

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."

—Karl Marx.

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Karl Marx to the Communist League

(ADDRESS TO THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY OF THE LEAGUE IN 1850)

EDITOR'S NOTE. At this time in the development of the American class struggle, when petty bourgeois liberalism and progressivism is making a bid for political power, and, in order to achieve this end, is attempting to sweep the labor movement and the poor farmers into supporting this middle class LaFollette movement, it becomes supremely necessary that every worker understand clearly the nature of the petty bourgeoisie, the significance of its political ambitions, and the correct working class attitude toward them.

The following "Address to the Communist League" by Karl Marx, altho it dates back to 1850 and is dealing primarily with the petty bourgeois liberal movement in Germany at that time, yet there is a whole world of truth for the American workers of today to be used to great advantage in the solution of their immediate problems.

What is it that every politically conscious American worker wants to know now? He wants to know whether the workers should support the LaFollette movement, whether the workers can derive any benefits for themselves from uniting politically with the so-called "progressive" middle classes, and generally what is the best way for the workers to participate in politics.

These are the supreme questions of the moment. And to these questions the Workers Party of America has given its answer. It said: No alliance with the movement of small capital. No support for LaFollette. Independent political action by labor. An independent class party of workers and the poorest sections of the farmers. These answers are based on the accumulated experiences of the workers thruout the world, on the history of our own American class struggle, and on the burning needs of the American working class of today.

Karl Marx is dealing in the following address with a set of conditions and problems that are in many respects similar to the ones confronting the American workers at present. A careful study of this document will open the eyes of many a deluded worker to the real proletarian class position to be taken by the workers in this campaign.

We have told you, brethren, as far back as in 1848, that German Liberalism would soon come to power and would at once use it against the working class. You have seen how this has been fulfilled. It was the bourgeoisie who after the victorious movement of March, 1848, took the reins of government, and the first use they made of their power was to force back the workingman, their allies in the fight against absolutism, to their former oppressed condition. They could not achieve their purpose without the assistance of the defeated aristocracy, to whom they even transferred governmental power, securing however for themselves the ultimate control of the government thru the budget.

The part which the liberals played in 1848, this treacherous role will at the next revolution be played by the democratic petty bourgeoisie, who, among the parties opposing the government, are now occupying the same position which the liberals occupied prior to the March revolution. This democratic party, which is more dangerous to the workingmen than the liberal party was, consists of the following three elements:

(i) The more progressive mem-

bers of the upper bourgeoisie, whose object it is to sweep away all remnants of feudalism and absolutism;

(ii) The democratic-constitutional petty bourgeoisie, whose main object it is to establish a democratic federation of the Germanic states;

(iii) The republican petty bourgeoisie, whose ideal it is to turn Germany into a sort of Swiss republic. These republicans are calling themselves "reds" and "social democrats" because they have the pious wish to remove the pressure of large capital upon the smaller one, and of the big bourgeoisie upon the petty bourgeoisie.

All these parties, after the defeat they have suffered, are calling themselves republicans or reds, just as in France the republican petty bour-

geoisie must act independently. The democratic petty bourgeoisie, far from desiring to revolutionize the whole society, are aiming only at such changes of the social conditions as would make life in existing society more comfortable and profitable. They desire above all a reduction of national expenditure thru a decrease of bureaucracy, and the imposition of the main burden of taxation on the landowners and capitalists. They demand, likewise, the establishment of state banks and laws against usury, so as to ease the pressure of the big capitalist upon the small traders and to get from the state cheap credit. They demand also the full mobilization of the land, so as to do away with all remnants of manorial rights. For these purposes they need a democratic constitution which would give

with, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, to keep it going until all the ruling and possessing classes are deprived of power, the governmental machinery occupied by the proletariat, and the organization of the working classes of all lands is so far advanced that all rivalry and competition among themselves has ceased; until the more important forces of production are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians. With us it is not a matter of reforming private property, but of abolishing it; not of hushing up the class antagonism, but of abolishing the classes; not of ameliorating the existing society, but of establishing a new one. There is no doubt that, with the further development of the revolution, the petty bourgeois democracy may for a time become the most influential party in Germany. The question is, therefore, what should be the attitude of the proletariat, and particularly of the League, towards it:

(i) During the continuation of the present conditions in which the petty bourgeois democracy is also oppressed?

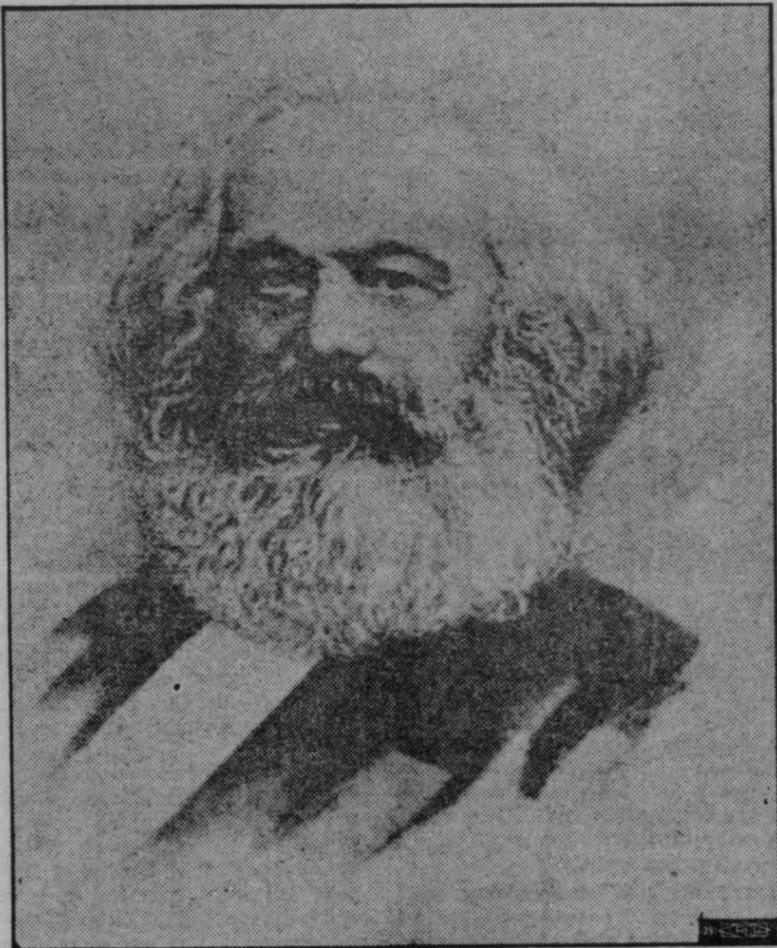
(ii) In the ensuing revolutionary struggles which would give them momentary ascendancy?

(iii) After those struggles, during the time of their ascendancy over the defeated classes and the proletariat?

(i) At the present moment when the democratic petty bourgeoisie are everywhere oppressed, they lecture the proletariat, exhorting it to effect a unification and conciliation; they would like to join hands and form one great opposition party, embracing within its folds all shades of democracy. That is, they would like to entangle the proletariat in a party organization in which the general social democratic phrases predominate, behind which their particular interests are concealed, and in which the particular proletarian demands should not, for the sake of peace and concord, be brot forward. Such a unification would be to the exclusive benefit of the petty bourgeois democracy and to the injury of the proletariat. The organized working class would lose its hard-won independence and would become again a mere appendage of the official bourgeois democracy. Such a unification must be resolutely opposed.

Instead of allowing themselves to form the chorus of the bourgeois democracy, the workingmen, and particularly the League, must strive to establish next to the official democracy an independent, a secret as well as a legal organization of the working-class party, and to make each community the center and nucleus of working-class societies in which the attitude and the interests of the proletariat should be discussed independently of bourgeois influences. How little the bourgeois democrats care for an alliance in which the proletarians should be regarded as co-partners with equal rights and equal standing is shown by the attitude of the Breslau democrats, who in their organ, the *Oder-Zeitung*, are attacking those workingmen who are independently organized, and whom they nick-name socialists, subjecting them to severe persecutions. The gist of the matter is this: In case of an attack on a common adversary no special union is necessary; in the fight with such an enemy the interests of both parties, the middle-class democrats and the working-class party, coincide for the moment, and both parties will carry

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KARL MARX

geoisie are calling themselves socialists. Where, however, they have the opportunity of pursuing their aims by constitutional methods they are using their old phraseology and are showing by deeds that they have not changed at all. It is a matter of course that the changed name of that party does not alter their attitude towards the working class; it merely proves that in their struggle against the united forces of absolutism and large capitalists they require the support of the proletariat.

The petty bourgeois democratic party in Germany is very powerful. It embraces not only the great majority of the town population, the small traders and craftsmen, but all the peasantry and the agricultural laborers, in so far as the latter have yet come into contact with the proletariat of the towns. The revolutionary working class acts in agreement with that party as long as it is a question of fighting and overthrowing the aristocratic-liberal coalition; in all other things the revolutionary working class

them the majority in parliament, municipality, and parish.

With a view to checking the power and the growth of big capital the democratic party demand a reform of the laws of inheritance and legacies, likewise the transfer of the public services and as many industrial undertakings as possible to the state and municipal authorities. As to the working man—well, they should remain wage workers; for whom, however, the democratic party would procure higher wages, better labor conditions, and a secure existence. The democrats hope to achieve that partly thru state and municipal management and thru welfare institutions. In short, they hope to bribe the working class into quiescence, and thus to weaken their revolutionary spirit by momentary concessions and comforts.

The democratic demands can never satisfy the party of the proletariat. While the democratic petty bourgeoisie would like to bring the revolution to a close as soon as their demands are more or less complied

The Proletarian Will to Power

By MAX SHACHTMAN.

THE history of the working masses is also the history of their attempts to free themselves from oppression; it is the history of struggle against the ruling class.

The outstanding struggles of the working class against the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century were the Chartist movement in England, the revolutions of 1848 in France and Germany, and, most important, the Paris Commune of 1871. It is of these that we shall treat here.

The Chartist Movement.

The conditions of the British working class at the middle of the last century were indescribably horrible. The Reform Bill of 1832 had been of advantage to the middle class alone and left the workers without the suffrage. Five years later, one of the numerous radical societies that had sprung up all over England, the London Workingmen's Association, drafted a six points petition which later became the People's Charter. It called for equal electoral districts, universal male suffrage, annual parliaments, no property qualification for M. P.'s, the payment of members and vote by ballots.

To achieve this aim, no revolution would be necessary. But attracted to the Chartist movement were the leaders of the "miserable proletariat of the North," the physical forcists of the Bronterre O'Brien type who made it plain that the Charter was the preliminary step to social equality.

Thus, J. J. Coombe, a Chartist journalist, answered the question as to the object of the People's Charter by writing:

"Social equality means that tho' all must work all must be happy. And now having answered the inquirer as to what I consider social and political equality to mean, just let me ask you, kind reader, one single question, do you expect that such a state of things, will ever come to pass, by going down on your bended knees and praying for it? Be not deceived, your tyrants will never concede justice till they are compelled; never will they yield to your demands even till they are overcome by fire and sword, and driven or exterminated from the face of the earth."

The Chartist agitation was given tremendous impetus by the severe crisis of 1838. The movement gained thousands of adherents. A convention which met in February presented the first petition, and, while awaiting the result, considered what its policy would be in the event of rejection. The physical forcists were increasing their influence to the detriment of the moral forcists led by Lovett. The situation, considerably aggravated by the bloody riot in Birmingham, and the arrest of Lovett, brot the convention to declare a general strike. On second that the strike call was withdrawn, but it was too late. Welsh miners appeared in armed bands bearing down on Newport with the intention of capturing the town and proceeding to Cardiff. At Newport they were met with a fusillade by the hidden crown troops and retired in confusion.

The height of Chartism had been reached and from then on, despite the sporadic outbursts, the movement was doomed. The final blow was not only the ridiculous failure of the second petition but also the repeal of the vicious Corn Laws of '46, the passing of the remedial Factory Acts, the rise of the standard of living accompanied by the revival of a stronger trade union movement.

The fiery appeals and leadership of Feargus O'Connor, O'Brien and John Frost were forgotten as the hungry masses rushed to pick up the crumbs that were falling from the table of England's overstocked prosperity. They were lulled to sleep by the trade unions under the pacifist leadership of the predecessors of J. H. Thomas and Frank Hodges.

to come to revolutionary France. There he gathered the members of the League of Communists and proceeded to the Rhineland to establish the historic *Nue Rheinische Zeitung*. His brilliant contributions to its columns remain the outstanding results of the German revolution. In them are concentrated the history, the lessons, the criticisms, and the commendations of the German and French revolts.

"Revolutionary upheaval of the French working class, general war—that is the index for the year 1849. And already in the east a revolutionary army, comprised of warriors of all nationalities stands confronting the old Europe represented by and in league with the Russian Army, already from Paris looms the Red

"glorious workingmen's revolution . . . took undisputed sway of Paris." The most mature and important example of the proletarian will to power of the nineteenth century was being exhibited in swift, dramatic scenes. The fall of the Little Napoleon, the failure of Thiers' treacherous attempt to seize the cannon of the National Guard, the fraternization of the troops of the Line, the rise and proclamation of the Communes of Creusot, St. Etienne, Lyons, Marseillies, Narbonne, and Paris—all followed in bewildering succession.

Paris, whence all but the revolutionaries had fled, established the workers' dictatorship over all France. Marx had advised against the revolt. He had proposed, instead, the creation of a strong proletarian fighting organization, taking advantage of any freedom they could squeeze out of the code of republican "liberties" and with growing, disciplined army of revolutionaries, await the propitious moment to strike for victory.

But the Commune was nevertheless established. (Revolutions have that habit of not waiting on anyone!) It was the first proletarian dictatorship and it had its numerous shortcomings, weaknesses. It failed to lay hands on the Bank of France; it did not deal summarily with traitors in its own ranks; it had the vain hope of securing peace with Thiers; only at the last hopeless moment, did it put Delescluze in charge of the army in place of the incompetent Cluseret, or Rossel.

But then, it was composed of such diverse elements as Blanquists and members of the First International; radicals and revolutionaries; serious rebels and dabblers; honest men and brave like Delescluze and scoundrels like Blanchet or mouthers like Felix Pyat.

Yet it was the working class in power! The Commune of the people's army, the demolisher of the Vendome column, the seizer of abandoned factories, the "ally in a conflict which can only end in the triumph of the communal idea."

The Commune lasted a little over two months. It was drowned in a sea of its own blood, drawn by the wretch Gallifet. It will be "forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society," Marx wrote in the valedictory which was also the farewell to the First International.

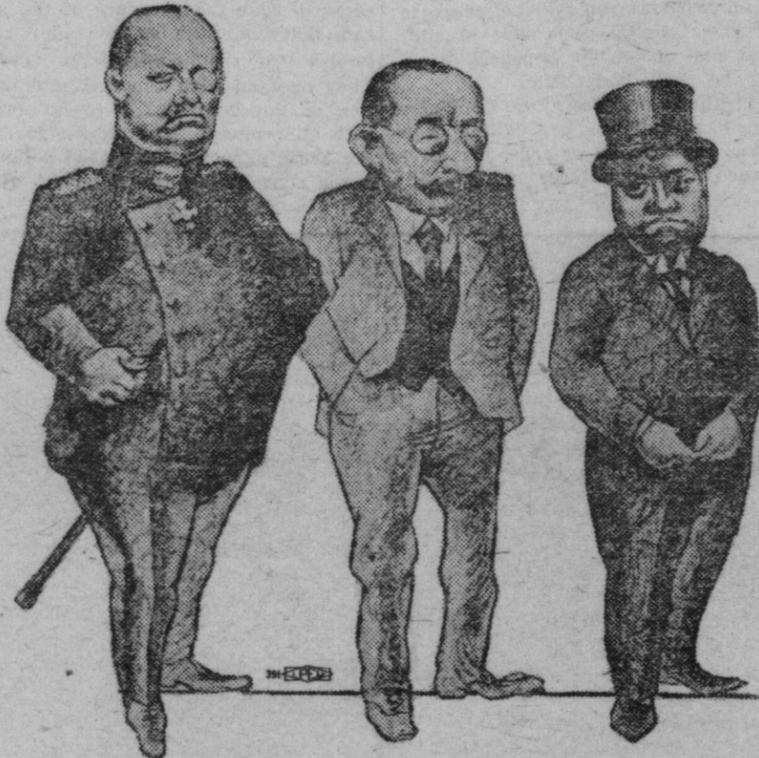
The workers of Europe were not to rise again for a half century, with the interlude of the heroic Russian revolution of 1905, when Lenin first recognized the Soviets as the form of the proletarian dictatorship. But when the proletarian will to power again expressed itself, when the Russian giant rose and felt its huge strength, it had behind it the lessons of the revolutionary nineteenth century. It had as its staff and sword the teachings of the revolutionary Marx; as its leader, the iron-willed Lenin. In the image of the First International it bore from its loins the Communist International, carrying the red torch to every corner of the earth, giving inspiration, hope, and belief in the coming of the new society, in the proletarian will to power!

THREE HEROES OF MASS MURDER

LUDENDORFF

NOSKE

MUSSOLINI



9,750,000 Dead

25,000 Dead

20,000 Dead

The Spectre That Haunted Europe.

For almost a decade the wave of European revolution was at ebb. Then, suddenly, following on the heels of the Communist Manifesto—its memorable beginning: "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism:" its ominous warning—"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution"—came the uprisings of 1848 in France, Germany, Hungary, and Italy.

In France the workers, who could no longer stand up under the horrors of unemployment after the severe crisis of the winter of 1847, participated in a demonstration; soldiers attacked them; a riot began; the king fled; the provisional government was proclaimed by Lamartine, and the nominees of the workers, the socialists and radicals, abdicated before it.

Marx, who so early as 1843 in a letter to Arnold Ruge had predicted the revolutionary wave, was invited

Republic!" wrote Marx.

Prophetic words.

The revolt of the Parisian proletariat, lacking in consciousness and disciplined leadership, failing to realize that there was only one means, in the words of Marx, "of shortening, simplifying, and concentrating the torturing agonies of society—only one means—revolutionary terrorism," was butchered by the troops of Cavaignac in the frightful days of June.

The German uprising, a reflex largely, of the French attempt, rose as easily as it was put down. The revolutions were petty bourgeois, with few proletarian elements. Order was restored by the bourgeoisie, the proletariat vigorously suppressed, so that commerce and finance might continue unhampered by turmoil!

But from Paris loomed the Red Republic!

The Glorious Commune.

On the 18th of March, 1871, the

Nothing To It

(IMPRESSIONS OF THE LaFOLLETTE MEETING IN NEW YORK)

By Nathaniel Buchwald

Comrades, there is nothing to it. I mean that LaFollette hullabaloo. The big meeting was a bust. It was hollow, and the fine acoustics of Madison Square Garden gave full resonance to this hollowness.

To confess, I was all tense as I approached the Garden. I was ready to summon up all the clear thinking that Communism has taught me to withstand the onrush of that blind but compelling enthusiasm, of the revivalist progressivism (1924 brand) which

supposedly has swept and swayed and stirred up the well-advertised masses that are behind LaFollette. But I did not have to call upon my reserves of hard Communist thinking. A primer was more than sufficient. Not even a primer of Communism, but of respectable middle-of-the-road socialism, nay, of intelligent, honest liberalism. It requires a great deal less than class-struggle tenets to detect the ordinary species of piffle, to examine it and pronounce it piffle. And piffle it was

—the chairman, the preliminary speakers, "Fighting Bob" and all.

Perhaps I can impart to you a sense of that gathering, its color, its spiritual timbre, its moral fabric. It was dead from LaFollette down or from the audience up. The noise at the candidate's arrival was a spiritless, perfunctory merry making. Merry making is the word. I looked at their faces, I wanted to detect in them that inspired glow, that irresistible faith, that spirit of crusade and sacrifice,

which illumines Communist rallies of size, which was characteristic of socialist gatherings of years ago. Not a trace of it, not a quiver of inspiration, of splendid madness. It was all sport, all fun. People applauded, whistled, yelled in a light-hearted manner, bantering as they did so, laughing at their own childishness of joining in the noise. This still-born ovation would have run its course in two or three minutes, and if it lasted

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Make It a Party of Leninism

By EARL R. BROWDER.

IF there is one task of supreme importance before the Workers Party of America it is that of remaking itself into a bolshevik party. When, during the commemoration of the death of our great leader, Lenin, we launched the recruiting slogan: "Join the Party of Lenin," we all were more or less conscious that for the Workers Party this was an aspiration rather than an established fact. Now more than ever we are realizing (since the discussions in the Fifth World Congress particularly) what a big job we have to make good our boast of being the Party of Lenin.

Leninism Is Not Phrasemongery.

In this task we must develop the discussion necessary to make the issues clear to our membership. At the same time the danger of degenerating into phrasemongery, the very opposite of Leninism, is ever present in a party so young and untried as our own. It is this tendency to let the word stand in place of the deed that Comrade Zinoviev struck at, when he said at the Fifth Congress:

"A good deal has been heard at this congress of the necessity of bolshevizing the parties, of remaining true to Leninism. We would prefer to hear less about bolshevizing the party, but to have the essence of Leninism itself studied more deeply, especially in regard to the trade union question."

In line with this gentle hint from Comrade Zinoviev, let us try to keep our discussion on bolshevizing the Workers Party upon as concrete and definite a plane as possible.

Five Points of Leninism.

According to the theses of the Fifth Congress, there are five fundamental features of "a really bolshevik party," which are:

"(a) The party must be really a mass party; i. e., while being a legal party or if obliged to become illegal, it must maintain the closest and unseverable ties with the mass of the workers and serve as the expression of their needs and aspirations.

"(b) It must have the ability to maneuver; i. e., its tactics must not be dogmatic or sectarian; it must be able to resort to every strategical maneuver against the enemy, which will enable it to remain true to itself. It is one of the chief errors of our parties that they frequently fail to understand this.

"(c) It must be essentially a revolutionary and Marxist Party, undeviatingly and in spite of all circumstances proceeding towards the goal and making every effort to bring nearer the hour of victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

"(d) It must be a centralized party, prohibiting factions, tendencies, and groups. It must be a monolithic party hewn of one piece.

"(e) It must carry out a regular definite propaganda in the bourgeois army.

Bolshevizing the party means the application to our sections what in Russian Bolshevism was and is international and of general application.

"Only to the extent that the sections of the Comintern become really converted into bolshevik parties, will the Comintern indeed become a World Bolshevist Party imbued with the ideas of Leninism."

Where Do We Fall Short?

Does the Workers Party measure up to these standards? No one will pretend that we do. But it will be of great value to us to know where and in what manner we fall short, and also to what extent we have really progressed in the desired direction.

Let it be admitted at once that on all five points our Workers Party does not come up to standard. With this qualification we can then say, that on some points we have made distinct progress, while on others we still face the first elementary steps.

First, we must become a mass party. To accomplish this, five further pre-requisites are laid down by the Fifth Congress: (1) Construction of the party on the basis of shop

nuclei; (2) A correct trade union policy and work; (3) Initiation and linking up with a shop committee movement; (4) A correct policy toward the farmers; (5) A correct policy on the national question.

Shop nuclei, the first law of organization for a Party of Leninism, are only now being organized in our party. And we still lack that driving force of a convinced and enthusiastic membership that will make our shop nuclei the living, vital organs of the party. A drastic awakening of our membership to the absolute necessity of this re-organization task is called for immediately.

Correct trade union policy has been one of the strongest points of the Workers Party from its inception. But even here, tendencies to deviate from the true line of Lenin have appeared, not alone among small circles of our membership, but also among some leading comrades. Especially did we find the disastrous deviations of the German comrades on this question finding echoes in America. The party must be confirmed, from top to bottom, in the bolshevik trade union policy, summarized in the slogans: "Back to the

a certain amount of leadership in their struggles. Even here, however, in underestimating its importance, but in a tendency to allow the center of gravity of the struggle to slip over too far toward the agrarian elements. The leadership must always remain with the vanguard of the industrial workers.

On the national question we may say that our theory has been correct, but our practice has been sadly limited. Only on the question of the Philippines can we say that the party has really made itself a factor. In South and Central America, where burning questions of national struggle are smoldering and flaring up under the oppression of American Imperialism, our party sadly failed to make the most of its opportunities. There are a hundred excuses for this, lack of resources, etc., but the fact remains that until we make good this deficiency we cannot claim to be fully a Leninist Party.

Summarizing the conditions necessary for making the Workers Party a mass Party of Communism, we may say that on the first, third, and fifth points, we have made but the barest

ability to maneuver as a Leninist Party. Among other things this calls for a tenfold intensification of our educational activity, and the keenest scrutiny of every item of our educational work, that it may be Leninist in fact as well as phrase.

A Revolutionary Party.

On the third pre-requisite laid down by the Comintern, that the Party must be essentially and undeviatingly a revolutionary and Marxist Party, we claim that the Workers Party comes close to the standard. Deviations from lack of understanding, from an incomplete assimilation of the Communist theory and practice, have appeared and will appear. But our party record is not too bad in this respect. Vigilant scrutiny of all our acts, and merciless self-criticism, will keep us on the correct road.

A Centralized, Monolithic Party.

It is when we come to the fourth point, that we begin to get an appreciation of the appalling shortcomings of the Workers Party as a Party of Leninism. The Comintern says:

"It must be a centralized party, prohibiting factions, tendencies, and groups. It must be a monolithic party hewn of one piece."

A black record of sin against Leninism stands here against our movement in America. Not only have we silently acquiesced in our social-democratic inheritance of structural form, which reduces centralization to a mockery—we have done worse, by systematically placing a premium upon factions, tendencies, and groups within our party. We have a pernicious tradition, running violently counter to the fundamentals of Leninism, that the road to leadership lies thru the development of "tendencies" differing from the party line, and the crystallization of factions and groups around these "tendencies."

A sharp halt must be called to this un-bolshevik practice, and an end put to this shameful tradition. The Workers Party of America must, too, become "a monolithic party hewn of one piece." There is no room for warring factions and groups within a Communist party. When the next Central Executive Committee and District Committees of our party are elected, let it be understood, once and for all, that when the party has established its line of policy in the discussion period and by convention decision, at that moment all struggle within the party ends and every member, from top to bottom, becomes one unit in "a centralized, monolithic party hewn of one piece."

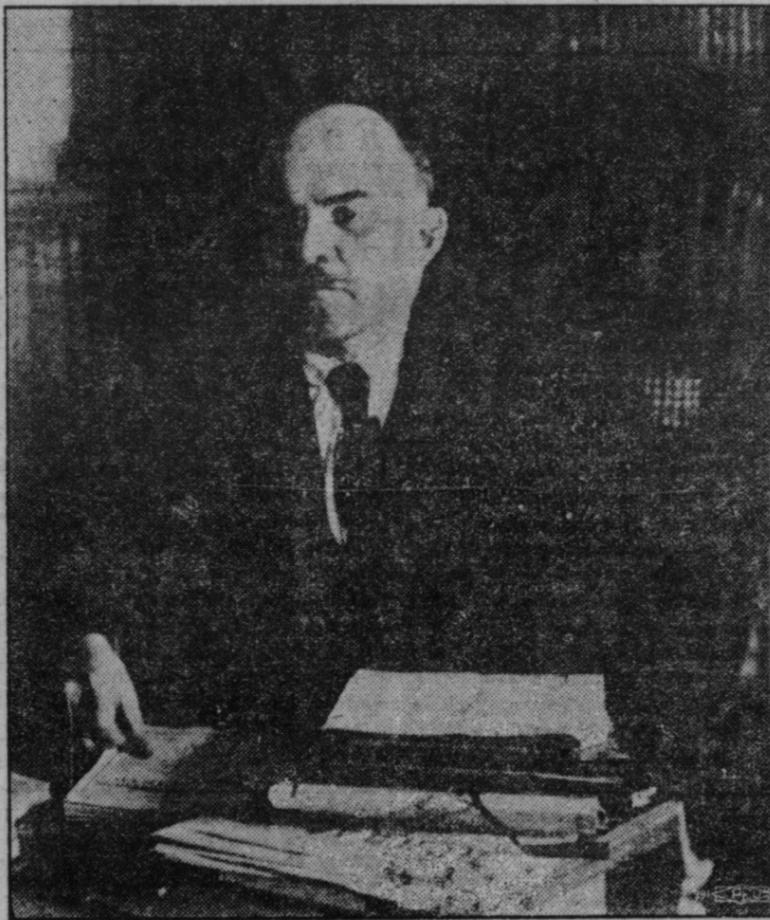
Propaganda in the Army.

In the fifth point, the systematic preparation of the armed forces of the bourgeois state for refusal to fire upon their brother workers when ordered to do so by the capitalist masters, we find another measure of the immaturity of our party. Not a tenth part of what should have been done by us has been accomplished. Immersed in the practical affairs of daily life, we have neglected what will soon become one of the most practical and pressing problems of the movement. And for the ultimate struggle for power, we know that upon this problem being solved depends the fate of the revolution itself. It is a pleasure to make note of the fact, however, that if our party has neglected this work, the Young Workers League has not. It has made at least a beginning by sending picked members into the military training camps, compiling its experience, and make it available for the movement generally.

Conclusion.

Yes, it requires more, much more, than mere repetition of phrases from the books for us to reach the point where we can say: "We have a Party of Leninism." It requires that we take hold of our party and change it, organizationally and ideologically, hammering it in the course of our struggle, in the course of applying the principles of the Communist International to the life of the American working class, into the kind of a

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LENIN

trade unions;" "Unity, nationally and internationally, of the trade union movement;" "Against splits and secessions;" "Relentless struggle within the mass organizations against the policies of class collaboration and for policies of class struggle."

The problem of shop committees is only now being faced and mastered by our party in its theoretical aspect. But today it is also becoming a major practical problem of our movement, because only insofar as the shop committee movement is now developed will we be able to secure the necessary contact with the masses for the development of our whole movement, especially in its trade union phases, on to the new stage called for by the class struggle. Intense activity and study in initiating and understanding real, practical movements for shop committees is today the outstanding problem on the economic field of a Party of Leninism in America.

A correct policy toward the farmers is another point on which we can justly claim progress. We have established vital contacts with the poorer farmers, and have given them we have disclosed weaknesses—not

beginnings. On the fourth, the farmers, our exceptional opportunities have enabled us to make progress which is not discreditable. Only on the second, that of trade union policy, can we say that our party has really made appreciable strides towards the goal of establishing a living contact with the masses.

Ability to Maneuver.

In developing the ability to maneuver, the second point laid down as a necessity for a Party of Leninism, we must register some progress but many shortcomings. We have definitely overcome the sectarian attitude to our problems, and established a will to maneuver. But the firmness of ideology in our membership, necessary to carry out maneuvers successfully and to keep our own forces and program intact, has not always been present. In our Labor Party campaigns, we sometimes found individuals and even whole units of our party, being confused by opportunist ideas, instead of overcoming and defeating such deviations which always threaten in such maneuvers among backward masses. The ideology of our membership must be strengthened, its instinct against opportunism must be sharpened, before we can claim the

The Founding of the First International

By HARRISON GEORGE

When the red flag of the Soviet Republic of Great Britain floats aloft from John O' Groat's to Land's End, I am sure that on some ceremonial day a tremendous mass of the London proletariat will crowd by the hundreds of thousands around the corner of Long Acre and Endell street, for, on that corner stands St. Martin's Hall, and in that hall on September 28th, 1864, was born the International Workingmen's Association—the First International.

Previous to that date the advance of capitalist domination had been unchallenged. It had smashed feudal forms. It had seen its catch-words "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" (meaning free trade, equality of bourgeois with the nobility, and the "fraternity" of stock holders) flowering at the foot of the guillotine which awaited alike the resistant feudalist and the nascent, deceived proletariat. It had overturned governments right and left, and except for isolated and confused resistances such as the Chartist Movement, capitalist advance was an uninterrupted triumph.

But with the birth of the I. W. M. A., was forged the first crude weapon which the international working class used in blocking the path of capitalist exploitation. Capitalism saw the birth of its implacable enemy, and foresaw with abject terror its historical extinction.

Beginnings

It was upon the material, even though unstable and immature, foundation of English trades unions that the First International was based. On the Continent, unions were forbidden and only occasional, impotent groups or republicans led by Mazzini furtively existed. It was the hope, undoubtedly, of British unionists to extend unionism to the Continent, that led a group of them headed by George Odger to send, in 1863, an address "To the Workingmen of France from the Workingmen of England."

This address was built upon the question then agitating all libertarians, the subjection of Poland and the recent suppression of the Polish insurrection. But, evidently, this address was a reply to some unknown French manifesto, as it said: "We echo your call for a fraternity of peoples, highly necessary for the cause of labor." Anyhow, from these beginnings came the meeting on Sept. 28th, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London.

Although, as mentioned, the Polish question was uppermost, and the meeting, under the chairmanship of a positivist professor, E. S. Beesley, had the formulation of a protest on behalf of Poland as its first order of business; after that had been finished, the problem of the international organization of the working class was taken up. Le Lubez, a French refugee living in London, proposed that a Central Council, sitting in London, with branches in all European capitals, should be formed. The proposal was accepted and upon the Central Council were appointed a number of English unionists, Major L. Wolff, who represented, as his secretary, the ideas of Mazzini, and the great economist and revolutionary, Karl Marx.

There were four primary currents. Firstly, Odger and Howell, English trade unionists, wished merely to provide the workers on the Continent with unions. Some French refugees hoped that the new organization would attempt the assassination of Napoleon III. Thirdly, Mazzini, through his secretary, Major Wolff (later exposed as a police spy by the seizure of records in the Paris Commune) hoped to turn the I.W.M.A. into groups of secret republican societies. But Marx, with his tireless energy and patience won the day with his famous "Address and Rules" to make the International a great propagandist body, uniting and educating the workers, admitting both unions and political sections.

In reality, it was Marx's first opportunity to realize in action that amazing intellectual contribution, "The Communist Manifesto" which he and his brilliant co-worker Frederick Engels had written in 1847 for the obscure and now forgotten "Federation of the Just."

As indicative of the political direction accepted by the First International the lines from Marx's Inaugural Address may be quoted: "Conquest of political power is the first task of the working class." "The scales will turn in favor of the masses only if they are organized and if they are guided by knowledge." "The liberation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself." This last quotation was aimed against the class collaboration theories of Proudhon and is not, as has been implied by "infantile left-

ists", an argument for sectarian isolation. The closing paragraphs of the "Communist Manifesto" contradict such notions.

As an example of the queer kind of things the working class was asked to swallow, the following from Proudhon also aptly illustrates how the anarchist theory, which makes its appeal as being "more revolutionary" than Marxism, leads straight to class collaboration: "The social question is there; you cannot escape from it. To solve it we must have men who combine extreme radicalism with extreme conservatism. Workers, hold out your hands to your employers; and you, employers, do not deliberately repulse the advances of those who were your wage earners." And this from the "Father of Anarchy" who cried that the State is a "fiction" "No more parties, no politics, no more authority, absolute liberty!"

Among the English, German, Polish and Italian delegates at the Inaugural Congress were numerous French workers led by Tolain, an ardent supporter of Proudhon's "mutualism" especially as applied to people's credit banks. Marx fought against this digression for years. But it was the rising tide of trade unionism, together with a revolutionary political movement, which left no basis for such petty-bourgeois nostrums, and Proudhonism died a natural death among strikes and rising revolution.

Though the International was terribly handicapped, unable to pay rent for its offices and chronically remiss in paying its secretary even the small sum of \$5 per week, its influence

ber 1868, the Council opposed giving a dinner to the American ambassador "because he does not represent the workers." And when Mazzini died that year, a motion to make an address on the event was opposed because "Mazzini was opposed to the class struggle." Strikes swept Europe.

But Marx's work was not to go on peacefully. One of the most able and shameless masters of intrigue was seeking admission to the International. Michael Bakunin led an anarchist organization called the "Alliance of Socialist Democracy." Able as he was in intrigue, Bakunin was theoretically impossible. To the folly of Proudhonist "absolute liberty" he added "absolute equality", embracing both abstractions and the problem of reconciling these two absolutes. But six years before he had addressed Alexander II, pledging his loyalty if Alexander would only become "Czar of the Moujiks." Bakunin's "Alliance" applied for admission en masse to the International.

Bakunin's "Alliance" wanted admission upon its own, Bakunin's principles; "The Alliance declares itself atheist." "There shall be no state," and, after Bakunin had been disappointed in political alliance with Swiss liberals—"Political action is forbidden." But it was his "economic and social equalization of classes" which drew the fire of the General Council in its reply denying the Alliance admission as an organization. The reply said in part:

"The equalization of classes literally interpreted comes to the harmony of capital and labor, so pertinaciously

and the government fled to Versailles. The Paris Commune had begun.

It is not the purpose of this article to give a history of this glorious effort of the Paris workers to establish proletarian rule. Sufficient to say that on the Central Committee of the Commune sat 17 members of the International. For detailed incident of the struggle in which 100,000 Paris workers "disappeared"—as Postgate puts it, and 30,000 are acknowledged to have been massacred by the Versailles, I refer the reader to "The Civil War in France," written by Marx and issued by the First International while Thiers' human bloodhounds were still dumping cadavers into the Seine.

The members of the International fought beside the other Paris workers day after day, only once did the members on the Central Committee resign as a protest against action of the majority. They were ordered back by the General Council and like good revolutionists they obeyed International discipline. On May 21st the Versailles entered by a spy's betrayal. A week of barricade fighting followed. The promise of May 15th was kept. It had said: "Paris has treated with death. Behind her forts are her walls; behind her walls are her barricades; behind her barricades are her houses which will have to be wrenched from her one by one." And when the fighting was over the Versailles under Thiers and Gallifet began the most gory and sickening butchery of the century.

Marx says that in order to find comparison for the conduct of Thiers "we must go back to the times of Sulla and the two Triumvirates of Rome.... There is but this difference, that the Romans had no machine guns for the dispatch, in the lump, of the proscribed, and that they had not 'the law in their hands' nor on their lips the cry of 'civilization.'"

Between the ghastly wound of the crushed Commune and the unceasing intrigues of Bakunin the International was bleeding to death. The Unions had been first to succumb to persecution and then the political sections, the organs of combat, were wiped out by the terrific reaction following the Commune. Though many sections were left in Europe, especially in England, and nearly thirty in America, the whole energy of the movement was taken up in factional fighting. Bakunin railed against the "dictatorship" of Marx and Engels; they, in turn, would not surrender one inch to anarchist theory.

"Anarchy," says Marx, "is the great charger of Bakunin. All socialists hold anarchy to mean this: the aim of the proletarian movement, the abolition of classes, once attained, the power of the state which serves to keep the great majority of producers beneath the yoke of a small exploiting minority, will disappear and governmental functions become mere administrative functions. The Alliance (speaking of Bakuninists) reverses this. It proclaims anarchy in the ranks of the proletariat as the most infallible means of defeating the powerful concentration of social and political forces in the hands of the exploiters. On this pretext it requires the International at the moment when the old world seeks to crush it, to replace its organization (Bakunin had demanded abolition of powers of the General Council) with anarchy. The international police asks no more."

But capitalism again triumphant and still ascendant was creating national interests even among the socialists. The anarchists were sowing the seeds of decentralization which were to furnish the poison for the Second International and its collapse forty years later. Marxians, embittered by Bakunin, controlled the Hague Congress meeting on September 2, 1872. It voted to move the General Council to New York. Marx was ill, suffering severely and dangerously from overwork. Engels continued to fight the anarchists. Bakunin failed to build a rival international. On the 15th of July, 1876, the First International held its last conference at Philadelphia. The outlook was black and the meeting accepted facts and declared the General Council abolished. Bakunin, it seems, had won. But Leninism was to come. And that, of course, is another story.

Food Prices Climb.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 26.—Cost of the principal articles of food (weighted average) retailed in towns throughout the country shows an increase of seven-tenths of 1 per cent for July this year, compared with June says the bureau of labor statistics. The cost of these items is 2.6 per cent lower than in July, 1923. Coffee is 12 per cent higher than a year ago.

FROM THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION

By KARL MARX.

Delivered to the Public Meeting in the St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London, on Sept. 28, 1864, at which the association was founded:

"Therefore to capture political power is now the great duty of the working class. This appears to have been understood for simultaneously in England, France, Germany and Italy indications of a revival are to be seen and in all these countries attempts at the political reorganization of the workers' party are now being made."

"One element of success is possessed by the workers—their great numbers. But the mass can only bring their pressure to bear when an organization has gathered them together and given them an intelligent lead. Former experience has shown how neglect of the bonds of brotherhood, which can unify and encourage the workers of the various lands in all their struggles for freedom to steadfastly stand by one another, leads to the punishment of the workers through the frustration of their unconnected attempts. Urged by the knowledge of this need workers of various countries have on September 28th, 1864, at a public meeting in the St. Martin's Hall, founded the International Association."

spread like wildfire across Europe. Unions sprang up in Spain, Denmark, France, Austria-Hungary and Germany, and fierce conflicts broke out with the capitalists. The English Trades Union Congress of 1863 instructed all unions to join the international, which held its congress that year at Geneva.

A delegate from Geneva crossing the French frontier was searched and documents of the International seized. The French authorities offered to let them through, however, "if you will insert some expressions of gratitude to the Emperor who has done so much for the working class." The International, however, thought it better to raise \$5,000 relief funds in England for locked-out Paris bronze workers, an act which gave it tremendous prestige throughout France. A strike leader on trial declared, when asked if he were a member of the International—"No, but I hope to be allowed to be."

It was the role of Marx in all this up-sweep of working class organization to weed out the freak philosophies and utopian systems and replace them with scientific socialism, that is to say, Communist clarification. But he was terribly handicapped. He was deep in poverty and his family suffered fearfully from disease and hunger. And the International was fair game for all the fantastic social remedies of an awakening class seeking prematurely to throw off its chains. Merely by his wonderful logic without intrigue did he hold mastery over the General Council. Like our great leader Lenin, he did the work of two men, beset by bitter difficulties though he was, and living the life of a half-starved refugee. In 1868 he brought forth the first edition of his great work—**Capital.**

Marxism was at work. In Decem-

advocated by bourgeois socialists. It is not the equalization of classes, logically a contradiction, impossible to realize, but on the contrary, the abolition of classes, the real secret of the proletarian movement, which is the great aim of the International Workingmen's Association."

But Marx's work was not to go on dissolving its central bureau, affiliated branch by branch following Marx's proposal that they be admitted, Bakunin was, as Postgate says, "inside the fort." While he did very constructive work in establishing branches throughout Spain, his very nature reveled in interminable quarrels, and although the whole International was becoming a nightmare to the bourgeoisie, the mendacious factionalism of Bakunin had split it in two before the death blow given it by the crushing of the Paris Commune.

War broke out in July, 1870, between France and Prussia. The German members of the International vigorously opposed the war, but without effect. The French section had previously been subjected to bitter persecution by the Bonaparte government. It was powerless. In six weeks the French armies were smashed or captured by Bismark and the empire had fallen. A republic was proclaimed on September 4th. The new government went from incontinent retreat to incompetent and disastrous attack.

On January 18th, 1871, more afraid of the Paris workmen it had been compelled to arm in the "National Guard", than of the Prussian troops, it signed an armistice. Paris was enraged. Thiers, commander of the regular troops and soon to become one of the most infamous butchers of working people, ordered his soldiers on March 18th, to seize the cannon of the Paris National Guard. The troops fraternized, shot their officers

Carrying the Banner of Social Revolt

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

Thus spoke Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, in the "Communist Manifesto," on the nature of human society and on the prime fundamental forces that are making its development and shaping the changes in its construction.

What is the story of social life? It is a story of struggle, of class against class, of the oppressed against the oppressor, a struggle for political power to reshape society—the ownership and control of the wealth of the nation—in the interests of the oppressed masses.

The Last Struggle for Power.

In the past it was a struggle of slave against freeman, plebeian against patrician, serf against lord, journeyman against guild-master. Now it is a struggle of worker against capitalist, the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. And in this struggle of today, the Banner of Social Revolt is carried by the Communist International—the spiritual and political successor to the First International.

Social changes of former epochs resulted, as a rule, in substituting one ruling class for another. The slave of yesterday became the freeman and master of today. The oppressed bourgeoisie under the feudal regime became the powerful capitalist class of today, holding under its iron heel millions upon millions of toiling masses. But when these in their turn succeed in overthrowing the rule of the capitalists, the only new form of society that can result out of such a revolution is a society of equals, a society of Communist brotherhood.

Ours, therefore, is the last struggle for power. The victorious working class can materialize its victory over the bourgeoisie and realize in a measure the fruits of the social revolution only in one way and that is by abolishing classes altogether. That is why the final aims of the proletarian class struggle, in distinction from the final aims of former aspirants to power is not the perpetuation of class rule but, on the contrary, its total liquidation.

It's the final conflict. Let each stand in his place. The International Party shall be the human race.

The First International Has Shown the Way.

But how shall we reach this goal? The First International, founded in London sixty years ago, has shown the way. Through the medium of its immortal leader, Karl Marx, the First International has proclaimed the truth that the seizure of political power by the working class is the only road to the abolition of capitalist exploitation, to the abolition of classes altogether, and to the institution of a society of human brotherhood.

The First International! Only an incident in the great proletarian struggle for freedom, was it not? And yet what a significant, epoch-making incident that was! Everything of importance that happened to the working class within the last sixty years can be traced, directly or indirectly, to that memorable day in September, 1864, upon which there first made its appearance the "International Workingmen's Association."

It was the first visible manifestation of working class internationalism. Just imagine. In a world half submerged in blood and nearly torn to shreds by kings, feudals and capitalists, there appears in the arena of social life a body of workingmen intent upon acting "internationally." As against the petty jealousies of

kings and emperors and as against the expansionist ambitions of the rising bourgeoisie this International Association of Workingmen puts up the idea and the movement for working-class solidarity of the toiling masses the world over.

Can you feel the workings of this idea in the labor movement of today? Can you see hundreds of thousands of proletarians closing their ranks behind the Communist International, marching proudly under the banner of social revolt and determined to establish an International Soviet Republic?

If you can see this movement, and if you also happen to know what transpired in London, in St. Martin's Hall, on a September day in 1864, you will realize what the First International has meant for the working-class struggle for freedom.

The Road to Power.

Go back to the "Inaugural Address" by Karl Marx, delivered at the founding of the First International. Read it. Study it. Try to extract from it its most momentous lesson and direction to the working class. And what is it? The seizure of political

internal dissensions have brot to a close the existence of the First International. And it was only in 1889 that the attempt was made again to give international expression to the working class movement of the world. It finally materialized into what is now known as the Second International.

It was to continue the traditions of the First only on a much wider scale. It was to raise again the banner of social revolt and to carry it on until the final victory of the world proletariat.

But, alas, this was not to be, having fulfilled the important historic mission of assisting in the upbuilding of political mass parties of the workers in a number of European countries, a mission which was accomplished during two decades of comparatively peaceful capitalist development, the Second International went bankrupt and later collapsed altogether because of the inability and unwillingness of its leadership to cope in an effective way with the capitalism of today—the capitalism of imperialistic wars and proletarian revolutions.

bound to betray the workers at the first real test with capitalist reality which came at the beginning of the late war.

In fact since the beginning of the present century the labor movement of the world entered into a period of temporary eclipse as far as international action was concerned. One might safely say that since 1901 there has been no working class body effectively functioning in the field of the international class struggle. The late war and the total collapse of the Second International merely completed a decade of bankruptcy and betrayal.

The Sun Appears Again.

Those were bitter years for the militant and class conscious workers of the world. The banner of social revolt was nowhere visible on the international horizon. Only the working class of Russia under the leadership of the Bolsheviks and their immortal leader, Lenin, and small sections of militants in other European countries were valiantly resisting this black tide of betrayal and demoralization. Until—

Until the Red Sun appeared in the East, the Russian Revolution in 1917. The formation of the Communist International in 1919. And since then the triumphant march of the revolutionary proletariat the world over.

The banner of social revolt has again risen over the heads of the working class, purged and cleansed in the fire of struggle and in the blood of working class revolutionaries. The Communist International has come into existence and with it the resurrection of the best and most potent traditions of the First International.

Karl Marx in 1864, in St. Martin's Hall, in London, England; Nicholas Lenin in 1919, in the hall of the Kremlin, in Moscow, Russia. Two links in the chain of struggle. Two milestones on the Road to Power.

In this day of celebration, let us dedicate our lives to the cause championed by our leaders, Marx, Engels and Lenin. Let us once more declare before the whole world:

No compromise with the enemy!

A fight to the finish for the proletarian dictatorship and the Communist Society!

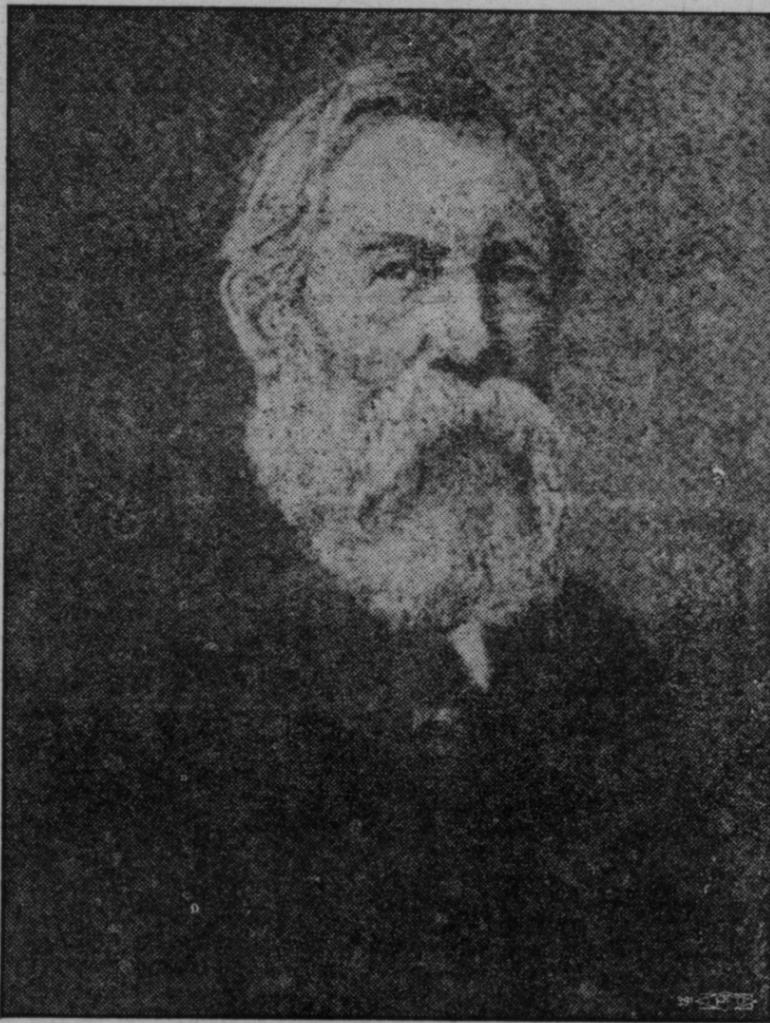
Long live the International Soviet Republic!

Hillman in Toronto.

NEW YORK, Sept. 26.—Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has left for an organization trip in eastern Canada. He will confer with the local organizations of the union in Montreal and Toronto. The recent strike Montreal to get contractors registered and maintain union conditions is a complete victory for the union.

Russians Postpone Play.

On account of the affair to be given Saturday, Sept. 27, for the benefit of the DAILY WORKER, the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia has postponed its performance to Saturday, Oct. 4. A Russian play, "The Devil's Kitchen," in four acts, will be given by the Society at 1902 W. Division St.



FREDERICK ENGELS

power. It tells the workers in so many words that the road to freedom is the road to power. How? By fighting for it, nationally and internationally. Thru what means? Thru the means of a revolutionary working class political party. This is the essence of the theory and practice of the First International.

And when you now see class conscious proletarians flocking into the ranks of the Communist International you understand the connection between it and what happened in St. Martin's Hall in September of 1864. And when you see over the heads of the revolutionary workers of today a red banner floating with the inscription: "Hail the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," you will feel satisfied that the work of the First International has not been in vain.

A Temporary Eclipse.

The proletarian struggle for power has had its ups and downs. The same is true of the international working class movement. The defeat of the Paris Commune, which resulted in a terrific onslaught upon the proletariat by the militant reaction of the world bourgeoisie, coupled with

The Second International, led by Scheideman, Noske, Henderson, MacDonald, etc., has betrayed the tradition of the First International in two fundamental respects. The former turned out to be neither international nor revolutionary. It was therefore

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How to Start a Shop Nucleus

By MARTIN ABERN

To begin with, one cannot set down a hard and fast rule for taking the first steps in organizing a Shop Nucleus, the political unit of the Party made up of Party members working in the same shop, factory, mill, etc. The ways are many; there is not an arbitrary figure to the number required to establish a Shop Nucleus. Even one Party member can constitute himself as a Shop Nucleus, and by carrying on a systematic activity build a larger group of Party members around him. But that is a matter which can be dealt with another time in connection with problems growing out of it. There are some first steps toward Shop Nucleus organization which are common in virtually every instance.

There Must Be a Correct Industrial Registration

Where do the Party comrades work? That must be known accurately before anything can be done to organize politically in the shop. A 100 per cent correct industrial registration of the Party is hence wanted and required. The Party is now taking an industrial registration nationally. The Branch Secretary or Industrial Organizer must therefore make sure that every member is registered, especially—that is the most important—as to place of work of each comrade. Very likely, the Branch will find that among its own members there are comrades working together in the same shop. The Branch, however, is asked at present to send in its complete industrial registration to the City Central Committee, the District and National Organizations, for which the necessary blanks have been provided.

With the industrial registration of all the Branches in its hands, the City Organization proceeds to classify the membership of the Branches. Much information will be got. Among that will be the knowledge of where the Party members work, whether alone in a shop or together with other comrades who belong to various Party territorial Branches.

Let us take an example which will occur hundreds of times and which will therefore be the starting point innumerable toward Shop Nucleus organization.

The City Organization, having classified the industrial registration, finds that in the, let us say, Allen Machinery company are working Party comrades who belong to: English Branch—three members; Lithuanian Branch—two members; Jewish Branch—one member; South Slav Branch—two members—eight Party members in the same shop. The classification will occur in divers ways in the industries. What will be the first duty of the City Organization, the four Branches spoken of, and the eight members?

The Common Interests of the Comrades Unite Them For Activity

The City Organization informs the Branches and members of the above findings. A meeting of the comrades from the four Branches is called. There are a number of interests, obviously, they have in common but which they now take note of; for it is the obvious, very often, which is most important and to which the attention of people must be called. What are some of the things in common of the comrades?

a. The comrades of the English, Jewish, Lithuanian and South Slav

Branches belong to the same political party, the Workers (Communist) Party, and so have like political attitudes.

b. The comrades work in the same shop, Allen Machinery Co., and have the same economic and job problems in the shop to meet and to solve.

c. The comrades are surrounded in the shop by the same other workers upon whom our comrades have to work with a common political and economic program.

There are more identical problems which can be noted, but these will do for our purpose. The question occurs: with these factors in common to start with, is it not logical that the Party members should be organized as a political unit in the shop to carry on a steady, common and systematic program for communism among their fellow shop-mates? Plainly so. Far more logical, sensible, practicable and communist that these Party members should be organized as a Shop Nucleus with definitive work to do.

That is true, comrade, and good, but we don't speak English very well, and that makes the work and organization of a Shop Nucleus so difficult, is an objection which is at once heard. That objection is more evasion than anything else. It is a difficulty cured by contact of the members with one another and with a program in the shop to carry out. The boss manages to get along with the workers of various languages together in the same shop. In fact, too well and profitably. Party members, as well as the other workers, have to get along, despite the alleged language barriers, with the boss. Certainly Party members have far more in common with

each other and can more easily find ways to get along together. The language objection is sophistic and must be overruled therefore. Taking it for granted, therefore, that the comrades of the various Branches, found to be working in the same machine shop, are ready and willing to be organized as a Shop Nucleus, what is the next step? To outline briefly, for the many functions and problems should be dealt with in detail separately.

Shop Nucleus, Not The Branch, Is The Authoritative Political Unit.

It is possible, in a degree, for comrades working together in a shop to carry on work of a political and economic character, which is akin to the work a Shop Nucleus would carry on. We have in mind a group of comrades from various Branches who work together in the same shop. They spread propaganda thru literature, etc.; they formulate and try to carry out certain shop demands; they do some common work in the shop in relation to the present election campaign of the Party. But—it is not a Shop Nucleus and does not do the work it might if it were a bonafide Shop Nucleus instead of just a shop fraction. It is not authoritative; the members of the various Branches regard their Branches as the leading body. That brings forward a fundamental problem of the Shop Nucleus.

The Shop Nucleus must be, and is, the leading and authoritative political unit of the Party. It is the basic unit. The comrades of the English, Lithuanian, Jewish and South Slav Branches mentioned as example, meeting together, elect a Shop Nucleus Secretary, and Industrial Organizer, Litera-

ture Agent and other officers.

Then, the comrades must pay their dues through the Shop Nucleus Secretary. It becomes and is thereby the leading and main political unit of the Party, and recognizes itself and acts as such. The allegiance, if that term can be used, of the members of the Shop Nucleus is not to the territorial English or language branches to which they formerly belonged. It is to the Shop Nucleus. The Shop Nucleus thereafter as an authorized body meets regularly to lay out a program of action for itself—a program of politics, economic and trade union work, educational, lectures, literature distribution, individual work of the members, time and place of meetings, etc. all of which must be dealt with in special articles.

Shop Nucleus Activity Once Started Will Do Away With So-Called Difficulties.

This article tries to touch some of the technical sides to getting started toward Shop Nuclei. The members of the Shop Nucleus, meeting together regularly, in daily contact with one another, with a program of work in the shop will soon find that any language difficulties, if real, will disappear. The heart and work of the members will not be in their former Branches, English or language, but in their Shop Nucleus where they are united on the basis of their daily struggle needs and on the ultimate program of Communism. Shop Nucleus organization will mean a better and clearer understanding of the labor movement and working class problems in America and will produce better Party members for the cause of Communism.

Impressions of the LaFollette Meeting

(Continued from Page 2.)

thirteen minutes, it was due to the frantic cheer-leading from the speakers' platform, assisted by section cheer leaders who were everywhere.

I tell you, comrades, there is nothing to it. It isn't even much of a fraud—it's a bluff, and they are suckers indeed who fall for it. At that, I don't know if that particular audience of some thirteen thousand, fell for it. They simply didn't care, they were not concerned, there was nothing at stake for them one way or another. By the way the audience received the various speakers and responded to various telling phrases you could see what elements it was composed of. La Guardia got a big and noisy hand, and when he assured the people that the progressives, far from intending to break down the constitution, wish to maintain it and carry out faithfully its provisions, there was a hefty applause of relief and reassurance. Norman Thomas' applause about gaged the socialist contents of the

hall, and of that old guard there must have been some two or three thousand. LaFollette's reference to high telephone rates struck a sore spot, also his denunciation of high electric bills. There wasn't a doubt that the bulk of the audience would go home into apartments with all modern improvements. It was that kind of a crowd.

Was it La Guardia or was it the chairman who referred to Coolidge's aides as "our republican friends?" Without a sneer, mind you, without a humorous quirk. It was beautiful, that "republican friends!" It was the very bull's eye of the progressives' campaign spirit. It's as between friends, fair competitors, honest opponents, drummers in the same line, gentlemen all. And then that happy epitome of La Guardia's: "All intelligent republicans and all intelligent democrats are and ought to be in the progressive movement!"

LaFollette's prepared address was in every respect harmonious with the

audience, the spirit of the affair, and the tenor of the preliminary shadow-boxing with "privilege." Frankly, I gave old Bob more credit for substance. The amount of bunk, piffle, drivel, twaddle and rebashed tommyrot must have dismayed even the faithful, even Hillquit's proselytes. You've read the speech and you know what I mean. That "government by the people" motif was too cheap even for LaFollette. The vulgar tricks of talking abstract "democracy" which has ever been the means of the old-type politicians to make a lot of hollow noise without saying anything in particular, was the very backbone of LaFollette's address.

Comrades, if this gathering is a fair sample, the whole thing is bunk, and there is no such thing as a LaFollette stampede within the ranks of labor, and there is no new delusion that has beclouded the primal issue of the class struggle.

I say this because there is a possibility of some of us having been taken in by the noisy press agents of this disgusting hodge-podge. The thing cannot live because it is still born, the delusion cannot persist because there is nothing but low-grade piffle to sustain it.

It is significant that even the jacked-up spirit of the evening did not suffice to keep the audience attentive to and interested in LaFollette's oration. After the idle curiosity was gratified, the crowd became restless and toward the middle of the address there was to be seen a stream flowing outward. The stream kept swelling until toward the end of the "big act" the galleries were empty and the people on the floor were milling, sick with boredom. Old Bob is a dull speaker and the whole thing was so damned dull, one wished one were in the movies looking at a pie-throwing comedy.

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RUSSIAN DELEGATION TO THE BRITISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS



FRATERNAL DELEGATES.—A group of Russian Trade Union visitors to the Trades Union Congress, with Mr. Ben Tillett, M. P. In the back row on the right are Mr. G. Hicks and Mr. R. Coppock, the builders' leaders. Comrade Tomski is in the centre of the front row.

A Party of Leninism

(Continued from Page 3.)

party that Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin made of the Russian Communist Party, into a party capable of leading the massed millions of the working class into struggle against the capitalist system, for the seizure of power and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. And at the present moment let us say, all together: "We are determined that we shall have a Party of Leninism."

Marx--Engels--Lenin

By T. J. O'Flaherty

MARX, ENGELS, LENIN,—Three names that will go down in history, the names of giants who forged the weapons with which the working class could emancipate itself and taught the proletariat how to use the weapons. Marx and Engels lived during the period while the bourgeoisie was still performing its historical task of preparing society for the birth of a new social order. Lenin was more fortunate or rather the workers were fortunate in that the greatest leader that the revolutionary working class movement ever produced had matured as a scientific revolutionary mechanic at a time when the capitalist system had passed the zenith of its power and was as a world historical system starting on the decline.

Karl Marx, the inspiration of the First International or the International Workingmen's Association, the father of modern scientific socialism, was no mere analyst of the mechanism of the bourgeois system of production and distribution. He was first and foremost a revolutionist, and if Lenin had accomplished nothing else, but the rescue of Marx from the clutches of the social reformers who would make of him a harmless observer of social phenomena, he would have deserved well of the working class movement. But Lenin did more than that. He not alone rescued Marx from the Kautskys and the other agents of the capitalist class but he proceeded to translate Marxism into action. Lenin was the founder of the first proletarian state.

The name of Marx is honored by millions of workers the world over. It is equally hated by the bourgeoisie tho the name of Lenin now more than shares honors with that of Marx in this respect. The proletarian class struggle existed before Marx's day, but Marx was the first to bring the revolutionary movement down from the clouds of utopia and place it on a solid scientific footing.

Hitherto the workers had dreams of salvation but they were not sure that the system of exploitation would be abolished. Marx put the movement for the emancipation of the workers on a theoretical basis and showed that thru the continuous development of perfection of technique capitalism would reach the point where it could no longer function and must necessarily give way to the new order, socialism. But Marx never failed to insist that the new system of production could only be established by the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalists, who strive to uphold the present social order.

The theoretical formulation of the class struggle and the revelation of the secret of capitalist production thru surplus value gave the working class a new and powerful weapon. They were no longer in doubt as to the final result of the struggle. Marx gave them the goal and the weapons with which to bring about their own emancipation. "Workers of all Countries Unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain." This was the slogan raised for the first time that cut across national boundaries and joined the class conscious workers of all countries where the labor movement had planted its feet, into an army pledged to carry on the struggle against capitalism until the robber system was overthrown.

Marx completely swept away the old theory that socialism would be brot about thru the agency of intelligent and benevolent people. He showed that its coming did not rest on the shifting sands of justice and morality, but on the efforts of the class whose interests demand a change in the system of production, from social production and private ownership to social production and social ownership.

Karl Marx like Lenin was not satisfied to give a theoretical basis to the revolutionary movement; he also built an organization to give the theory effect. The International

Workingmen's Association was that country show a determination to make a real bid for power. Lenin was accused of being an incurable dogmatist and an inveterate factionalist. The same accusation was time and again hurled against Marx by those who could not understand the scientific mind of the founder of modern socialism or could not tolerate his insistence on the uncompromising struggle against capitalism.

Marx's life, since he first entered the revolutionary movement was a constant battle against the capitalist enemy on the outside and against the anarchists, and social reformers who were liberally represented in the First International. Anarchists, like Bakunin who ostensibly hated the bourgeoisie, hoped to bring about the religious, political and philosophic emancipation of humanity thru a bourgeois League for Peace and Freedom. Another anarchist, Proudhon, held to the theory that war is impossible because humanity does not want war. The Franco-Prussian war broke out in the following year. The Marx group in the International held that "great wars are waged not alone in the interests of dynasties but also in the interests of the great powers and trade, and are conducted for the advantage of the ruling class."

Running thru Marx's writings like a red thread is the insistence on the class strgle and that the emancipation of the workers must be the task of the workers themselves, and not

That Marx did not mention the dictatorship of the proletariat merely in passing as a certain school of alleged Marxians in America claim, but considered it of paramount importance is shown by the following statement contained in the Communist Manifesto, written by Marx and Engels in November 1847:

"Tracing the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we followed up the more or less hidden civil war, within existing society to the point at which it is transformed into open revolution, and the proletariat establishes its rule by means of the violent overthrow of the capitalist class. . . . We have already seen that the first step in the Workers' Revolution is the transfiguration of the proletariat into the ruling class, the conquest of democracy. . . . The proletariat will use its political supremacy in order gradually to wrest the whole of capital gradually from the capitalist class, to centralize all the instruments of production in the hands of the state, i. e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class, and to increase as quickly as possible the total of productive forces."

This is the dictatorship of the proletariat with a vengeance. One can almost imagine Lenin in he year 1917 taking down his Communist Manifesto, exactly seventy years to the month from the day these lines were penned

FRATERNIZATION



THEY



WE

small select groups of conspirators planned by the French revolutionist Blanqui, but by great masses.

The Franco-Prussian war wrecked the First International as the late war smashed the second, its unworthy successor, and in order to get the wreckage out of the hands of the anarchists Marx shipped it to the United States where it was peacefully buried.

Up to 1914 it was quite fashionable to profess adherence to the Marxian theory, but most of the theorists were busily engaged explaining Marx out of existence or as Lenin puts it in his Proletarian Revolution, "turning Marx into a hackneyed liberal." Those who desire to pose as Marxists but at the same time wanted to make Marxism conform to bourgeois liberalism burned the midnight oil distorting the meaning of the great leader's writings and particularly the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and the violent overthrow of the capitalist system, which in Lenin's words "is the essence of Marx's teachings."

Marx who lived in England the greater part of his active life, once thot that if a peaceful change from capitalism to socialism was possible in any county, that country was England. But he was always careful to state that the bourgeoisie would not surrender peacefully in England, any more than in the continental countries. Anybody who follows the situation in England today will harbor no illusions as to the intentions of the British ruling class to fight like tigers for the preservation of their power whenever the working class of that

by Marx and Engels and putting the idea contained in this passage into operation. Yet we are told that Marxism could not be applied in an industrially backward country. The more one reads Marx, Engels and Lenin, the more one agrees with the truth in Comrade Robert Minor's charge against the socialist party of America that it was a "huge machine for lying about socialism." The same applies to the socialist parties of the world.

The Marxian conception of the state is that it is a class instrument for suppressing other classes. Under capitalism, for the suppression of the proletariat. Under proletarian rule for the suppression of the bourgeoisie and to abolish all exploitation. The theory advanced by the social reformers that the state is an instrument for the reconciliation of classes is infantile. The capitalist class cannot afford to eliminate the working class even if it could; it depends on it to man the machinery of production. But the proletarian state's function will be to get rid of capitalism gradually and also of the capitalist class which becomes unnecessary with the establishment of socialism as an economic system.

Leninism is Marxism in action. And the core of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism is the proletarian dictatorship, which enables the working class to begin laying the foundation for the structure of socialism on the ruins of the capitalist state. This is a cardinal principle of Communist theory.

In view of the perversion of Marxism by a certain brood of American pseudo-Marxists the following quota-

tion from Lenin's "The State and Revolution" is pertinent and timely: "The lower middle class democrats, these sham socialists who have replaced the class struggle by dreams of harmony between classes, have imagined even a transition to socialism, in a dream as it were—that is, not in the form of the overthrow of the supremacy of the exploiting class, but in the form of the peaceful submission of the minority to the fully enlightened majority." This attitude is as typical of the Socialist Labor Party of America as it is of the shameless Socialist Party. It is naked opportunism.

Frederick Engels, the bosom friend and co-worker of Marx is second only to his great contemporary as a socialist writer. His most popular books are "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" and "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." These books rank with the Communist Manifesto as socialist classics. Engels with Marx formulated the theory of the materialist conception of history, which rests on the basis "that the production of means to support human life and next to production the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent on what is produced, how it is produced and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy but in the economics of each particular epoch. . . ."

While Engles arrived at the same formulation of this theory independently of Marx he modestly gives all credit to his great co-worker. Engels was one of the three outstanding geniuses that the working class revolutionary movement produced.

Marx and Engels gave the capitalist class no quarter during their lives and now that they are both turned into dust millions of workers are using the weapons they forged during their existence to batter down the capitalist state and finish the task which history has assigned to them.

Lenin, the founder of the first proletarian state, the builder of the Russian Communist Party and the creator of the Third (Communist) International, was the engineer of revolution. To him Marxism was a thing to be applied, not something to admire at a distance. Karl Radek wrote in an article on "Lenin's Life and Work" published shortly after Lenin's death: "The iron force of Lenin's conviction found its source in the fact that he had thot out Marx's social tenets as no scholar of Marx had ever done before, that these tenets had become part of his being, and that he applied them as no follower of the Father of Scientific Socialism has done."

Lenin, like Marx and Engels devoted his entire life to the task of emancipating the proletariat. Like his two great predecessors, he had the divine fire of revolution within him, which made all his writings burn with hatred for the ruling class. He saw his brother taken and executed for an attack on the Czarist persecutors of the people. Arrested, imprisoned, exiled, hunted from place to place, Lenin never weakened in his determination. He prepared himself for leadership, was organizer and teacher and when the opportunity arose in 1917, he gauged the right moment to seize power and began the greatest experiment in human history.

Marx and Engels founded scientific socialism. Lenin mainly concerned himself with the task of conquering power for the working class. Marx and Engels died while the capitalist class was still powerful and confident of its power. Lenin lived to see the

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Karl Marx to the Communist League

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it on by a temporary understanding. This was so in the past, and will be so in the future. It is a matter of course that in the future sanguinary conflicts, as in all previous ones, the working men by their courage, resolution, and self-sacrifice will form the main force in the attainment of victory. As hitherto, so in the coming struggle, the petty bourgeoisie as a whole will maintain an attitude of delay, irresolution, and inactivity as long as possible, in order that, as soon as victory is assured, they may arrogate it to themselves and call upon the workers to remain quiet, return to work, avoid so-called excesses, and thus shut off the workers from the fruits of victory. It is not in the power of the workers to prevent the petty bourgeois democrats from doing that; but it is within their power to render their ascendancy over the armed proletariat difficult, and to dictate to them such terms as shall make the rule of the bourgeois democracy carry within itself from the beginning the germ of dissolution, and its ultimate substitution by the rule of the proletariat considerably facilitated.

The workers, above all, during the conflict and immediately afterwards, must try as much as ever possible to counteract all bourgeois attempts at appeasement, and compel the democrats to carry out their present terrorist phrases. They must act in such a manner that the revolutionary excitement does not subside immediately after the victory. On the contrary they must endeavor to maintain it as long as possible. Far from opposing so-called excesses and making examples of hated individuals or public buildings to which hateful memories are attached by sacrificing them to popular revenge, such deeds must not only be tolerated, but their direction must be taken in hand. During the fight and afterwards the workers must seize every opportunity to present their own demands beside those of the bourgeois democrats. They must demand guarantees for the workers as soon as the democrats propose to take over the reins of government. If necessary, these guarantees must be exacted and generally we must see to it that the new rulers should bind themselves to every possible concession and promise, which is the surest way to compromise them. The workers must not be swept off their feet by the general elation and enthusiasm for the new order of things which usually follow upon street battles; they must quench all ardor by a cool and dispassionate conception of the new conditions, and must manifest open distrust of the new government. Besides the official government they must set up a revolutionary workers' government, either in the form of local executives and commercial councils, or workers' clubs or workers' committees, so that the bourgeois democratic governments not only immediately lose all backing among the workers, but from the commencement find themselves under the supervision and threats of authorities, behind whom stands the entire mass of the working class. In short, from the first moment of victory we must no longer direct our distrust against the beaten reactionary enemy, but against our former allies, against the party who are now about to exploit the common victory for their own ends only.

(ii) In order that this party, whose betrayal of the workers will begin with the first hour of victory, should be frustrated in its nefarious work, it is necessary to organize and arm the proletariat. The arming of the whole proletariat with rifles, guns and ammunition must be carried out at once; we must prevent the revival of the old bourgeois militia, which has always been directed against the workers. Where the latter measure cannot be carried out, the workers must try to organize themselves into an independent guard, with their own chiefs and general staff, to put themselves under the order, not of the

government, but of the revolutionary authorities set up by the workers. Where workers are employed in state service they must arm and organize in special corps, with chiefs chosen by themselves, or form part of the proletarian guard. Under no pretext must they give up their arms and equipment, and any attempt at disarmament must be forcibly resisted. Destruction of the influence of bourgeois democracy over the workers, immediate independent and armed organization of the workers, and the exaction of the most irksome and compromising terms from the bourgeois democracy, whose triumph is for the moment unavoidable—these are the main points which the proletariat, and therefore also the League has to keep in sight during and after the coming upheaval.

(iii) As soon as the new government is established they will commence to fight the workers. In order to be able effectively to oppose the petty bourgeois democracy, it is in the first place necessary that the workers should be independently organized in clubs, which should soon be centralized. The central authority, after the overthrow of the existing governments, will at their earliest opportunity transfer its headquarters to Germany, immediately call together a congress, and make the necessary proposals for the centralization of the workers' clubs under an Executive Committee, who will have their headquarters in the center of the movement. The rapid organization, or at least the establishment of a provincial union of the workers' clubs, is one of the most important points in our considerations for invigorating and developing the Workers' Party. The next result of the overthrow of the existing government will be the election of a national representation. The proletariat must see to it first that no worker shall be deprived of his suffrage by the trickery of the local authorities or government commissioners; secondly, that beside the bourgeois democratic candidates there shall be put up everywhere working-class candidates, who, as far as possible, shall be members of the League, and for whose success all must work with every possible means. Even in constituencies where there is no prospect of our candidate being elected, the workers must nevertheless put up candidates in order to maintain their independence, to steel their forces, and to bring their revolutionary attitude and party views before the public. They must not allow themselves to be diverted from this work by the stock argument that to split the vote of the democrats means assisting the reactionary parties. All such talk is but calculated to cheat the proletariat. The advance which the proletarian party will make thru its independent political attitude is infinitely more important than the disadvantage of having a few more reactionaries in the national representation. The victorious democrats could, if they liked, even prevent the reactionary party having any success at all, if they only used their newly won power with sufficient energy.

The first point which will bring the democrats into conflict with the proletariat is the abolition of all feudal rights. The petty bourgeois democrats, following the example of the first French Revolution, will hand over the lands as private property to the peasants; that is, they will leave the agricultural laborers as they are, and will but create a petty bourgeois peasantry, who will pass thru the same cycle of material and spiritual misery in which the French peasant now finds himself.

The workers, in the interest of the agricultural proletariat as well as in their own, must oppose all such plans. They must demand that the confiscated lands shall be nationalized and converted into settlements for the associated groups of the landed proletariat; all the advantages of large-scale agriculture shall be put at their disposal; these agricultural colonies, worked on the co-operative principle,

shall be put in the midst of the crumbling bourgeois property institutions. Just as the democrats have combined with the small peasantry, so we must fight shoulder to shoulder with the agricultural proletariat. Further, the democrats will either work directly for a federal republic or at least, if they cannot avoid the republic one and indivisible, will seek to paralyze the centralization of government by granting the greatest possible independence to the municipalities and provinces. The workers must set their face against this plan, not only to secure the one and indivisible German republic, but to concentrate as much power as possible in the hands of the central government. They need not be misled by democratic platitudes about freedom of the communes, self-determination, etc. In a country like Germany, where there are so many medieval remnants to be swept away and so much local and provincial obstinacy to be overcome, under no circumstances must parishes, towns, and provinces be allowed to be made into obstacles in the way of the revolutionary activity which must emanate from the center. That the Germans should have to fight and bleed, as they have done hitherto, for every advance over and over again in every town and in every province separately cannot be tolerated. As in France in 1793, so it is today the task of the revolutionary party in Germany to centralize the nation.

We have seen that the democrats will come to power in the next phase of the movement, and that they will be obliged to propose measures of a more or less socialist nature. It will be asked what contrary measures should be proposed by the workers. Of course they cannot in the beginning propose actual Communist measures, but they can (i) compel the democrats to attack the old social order from as many sides as possible; disturb their regular procedure and compromise themselves, and concentrate in the hands of the state as much as possible of the productive forces, means of transport, factories, railways, etc. (ii) The measures of the democrats, which in any case are not revolutionary but merely reformist, must be pressed to the point of turning them into direct attacks on private property; thus, for instance, if the petty bourgeoisie propose to purchase the railways and factories, the workers must demand that such railways and factories, being the property of the reactionaries, shall simply be confiscated by the state without compensation. If the democrats propose proportional taxation, the workers must demand progressive taxation; if the democrats themselves

declare for a moderate progressive tax, the workers must insist on a tax so steeply graduated as to cause the collapse of large capital; if the democrats propose the regulation of the national debt, the workers must demand state bankruptcy. The demands of the workers will depend on the proposals and measures of the democrats.

If the German workers will only come to power and to the enforcement of their class interests after a prolonged revolutionary development, they will at least gain the certainty that the first act of this revolutionary drama will coincide with the victory of their class in France, and this will surely accelerate the movement of their own emancipation. But they themselves must accomplish the greater part of the work; they must be conscious of their class interests and take up the position of an independent party. They must not be diverted from their course of proletarian independence by the hypocrisy of the democratic petty bourgeoisie. Their battle-cry must be: "The revolution in permanence."
London, March, 1850.

Marx-Engels-Lenin

(Continued from Page 7.)

hated enemy overthrown in a territory covering one-sixth of the earth's surface and the capitalist system fighting for its very life and the Communist International, the product of his brain, rapidly gathering together the revolutionary workers of the world for a final assault on the capitalist system and the establishment of Workers' Soviet Republics in every country of the world. Lenin could die with a smile on his lips.

On this anniversary of the founding of the First International, the Communists of America could pay no more fitting honor to the great revolutionary trinity whose names will stand out as beacon lights to the oppressed proletariat of all countries guiding them along the path to victory, than to sit down at the feet of the masters Marx, Engels and Lenin and secure the knowledge necessary to lead the masses and rout the perverts who would make of Marxism and later on of Leninism a cud for sophists to chew on and to misinterpret.

The revolutionary workers of the world can today pay homage to their dead leaders with a light heart more confident than ever of ultimate victory as the edifice of capitalism propped up by the bayonets of the hired janissaries of the bourgeoisie, is shaking to its foundation.

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