world. But that did not yet give them power. Kerensky, the traitor, had to be driven into the desert; all the obstructive counter-revolutionary forces had to be dissipated. Then and then only, under the masterful leadership of that giant mind, Lenin, was it possible for the workers and peasants to become the masters of Russia.

Their Friend and Comrade.

Every country has its leaders. The revolutionary workers and peasants of every country have the men they look to for leadership. But Lenin was not merely a leader. He was the inspirer of the revolution, he was the heart of the revolution, he was the dynamic

companion, his friend and comrade, tearless, staunch, grieving as all Soviet Russia grieved. Beside her, Marie, Lenin's sister, tearless and staunch, grieving with all Soviet Russia. Five days and five nights, always at his side, tearless, with breaking heart, ever looking upon his placid face—the face of a man who knows that he has created well, who has done all within his power to accomplish the task he set himself. For five days and nights, the line of workers and peasants streamed through the hall, endlessly.

And for five days and five nights, there was but one thought in the minds of all the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia—the great master was gone. The peasants knew they had lost their best friend. "Ilyitch is gone." How could Soviet Russia go on without Ilyitch? How could the great questions that still confronted Soviet Russia be settled without his guiding hand? How could the great work that had been begun be finished, if Ilyitch did not lead?

Leaves Army of Leaders.

The work was to go on. Ilyitch had

story of the great man.

Altho grief bit at their hearts, altho tears trickled down their cheeks when the Funeral Hymn was played, the voice of the speaker was not the voice of sorrow. On the contrary, with the leader gone, the duties of those who remained behind were so much the greater. "The struggle goes on. We must be men following the path that Lenin laid out. The master is gone, but we, his disciples, must take up the work where he left it. We who fought the revolution and achieved the victory by the side of Comrade Lenin, must go on with the work."

The tears dried. The eyes of every worker grew brighter. The women and children, to whom Lenin was as a father, leant forward drinking in every word of the speaker. "If our leader has gone, then we must COLLECTIVELY finish the work."

That was the idea—collectively we must finish what he had left unfinished. Collectively, orphaned as we are, we must continue along the long path until all difficulties are removed and our Communist goal has been reached.

And when the meeting ended—and the International was sung with the fire that only revolutionists can impart to it—one knew that out of these millions of breasts came the Communist will and determination that only a man like Lenin could have implanted.

For Five Days and Nights.

For five days and five nights—in the factories, in the clubs, in the university halls, in the great halls of the cities, in the villages, in the Soviets—Soviet Russia was one vast meeting place filled with the workers and peasants who knew Lenin so well.

For five days and five nights—few thought of work. And from all corners of the country came the workers and peasants, sent by their factories and village Soviets to see the great man as he lay on the bier, surrounded by flowers, resting with his hands folded before him, with a gentle smile on his face—a smile that indicated that he was content with what Soviet Russia had attained—Soviet Russia of his inmost feelings and thoughts.

For five days and five nights—the Funeral March sounded in the Temple of Labor, the workers and comrades stood guard, and soldiers of the Red Army kept watch over Ilyitch in death.

For five days and five nights—out in the bitter cold of the Moscow winter stood the workers and peasants, waiting their turn to see him once more—before saying good-bye...

Was ever a man more loved by the masses? Lenin, giant mind of the Russian revolution, leader of the World Revolution—hated by the world bourgeoisie—loved by the world of the earth.

OUR COMRADE LENIN

"He is mourned not only by the millions of Russian workers, but no less sincerely and deeply by the peasants of Albania and the workers of Mexico, the proletariat of New York, Chicago and the working men of Paris, and of Peking, everywhere where there are workers and toilers. The Negroes of America, the coolies of China, hundreds of thousands of people who knew of Lenin only by hearsay, who did not read, perhaps, any of his books, but who knew only these five letters—L—E—N—I—N—understood that Lenin meant the new humanity, the new banner, the New Epoch, which opened its bright vista before them."—Gregory Zinoviev, President of the Communist International.

force of the revolution. And in his death, the Russian workers and peasants felt the heart of the country had stopped.

But no. When, in their hundreds of thousands, they streamed into the Temple of Labor; when in the bitterest cold that Moscow has experienced in many years they stood in the streets for hours, in their long lines, waiting to pass through the Labor Temple, they were waiting to see the man whom they mourned as their nearest friend and comrade—the man whose thoughts were only of his people. They waited—then passed through the Temple, looked upon the quiet, peaceful face of the great man, passed out into the night, grief cutting at their hearts—and took their place again in the long line, to pass through the hall once more.

And in the Temple were intoned the strains of the Funeral Hymn, while the great man lay on his bier surrounded by flowers. At his side stood incessantly. Krupskaja, his wife and

created not only the Soviet government, but also that great steel army of men and women who know what leadership is, who led in the revolution, who were always in the forefront where danger lurked, who formulated all the policies that Soviet Russia has given to the world—who taught the world a new concept—the concept of Communist thought and leadership in action: the Russian Communist Party. The Russian Communist Party, born out of the mind of Lenin, and trained in the discipline and strategy that he laid down, took up the task that Lenin left behind.

Knowing that the leader was gone, the Russian Communist Party mobilized the whole mass of the workers and peasants to tell them of the thoughts that had guided the life of Comrade Lenin. All over Soviet Russia during these five days and five nights, there were held meetings of the workers and peasants. In every town and village, the workers and peasants came together to hear the

Life in Soviet Russia THE "HAMMER AND SICKLE"

I will endeavor to give a picture of the true state of affairs in Russia by describing the development of the work on which I am myself engaged.

This is a factory for agricultural machinery which previous to the October revolution was in the hands of foreigners. A man named Helferich was the founder of the firm. After the October revolution the factory was nationalized, but the civil and guerilla warfare ruined the factory. The material and machinery bought to extend the works were sold at the outbreak of the revolution by the former shareholders. Until the end of 1922, disorder and chaos reigned supreme in the factory, which was then merely using up the old stores of material.

All attempts to set the factory going in the right and proper manner failed. Towards the end of 1922 the factory was linked up with an agricultural machinery trust and was

given the name, "Hammer and Sickle." The party made a turn-over from the Urals manager of the factory; this comrade had filled very responsible trade union post since the revolution. His task was by no means a light one. Part of the administrative and technical personnel were anti-Soviet, and these people obstructed the work; they sabotaged every serious attempt to improve the work in the factory. But our comrade took up his work in good earnest. He removed the head engineer (technical director of the works).

But his successor was not any better, so he met with the same fate. At one time there was a technical and administrative staff of 148 people, and in this apparatus great changes also took place. This cleansing process went on until the end of July, 1923. About 40 per cent of the old staff were dismissed and partly replaced by workers from the factory.

The results of this work soon became apparent.

Production in 1923 rose from 10,056 old rubles' worth in January, 1923, to 135,654 gold rubles' worth in December, 1923, and in September, 1924, we produced 310,019 rubles' worth—thirty times the old level. Between January, 1923, and September, 1924, the production of each worker rose from 14 rubles per month to 240 rubles per month, and wages rose from 14.9 rubles per month to 58.3 rubles.

These figures show us the progress made by our factory this year. The total production increased from month to month. The last month—September—(the business year begins in October)—showed record figures. Our workers and staff have thereby shown that they do honor to the name of our factory—"Hammer and Sickle." We look hopefully into the future. Our production program for 1924-25 is fixed at 4½ million rubles, and even this does not satisfy the management. In pre-war times the maximum figure reached by the factory was three million two hundred thousand. (Prices remain unchanged.)

The management is in strong and capable hands. It consists of the comrade mentioned already, his assistant, also a former worker, a locksmith,

and the head engineer, who acts as technical director. All the workers are interested in the work of the factory, and they are convinced that in the current year peace time production will be exceeded. This means a great deal, when you remember that the machinery has had considerable wear and tear, and that the forty-six hour week is in operation here. This is a picture of what is going on throughout the Union of Soviet Republics.—S. Lid, Morkov, November 29, 1924.

"Chaos" An Old Excuse For Landing Marines— But They Still Use It

(Special to The Daily Worker)

SHANGHAI, Jan. 16.—An international landing party comprising 350 British, American, French, Italian and Japanese marines came ashore today and policed the foreign settlement. The Japanese Admiral Nomiya commanded the party. He reported that the situation was "well in hand within the settlement, but chaos existed outside."

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A GLIMPSE OF NIKOLAI LENIN

IN MEMORIAM.

You lived for the workers, in life you were one
Whose love knew no stint, whom no fears could appal,
And now you have died for the cause that you loved.
We greet you who gave to the people your all.

—Soviet Funeral Hymn.

SHE had known him and observed him closely at many pre-revolution assemblies of the most eminent idealists of the new society. And out of the wealth of her human experience, garnered thru her uncanny poetic divination, she characterized for me the person and soul of him:

"He took the floor only seldom, and never spoke long. In details, whether of organization or execution, he consistently yielded to the others. His intellect centered itself exclusively on discerning and tracing the threads of the indisputable universal principles involved in the basic problems discussed. But once having discovered the entire unbroken course of the thread, his pedagogic lucidity of utterance and amazing resources of historic fact, employed in a relentless, unwavering offensive, unfailingly played havoc with the great and greater brilliancy of wit and polemics of his adversaries. The others swayed and appeared to dominate the assembled individuals, Lenin conclusively determined the policies which the assembled mass eventually adopted."

HUNDREDS of representatives of workers' parties of more than a score of lands were in session amidst the overgorgeous splendor of the former imperial hall at the Kremlin, devising methods of promoting workers' rule thruout the world. For two days fervent, fanatical passion had vied with tempered, seasoned reasoning in the presentation of solutions for the problems at issue. For two long days the assembled delegates had with ever fenser impatience been looking forward to participation by Lenin, their undisputed international guide, to lead them thru the labyrinths; but he had been unable to suspend the incessant practical labor in which he was eternally steeped. And hardly a soul in the assembly had noticed his unobtrusive entrance, until he had already been seated below the front of the platform for several minutes, engrossed in a mass of newspapers.

Suddenly, as by some mass intuition, they realized that he was present, and spontaneously they vented themselves in an indescribably passionate ovation, that shook the vast assembly, and thrilled the massive walls, continuing and augmenting minute after minute, and seeming to vibrate with a consuming desire to make itself heard far out and beyond the walls of the assembly hall, beyond the walls of the Kremlin, even beyond the frontiers of Russia, and to din itself into the ears of the

workers of all lands, that the workers of the world might realize that Lenin, their leader, was with them, with his living, inspiring heart and soul and body!

He alone remained unmoved, more wrapped than ever in the papers before him. All at once he arose, and standing beside his chair, waved the deafening din to silence. As unconcerned as were it not to him that the transcending tribute had been tendered, yet with an intense earnestness that engraved itself deep into the consciousness of every individual in the assembled multitude, he spoke to them in words so incisively characteristic of his nature and the driving force of his life: "Our task is the liberation of the workers of the world and not the idolization of any one man!"

As we stood in the lobby of one of the Commissariats in Moscow, there entered a human being as weird as even the motley melting-pot of Moscow might only yield few. Obviously a Mongolian, he was cruelly crippled, lacking a left lower arm and a left foot, supporting himself on a single crutch, his face frightfully scarred, only some filthy rags enveloping his body. He was unable to speak more than a few Russian words, but his distorted countenance assumed what was obviously meant to be interpreted as an appealing smile as he recognizably ejaculated: "Lenin! Lenin!" and handed us a dirty sheet of paper, signed and stamped, that conveyed to us the message he himself could not impart: He was a Southern Siberian farm laborer. Upon the disruption of the czarist army, he had left the western front, and made his way back to his native village. But when the Koltchak counter-revolutionary forces proceeded to invade European Russia from the east, he had enlisted in the Red Guard ranks, and his appearance demonstrated eloquently, and heart-breakingly, the price he had paid for his revolutionary zeal. When counter-revolution had been finally suppressed, he had again stumbled back to his home, only to find it completely demolished in the strife. Thereupon, evidently with a stolid, unshakeable faith born of the great simplicity of his nature, he had hobbled all the way across the vast expanse of Russia, from his Siberian village to Moscow, in the supreme trust that his "tovarish"—Comrade Lenin, the providence of all the oppressed, would tender him the comfort and succor he so direly needed. . . .

We guided him to the Kremlin gates, and persuaded even the "unspeakable" Cheka guard to admit him to the presence of his Comrade Lenin.

Dear Comrade, farewell! you have gone to your rest.
Well earned by the part that you played in the fight.
—Soviet Funeral Hymn.

LENIN BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE

By KARL REEVE

LENIN'S original contribution to the world proletariat.

the principles and tactics of the proletarian revolution quickened the course of world revolution. Lenin left the permanent stamp of his ideas upon both the capitalist class and the working class of America and of the entire world. The workers of the world have cause to rejoice at the stupendous scientific writings which clarified and made additions to Marxist thought and revolutionary tactics; at the boundless energy which Lenin poured out till the very last breath of his life to hasten the world revolution of the workers. Lenin's enemies, the bourgeoisie of the world, had cause to hate the man who guided Soviet Russia as the beacon light for the world's workers.

Feared by Bourgeoisie.

Tho the exploiters and their prostitutes hated Lenin, their fanatical ravings against him are a tribute to his power, a sign of their fear of Lenin as the capable and formidable leader of the "historically rising class."

It was an honor to Lenin that John Spargo, the most obvious mental prostitute, the basest traitor that ever sprang from the working class, wrote of Lenin as "coldly cynical, crassly materialistic, utterly unscrupulous." Spargo typified the parasites that grovel at the feet of the bourgeoisie in order to pick up the gold coins which are flung in their faces.

American Workers Mourned.

The workers of America felt the deep personal loss of their comrade and leader, no less than the millions of workers and peasants thruout the width and breadth of Soviet Russia. Lenin is gone, but Leninism is immortal.

On February 14, last year, fifteen thousand people packed the Lenin memorial meeting in Madison Square Garden. An opera house was filled to overflow, and thousands were turned away from both meetings. These scenes were repeated in every city of the world. Huge demonstrations in Berlin, Paris, London and Chicago showed that Lenin had reached the masses with the message of Communism. "Lenin is dead—long live Leninism," became the slogan of

Faith in the Masses.

"Nobody had such faith in the creative genius of the working class mass, that is to say the toiling masses of all countries besides his own, as Lenin," Comrade Zinoviev tells us. "Nobody could make his heart beat in unison with those of the workers, whether they lived in Moscow or Berne, as did Lenin. Lenin never tried to accommodate himself to the masses, he never brought his aims down to the level of mass prejudices. Closely related to them by blood ties and affection, he saw his purpose in raising the masses to a higher level of intelligence in respect of those great aims, the herald and prophet of which he was."

Lenin stripped the bourgeoisie of the world of their complacent self-confidence. He struck fear into their hearts and made them realize that their oppression of the workers is soon to end.

Lenin Forced German Revolt.

"It was a little upstart named Lenin that defeated Germany," said General von Hoffman, who imposed the Brest-Litovsk treaty on Soviet Russia. "Germany did not play with Bolshevism. Bolshevism played with Germany. Immediately after conquering the Bolsheviks we were conquered by them." Under Lenin's guidance the Soviets triumphed over the German imperialists, forced the "republican" revolution on Germany, and advanced the cause of the proletarian dictatorship both in Germany and Russia by making a scrap of paper out of the Brest-Litovsk treaty with its tyrant's terms.

American Bourgeoisie Retreats.

In America, too, the capitalists hate the name Lenin. They, too, have retreated from the invincible onslaught of his proletarian army. Hughes spat upon Soviet Russia, but Soviet Russia is stronger and more powerful than ever before, and the American bankers have been forced to thrust Hughes into the discard.

A convention of 1,500 college professors met in Chicago to discuss means

of perfecting bourgeois control of American education. They spent an entire afternoon wrangling over the merits of the "bad effects" of the Third Communist International founded by Lenin. But there was no disagreement over the fact that the Communist International has vitally and permanently affected world history. And when Peter Sorokin, formerly private secretary of Kerensky, who sold himself into the services of American imperialism for a professorship of economics at Wisconsin university, told the usual cheap lies about Soviet Russia and the Third International, he was contradicted by Elmer Davis, a Yale professor, who is young enough at the game to be fairly honest. Davis said that the Third International was trying to propagate a form of state where the people own the industries, and that the Russian revolution would probably be known as the outstanding event of the twentieth century.

Contributions to Marxism.

Lenin introduced five important points into revolutionary Marxism, we learn from Comrade Zinoviev: The idea of combining the workers' revolutions with the peasant wars; the idea of uniting the proletarian civil war against the bourgeoisie with the movement for national liberation of the oppressed nations; the theory of the Soviet state; his appraisal of imperialism as the ultimate phase of moribund capitalism; and his theory and practice of the proletarian dictatorship.

Knew Foreign Countries.

Lenin knew intimately the history of the decline of capitalism in all important nations. One of Lenin's books on America, "The Development of Capitalism in American Agriculture," shows Lenin's remarkable grasp of the course of events in America. The book also demonstrates Lenin's theory that the speed of the establishment of the Communist state is dependent on the success of the workers in attaching the farmers to their cause.

At four o'clock every afternoon a crowd of several hundreds of workers and peasants gather outside Lenin's tomb along the walls of the Kremlin,

on the Red Square of Moscow. From all nooks and corners of the vast Soviet Republics the plain people of Russia come pouring into Moscow. After being given tickets of admission across the street from the mausoleum, the crowd files in and around the dead leader as soon as the door of the tomb is thrown open at four o'clock.

These people are not all Communists. They come from thousands of miles around because they recognize that Lenin had faith in the masses of which they are a part. They know that democratic-pacifist France and imperialistic England have been forced to recognize their government because of Lenin's work in guiding the Soviet revolution. The people of Russia—the simple mouzjhiks and semi-proletarians of the towns and villages—know that Lenin gave them the land, peace and bread, and put them to work to build their own state. They know that Lenin starved and died for the cause of the proletarian revolution, and because of that they are willing to do the same.

And the Lenin memorial meetings to be held by our party thruout America will furnish another testimonial that the workers of America and the whole world are awakening to the consciousness that Lenin lived and died for their class—to the fact that the capitalist class is doomed to be overthrown by the triumph of Marxism and Leninism.

MONDAY MEETING OF BRANCH EDUCATIONAL DIRECTORS OF N. Y.

NEW YORK, Jan. 16.—There will be a special meeting of all branch educational directors of local New York on Monday, Jan. 17, 8 p. m., at 208 East 12th street.

Very important matters regarding the future activity of the Workers' School will be taken up.

It is essential that all branches be represented, so that the school may establish organizational connections with the party membership.

Results and Lessons of the Party Discussion

(Continued from page 3)

tral committee of the R. C. P. in the struggle against Trotskyism.

In a recent article in the *Inprecorr*, Comrade Varski says:

"We now know quite well that without the Bolshevik organizational conceptions regarding the role of the leading circles in the party (central committee, district committee, local committee, or of the so-called party apparatus in general) and in the revolution, there can be no revolution of the proletariat whatever, and no dictatorship of the proletariat."

The leading group of the C. E. C. is a group of the proletarian class struggle, that grew out of the struggle, and whose whole aim and conception is to build and develop the party, according to the teachings of Lenin, in the process of struggle.

Nevertheless, during the discussion, the minority was constantly reproaching us with the charge that we had "done nothing" during the past year, that there were no new "grand maneuvers" undertaken, that there was no "action." If one is familiar with the conception of the minority, such an attitude is understandable. Their conception of politics is "high politics." It is noisy spectacular undertakings. It is bluff and exaggeration, and bombast. The day-by-day work and struggle which builds the party firmly and solidly and drives its roots into the labor movement, appears to them to be mere "sectarianism." They do not understand the admonition of Lenin to build the party by "quiet, patient, persistent, not noisy, but deep work." The real and solid achievements of the past year have escaped their attention. They had no answer whatever to our statement on "A year of Progress," in which these solid achievements were set forth in detail. They did not answer because they could not answer in any way, except with stereotyped sneers at the Communist "trade unionists" and other proletarian elements in the party, who have borne the brunt of this work.

The policy which guided all our work for the past year was wholly the policy of the majority of the C. E. C. The minority have not made a single important contribution to the solution of our problems and the development of our work. The minority have had such little connection with this basic work, that they are hardly aware of what has been done. They do not know about the "quiet, patient, persistent, not noisy, but deep work" which has been done during the past year by the most active and dynamic elements of the party under the leadership of the C. E. C. It is apparently a matter of small moment to theorists of "politics on a grand scale," that the beginnings of a hard and firm left wing movement have been crystallized in a number of important unions, under the leadership of the Communists; that we have made at least a beginning with systematic party educational work; that our party, for the first time, has made an election campaign under its own banner, and that we are learning how to develop concrete struggles and agitation on the basis of the united front.

The appearance of a revolutionary left wing—albeit a small and weak one—in such a reactionary union as the gigantic Brotherhood of Carpenters, for example, and the strong movement we are leading in the United Mine Workers, represent nothing to the minority; and the tremendous energy, sacrifice and courage embodied in these achievements of our party, brings no commendation from them. For them it is merely another example of "syndicalism." It is time to say frankly to the party and to the Communist International that we are losing all patience with this superficial and condescending attitude towards our work in the trade unions and towards the comrades who do this work.

The year behind us has been a year of basic work and struggle and steady, if slow, achievement, accomplished in spite of all difficulties. Our party work was less spectacular than the year before, but all the more substan-

tial; and the work for the coming year must proceed along the same line. Without in the least giving way to sectarianism, without making one single concession to routine conceptions of party work, the party must learn how to build and strengthen itself by struggle and in the process of struggle, according to the teachings of Lenin, "brick by brick." The C. E. C. will exert all its energy to lead the party along this path. The C. I. will help us in this determination and strengthen and equip us for this task.

For two whole months the party discussion has absorbed almost the entire attention of the party. We must now turn our energies toward the constructive external task of broadening its scope and drawing ever wider masses of workers into united front actions. The whole party, down to its last member, must rally to the support of our comrades in the Michigan case. The party must become a dynamo of activity over this burning question and must rouse the labor movement into action. Our party must come to the front in the fight against wage reductions. It must put life and power into the child labor campaign. It must take the lead in the

fight over unemployment. It must prepare to launch a wide united front movement to defend the foreign born workers against new persecutions. The party must go deeper and ever deeper into the trade unions, and draw them into the political struggle. Every struggle of the working class must find the Workers Party in the vanguard, for it is only by active participation in the struggle that our party can live and grow.

The giant tasks confronting the party make it mandatory that we call forth all our constructive energies for the speedy liquidation of factionalism. The C. E. C. has already taken the first step to this end by appointing a special committee to work out special and detailed methods of facilitating it. The C. E. C. calls upon all the party comrades to assist in the endeavor. The basis for comradesly co-operation of all party members must be established without delay. The ground for unity and co-operation must be laid so securely that the party, as one man, will be prepared to accept the final decisions of the Communist International on the problems of our party and to carry them out.

American capitalism, the most powerful and relentless in the world, is

planning new and more terrible oppressions for the American workers and poor farmers and for the people of the colonies and smaller countries of Central and South America which it has brought within its sphere. History has set for our party the colossal task of leading the workers and exploited peoples into the struggle which can only end in the destruction of this imperialist monster and the liberation of the masses who suffer beneath its rule. We must go forward with full consciousness of our great responsibility, and with the firm and unshakable conviction that only a united, disciplined Bolshevik party will be equal to this task. We are on the way to becoming such a party. Let us hasten the process by all means. Let us put the stamp of our party on every struggle of the workers and show to the workers, in actual practice, that it is the only party that fights for and with the working class. In the struggle and by the struggle, our party will grow and become hardened, and will develop into a mass Communist Party capable of leading the exploited masses to the final victory.

Central Executive Committee,
WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA.

MUSIC - LITERATURE - DRAMA

"Sticks and Stones, a Study of American Literature and Civilization." Lefis Mumford. Boni and Liveright. \$2.50.

PROBABLY the best history of the American labor movement is Herman Schlutter's "History of the Brewing Industry and the Brewery Workers' Union of North America." That history is a fine piece of work because it traces the working of certain factors and tendencies on a particular industry and organization. "Sticks and Stones" is an excellent piece of work for the same reason. Every one of the factors which conditioned the development of the designing and making of buildings in this country were at work on all the other phases of American life and culture. Tracing those forces as they affected architecture serves as a fine example of their workings in every other field.

Mumford sets as the ideal of society and civilization the establishing of conditions that will make possible the living of "the good life." The early New England villages came nearer to doing that than any other social organization since that time. Religion was the expression of the "good life." The villages of early New England were built around the church. When a community threatened to become too big to permit the members to attend their religious and civil duties the old settlement threw off a new shoot.

The buildings of this period were bare, almost barren, but they were honest in execution and workmanship. In these communities farming was the basis of economic life when along the sea coast and in some trading posts the economic life shifted to shipping, trade and the building of vessels for sale in foreign ports the life of the people began to change. The center of "civilization" shifted from the villages to the towns which grew into cities. Up to this time the designer of a house or building was also the man who did the actual work. He was still a craftsman who had fine pride in doing a good job well. From then on the worker was not in any way an artist expressing himself but was also the man who did the actual work. From then on the worker was not in any way an artist expressing himself but was merely a servant carrying out orders given by a superior.

After the revolution America was seized with a new fad, a return to the classic styles of Greece and Rome. The politicians and orators and those gents who took themselves to be statesmen needed a background.

The opening of the 19th century marked the introduction of machinery and the new industrialism. Build-

ings of all sorts; life itself became crude beyond belief. That is the homes and lives of the workers and the poor were crude and ugly. The homes of the new industrial barons and public buildings, since the industrialists controlled public affairs, "became capricious and absurd, and returned to a past which had never existed." This was the period of "romanticism." Then the machine idea made inroads into romanticism. Central heating, water closets, the oil lamp were introduced. Into the planning of cities the gridiron idea made its way as a labor saving device. This device was a great boon to the land speculator whose hold has never been loosened from the cities of America.

After the close of the civil war America was settling down. Classes were beginning to assume a stability. The rich were safe, the poor were losing the hope of riches to be attained thru a stroke of luck, or the exercise of brains.

The period from 1890 to 1910 saw the shift from industrial to financial capital and the growth of imperialism.

After the imperial age came the attempt to mechanize everything, cities, schools, ideas and buildings.

The machine hounds were in their glory, or rather are, for the process of turning out civilization from the machine mould continues.

What's the remedy? Mumford talks sense in outlining it. Remember that in speaking of buildings alone Mumford's mind includes the whole of American civilization in the following suggested remedy. "Before the whole mass of contemporary building will be ready to receive the imprint of the architect and before the handicrafts re-enter the modern building there will have been a pretty thoro reorientation in our economic life. Whilst buildings are erected to increase site values, whilst houses are produced in blocks to be sold to the first wretch who must put a roof over his family's head, it is useless to dwell upon the ministrations of art . . ."

The method of achieving that remedy suggested is: "Once the neces-

sary conversion in faith and morals has taken place the other things will come easily." This merely proves with another example that the liberal can be depended on to make a good job of an indictment but he falls flat on the question of how to do the job of changing the conditions he indites.

MUSIC.

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN

The repertoire for the final week of the Chicago civic opera season of 1924-1925 begins with the Sunday matinee at 2 o'clock of a special performance of *Romeo and Juliet*, with Mason, Hackett, Formichi, Cotreuil in the leading roles and Polacco conducting.

Monday night the third performance of *Mefistofele* will be sung with Muzio, Claessens, Cortis, Chaliapin; Mles. Elisius, Milar, Nemeroff, Shermont and Corps de Ballet. Moranzoni conducting.

Tuesday night the second performance of von Flotow's *Martha* will be sung with Mason, Pertini, Schipa, Lazzari and Moranzoni conducting.

Wednesday night the first and only performance of *Pelleas and Melisande* will be given with Garden, Freund, Claessens, Mojica, Baklanoff, Kipnis, and Polacco conducting.

On Thursday a special matinee will be given at popular prices of \$1 to \$4, of *The Barber of Seville* with Hidalgo, Claessens, Schipa, Rimini, Lazzari, Trevisan. Cimini conducting.

Thursday night the third performance of *Faust* will be given with Mason, Claessens, Hackett, Chaliapin, and St. Leger conducting.

Saturday matinee will be the second presentation of *Boris Godunoff* with Lenska, Cortis, Chaliapin, Cotreuil and Lazzari in the leading roles and Polacco conducting.

The final performance of the season will be *The Tales of Hoffman*, at popular prices, with Macbeth, Forral, Anseau, Schwarz and Kipnis, with Lauwers conducting.

LOS ANGELES!

LOS ANGELES!

RED MEMORIAL DAY

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Other Speakers in English, German and Russian

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Bolshevism or Trotskyism?

(Continued from page 2)

this peasant army had not been rendered desperate by the imperialist war which the bourgeoisie had to conduct; if the weight of more than hundred millions of peasants had not exercised pressure upon the whole course of the social-political life of the country—then the development of the revolution would have proceeded according to Trotsky and the astonished humanity would have experienced the apotheosis of Trotskyism.

It apparently has never occurred to our author that "if ifs and ands were pots and pans" if there had not been an imperialist war with all its inevitable consequences, there would probably never had been the revolution of 1917 and no such relatively easy victory. Our author is also obviously unaware that precisely the development of the revolution from February to October, 1917, confirmed "in passing" the already obvious truth that the whole Trotskyism with its theory of its "permanent" revolution was nothing else than a cleverly thought-out intellectual schema which was cut according to the requirements of menshevism.

Let us refer once more to Comrade Lenin:

"Hence their (the menshevik) monstrous, idiotic, renegade idea that the distatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry contradicts every course of economic development. With us there appears at every crisis of our epoch (1905-1909) a general democratic movement of the mushik and to ignore this would be a profound error which in fact would lead to menshevism." Thus wrote Lenin in December, 1909.

But Comrade Trotsky even in the

year 1924, does not understand that the role of the mushik in such a crisis as 1917, was not by chance removed from the course of the class struggle.

It is obvious that it has also never occurred to our author that the course of the great revolution between February and October, 1917, wonderfully confirmed Leninism, among other things in that section in which Lenin with the theoretical ruthlessness peculiar to him, deals with the Trotskyist variety of menshevism.

A collaborator of Comrade Trotsky and the "editor" of his book 1917, Comrade Lenzner, asserts in all seriousness that already in the articles written by Trotsky at the beginning of March, 1917, in America in the paper "Novy Mir" ("New World") he anticipated the attitude to the questions taken by Comrade Lenin in his famous "Letters from Abroad." Comrade Trotsky did not even know what the question was whilst Comrade Lenin in his truly famous "Letters from Abroad" already submitted to the Russian working class the scheme of the real October worked out in almost all details.

But this is only half the trouble. The present trouble is that Comrade Trotsky can say nothing better than if there had been no imperialist war and if the peasantry had not predominated in our country, then Trotskyism would have been right as opposed to Leninism.

Is any further proof necessary that Comrade Trotsky understood the Bolshevik attitude to the question of the peasantry as little as he understands it now?

The "Lessons of October" have clearly shown one thing; that even now in the eighth year of the proletarian revolution Comrade Trotsky

has not grasped the true nature of Leninism and that he now as previously is revolving round in the same circle—in the question of the peasantry—in the question which is the chief source of the false conclusions of Comrade Trotsky beginning from his error of Brest to his error in the question of the trade unions in 1921, ending with his errors at the present time.

In the "Lessons of October" there are almost as many erroneous assertions as there are assertions at all. Therefore, the Communist Youth had little difficulty in detecting that Comrade Trotsky confounded Lenin with Hilferding (in the question of the constituent assembly and the so-called combined type of the constituent assembly and the Soviets*). Hence it comes that Comrade Sokolnikov demonstrated to Comrade Trotsky that the "left" errors of Comrade Bogdajev were ascribed by the esteemed author of the "Lessons of October" to Comrade Lenin (the history of the demonstration of April, 1917). Hence it comes that Comrade Kuusinen can easily prove by means of documents that Comrade Trotsky in the question of the German revolution** said the exact contrary in January, 1924, to what he now says in the "Lessons of October."

Hence it comes that such important episodes of the revolution as the question of the July demonstration, as the fight for Kronstadt and even the question of the July days are described by Comrade Trotsky after the manner of Suchanov and the paper "Denj" (The "Day" bourgeois) and not as they actually occurred. Hence it comes that the question of the tactics of the Bolsheviks with regard to the preliminary parliament and the democratic conference are dealt with

in an equally incorrect and biased manner.

These "small" errors have been sufficiently refuted by authoritative witnesses of the events. Perhaps we shall be able on another occasion to give an exact description of some of the very important episodes of the revolution.

*For the rest we learn from the second part of "1917" that as late as October 29, 1917, Comrade Trotsky himself on behalf of the council of people's commissioners wrote in an appeal: "The only thing which can save the country is the constitutional assembly which consists of representatives of the working and exploited classes of the people." It is permitted to ask in which respect this is better than the "combined type"? ("1917" second part p. 133).

**One example suffices: "We have seen there (in Germany) in the second half of the past year a classical demonstration of the fact that a most extraordinary favorable revolutionary situation of world historical importance can be missed" thus wrote Comrade Trotsky in September, 1924, in the "Lessons of October."

"If the party (the C. P. of Germany) had declared the revolt in October (last year) as the Berlin comrades have proposed, it would now have been lying with a broken neck." We read these words in the draft thesis of Comrades Radeck and Trotsky in January, 1924.

In such a question one cannot have two opinions, one in January, 1924, and another in September, 1924. If however, one has two opinions regarding such a question, one must not so attack the E. C. C. I. as Comrade Trotsky has done.

(To be Continued)

Views of Our Readers On Many Subjects

Cuba Persecutes Labor Leaders.

To the DAILY WORKER:—The Cuban government at the request of sugar and tobacco trust magnates gave the gate to 30 Spanish labor leaders in the strike that is paralyzing the life of the islands. The excuse given is always the same—a pretext, a subterfuge, but in reality is the hand of the same capitalistic monster that shot Filipinos in Hawaii, Negroes in Hayti, peons in Vera Cruz, or any noble soul trying for justice, for liberty or simply a decent living. But it forgets that in every dissatisfied worker there is a potential leader.

The czar didn't know that when he put to death the brother of Lenin: Porfirio Diaz forgot that when he sent his rurales against Madero and Zapata; England ignores that and jails Indian and Egyptian workers. When the writer was eating cold sweet potatoes at 5 o'clock in the morning under the dirty guano of a Cuban hut in a tobacco plantation at Pinar del Rio, the sugar and tobacco dukes, who then were burying everything from the defeated Spaniards, were victims of the same mental ataxia.

They never dreamed that in the famished body of that unknown, sockless, tired worker was a soul full of enthusiasm and of resentment. They never knew that in that whipped beast, working 14 hours a day for \$10 a month were all the potentialities of a rebel.

Before he was a faithful catholic, seeing only visions of angels in empiric regions. But carrying 125-pound bags of fertilizer on his shoulders at the age of 19, just out of a catholic college, and sleeping all crumpled up in a dirty hammock, inhaling all night the dust in a tobacco storehouse he soon began to see as red as those the Cuban government sent back home as "agitators."

The productivity of the Cuban soil has increased hundred fold in the 20 years, according to official statistics, but the Cuban workers are just as beat off today as they were 25 years ago, while the absent landlords are in

Paris, among the hectic crowds of Montmartre, in Monte Carlo or in Florida.

These aristocrats, these plutocrats, never see, or care, how miserably live the producers of the wealth they enjoy. But the worker knows how the masters enjoy themselves in their palatial homes and first class hotels, while they and their families are continually facing the horrible specter of hunger and disease.

BY SCHOLASTICUS,
Newport, R. I.

Wants Information.

To the DAILY WORKER: — You have in the Dec. 26 issue of the DAILY WORKER an article dated Vienna, Austria, concerning one Stephan Raditch, an alleged Communist leader of Croatia.

Now it happens that Mr. Raditch was not in the Communist Party of Jugo-Slavia at all, but of course he called himself a leader of the independent Croatia republican party.

In 1922, the Jugo-Slavs called for a parliamentary conference. When Raditch saw that the Communists were coming into power, he went on a speaking tour thru the cities and villages of Jugo-Slavia urging the masses to withdraw their support for the Communist Party.

I wish to ask, if I may, the source of your information contained in the article.—N. M. Rasovich, Muskegon, Mich.

Stephan Raditch went to Russia about four months ago. While there he joined the Peasants' International. On returning to Jugo-Slavia he immediately started propaganda for adherence to that organization by the Croatian Peasant Party with the result that a large part split away from the old leadership and joined the Peasants' International. Raditch is now the leader of that group, which has been working with the Communists on a united front. For further information we advise Comrade Rasovich to get in touch with the Jugo-Slav Federation secretary at 1113 W Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.—Ed. Note.

To the DAILY WORKER:—Colonel Rascoe Conklin Simmons, "red" baiter and commander of the corporal's guard of good nigger, handkerchief, headed, self-styled race leaders, cries like a new born babe in the Defender Dec. 27, 1924.

The colonel tells how he is abused, named in evil words, denounced, slandered by envy, et. Poor thing. Mr. Simmons says that he has more friends among southern white people than any living Negro. Here is an example of an ass loudly braying.

No one in the world envies the colonel. Every sane, sensible, intelligent Negro and many whites pity him. Simmons is so devoid of manhood that if a southern cracker kicked him he would grin and thank the cracker.

Simmons is so crooked that he can't lay in bed straight at night. For a few blood dollars, Simmons would lead a ku klux klan tar and feather party to the home of any Negro who shows any sign of manhood.

Rascoe Conklin Simmons, the yellow-limb, is like a faded harlot, shorn of her beauty and attractive less, and who no longer appeals to men. The colonel is no longer able to hook the Negro masses with his bunk, and he will soon be dropped from the capitalist payroll.

Tough talk these for faded flowers.

GORDON W. OWENS.

To the DAILY WORKER:—I want to protest against the article in the "Views of Our Readers" column of the DAILY WORKER by Doty, Bowman & Co.

Besides slandering the white workers, we are informed by this company that white workers do not suffer from discrimination, police interference and mob violence—it is only the Negroes who suffer.

As a workingman and ex-wobbly, I know this statement to be a falsehood out of the whole cloth. These fellows never heard of Frank Little, Joe Hill and scores of other victims of the class struggle. They never heard of Centralia and numerous other places where white workers were tor-

tured and lynched by business men and thugs. The white workers are called stupid and ignorant, for good measure, by these race patriots; if they would read the DAILY WORKER they could find out that violence is practiced against union men every day all over the country—not alone Negroes.

Finally, it is demanded the DAILY WORKER must "constantly contain more editorials and Negro propaganda." I protest against race propaganda, articles filled with lies and prejudice being injected into the columns of the DAILY WORKER.

L. ROBERTSON,
1340 Wabash Ave.

A Correction:

To the DAILY WORKER: I have just received a copy of an article that has been sent to the DAILY WORKER by Comrade Watt from Washington, D. C. I wish to make a correction:

He quotes me as follows: "We need action more than we need study." This ought to be changed to the following: We must get the comrades in the party to study, but we must understand that not all comrades can be those Marxian students. What we need is action in the party. We need workers who understand the fundamentals of the movement and we must not permit the party to become a study class. We must not drive active members from the party by hurling Marxian questions at them, but rather by trying to teach them.

Harry Winitsky.

IMPRESSIONS.

Coolidge, alias "Silent Cal," with his stovepipe on, looks like an undertaker.

Mussolini, Italy's chief, black shirt with all his medals looks like a lunatic escaped from an insane asylum and trying to imitate Napoleon.

Prince of Wales with his bent hat looks like a child given an overdose of Castor oil.

Calles, president of Mexico, looks like an enraged bull waiting for something to eat.

Fred H. Herzberg.



LENIN AS I SAW HIM



(Continued from page 1)
geous characteristics, in practice.

I imagined that with Lenin things are in some instances still worse. Firstly, had even those, who hated him, to admit, that in interpretations of Marxism and in general knowledge, Lenin was not inferior to Plechanov. All, without exception, have thought them both the greatest exponents of Russian Marxism, the great figures in the international workers' movement. It was known that Lenin and Plechanov were discussed in one breath everywhere, that they were ranked on the same footing with such personalities as August Bebel and Jaures. So Lenin is probably assuming airs and vainly proud of himself. Secondly, the opinion was prevalent that Lenin is in general a despot, a "first," one whom nobody dared to contradict so he surely makes you fear him.

But, to my great amazement, when I was in Geneva to a lecture delivered by Lenin, I at once felt the difference of atmosphere between then and now. The audience, this time breathed freely, intimately without any strain. Lenin's appearance alone impressed me differently. Shabbily dressed, like a poor emigrant, in a worn out blue jacket, with a plain soft collar cotton shirt, dressed plainly, but neatly. In

each wave of the hand, in every move and turn of his one could notice the true democrat, the simple son of his nation; not a trace of snobbishness in his manners or talk as to say: Here I am—one of yours. One who does not know Lenin takes him for a typically Russian "merchant" who just threw off his sheepskin winter coat and copies the modern ways, as shown off his yellow beard in "blange" and on his face one can easily see some Tartar lines, especially in his eyes and the jaws; but his high forehead that reaches far into the head, sparsely covered with hair, bears witness that ordinary little person possesses extraordinary power.

He does not speak as eloquently and with so much pathos and as brilliantly as Plechanov. He does not quote as many authors of so many books as this does Plechanov, but his logic cuts with the sharpness of a knife; simple words, without any highly sounding phrases set deeply in your mind. Even his opponents sit gaping. He nails them all to the wall so good-naturedly, in such a friendly manner and this inconveniences them.

There was sitting next to me a Grusinian, an old social democrat, a menshevik; he was all hearing, and when Lenin struck blow after blow to menshevism he, the Grusinian,

automatically exclaimed: Is this a beast? Everybody smiled and so did Lenin. The entire assembly was electrified, and when the discussion started everybody took part in it, even the most ordinary people. It was a heart to heart talk, and when Lenin answered questions it was not in any way delicate or vague—it was a deep cut, so deep that it was remembered for a long time.

Many comrades were there who heard Lenin speak for the first time, they shrugged their shoulders; is this the despot whom the opponents curse so much?

Despotism breathes with vileness, capriciousness, and wildness. Not a trace of those enumerated vices was to be found in Lenin's speech. He simply enchanted with his sincerity. Did he ever express wrath, was he ever excited, it was with so much frankness, so convincing that it left no after affect.

I must confess that the lecture Lenin then delivered in which he discussed the tactics of the social democrats aroused me very much and it took me some time to regain my Bundist equilibrium.

Remarkable is this that I feared to hear some more of Lenin's lectures and the same thing happened with many more experienced comrades,

who played a considerably great role in the movement. It was to be noticed that those comrades tried to avoid Lenin's speeches, because they knew that he will come out the victor; it was so simple, because Lenin with his innate simplicity, sound logic, and frankness in expressing opinions, has always won the confidence of the masses.

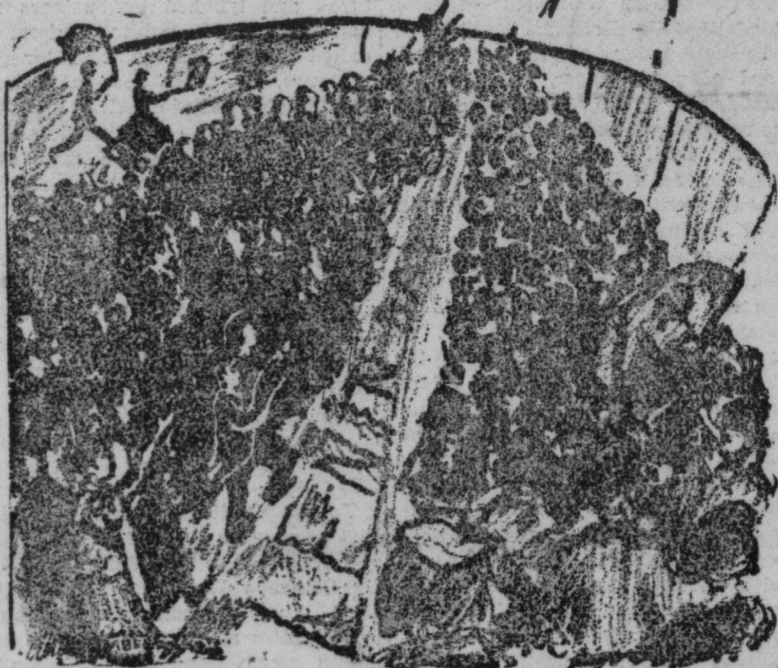
From that time on Lenin's personality interested me very much. I wanted to know his personal life. And this not out of curiosity, but because the question of socialistic ethics of socialistic culture, of revolutionary morals has then especially occupied my mind.

Being torn off the living reality of Russia, alone in strange lands, one gives himself to self-analysis, especially, when the emigrant life was colorless and had no other interest in life but introspection. Everyday occurrences irritated me, aroused in me skeptical thoughts and moods. This was also a period of reaction, everybody was disappointed, and, therefore, was exceptionally sensitive to moralization.

No wonder, therefore, that after all I have experienced with Plechanov, I should become interested in the private life of Lenin.

(To be continued Monday.)

Lenin Is Dead But Leninism Leads



By Abe Stolar, Age 13.

What Workingmen Said of Lenin.

In 1907 Lenin attended a workers' congress in London. There were many workers there who had seen him for the first time. One of these workmen in speaking about Lenin said: "Perhaps the workmen in Europe have another man as clever as he is. But they do not have another man so lovable." Another workman added: "He is one of us. He is our teacher, our master, (meaning in mind) but most of all he is our Comrade."

Lenin, whom his enemies have called great, unapproachable, terrible, never passed a child playing in the street without stopping to caress him and always with great caution, touching them very gently.

One day in Gorki village, Lenin stopped to talk and play with the children who gathered around him for they all loved him and would never let an opportunity go by without rushing to greet him.

He turned to one of the comrades and said: "Those youngsters will have a better time than we had. For them life will not be so cruel."

Next week our Junior Column will print a series of letters from the Leninists, the Juniors of Soviet Russia, who after Lenin's death changed their name from Pioneers to Leninists.

Juniors! Send in Your Contributions!



The Story of a Revolutionist.

Dear Juniors:—I am going to tell a short story of a revolutionist of nearly two thousand years ago. His name was Spartacus. He was a Greek by birth and when the Romans came to Greece he was captured and brought to Rome to fight as a gladiator, while his mother and father were murdered. The Romans made a fighter of him so that he would supply them with what they considered amusement.

Once when Spartacus was in the arena fighting with other gladiators he discovered that he had fought with his best friend and killed him. From that time on he hated the Romans worse than ever.

One day he called the gladiators together, told them of his experiences, and said that that night they should escape and become free men, as they rightfully were. They consented and that night escaped and went to the crater of an extinct volcano.

The Romans did not know where their slaves had gone until one of the gladiators betrayed Spartacus and the rest. The Roman army marched on to the crater and a fierce battle took place.

The gladiators fought with all their might for they had nothing to lose and everything to gain, while the Romans fought for their slaves. But the great number of Romans against such a small but brave band of revolutionists was very unequal and Spartacus was hopelessly defeated.

Before the Romans could reach him, Spartacus killed his horse and then himself saying that even his horse was too good for the Romans. The Romans took all the revolutionists they could get and crucified them on one of the main roads of Rome. Spartacus bravely died a real revolutionist. And so did his comrades with him.

Just as the Romans suppressed the gladiators, so today are the Hindus suppressed by the English

and Filipinos by the United States.

FRED H. HERZBERG.

Juniors, Come to Our Party!

On Saturday afternoon, Jan. 17, at 2 o'clock, the Young Guards of the Junior Section, Y. W. L., are having a party and invite all readers of the Children's Column to come. The party will be held at the Imperial Hall, 2409 N. Halsted street. There will be games, a play and all kinds of fun. Refreshments will be served. Admission: Children 10c, adults 25c.

First Anniversary Celebration West Side Junior Group. at the Freiheit Hall, 3837 W. Roosevelt Rd., Jan. 18, 1925, Sunday, 4:00 p. m. Admission: Seniors 15c, Juniors 5c.

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