

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

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The Changing Political Situation in the U. S. By EARL R. BROWDER

ALL political forces in the United States have been maneuvering for position in the coming presidential election. But within the past few weeks unforeseen events have thrown confusion over the scene, bringing well-laid plans to grief and many hopeful candidates heartache. Graft exposures, with ramifications in the various departments of the government, including the Treasury and Cabinets of two administrations hitting republican and democratic parties almost equally, are having political effects that, without touching fundamental issues, are reaching wide and deep. Complicating the situation, a halt in the downward trend of industry of a more or less temporary nature, is definitely making itself felt.

The Economic Situation.

Without doubt the United States is headed towards a deep-going industrial crisis. The analysis upon which this judgment is based has been gone over many times and is doubtless correct. It would be a mistake, however, particularly in judging the effects of this trend upon the political events of this year, to conclude that it will be fully felt in the next few months. Statistics for December and January indicate that this development is being halted by a temporary counter-movement upward.

Evidence that the financial interests, with an eye to the political situation, are stimulating this upward tendency, is seen in the increase in the unfilled orders for steel reported in December and January, and in the production of pig iron, while the railroads are still undecided upon the proposed extension and replacement program of from \$1,000,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000. The Ford industry announces plant extensions for 1924 amounting to \$150,000,000; building permits issued in January, according to a report of S. W. Straus & Co., of Chicago, authorities, show an advance of 10 per cent over a year ago, altho the forecast for the entire year is 10 per cent below 1923. The general trend is still downward, but at a decidedly slower pace, and in view of the development in steel and building may turn upward and stand at the present level until next fall and winter. The effect of the stimulation of the basic industries is to buoy up production of general consumption, check the threatening unemployment, slow down the wage-cutting campaign, and relieve the financial pressure upon the middle class (outside agriculture) which is an important factor in the "third party" movement in the present political struggle.

The Political Situation.

Thirty days ago the political line-up seemed to be crystallized in fairly definite directions. The republican party was tightly in the grip of finance capital, with Coolidge as the anointed standard bearer; the LaFollette group faced the alternative of complete submission or a split. Within the democratic party a labor-progressive group was campaigning for McAdoo, son-in-law of the late Woodrow Wilson, with hopes of capturing the democratic nomination. The Socialist party (or what is left of it) was in alliance with the Conference for Progressive Political Action, supporters of McAdoo, afraid to cut loose from this last port of refuge, and hoping against hope that the C. P. P. A. would break with the capitalist parties. The Farmer-Labor party forces, including its extreme left, the Communists in the Workers Party, and its right, the followers of LaFollette outside the republican ranks, had agreed upon a call for a national convention on May 30th.

Under pressure of the severe agricultural crisis and the threatening breakdown in industry, the likelihood was present of a serious split in the republican party, with LaFollette leading the discontented agrarians, petty bourgeoisie, and the Farmer-Labor Party mass movement, in a "third party." Should McAdoo then have been defeated in the democratic

convention many of his followers would have swung over to the LaFollette movement, even including the C. P. P. A. (led by the railroad union officialdom) if the democratic nominees proved to be distinctly reactionary. LaFollette was playing very carefully, quite evidently with such a development in mind.

During the last half of 1923, and early in January, this was the trend of political development. The economic upturn, described above, was promising to slow it down a bit, but no major changes were in prospect, until the rapid succession of graft exposures broke in Washington. There were the disclosures of \$800,000 "winnings" of General Leonard Wood's son on the stock exchange thru transactions carried on by cable from the Philippines; the uncovering of huge graft in the Veterans' Bureau; the partial disclosure of forg-

ery of millions in Liberty Bonds in the Treasury Department; and the culmination, the Teapot Dome naval reserve oil scandals, with revelation of wholesale purchase of cabinet members and a thousand rumors of shady transactions in all parties and circles of the bourgeoisie. All political alignments were thrown into confusion and a mad scramble began.

Political "prophets" in many camps, from the liberal Villard, and the socialists, Berger and Hillquit, to labor leaders in the Farmer-Labor movement, hailed the storm as a signal for the LaFollette split in the republican party. The "third party" was inevitable, so they thought; only a miracle could prevent it. One and all they put their hopes upon LaFollette leading all the forces of revolt to Armageddon in November.

But politics is not so simple, and the men who lead various sections of

the labor and farmer forces are not so courageous, that a large break-away from the republican and democratic parties can be prophesied safely. LaFollette did not announce his adherence to the May 30th Convention in St. Paul; on the contrary he inspired a move to postpone that gathering. The Conference for Progressive Political Action did not endorse McAdoo, because of his newly acquired oil taint, but neither did it commit itself either to LaFollette or to May 30th, and its vague talk of a "third party" was evidently but a stop-gap to fill in a lack of any policy.

The net results of the Teapot bomb seem to be: McAdoo was seriously damaged, and his labor following is now wavering uncertainly between him and LaFollette; his chances of the democratic nomination are not so good as they were. LaFollette has received new hopes of becoming the republican nominee, and thus a republican president, thru the blow delivered Coolidge by the scandals; the chance of his splitting has been reduced to the extent that the republican machine has been demoralized by the shake-up. LaFollette is directing all his forces toward obtaining the republican nomination in June; or failing in this to get concessions in the shape of platform planks that will satisfy his followers, he is the one candidate in the capitalist parties that gained strength from the Teapot being spilled.

Within the Labor Movement.

Until February 12th, the Farmer-Labor Convention agreed upon for May 30th, at St. Paul, was the only rallying center for the organizations wishing to unite for the presidential election against the republican and democratic parties. The elimination of McAdoo, who was slated for the endorsement of the Conference for Progressive Political Action on that date in St. Louis, created the situation that forced the "progressive" leaders on February 12th, to talk of a "third party" and call a conference in Cleveland, for July 4th, "to consider the question of presidential candidates."

Critical Situation.

This has created a dangerous situation for the Farmer-Labor movement. Both the LaFollette and McAdoo forces are now out to knife the May 30th convention, wishing to use the threat of a later split to force consideration for their old-party conventions, and hoping to split the Farmer-Labor forces and drag away sections for the republican or democratic party if LaFollette or McAdoo obtain nomination. There is little guarantee that July 4th will be anything but another great betrayal of the farmers and workers, and there are many new reasons to expect that it will be such a betrayal.

Dangerous as the situation is for the Farmer-Labor movement, it forces one development that is favorable for the left-wing. All the class-conscious elements among the workers and farmers can be made to see the great danger and to fight for the holding of the May 30th convention as the only safeguard and guarantee of the Farmer-Labor movement against betrayal, while the door to July 4th can still be left open for the possibility of that gathering breaking with the old parties. Thus we are now witnessing, in the line-up for and against May 30th, the beginning of the true class division between the representatives of the Farmer-Labor class party on the one hand, and the petty-bourgeois and capitalist-lackey elements on the other.

The struggle for a class party of the farmers and workers in the United States has thus, due in large measure to the effects of the Teapot being upset and dripping oil over the political landscape, becomes a fight against postponement of the May 30th convention in St. Paul. The date, fortuitously selected last November, becomes a historic one in the political history of Labor.

THE VOICE OF TOIL

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

I heard men saying, Leave hope and praying,
All days shall be as all have been;
Today and tomorrow bring fear and sorrow,
The never ending toil between.

When Earth was younger mid toil and hunger,
In hope we strove, and our hands were strong;
Then great men led us, with words they fed us,
And bade us right the earthly wrong.

Go read in story their deeds and glory,
Their names amidst the nameless dead;
Turn then from lying to us slow-dying
In that good world to which they led;

Where fast and faster our iron master,
The thing we made, forever drives,
Bids us grind treasure and fashion pleasure
For other hopes and other lives.

Where home is a hovel and dull we grovel,
Forgetting that the world is fair,
Where no hate we cherish, lest its very soul perish;
Where mirth is crime, and love a snare.

Who now shall lead us, what god shall heed us
As we lie in the hell our hands have won.
For us are no rulers but fools and befoolers,
The great are fallen, the wise men are gone.

I heard men saying, Leave tears and praying,
The sharp knife heedeth not the sheep;
Are we not stronger than the rich and the wronger,
When day breaks over dreams and sleep?

Come, shoulder to shoulder, ere the world grows older!
Help lies in nought but thee and me;
Hope is before us, the long years that bore us
Bore leaders more than men may be.

Let dead hearts tarry and trade and marry,
And trembling nurse their dreams of mirth,
While we the living our lives are giving
To bring the bright new world to birth.

Come, shoulder to shoulder, ere earth grows older!
The Cause spreads over land and sea;
Now the world shaketh, and fear awaketh,
And joy at last for thee and me.

One Million Passed His Bier



As the Workers and Farmers of Soviet Russia Last Saw the Face of Their Dead Comrade.

Today's Installment of "A Week"

By IURY LIBEDINSKY

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(WHAT HAS GONE BEFORE)

The Russian Communist Party branch is governing this frontier city and fighting the counter-revolution. Earlier installments tell of the fuel shortage that prevents seed grain from being fetched on the railroad. The Party meeting decides to send the Red Army far away for fuel, at the risk of leaving the city open for bandits and counter-revolutionists. It also decides to conscript the local bourgeoisie for wood cutting in a near-by park. Varied types of party members are flashed on the screen: Klimin, the efficient president of the branch, who still finds time to have a sweetheart; Robeiko, the consumptive, whose devotion is killing him; Gornukh, the brilliant youth of 19 on the Cheka; Matusenko, the luxury-loving place hunter, and Martuinov, whose middle-class antecedents allow him to fit with some difficulty into the movement to which his idealism led him. In the last issue the comrades have been called to arms and sent thru the city to collect the bourgeoisie and idlers for the wood-getting expedition. It fell to Martuinov's lot to go into the aristocratic home of the girl he would have married if the revolution had not divided them. (NOW GO ON WITH THE STORY.)

He bowed to her. . . . "What for? . . . there was no need to do that" something said in the bottom of his soul, but no, he had already bowed. She leant over her mother and whispered something in her ear and her mother also looked in his direction.

And who was that by her side, so tall, so good-looking, with a bold look in his clever grey eyes? Stalmakhov was carefully examining his documents. . . . Perhaps her betrothed? . . .

"What, Vladimir Sergeivitch, or do you not know us?" came the proud, slightly lispng voice of her mother. "See, Andriusha, here is Vladimir Sergeivitch," she turned to her husband.

Martuinov felt a sneer in these words. There was a mixture of annoyance and fear on Rostovtsev's face; surprise and amusement on those of the comrades. . . .

But he shook Rostovtsev's dry hot hand, and the passive fingers of his wife, and replied to their questions, what news from his relations, what news from Siberia, and he was holding out his hand to Nadya, raising his eyes to hers, meeting her burning glance. . . . A fugitive smile ran across her face, quickly replaced by a grimace of tears, and she went swiftly out of the room.

Martuinov heard at his ear the insistent voice of Stalmakhov. "Get done quickly . . . we are already going." And, leaving the house Martuinov confusedly explained that these were old acquaintances of his. . . . "A very reactionary family. . . ."

"Yes, I know," broke in Stalmakhov. "Last Spring a son of theirs was shot, Lieutenant Rostovtsev. A suspicious crowd. You saw just

In Prison

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

Wearily, drearily,
Half the day long,
Flap the great banners
High over stone;
Strangely and eerily,
Sounds the wind's song,
Bending the banner-poles.

While all alone
Watching the loophole's spark,
Lie I, with life all dark,
Feet tether'd, hands fetter'd
Fast to the stone.
The grim wall, square letter'd
With prison'd men's groan.

Still strain the banner-poles
Thru the wind's song,
Westward the banner rolls
Over my wrong.

What Do You Think of "A Week"

The DAILY WORKER wants to know what its readers think of the first serial novel it offers to its readers. We have already published three installments of this gripping story. Another appears today. What do you think of the story, its setting, its characters, as far as we have gone? We want our readers to let us know. Write down your views and send them in to the DAILY WORKER, 1640 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. We will publish as many of these letters as we can find space for. Don't delay. Write today.

now some sort of Military Specialist was sitting with them. Repin was his name. But his papers were all in order . . . they had been countersigned by the Commandant of the town. And you had relations who ran off with Kolchak?"

Martuinov explained with discomfort. For he was of bourgeois family. His father was a capitalist, the owner of the local leather factories. His family was now in Kharbin, but he, of course, had broken all connection with them.

Stalmakhov said nothing and smoked. They went into the next house, and were met again with frightened questions, "What do you want?" And, mechanically examining greasy documents, Martuinov thought how now all was finished with Nadya, but that he had stood the test and was worthy to be a Communist. But why then should Stalmakhov be scornful of him.

And in the Rostovtsev's houses there was peace again, and all were sitting once more round the tea-table—all but Nadya—when Repin, handing an empty glass to the mistress of the house, asked: "That Communist who was here do you know him?"

"Yes," she replied. "He is of good family, passed thru the Gymnasium, and often used to visit us formerly, but now, of course. . . ."

"A self-opinionated, bumptious fellow he always was," sharply replied Rostovtsev. "And now he has taken up with that filth. And to have the insolence to come to our house! For formerly he was not indifferent to Nadezhda . . . that's why she ran off. Nadezhda," he shouted loudly, "come here."

"Andriusha," said his wife reproachfully, "leave her alone."

Before she slept Nadya prayed for Volodya more fervently than ever—not for that Volodya who many years ago had kissed her lips on the skating rink, whose letters were even now lying in here jewel-box, not for the handsome lad with blue eyes, healthy red cheeks and a merry loud laugh, but for the present-day Volodya, somehow new, thinner, big-eyed, such as she had met one day in Winter at the entrance of one of the Soviet Institutions, when she had noticed that his boots were falling to pieces and the soles tied to the uppers with bits of new thread.

She prayed, remembered and wept. She wept because she loved him and did not understand that strange force that bewitched him and took him away from her. She wept because she wanted his love, wanted a real, young, joyous existence, but her eyes were bound and she could not enter the bright road by which he had gone away, and she prayed for the soul of the sinful Volodya, and prayed also, desperately, that his life might be spared.

In the sleeping town the merry work of several hundreds of Communists went on. Pickets stood in the middle of the empty streets; the noise of horses' feet sounded thru the town, the directors of the search riding round the districts; everywhere comrades, three together were disappearing into the houses for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour, and then, as a result, were bringing out of the houses frightened men, and handing them over to the pickets, who convoyed them to the central staff

Sketch of Bust of Lenin



Sketch of Bust of Nikolai Lenin, Made by the Celebrated Sculptor, G. Alexeef. It was purchased by the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Trade Unions to Be Placed Before the Palace of Labor.

of the searchers, where Gornukh, who had not slept for three days and three nights, registered and questioned them, establishing their identity.

The young, cheerful sun was rising when Martuinov wearily walked home to his lodging. His head ached and it seemed to him that he had grown somehow dirty from plunging into other peoples' dwellings, and a kaleidoscope of the rooms he had visited during the night kept flashing in his eyes.

Close by his lodging he saw a poster: a Red Army soldier in a red shirt defending a mouzhik in bast shoes. The mouzhik was sowing an impossible green field, and Martuinov caught himself in a motion of disgust at the primitive picture, the coarse colors and vulgar drawing.

(To be continued Monday)

Youth Views

By HARRY GANNES

Chicago Boy Scouts Hard Up.

Every once in a while the boy scouts all over the United States get hard up. But that state of affairs does not last long. Along comes a gang of Rotarians or some similar Babbitts and shell out several hundred thousand dollars, and then the boy scout leaders are assured of a steady job organizing the young kids in the spirit of militarism and patriotism for capitalism and hatred for working class organizations.

Just now the Chicago boy scouts are broke. Nobody paid any particular attention to them for a while.

Despite the backing of all the church organizations, irrespective of denomination, the support of all the capitalist papers—even some trade union journals—even in spite of congressional sanction, only 10,000 boys were organized in Chicago out of a population of 3,000,000.

With the whole-hearted backing of the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Chicago Young Workers League could do better than that with all other forces against it.

Anyway, from Feb. 15 to 22 \$150,000 was to be raised for the boy scouts. Here's the way these campaigns usually work. The misdirected kids are bamboozled from office to office, from shop to shop, and from store to store, collecting the lesser amounts, and then the petty business men donated a few more dollars; and when the campaign looks like a failure some big banker proves that the American people are behind these future soldiers by donating say \$139,000 to make up the \$150,000; and the scout leaders are secure in their jobs; and capitalism is assured of the proper kind of teaching that will be disseminated amongst 10,000 to 100,000 boys in this city, and from 500,000 to 1,000,000 all over the United States.

Horse Laugh Greet Legion Bonus Meet

WHEN the horse laughs greeted the officers of the American Legion who spoke at the bonus meeting at the Garrick Theater in Chicago recently there was more than comedy in the air. The ex-soldiers were visibly disgusted with the pussy-footing tactics pursued by the so-called world war vet leaders.

The soldiers know that Andy Mellon, secretary of the treasury, is not working for their interests. They know that there is nothing to be expected from the strike-breaker president. They know that they have been buncoed, and that the brazen attempts to stage a serious mass meeting to discuss the bonus question with speakers who are definitely lined up against the bonus was occasion for sardonic laughter.

You could hear some language at this meeting that wasn't printed in the daily papers and that wasn't exactly complimentary—language that questioned the ancestry of some of the Legion officers.

What could you expect of the soldier audience when the remedy given was: "Keep your eye on Washington!" It's enough to make the thousands of American graves in Flanders Field shake with devilish laughter.

Get unity thru the Labor Party!

TOWARDS WORLD DOMINATION

By JAY LOVESTONE

AMERICAN imperialists are embarking on new ventures towards domination of the world market and the sources of raw material. Our capitalists are beating new paths towards greater spheres of influence and financial and industrial world supremacy.

The recent loan to Japan, not so much because of its size, but rather on account of its terms and intent, is a milepost in the development of the American capitalist imperialist empire.

A Gigantic Loan.

When such guiding forces in American financial and industrial life as J. P. Morgan & Co., Kuhn, Loeb and Co., the National City Co., the First National Bank of New York, Brown Bros. & Co. of Philadelphia, Lee, Higginson & Co., the Mechanics & Metals National Bank, and the Bankers & Equitable Trust Companies of New York get together with more than a dozen other big banking firms to float a loan of \$150,000,000 it is an event of extraordinary significance in the development of American commercial supremacy.

The new \$150,000,000 Japanese government loan is the largest long term foreign loan floated in the United States since the Armistice. In view of the high credit of Japan, the general improvement in the field of investment, and the easier money tendency in the market, the price of these bonds is regarded in banking circles as a highly generous figure—a sure sign that original purchasers will profit by market appreciation.

Since the Armistice, November 11, 1918, European loans to the extent of \$1,146,750,000 have been floated in the United States. Perhaps no better proof is to be offered of America's becoming the leading creditor nation of the world than that of this gigantic sum only \$108,020,900 has been paid. The balance is still outstanding. An examination of the European government and municipal loans made by American bankers since the Armistice, shows that Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Great Britain have borrowed heavily during this period.

It is especially important to note that the England gave the Imperial Japanese government better terms, American bankers assumed \$150,000,000 while British bankers lent only \$107,000,000. The English bankers were allowed to draw 6% interest. The American bankers are to draw 6½% interest. At their respective maturities and terms the British financiers will receive 6.96%

while the American bankers will draw 7.10%.

The money is to be spent mainly "to purchase materials and supplies for the reconstruction necessitated by the earthquake and fire of 1923" only a small portion of this big loan is to be employed to cover bonds about to mature. The government's reconstruction program provides for an expenditure of about \$700,000,000. Of this sum, no less than \$300,000,000 will be spent to purchase materials outside of Japan.

Significance of the Deal.

In a sense the terms of the loan indicate a highly important departure from the customary procedure characterizing American banking methods.

It has been the practice of England to make loans on the basis of the borrowed money being expended by the debtor nation in the purchase of commodities manufactured in British territory. By this method British bankers and industrialists have for a long time been tremendously aided in maintaining their role as the rulers of world finance and manufacturing.

Several months ago, there was a campaign to float an Indian loan in London. A motion was formally made in Parliament that at least 75 per cent of this loan is to be spent in England. The motion was defeated simply because it was pointed out that there is no need of such action since experience has shown that in the past at least 95 per cent of the money from British bankers borrowed by India was voluntarily spent in English markets.

America and Japan.

Not many people realize the extent to which Japan's economic relations are bound up with the United States. Forty-five per cent of the exports of Japan go to the United States. America is by far Japan's best customer. China, which is second, takes only 24 per cent of the Japanese exports. Great Britain takes only 3 per cent. Of the five commodities exported by Japan to the United States and accounting for sixty-six per cent of our imports from Japan, raw silk ranks first. Ninety per cent of Japanese raw silk is sold to the United States. This means that 36 per cent of the entire Japanese export trade is provided for by shipments of raw silk to American manufacturers. The United States purchases a third of Japanese pottery and 90 per cent of its tea. For the fiscal year ending June, 1923, we exported to Japan, commodities valued at \$213,000,000 and imported from Japan commodities valued at \$372,000,000. In the

same period, we exported to Japan, 363,668 long tons of steel. The demand for steel by Japan will unquestionably increase steadily until the reconstruction requirements are met.

The United States supplies Japan commodities more than twice as much in value as any other country—31 per cent of Japan's 1922 imports were from the United States. Raw cotton, machinery, lumber, iron bars, rods and plates, kerosene and construction material were purchased by Japan in the last fiscal year to the extent of more than \$200,000,000. Automobiles, leather, iron tubes, paper and paper pulp, railroad equipment, nails and lead, etc., were purchased by Japanese agencies in the United States last year to the extent of about \$100,000,000.

American capitalists are also making heavy investments in Japan. At the close of last year, there was organized a powerful Japanese-American Construction Company of Tokio. This corporation, known as the "Japanese-American Engineers & Contracting Corporation," is capitalized at \$50,000,000, is to be financed and controlled jointly by American and Japanese interests, and is to establish branches in other parts of Japan as conditions demand. Thru the organization of this company American capitalists have assured themselves the role of the dominant group in the reconstruction of Japan.

Recent months have also seen American electrical interests secure a strangle-hold on the Japanese electric industry. The Tokio Electric Company is the largest corporation of this character in Japan. It is capitalized at \$111,000,000 and has recently absorbed nine competing companies. This concern has just formed a combination with the Westinghouse Electric Company of America. Likewise, the General Electric Company has concluded a combination with the Shibaura Electric Works; the Western Electric Company has formed a combination with the Nippon Dento Electric Works. The American interests are vitally concerned with the tremendous possibilities afforded them to reap fabulous profits in the electrification of Japanese railways.

The hand of American capital is also suspected in the recently announced union of flour mill companies in Japan. Thru this merger six of the biggest companies with a combined daily producing capacity of close to twenty thousand barrels united. This corporation is now planning to swallow up fifteen smaller companies and organize itself into a national federation.

Effect on Japan.

The steady encroachments of American capital on Japanese resources and the growing dependence of Japan on the American market spell events of intense complication and danger in the future relations between the two countries.

Japan is today in the throes of a serious political upheaval rocking the very foundations of the government. There is a gigantic struggle now going on in Japan for increased popular participation in the government. Besides, the country is involved in a severe economic crisis, because of the great losses suffered thru the earthquake and fire. The people are holding almost continuous mass meetings in the ruins of Tokio, demanding greater democratization of the government.

The Germs of New Wars.

The establishment of American imperialist hegemony in the Pacific is a menace to the peace and security of the working masses of the United States. The bonds bearing interest to be received by the bankers of Wall Street also bear the germs of new devastating wars.

American commerce with the Oriental countries is now three times what it was a decade ago. Our trade with the Far-East accounts for almost 25 per cent of our total foreign commerce. In the last year alone, we increased our trade with the countries of the Orient by 25 per cent.

But Europe is swiftly recovering its poise in the conflict for commercial supremacy in this theatre of world capitalism. According to the Department of Commerce reports of January 21, 1924, Europe is gradually regaining its trade with the Far-East. The government, in its anxiety to help American capitalists maintain their advantages they won during the war, is planning to organize a campaign of propaganda to win over the working masses of this country to the necessity of protecting the Far-Eastern markets against foreign competitors. The slogan of our imperialist government is "American must be supreme in the Pacific." Before the war, the German capitalists had as their battle cry, "We must drive to the Near East." Today the American imperialists have as their war cry, "We must drive to the Far-East." In view of the collapse of the European market American bankers and manufacturers are more and more concentrating their efforts at world supremacy in the Latin American and Far Eastern spheres of influence and markets.

The Struggle Against Fascism In America

By A. LOZOVSKY,
(General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions.)

ONE of the most important tasks of the Workers Party of America and of the Trade Union Educational League is the struggle against their own native Fascism. There are some people who think that Fascism in America is represented only by the Ku Klux Klan and the American Legion; in reality, however, American Fascism possesses something much more important—the Gompers machine.

Powerful American capitalism has in the official trade union machine the best weapon for their rule. The almighty dollar has long since subdued the labor bureaucracy, buying their various representatives just as pigs are bought in the Chicago stockyards. The tragedy is not in the fact that there are mercenary, thoroughly corrupted leaders—the tragedy is that there are considerable masses of workers who still follow these defilers of the proletarian temple.

Jack London's Picture.

In the Iron Heel, Jack London gave a splendid picture of the corruptness and power of this labor bureaucracy, backed by the privileged groups of workers. However, Jack London over-estimated the power of capital, and its agents, and underestimated the dormant forces of the working class. What transpires now in America is the emancipation from the ideology and practices of Gompers. The creation and consolidation of the Communist Party, the steady growth of the Trade Union Educational League, these are directly

aimed against the demoralizing influence of the labor bureaucracy.

The American proletariat numbering many millions, is not yet sufficiently strong and class conscious to overthrow the mightiest capitalist system in the world and to drive out its agents; however, among the working class of America there is a sufficient number of class conscious men who took up the great historical cause, and this marks a tremendous forward step towards the emancipation of oppressed humanity.

An Advanced Step.

The revolutionary workers of America are now publishing a daily militant revolutionary organ—the DAILY WORKER. Heretofore the printing presses of the United States have been serving the interests of capital, filling the minds of the working masses with the capitalist opium. The press at the present time is one of the mightiest weapons for the enslavement of the working class. The contemporary capitalist press, like a street woman, sells herself at every street corner. The kept press of the United States, serving the financial and industrial sharks, is a model of corruption and graft. Our French comrades claim that the capitalist press of France is the most mercenary press in the world. The British Communists hold the same opinion of their capitalist press. No doubt the American Communists will claim priority for the press of their country, in the matter of corruption.

It is not easy to say which of the bourgeois press, the French, British, American, German or Italian is more corrupt, and has broken the world

record. I think that the capitalist press of every country is entitled to the world record in this sphere. But can there be more than one champion in any one sphere? Apparently, yes. For each of the capitalist papers of the various countries is more mercenary, more corrupt, more bilious than the other.

You will raise the voice of the revolutionary proletariat against American capital used to enslave your class.

The Task of the Daily.

You will have to carry on from day to day a desperate struggle both against your direct class enemies and against the former members of the working class who sold their proletarian birthright for a mess of pottage. The struggle against capital, against Gompersism, against reformism, against the bourgeois reformist traditions, which demoralize the labor movement, the struggle to win over the many millions of the working masses, to create powerful revolutionary unions, the struggle against the corruption of the labor officials, the every day persistent struggle against the capitalist state, and for the creation of a mighty, mass Communist party—this will be the task of your daily.

Workers Watch America.

The revolutionary workers of all countries follow with profound interest the growth and development of the revolutionary labor movement in the United States. They are joyous over your victories and over your struggle to end the Gompers betrayal. Our faith in the ultimate victory of the revolutionary workers of America is unshakable. May your

DAILY WORKER, which is the standard bearer of the revolutionary part of the American proletariat, become a ringing call for the battle to the mighty proletariat of the United States of America, which is still tied hand and foot. Let all the fakirs of the pen and the scoundrels of the press attack you, let all the Gompers valets viciously slander you, they cannot stop the approaching revolution any more than they can stop the earth from revolving around its axis. The social revolution is upon us and a few years sooner or a few years later, it will conquer the entire world.

Zinoviev, at the Congress of Scientific Workers of Russia.

At this Congress which, I am sure, will mark an important date in the history of our revolution and of our intellectual class, you will form your ranks in order to set yourselves with ardor and devotion to the task of reconstructing our country. We want to give a place of honor in the family of peoples to our Russia which has groaned for such a long time under the yoke of autocracy and which was ruined, set on fire, and its blood spilled under the rule of the capitalist class. We will see to it that there shall be no more illiterates; we will create a vast network of institutions of instruction; we will lead upon the broad road of the future our great people which was a century late in its bourgeois revolution, but which, by a combination of fortunate circumstances has been the first to make its proletarian revolution, and we will help it to occupy in the world the place which it deserves.

LENIN SEIZES POWER

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV

FOR Nicolai Lenin the question of the necessity of the seizure of power by the proletariat had been settled from the first moment of our present revolution and the question was only about the choice of a suitable opportunity. In the July days of 1917 our entire central committee was opposed to the immediate seizure of power. Lenin was of the same opinion. But when on July 16, the wave of popular revolt rose high, Lenin became alert, and here, upstairs, in the refreshment room of the Taurida Palace, a small conference took place at which Trotsky, Lenin, and myself were present. Lenin laughingly asked us, "Shall we not attempt now?" and he added: "No, it would not do to assume power now, as nothing will come out of it, the soldiers at the front being largely on the other side and would come and massacre the Petrograd workers." As a matter of fact, you will remember in those July days Kerensky did succeed in bringing over soldiers from the front against us. What became ripe two or three months later was still immature in July, and the capture of power at that time might have been fatal. At any rate, Lenin never hesitated for a moment on the question as to whether the proletariat, in our revolution, ought to seize the reins of power, or not. All his hesitations turned round the question as to whether it could not be done earlier.

You know how things developed subsequently. We passed thru a time when it seemed that everything was lost. Comrade Lenin for a moment even doubted whether the Soviets, corrupted by the compromise-mongers, could play a decisive part, and he gave out the watchword that we might perhaps have to seize power without the Soviets. But he never for a moment doubted that sooner or later the power would be in our hands, and that it was necessary to hurl the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries to the ground.

At first, during the July days, we could not realize what was occurring. One night, on July 16th, Comrade Lenin alone came into the editorial offices of the "Pravda" to hand over a manuscript. Half an hour afterwards, ensigns were already sacking those offices. On the morning of July 16th Lieber took me to the military staff of the district to obtain redress in the matter of the sacking of the offices of the "Pravda." General Polovtseff, the head of the Staff, received me with great respect. He at that time did not know what to do with us. But an hour later the Bolsheviks were being arrested and massacred.

Then the persecutions started. Lenin and myself went into hiding. We had formerly decided to be arrested—such was still our faith in the Mensheviks and the Right Socialist Revolutionaries. But the party did not permit us to do so. We, therefore, decided to go in hiding ourselves. A week later Comrade Lenin told me: "How could we have been so silly as to think for one moment of trusting to this band and getting ourselves arrested? There

is no other way but to fight this band ruthlessly."

In the same way as Comrade Lenin in July, 1917, wisely declared that there must be no attempt to seize power, so after the Korniloff rebellion—especially since the end of September, 1917, Lenin began urging the workers to seize power, or else it would be too late.

When, after that rebellion, the so-called Democratic Conference assembled at Petrograd, Lenin at first came out with an article on "Compromise." He invited for the last time the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries to break with the bourgeoisie, to renounce their policy of treason, and to come to a settlement with the working class with a view to action against the followers of Korniloff. But these two parties were rotten to the core. They had already sold their souls and could not accept Lenin's invitation. Thereupon Lenin sent a letter from his Finnish exile to the central committee of our party saying that the time had come to drop all procrastination, that it was necessary to surround the Alexandra Theatre (where the Democratic Conference was holding its session), to disperse all the scum there by force, and to seize power.

Our central committee at that time did not agree with Comrade Lenin. Almost everybody thought that it was too early, and that the Mensheviks and Socialist revolutionaries still had a large following. Lenin then, without hesitating long, left his asylum, and without consulting anybody, without considering the fears of his friends, came to Petrograd in order to preach an immediate rising. Kerensky and Avxentyeff were at that time issuing writs for the arrest of Lenin, while Lenin, from his un-

derground hiding, was preparing a rebellion, arguing with those who hesitated, castigating those who were afraid, and writing and agitating for an early rising. And he succeeded.

At present everybody sees that Lenin was right. It was all a matter of touch and go. If we had not taken power into our hands, Savinkoff and Paltchinsky would have crushed us a month later. The question was raised by history in no ambiguous manner. Either we or they. Either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, mad with fear and hatred towards the workers, or the dictatorship of the proletariat mercilessly sweeping away the bourgeoisie.

Now, of course, it is all clear, but at the time, amidst the whirlpool of events it required the exact eye of Lenin, his genius or intuition, in order to declare: "Not a week later, now or never." And it also required the unbending strength of will of a Lenin to surmount all the obstacles and to start, at the appointed time the greatest revolution ever known in history. It is not that Comrade Lenin did not realize the tremendous difficulties with which the working class would be confronted after the conquest of power. Lenin knew all this to perfection. From the very first days of his arrival at Petrograd he had been carefully watching the progressive economic ruin. He valued the acquaintance of every bank clerk, trying to penetrate into the details of the bank business. He knew well the food and other difficulties. In one of his most remarkable books: "Will the Bolsheviks be Able to Keep the State Power?" Comrade Lenin dwelt in detail on these difficulties. It is true that the latter proved still more formidable

than even Lenin anticipated.

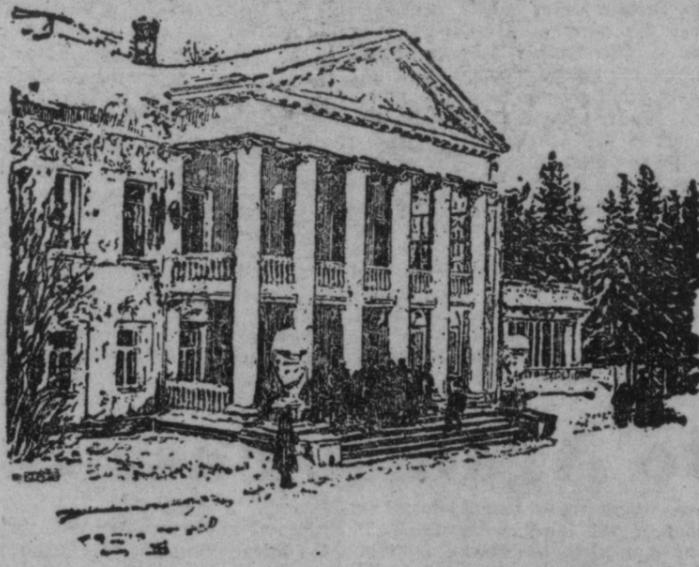
But no other way was open to the working class than the one trodden in November.

Both on the question of the nationalization of the banks and on that of our food policy, as well as military policy, the decisive word was said by Lenin. He alone drew up in all its details the scheme of practical measures in all these domains long before November 7th. Clearness, precision, concreteness—such are the chief features in Lenin's work, and he alone has generalized all these individual measures in his work of the "State," which, to my mind, is the most important one after Marx's "Capital." The Soviet State has found in Lenin not only its chief political leader, practical organizer, ardent propagandist, poet and singer, but also its principal theoretician, its Karl Marx. The November revolution—insofar as even in a revolution one may, and indeed must speak of the part played by the individual—as well as the part played in connection with it by our army—are to the extent of nine-tenths the work of Lenin. If anybody could bring into line all those who doubted or hesitated, it was Lenin.

I can say this for myself, that if I shall repent in my life of anything, it will not be of the fifteen years I have been working under the guidance of Comrade Lenin, but of those few November days when I thought that Lenin was too much in a hurry, was forcing events, was committing a mistake, and that I would have to oppose him. It is now as clear as noonday that if the working class, under the guidance of Lenin, had not seized power in time, we should, a few weeks later, have had the dictatorship of the most ruthless, most unscrupulous bourgeois rascals. It is known now that it had been decided to massacre us all by the time of the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, and if the generals had had more soldiers at their disposal, they would have done so. Even after November 7th the Right Socialist Revolutionaries intended to massacre us, and one of their members, Massloff, even recruited soldiers for the purpose. He admitted very recently himself, that he had succeeded in scraping together only 5,000 champions of a very doubtful quality. There was the will, but there was not the way.

Comrade Lenin calculated the moment to perfection. He did not want to delay even for a week, and knew how to raise the question to a direct issue. He wrote article after article, publicly, over his signature, in a paper everybody could read, openly appealing for an armed rising, and fixing a definite date. And all this, while Kerensky was still in power and seemed to many to be still very strong. Lenin challenged the entire bourgeoisie and all compromise-mongers, telling them that tomorrow he and his friends would overthrow them. And everybody knew that on the lips of Lenin this was not an empty threat, that it would be followed by deed. This could only have been done by Lenin.

Where Lenin Breathed His Last



The Villa at Gorky, Near Moscow, Where Nikolai Lenin Spent His Last Days. Died on Monday, Jan. 21, 1924.

Turkey-Trot From Texas to New York

By J. O. BENTALL.

A TEXAS turkey has just earned a four-story heading in the New York World—earned it.

An uncouth citizen of our metropolis has registered a kick at 45 cents a pound for an ordinary ten-pound turkey and stirred up a regular fight.

This champion kicker had listened to some irresponsible "hayseeds" from the South who said that their wives were selling turkeys for 14 cents a pound in Texas. He went to the World and the World thought the stuff was good enough for a sensation, but makes the following apology:

"A Texas ten-pound turkey at 14 cents a pound gave the farmer's wife \$1.40. The huckster who bought the turkey charged 1 cent the pound for transportation and 2 cents for profit. The cost of dressing was 2 cents the pound, grading and packing 2 cents the pound. The shipper who purchased the turkey charged 5 cents the pound to meet overhead expenses. The freight to New York was 3½ cents the pound. The commission man charges 5 per cent. His charges bring the cost of the turkey up to

36.05 cents to the retailer. If the retailer adds 25 per cent he will charge the consumer 45 cents the pound, which is in line with The World Fair Price of 42 cents the pound."

The World forgets to multiply and give the consumer the total as it did to show the big \$1.40 that the farmer's wife got. It tells you that the consumer pays only 45 cents a pound which looks much nicer than \$4.50.

The difference between \$1.40 and \$4.50 is about \$3.10, which is the gap between the producer and the consumer.

It is a big sum to throw away on only one turkey that weights ten pounds. A big working class family cannot get a good meal out of a turkey this size. It should be a fourteen-pound turkey at least. Then see how the gap spreads. In that case the farmer's wife gets \$1.96, the retailer \$6.30. The gap spreads to \$4.34.

This gap is about the same on every article that the farmer produces and the worker in the city consumes. Take the matter of bread. It takes a little over two

bushels of wheat to make 100 pounds of flour. To be exact, one bushel of wheat makes 47 pounds of flour so that two bushels make 94 pounds. The bran, shorts, middlings and other by-products more than pay for the grinding and packing so that the 47 pounds of flour are net from the bushel of wheat that weighs 60 pounds.

The farmer gets on an average less than 90 cents a bushel for his wheat. From this must be taken the dockage and grading which reduces that apparent price very materially. But we will say that for his two bushels he gets \$1.80. And these two bushels make nearly 100 pounds of flour.

To furnish "capital" to the farmer is a mere mockery. It is merely a surer way to get his land away from him. Even at the lowest possible rate of interest it is impossible for the farmer to carry on his operations. Even if money were loaned to him free, with no interest, he would go under in the long run.

If the Farmer-Labor senators want to serve the farmers they must go deeper than to merely send money

to the banks in the farming regions. The farmers do need money—not mortgages.

Moreover, that pay must not be followed by a higher price to the consumer. That pay must be taken out of that big figure that constitutes the profit of the useless middleman. To add to the burden of the consumer will not help. He is hard pressed already.

That one point to tackle is the capitalist. Not one of the senators or representatives dares to tackle him. In fact, these liberals and near liberals do not understand the situation. They flounder around with no clear knowledge of the problem.

It is the task of the Communists to explain this whole wasteful method of handling the necessities of life, and to show that the two main factors, waste and exploitation, must go before we can have a social order worthy of its name.

"We will make out of the Russian political revolution the prologue of the European socialist revolution." —Lenin, in 1905.

Communist Education--A Pressing Need

By REBECCA GRECHT

RECENT discussions at party conventions and membership meetings have evidenced some differences of opinion as to the functions of a communist party; differences which express themselves primarily in the relative emphasis placed upon the organizational and political aspects of party work, and therefore has a special bearing upon the subject of this article.

On the one side we find a group of comrades who stress the need of building the party organization itself, maintaining that at the present stage in the development of the communist movement we should concern ourselves principally with methods of strengthening the existing forces of the party. Believing communist education to be by far the most important method, these comrades stand out as the chief agitators within the party for educational work amongst the membership. Before we engage ourselves in combat, they say, let us be sure our battalions have been given intensive training behind the trenches. It is therefore our first duty to furnish members of the party with that knowledge of communist principles and tactics without which we cannot develop efficient fighters and so assume leadership of the working class.

The Other Position.

Opposed to this point of view are those comrades who, in their eagerness to show that communists do not fear the realities of the class struggle, have become absorbed in the political problems of the party, and attach primary importance to the science of political tactics. To map out plans of strategy, to enter into large campaigns—these are aims and tasks besides which the problems of party organization are decidedly of secondary consequence. Such questions, therefore, as the intensification of educational work thruout our ranks, from the lowest to the highest units, are relegated to the background. For we do not want a party that spends its time discussing the theory of surplus value, and prides itself on educational forums and lectures; we want a party of action.

Now the impression has often been created by comrades arguing on one side or the other that these two views are mutually exclusive. And each group appears to be equally convinced that to follow the policies of the other means the deterioration of the party. The fact is, however, that the real growth of the movement depends not on either policy alone, or on a compromise between them, but upon an effective utilization of both.

Emphasis on Organization.

Those who harp constantly upon organization, who maintain that only a policy of systematic education of the party membership along the lines of Marxist science, can build the party, fail to grasp the significance of communist tactics—that "the development of the Communist parties can only be achieved thru a fighting policy." That is, not thru mere education and propaganda, but thru participation in the struggles of the masses, thru taking the lead in organizing them on the industrial and political field, thus gaining their confidence. Besides, soldiers become good fighters not alone thru training behind the trenches, but by actual combat—which for a communist movement means practical activity.

It is true, however, that the importance of educational work has been underestimated by some of those whose care is the formulation of political and industrial policies. Only a party sound in theory can be sound in action. We may not be afraid, as has been expressed, to venture out into the stormy sea of reality; but if we are to steer a straight course, then we "must be entirely certain of the way we are going and have a firm hand on the rudder." As concerns the party, this certainty, this firmness, can be acquired largely thru a knowledge of the principles underlying the movement, and an understanding of their concrete application. It must not be forgotten that a communist party is not an entity in itself, but is composed of individuals. Their job it is to put thru the party policies. Considering that, it is without question one of the main tasks of the party to see that the membership is trained to

carry on the work of communist agitation and organization.

Need For Trained Workers.

Never in the history of the communist movement in this country has the need for such education been so apparent as now. The party has initiated and participated in campaigns which, during the last year, extended its influence considerably. The left wing movement in the trade unions has been appreciably strengthened thru our industrial policy. On the political field as well, thru our general labor party agitation, we have gained ground. But this very absorption in making the communist party of action has produced this situation—that we are not fully prepared to take control of the militant forces our work developed. We lack trained comrades to undertake executive offices. We lack even comrades who have a theoretical background sufficient to do the minimum of communist propaganda necessary amongst those whose sympathy we have aroused thru our campaigns.

A Concrete Situation.

This has been particularly evident in certain local unions in New York, where a left wing sentiment had de-

veloped strong enough to put us in power, but where we were unable to take advantage of this in several instances simply thru lack of trained comrades. The complaint is frequently heard that our comrades do not know how to take the floor at union meetings to discuss union problems; that they do not have even such elementary knowledge as is necessary for the taking of minutes. Undoubtedly a similar condition exists in other party centers, as is often impressed upon us when such centers as Boston, Cleveland, Philadelphia are compelled to turn to the National Office for speakers. In other words, we have not enough skilled party workers to consolidate our political gains by organization. Such conditions hinder the growth

Beginning Made.

A few months ago there appeared in The Worker a plan for the establishment in Chicago of a Lenin College for the training of party members. Such a project, the very de-

tors is working on the details of reorganization.

Must Be Centralized.

With all the enthusiasm and energy that the District itself may put into the venture, however, its success depends to quite an extent upon the support given by the Central Executive Committee. We must recognize that education is an essential phase of party organization and development. Intensive educational preparation of our members must therefore proceed concomitantly with the practical work of the party. One does not exclude but rather complements, reinforces, the other. We do not become a party of theory by emphasizing educational training. On the contrary, such emphasis increases the possibilities for activity because it puts more qualified comrades into the field. Having developed a left wing sentiment, we must train men and women to guide and organize it. To the extent that our movement is young and inexperienced, this task becomes more significant. We are confronted with its need at every step in our work. Every worker who is a member of the party is in a way a pioneer. He is blazing the trail that will lead ultimately to the seizure of power by an organized, class-conscious body of workers. To equip him, to arm him, is a pressing duty. And that must be the function of our educational efforts.

Education For Activity.

Let those comrades who dread a return to the old aimless, unproductive theoretical spouting lay aside their fears. We are not concerned with education for the sake of education. In recognizing the interdependence of educational training with practical activity we infuse life and purpose into the teaching of communist science and world history. The party, it is true, cannot grow merely by establishing classes in historical materialism and the development of the American labor movement. But neither can it be built exclusively thru political manoeuvres unless those with whom we carry on our work are able to plant the seeds of communist principles and aims in the ground we plough. In other words, education of the party membership must be made an instrument for increasing party activity and strengthening our influence as a party of deeds, not of words.

Pastoral

By WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS
When I was younger
It was plain to me
I must make something of myself.
Older now
I walk back streets
Admiring the houses
Of the very poor:
Roof out of line with sides,
The yards cluttered
With old chicken wire, ashes,
Furniture gone wrong;
The fences and outhouses
Built of barrel-staves
And parts of boxes, all,
If I am fortunate,
Smear'd a bluish green
That properly weathered
Pleases me best
Of all colors.
No one
Will believe this
Of vast importance to the nation.

Street Windows

By CARL SANDBURG.

The pawn shop man knows hunger,
And how far hunger has eaten the heart
Of one who comes with an old keepsake.
Here are wedding rings and baby bracelets,
Scarf pins and shoe buckles, jeweled garters,
Old fashioned knives with inlaid handles,
Watches of old gold and silver,
Old coins worn with finger-marks.
They tell stories.

"It is self-evident that the basis of Marxist dialectic consists in this, that all boundaries in nature and in history are conditioned and mobile."
—Lenin.

"As long as the shame of war will remain, we will be forced to trace in blood the road of the future."
—Trotsky.

Morgan's Library



veloped strong enough to put us in power, but where we were unable to take advantage of this in several instances simply thru lack of trained comrades. The complaint is frequently heard that our comrades do not know how to take the floor at union meetings to discuss union problems; that they do not have even such elementary knowledge as is necessary for the taking of minutes. Undoubtedly a similar condition exists in other party centers, as is often impressed upon us when such centers as Boston, Cleveland, Philadelphia are compelled to turn to the National Office for speakers. In other words, we have not enough skilled party workers to consolidate our political gains by organization. Such conditions hinder the growth

sirable, is yet a scheme for the future. What we need is a plan that can be put into effect right now. And at the present time we must look to local centers to start educational work with the assistance of the national organization.

The New York District has already made a promising beginning. Early last fall a school was organized and several classes started in history, Marxism, English, etc. For a while these ran along with some degree of success, but to make the school more effective it was found necessary to reorganize it, systematizing its work and placing it more directly under the control of the District Executive Committee. This was done, and at the present writing a Board of Direc-

ROTTEN TO THE CORE

IF the bombardment of the Teapot investigation would only permit anything else to be heard, there would resound thruout the country a barrage about a scandal afflicting the President's Tariff Commission.

The Tariff Commission is now in the midst of a controversy among its own members. This row has reached a serious stage. The fear entertained by some of the personnel because of the recent disclosures in Washington, has inspired several members to insist that one of their number immediately quit "sitting in a hearing that relative to the sugar duties". The charge is made that this tariff expert's wife owns shares in a Louisiana sugar company.

President Coolidge who has been proclaiming so vociferously to punish the guilty wherever found, has not made a single move to force the resignation of Commissioner Glassie from the Tariff Board. Coolidge has not even found it advisable to urge Mr. Glassie to disqualify himself during the determination of the effect of the tariff on sugar. Mr. Glassie is showing no signs of willingness to withdraw and vigorously contends for his right to continue as an expert on sugar duties.

It is only the Senate's preoccupation with the Teapot steel that has prevented a sensational expose of this condition in the Tariff Commission. This incident reminds one of the fact that it was the sugar interests, led by Smoot in the Senate, that had secured a raise on the tariff on sugar from \$1.60 to \$1.84 a 100 pounds because the Cuban growers refused to reduce their crops. The Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act thus enabled the sugar capitalists to clean up close to \$100,000,000.

The principal significance of this conflict in the Tariff Board is simply another straw indicating that the whole capitalist system of government in the United States is rotten to the core and that the government in all its subdivisions is owned body and soul by the employing class.

Reflections on the Negro Sanhedrin

By W. H. A. MOORE

THE Negro Sanhedrin came, had its say, and time alone will be able to tell whether or not it has added anything to the sum total of human social knowledge. The forces which created it are easily seen; the elements that determined its character stand out in startling bold relief; and it must be acknowledged that the conclusions which it arrived at present an immaturity of thinking strikingly at variance with the importance of the social issues which it sought to discuss.

As I see it, it was not an impressively profound body. It may be its elements were too diverse to unite on a soundly constructed social program. This must not be construed to mean that nothing came out of the movement: that would be far from the truth. What it indicates to me is that the Negro of the Western Hemisphere has not yet waked to an appreciation of his present-day social duty.

No big central figure looms up in our consideration of the conference. The personality of Kelly Miller dominated the conference, it is true, but it was only in the alert, watchful way that so often characterizes the manner of the politicians. The delegates of the Workers Party, and the African Blood Brotherhood got a large dose of the watchfulness of this professor from the District of Columbia. But for friends at court their recommendations would have been buried as material destructive of what was at bottom the chief reason the leaders helped to promote the conference. It was not the justness of the position assumed by this particular set of delegates that was question by Dr. Miller. He followed a policy of expediency which demanded that radicalism of any sort should have little, if any, place in the social program that was to be laid down by the conference for the Negro race in America.

Chamber of Commerce Influence.

The executive secretary of the Negro employment bureau of the local Chamber of Commerce, the Chicago branch of the Urban League, was finally chosen as chairman of what Dr. Miller designated as the "Commission on Labor." Lovett Fort-Whiteman, the leader of the Workers Party delegation, protested with eloquent vehemence against what he asserted to be a deliberate endeavor to stifle the real voice of Negro Labor in the deliberations of the conference. But "Social Welfare" was in the saddle digging a sharpened spur and applying a cruel whip of disapproval whenever the conference showed even the slightest disposition to kick out of the traces. Hence the all-important issue of Labor was relegated far to the rear in the body's consideration of the big problems of the hour.

What were the big questions of the hour? "The Basic Importance of the Physical Stamina of the Race," discussed by the physicians; "Our Educational Program," discussed by a group of college officials; "The Function of the Negro Press," discussed by representative Negro newspaper men and women; "The Afro-American's Relation to the World-Wide Race Movements," discussed by a small group of writers; "The Function of Fraternal and Benevolent Organizations in Race Welfare," discussed by leading officials of secret and benevolent organizations; "The Religious Factor in Race Welfare," discussed by several Bishops of the several religious organizations; "The Effect of Religion on Race Relations," discussed by another group of distinguished religionists; "The International Co-operation in Civic and Social Betterment," discussed by welfare organization leaders; "The Function of Agitation in Race Betterment," discussed by leaders of organizations engaged in the

work of procuring "Equal Rights" for the Negro; "The Woman's Part in the Race Problem," discussed by the women delegates; "The Part of the Young College-Bred Negro in Race Betterment," a discussion in which the college men and women showed off to rather good advantage; "The Place of Business in Race Betterment," discussed by several successful business men and women. Labor as a question of first rate importance has no place in this rather elaborate program. As I see it, it was a "Social Welfare" program designed to strengthen the already strong hold which the nation's Chambers of Commerce have on the economic strings of the American Negro's life.

Leaders in Panic at Labor.

I get my cue in this connection from what I saw of actual panic whenever there came a slip in the workings of the prepared program. Consternation reigned during the unforeseen fight led by Comrade Fort-Whiteman for a place on the program for an unbiased discussion of the Labor problem as it affected the life of the Negro in this country. At one part of this discussion Leader Miller himself had to pledge the Workers Party delegation that Labor would be given a place in the official document that was being prepared by the several commissions as the statement of the Sanhedrin's position on all public questions affecting the life of the race. This was done by what was called the "Findings Commission," with the result that the Labor question got some consideration and position in the document given out as the general program of the Sanhedrin.

There were two odd slants given to the question of segregation at the conference. The northern elements wanted unqualified condemnation of the offenses committed in its name. The Southern elements, however, en-

deavored to prevent frank and open discussion of this issue. The contention of the Southerners was that an unbridled discussion of segregation on the floor of the Sanhedrin would hinder the inter-racial work that was now being done especially if the conference should take too decided a stand in this particular.

"There is no justness in pussy-footing and no common sense in side tracking this important matter," contended the Northern elements.

"Yes, we know," answered the Southerners, "but we have got to live in the South, which is a very different thing from toasting your shins up here in Chicago."

As a consequence a soft pedal was put on discussion altho there was a loud flourish of generalities in that part of the "big" documents offered for the general public's consumption.

Optimistic For Future.

I do not know what trend the next meeting of the Sanhedrin will take. I believe, however, that the outlook is upward. It must be admitted that at the conference just closed Chairman Miller's hands were held and directed by an invisible force of tremendous power—the sinister influences of capitalistic interests determined to maintain the inimical relations that have existed too long between the black and white proletariat in all the sections of the land. But the ground has been broken.

A distinct desire to break away from many of the older moorings has been shown. It was not a radical outbreak by any means. Yet it was clearly manifest that the old order of thinking and the old character of action is about to be laid aside by what, for the moment, can be named the "New Negro." Let there be no fear for the future, the Negro is now in the fight for Human Progress and will not turn back.

THEY MURDER OUR CHILDREN

SOME weeks ago a policeman told the following story whilst he was waiting in a queue for food in the north of Berlin. A boy had stolen some rolls from a bakery. He was caught and hauled before the police, and there he insisted that he had not stolen for himself but for his sick mother—"She cannot live on potato peelings alone." The policeman was instructed to verify the statements of the child. He did so and actually found a woman, thin, like a skeleton, unable to leave her bed, and apart from the arrested boy three other hungry children. It was proved that the whole five had actually been living from potato peelings.

This is a dry statement of the facts. One can imagine this woman and her children who starve even tho her boy steals. One wonders how it was possible that the woman allowed the thing to go so far, why no help came to her. Here is our mistake, this case was nothing exceptional, it was not caused by a chain of particularly unfortunate circumstances. It is one case amongst thousands of others, amongst hundreds of thousands of others. Think of the five, the eight starvation years thru which Germany has passed. Think of the horrible growth of the hunger illnesses which have weakened adults and children, think of the soldiers' widows who suffer with their orphan children and whose only consolation is a few shameful "pension" papers on which it is visibly written "you shall starve." Think of the prices. Think how the value of the money disappears whilst still in the hand. Think of the thousands of facts, each typical of this period—for instance, physicians suffer greatly from unemployment tho the whole population is sick. Think of all these things, and the individual case grows to gigantic proportions. It is the symbol for the death of an entire people!

An entire people! Everyone who works or wants to work is condemned to the ration of potato peels. If not today then tomorrow. Peels! not even potatoes. Where the starving have stretched out their hands to the potatoes, there the police have been mobilized to protect the fields. The man hunt has been re-established. They have shot into the crowds of starving people. Men and women have been murdered with the machine guns because they wanted potatoes to satisfy their hunger. They have—but let us read the police report:

"On the morning of October 25th

at a quarter to seven, in the fields of the farmer Frede at Britz, rifle fire directed by the police at potato raiders resulted in the deaths of a boy of twelve years and a girl of sixteen, and in serious injury to a further girl of sixteen."

Two children are killed and one is badly wounded. Yes, but the potatoes are safe. Two children are completely and one partially satisfied, and all that was necessary—three small pieces of lead. The potatoes were saved, property protected from all damage and the basis of the Christian State remains intact, and all at a total cost of the torn bodies of three children.

Do not rail at the cruelty! The cost was not too high. For what was at stake? Is not the German economy in the greatest danger, is it not threatened by ruin? Is it not necessary to ruthlessly maintain what still stands? What would happen if the quiet enjoyment of prop-

erty were no longer guaranteed? Think of the consequences! Today it is the potato fields of the big farmers and junkers, but tomorrow already it may be the gold of the citizens, the state bonds, shares, foreign currencies. Today they steal. Tomorrow they will expropriate. If property is not guaranteed what will become of trade and commerce?

Therefore, one must shoot! Up to the moment, in Britz alone two men, one woman, one boy and two girls have been shot. There are further victims in other places. Still more must be shot for the danger is great. Do you see those white hollow-cheeked faces with their sunken glowing eyes in line before the potato shops? They are an incitement by their very existence. Behind those bony foreheads there are thoughts of high treason. Nothing is sacred to these starved people. They have nothing to eat and they fill themselves with hatred against

everybody who has, against everybody who amasses, bargains, speculates and plunders in the good old bourgeois manner. These starved people are capable of anything, they have nothing to lose. They are quite ready to throw away their lives, for even those no longer belong to them; they are in the hands of the Stock Exchange wolves and the barons of industry. Should they risk their lives in the last throw, they might win and there would be an end to the century old empire of capitalist happiness.

No! The rifles and machine-guns must rattle. The armed police must be mobilized everywhere. The army must be sent to Saxony to stifle the hunger there. Dead workers lie on any street in Saxony. More must join them. Men, women, boys and girls.

Yes! The starving must be murdered or capitalism will perish. Murder! The murder of men, women and children or—the victory of Communism!—J. LILBURNE.

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YUCATAN--YESTERDAY AND TODAY

By ARNOLD ROLLER

YUCATAN, a peninsula situated on the extreme south of Mexico, inhabited by 350,000 Maya Indians, has been a thorn in the flesh of the reactionaries and capitalists of the world for the last ten years. It is not surprising, therefore, that they are unable to hide their satisfaction over the news that Yucatan has been conquered and subdued by the counter-revolutionary army of Adolfo de la Huerta. Its Governor, Felipe Carrillo, was taken prisoner with thirteen of his friends and according to the latest fashion of all the reactionary powers all over the world, was shot when "trying to escape."

The Maya People.

With the murder of Felipe Carrillo an important chapter of a little nation was closed,—of a whole people, because Yucatan is historically, racially, linguistically and geographically completely different and separated from the rest of Mexico. While the Indian population of the rest of Mexico descend from Aztecs, Yaquis, Zapotecas, etc., and crossing of these Indians with the whites, the inhabitants of Yucatan are, almost exclusively, pure Mayas, of whom very few understand Spanish. They speak a language which is quite different from the languages spoken by the other Mexican Indians. Their civilization seems to have been much older and higher than that of the other Mexican aborigines.

Geographically, Yucatan is separated from the rest of Mexico by impassable jungles and swamps, so that it can only be reached by sea.

Slavery Legalized.

Here, the landed aristocracy succeeded in establishing complete slavery and perpetuating it legally. In spite of all decrees of the various older constitutions, which awarded land to the peasants and in spite of the former quite extensive communal lands (the "ejidas" which corresponds to the Russian "Mir") which were worked by the peasants in common, the whole land was up to ten years ago in the hands of a few families.

Even the Spanish Conquistadores confirmed by Royal Decree the title of the peasants to these communal lands. But under the rule of the landed aristocracy under the perpetual "president," Diaz, particularly, it was declared illegal to hold land in common ownership and the authorities proceeded to distribute the land to the peasants, out of these "ejidas." This "distribution," of course, was

handled by the big land owners and their tools.

Mayas Tricked.

For awarding or registering the lots such fees were charged that very few of the Mayas were able to raise the required amounts—and consequently the land sharks bought the land from the state or the village authorities at a price of \$2 to \$3 per acre. Then they farmed out the land to the Indians on the terms of the old serfdom, or they employed them directly as hired laborers. But no laborer or tenant farmer was allowed to produce anything else on his land than the main product of the country, namely, henequen (sisal), a kind of hemp, used largely in the United States for the manufacture of binder twine cords. All foodstuffs were consequently imported by the big landowners and sold to the peasants and agricultural laborers "on credit" at fantastic prices.

Always In Debt.

Thus, the Indians remained permanently in the debt of their masters and another law declared it a crime to leave one's working place or village, before the debts were paid. At the death of the debtor, his family or nearest relatives were liable and the debt slavery was passed on from father to son. The whipping of men for insufficient production was a daily occurrence, but was, of course, no legal reason to leave the place. The whole district of 70,000 square miles, with its 350,000 inhabitants, was the private property of about 2,000 owners.

According to other estimates, 80 per cent of the soil belonged to twenty-seven families. And this whole district paid under Diaz only \$50,000 in taxes to the Central Government. There were no schools in Yucatan and except for religious teaching, it was illegal to teach the Mayas Spanish.

Carrillo's Early Career.

This changed, however, around 1915. For many years Felipe Carrillo, at that time a railroad employe and a Maya by birth, started an energetic propaganda among the Mayas, whom he organized. The constitution, according to which slavery and every system of peonage was expressly prohibited, was translated by him into the Maya language in order to inform the slaves of their rights. For this Carrillo was arrested; he escaped, however, and continued his propaganda secretly. By prearranged signals and whistles he called the peons at night, first in small groups of from six to ten men, later however, rocket signals were given for larger meetings with arms.

Effect of Madero's Victory.

Madero's successful revolution against the tyrant, Porfirio Diaz, and later the second victorious revolution of Pancho Villa and Carranza against the counter-revolution of Victoriano Huerta, had naturally an immense influence on the fortunes of Yucatan. Under the new constitution a socialist administration was elected, but another revolution again, this time a workmen's and peasants' revolution, against Carranza was necessary, in order to frustrate the reactionary plans of the "liberator" Carranza, who, though being a liberal constitutionalist, could not suffer to see that the land of the big landowners, to which clan he belonged, was being subdivided, not only by decrees and in theory but also in fact, and that social reforms were being actually realized. In 1915 we see the socialist general Salvador Alvarado as governor of Yucatan, which he became after defeating in March of the same year the army of the governor appointed by Carranza. Peonage was finally actually abolished.

Debts Voided.

All debts of the peons were declared void. Everyone who wanted to work the land by himself received forty acres each, which were cut out from the properties of the big owners. This land was partly confiscated, wherever it could be proved that the "owners" or their ancestors appropriated it unduly from the communal lands, or the land was purchased forcibly from the big owners at the values given by them for income tax purposes, which, obviously, were none too high. The amounts due to them accordingly were paid in bonds, maturing in fifty years, and bearing 4 per cent interest.

Every big landowner was compelled to reserve on his property a building for a school, so that 2,000 schools

were opened, where there were formerly almost none, and the teachers, mostly socialists, were imported from all parts of Mexico. Next Alvarado undertook an energetic struggle against the church. From the few schools which formerly existed all priests were expelled and instead of the religious slogans he placed everywhere revolutionary and atheistic mottos, such as, "Flee from religion as from the plague"; "Whether God wills it or not, the revolution shall go on"; "Without God or without masters, here is the supreme aspiration of free men."

The former marriage laws were abolished and marriage declared a private contract, entered into by the common wish of both parties and dissolved by the will of one party, after due provisions for the care of the children, if any.

Publishes Daily Paper.

One of the first things which Alvarado did was to take over the largest daily of Merida, the capital of Yucatan, which was the organ of the blackest reaction, renamed it the "Voice of the Revolution" and handed it over to the labor unions.

It is certainly tragic that this same Alvarado now turned traitor to the proletariat, as so many other ex-socialists. Mussolini, Noske e' tutti quanti—and he is now one of the generals fighting for De la Huerta.

During his administration, Felipe Carrillo organized all over the country innumerable "Ligas de resistencia," which were at the same time a combination of co-operative, trade union, club, educational center and socialist and political organization.

Labor Laws.

Among the laws promulgated under Alvarado, for the protection of the workmen, article 79 provides that women are not allowed to work thirty days before and thirty days after confinement, but must receive their full salary during the entire time, and their jobs must be kept open for them. According to article 80, every establishment, in which women were employed, had to have a specially reserved room, in perfect sanitary condition, in which mothers could nurse their children, every two hours for fifteen minutes, without this time being deducted from their wages or rest periods. The eight-hour working day was introduced and whenever a workman was dismissed, the employer had to pay him three months' wages.

In the whole country, co-operative stores and co-operative purchasing organizations were established.

Co-operate For Markets.

In addition to the happy combination of co-operatives and trade unions, for the purpose of improving the living conditions of the people, another important economic institution must be mentioned, which was originally founded in 1912 by the big landowners. This is the "Comision Reguladora de Henequen" (the sisal regulating commission), the purpose of which was to prevent the undervaluing of prices and to form a united front against American buyers. In other words, it was the Sisal Trust of Yucatan, formed to keep up the price of sisal against the American Harvester Corporation.

With the victory of the revolution, Alvarado became also president of the "Comision Reguladora," which was then organized on a co-operative basis and administered in the interests of the whole people.

Carrillo Becomes President.

After the eliminating of Carranza in 1920, who, up to his very death, was fighting against rebellious Yucatan, Felipe Carrillo was elected Governor in 1921 with the enormous majority of 60,765 votes against 4,085 for the reactionary candidate. He continued the social legislation started by Alvarado and proved himself an excellent administrator in every field. Rent laws promulgated by him limited the rent to 7 per cent of the declared value of the property. The taxes were such that the owner of one house, living in it, paid practically no taxes, the owner of five houses felt already the sting of the taxation, while the owners of more than twenty houses had to pay such taxes that they were in the greatest hurry to dispose of them at almost any price, which, consequently, considerably reduced rentals. All land kept out of use had also to pay taxes, which is one of the principal tenets of the single taxers.

Carrillo the Financier.

When, by a capitalist conspiracy, in order to destroy Yucatan economically, the price of sisal was depressed from 18c per pound to 3c per pound, while the actual cost of production is 4c, Carrillo borrowed from the Federal Government in Mexico enough money, to buy the floating supply of 800,000 bales of sisal in the United States, which was used for depressing the price. By limiting production and by organization of co-operative warehouses he succeeded in a short time in raising the price above the pre-war value. In this way the "uneducated railroad shop hand," Felipe Carrillo, saved Yucatan from economic ruin, while a capitalist government did not succeed in a similar case—namely, at the time of the sugar crisis in Cuba, which sent Cuba into bankruptcy.

Carrillo's Mistake.

Now Carrillo and his work have been destroyed, but Carrillo himself is not without blame. His mistake, for which he paid with his life, was his pacifism. In spite of the urgent request of many of his friends he refused to arm the Maya people against a possible counter-revolution and so he and his peacefully organized people fell victims to the first armed reactionary gang of murderers.

If Yucatan had had a red army, the red flag would still be flying from all trade union and government buildings of the country. But this reaction can only be temporary. The people, who have tasted freedom and the first beginnings of economic improvements, will not submit again meekly to the ancient slavery.

The all trade unions and co-operatives have been destroyed, and the land given to the peons is being returned to the big landowners, this will not assure the continuation of the old slavery but will contribute to the success of the next revolution.



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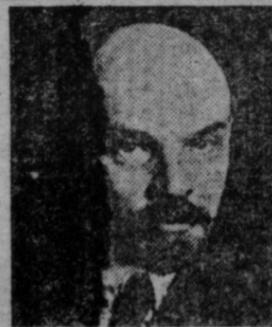
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The First Time In History

The First Time In History. Two Years of Russia's New Life. By Anna Louise Strong, with Introduction by Leon Trotzky; published by Boni & Liveright. \$2.00.

SO MANY books are being written and published about Soviet Russia and the Russian Revolution that one tends to pick up each new arrival on the book market with a sort of suspicion that this is merely another rehash of the same old stories, the same old yarns.

We must admit that we were pleasantly surprised in the book just written by Anna Louise Strong. "The First Time in History" is especially valuable because it is one of the few authentic analyses of the recent developments in Soviet Russia. Miss Strong mainly deals with Russia's efforts at reconstruction. The new economic policy, the numerous difficult problems of rebuilding the country after years of war and counter revolution, the complicated social issues arising from the Soviet government's inheritance of a people degraded and oppressed for centuries, these are the subjects which weave the story of "The First Time in History."

As Comrade Trotzky says in his preface to this book, "Under the prose of the Nep (New Economic Policy), as well as under the dramatic events of the civil war, she was able to see, or perhaps at the very beginning, merely to feel—the intense, stubborn, uncompromising struggle against age-long slavery, darkness, barbarism for new higher forms of life."

Anna Louise Strong deals with her difficult subject matter in an admirable way. The approach is most realistic. "In the nations of the West they speak of the new economic policy as Russia's return to capitalism. In Russia they call it, 'the new road to Communism.' It is a road that they know will take them many years. Already in two years they have advanced farther than they hoped when they began." This is the spirit of Miss Strong in her treatment of the period of August, 1921-December, 1923—two of the most trying years in the life of the Soviet Republic of Russia.

Anna Louise Strong has had an opportunity to see Soviet Russia at first hand. Her findings and conclusions are based on her own careful observations.

Among the subjects dealt with in "The First Time in History," are the role of money in Russia, "The Story of Russian Oil," the housing and agricultural questions, "The War with Alcohol," "Do the Jews Rule Russia," "The Church Revolution," and "Education in Soviet Russia."

The significance of Soviet Russia's holding the balance of power in the present world struggle cannot be over-estimated and the author has fortunately taken full cognizance of it. The vital point of difference between the Soviet method of dealing with the oil situation and the imperialist capitalist method is made very clear by Miss Strong. The author shows how Soviet Russia has gotten out of the stage of stocks and bonds in oil and into the realm of workmen and engineers.

The treatment of the agricultural situation in Russia is especially enlightening. The author presents a most interesting reaction of a group of American agriculturists led by Harold M. Ware to the effect that the farmers of Russia had the best chance of all the farmers to pull out of the great international agricultural crisis that has followed the war.

Soviet Russia's terrific struggle with illiteracy is treated in a very vivid manner and the incomparable difficulties confronting the first Workers' and Farmers' Republic are brought home in the citation of many facts about Russia's educational conditions. We need but mention the fact that schools in Russia are conducted in no less than sixty languages.

In closing, we present the author's fundamental attitude in order to give the reader the message of the book.

"There have been many revolutions in history, each with its tragic dignity, its cruelties, its power released. But never has there been a great organization, in control of the economic as well as of the political resources of a nation, planning steadily thru the prose of daily life a future embracing many lands and decades, learning from mistakes, changing methods but not aims, controlling press and education and law and industry as tools to its purpose. . . . This is the common consciousness in action, crude, half-organized and inefficient, but the first time in history."

Thruout her story Miss Strong

maintains the reader's interest unflagging. The book is a worthwhile contribution to the literature on Soviet Russia. It is particularly valuable as bringing up to date the most recent phases of reconstruction in the Soviet Republic.

—JAY LOVESTONE.

From Preludes

By T. S. ELIOT.

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With all its muddy feet that press
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