

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

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SECOND SECTION
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Sound the Alarm

By Alexander Bittelman

An Analysis of the Election Results

OPENSHOPPER DAWES and Strikebreaker Coolidge will manage the affairs of the country for another four years. What does it mean for the workers and poor farmers of America? Increased aggression for the working class as a whole and a smashing campaign of reaction to destroy the organized labor movement.

Comrades and fellow workers! You must have no illusions as to the kind of a deal that you are going to get now from American capitalism. If you felt the months and years as preceding the last election as mere aggression, you should expect in the coming months a regular orgy of oppression. If the past stands out in your mind as a period of capitalist reaction, you should now tune your mind to a regular triumph of "open shop" and strikebreaking. Because this is the beastly thing that American capitalism has again foisted upon you in a more open and defiant manner.

A Challenge to the Workers.

The victory of Coolidge and Dawes is a challenge of defiance to every red blooded, militant and self-respecting worker. It serves notice on the labor movement in unmistakable term either to be "good" and "nice" or else to get on its hind legs and—fight.

Which do you want to happen? Which way do you, as a class, stand to benefit more? That is your problem solving it, either. Your enemies will not wait at your pleasure. They are all prepared, all set for the opportune moment to deliver the striking blow. Are you going to prepare?

The statement on the election results published by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party on Nov. 7 shows the way. It points to the only possible solution of the working class problems today. It is more organization, more concentration of labor's forces on the economic and political field for real struggle against the capitalists—against Openshopper Dawes and Strikebreaker Coolidge—under the leadership of and in alliance with the Workers (Communist) Party.

Class Struggle Under the Lead of a Revolutionary Party—The Only Possible Road.

The so-called "wise," the disillusioned, and the weak will, no doubt, say: No. The above is not the solution. Why? Because the Workers (Communist) Party is not yet strong enough, not yet popular enough to be able to mobilize the masses for an immediate and successful struggle against capitalist reaction. These professional pessimists and black-seers will probably point to the small Communist vote in the elections, a vote, by the way, which the capitalist government will never take the trouble of counting.

And the ignorant and backward will also say: No. Why? Because the Workers (Communist) Party is too "Red," too radical, too impossible to be the leader in practical, result-producing fights.

To which we reply: Bunk. If the above were true, then the American working class would do well to immediately disband all its organizations and make up its mind that it is going to be crushed. Because there is no other organized labor group in America, outside of the Workers Party, that has any constructive program at all to expose capitalist reaction immediately, effectively and practically.

And again. It it were true that the Communists and their party were so much "impossible" that the masses will not turn to them for leadership even in the hour of bitter need and in

the absence of any other leadership, then. . . . Well, then the only thing the American labor movement could do would be to form immediately one general universal grave digging association, and begin digging one fraternal grave for the entire working class.

Why do I say that? Here are my reasons. In order to be willing and capable of leading a real struggle against a government of open shoppers and strikebreakers, one must be ready to hurt capitalism and to give the capitalists a good run for their money. The Workers (Communist) Party, precisely because it is a revolutionary party, because it is out to destroy capitalism altogether, is ready and willing to engage in every good working class fight against the bosses. This is my first reason.

And here is my second one. Gompers and LaFollette and the socialists are all in favor of the present order

is made up of the well-to-do farmers, the rich middle classes of the cities and the petty-bourgeoisie generally.

What does this fact prove? It proves that the petty-bourgeoisie, in the cities and on the farms, accepted the leadership of big capital, represented by Coolidge and Dawes, and rejected its own leadership, represented by the LaFollette movement.

It is hardly necessary for me to go here into proving that the LaFollette movement is objectively a movement of the petty bourgeoisie. This is true in the same sense in which the Communist Party is objectively the only party of the working class, but not as yet in the minds of the working masses, that is, not yet subjectively. The same is true of the LaFollette movement which is objectively a movement of the petty-bourgeoisie but not yet so in the minds of the petty-bourgeois masses. These latter are

large sections of labor, it being lorded over by such leaders as the Tammany Hall labor fakers, and its fear of hard times were the election to be thrown in congress. Terror of big capital, political ignorance and Gompersian leadership combined to give a strikebreaking government a large section of labor's vote.

The democratic party, whose candidate received nearly eight million votes, is still a national political party. The expectations that this party would be reduced by the elections to a sectional political group of the South alone have proved false. Davis carried most of the southern states and in addition received more than one-fifth of the total vote in the industrial centers of the east and middle west. In all these centers Davis ran second, his vote there being made up mainly of the petty-bourgeoisie and of workers.

Political thought is now speculating on the probable future of the democratic party. William G. McAdoo is again raising the banner of "liberalism" in the democratic party. Gompers is drifting back to the idea of making the democratic party the real "progressive" party for organized labor to support.

What will eventually happen to the democratic party is hard to tell. One thing is certain, that as long as the "solid" south remains one of the bases coming crisis and the sharpening class struggle, may very well split the democratic party, the south going eventually to the republicans while the democratic organization of the east and middle west, and as much as there still remains in the north-west, may join with the LaFollette movement in the formation of a new "Progressive" party.

Now, as to LaFollette's vote. This will be scanned very carefully and anxiously by every political party in the country. He received about five million votes. What does this vote indicate?

First, we find that LaFollette ran second in California and in practically the entire agrarian northwest, altogether nine states.

GERMAN ELECTIONS



President Ebert: "We are all ready for the elections. Go ahead."

of things and will, therefore, do nothing—absolutely nothing—which may endanger or even disturb in any way the rule of the capitalists. Which means that none of the official and "accepted" leadership of labor will do a darn thing to organize the workers for effective, practical struggles.

Now, the question is: Will the workers and poor farmers be compelled to get on their hindlegs and fight? We say: Yes. Dawes and Coolidge will take care of that.

Will the "accepted" and so-called moderate leadership be willing to lead this fight? We say: No, and we challenge anyone to deny it.

Then, what's the conclusion? The masses will fight, and will welcome honest and sincere leadership from whatever source it comes. If the Communists and their Workers Party realize their opportunity and prepare themselves for the job, they'll get it. What the Communists have got to do now and immediately is to clarify in their minds the true meaning of the United Front tactics, reaffirmed and elucidated by the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, and get down to work in the ranks (from below) of the working class.

Meaning of Election Figures.

The father and son of "open shops" and strikebreaking received over sixteen million votes. Without further analysis of this figure one can safely say that a good portion of this vote

still accepting the lead of big capital as seen by the Coolidge vote.

Why? There were three main reasons for it. First, the slight revival in industry and agriculture, which resulted partly from favorable changes in the world market and partly from artificial manipulations by big capital for election purposes. This slight revival somewhat pacified the petty-bourgeoisie. It began to hesitate about wishing serious governmental changes. Second, the terroristic campaign of the republican party, conducted practically by the entire press, that if it is not Coolidge it will be "chaos," the election will be thrown into congress, which the petty-bourgeoisie understood as a threat by big capital to shut down industry and generally demoralize the economics of the country if Coolidge was not elected. Third, the fear that LaFollette is a little "too radical," to be a practical leader in the game of making profits.

The above mentioned three reasons, coupled with big capital's unlimited campaign funds and its control of practically all avenues of publicity and information, have partly convinced and partly terrorized the petty-bourgeoisie to vote for Coolidge and reject, for the present, at least, their own natural leader, LaFollette.

A good portion of Coolidge's vote is made up also of workers. Which is not surprising, of course, considering the political backwardness of

State	Coolidge	LaFollette	Davis	Total	% LaFollette
California	727,000	424,000	106,000	1,257,000	33.7
Idaho	52,963	37,896	17,858	108,717	34.9
Iowa	506,042	253,489	152,864	912,395	27.7
Minnesota	316,289	242,711	41,992	600,992	40.1
Montana	50,633	45,374	24,470	119,977	38.1
Nevada	10,000	9,600	5,400	25,000	38.4
North Dakota	63,664	45,843	9,034	118,541	38.1
South Dakota	87,847	62,388	22,679	172,814	40.1
Wyoming	36,750	21,000	12,250	70,000	30
	1,841,188	1,142,401	392,547	3,376,136	33.5

Study the above table and notice that in the agrarian northwest LaFollette polled 33.5 per cent. more (Continued on Page 8.)

Anatole France the Comrade

By CHARLES RAPPAPORT.

For the last ten years I was in close contact with him, and I can say with assurance that he considered himself a Communist. He only deplored that the progress of our ideas was altogether too slow and that he would not live to see the social upheaval.

When I left the congress in Tours, at which the split with the "war socialists" had been finally consummated, France congratulated me on the success of true socialism, now called Communism. Then I said: "Give us some sign, so that we may be able to boast openly that you are with us."

"What shall I do?"

Since during the past few years he had been very niggardly of his writing, I suggested to the master that he make public thru the columns of "Humanite" his views of the Communist Party. He consented. "Humanite" was fortunate enough to be able to publish on its first page a notice of the membership of Anatole France, together with his picture. The press of the world took notice. France was an eager reader of "Humanite." He took out his party membership card in Tours.

What was probably his last article was published in "Humanite." He gave enthusiastic praise to the book written by his friend, Michael Corday, in which this gifted author laid bare with a relentless hand the capitalist basis of the war.

When they called upon him for a donation for the benefit of science in Russia, he suspected in this request an attack on the Communist regime. And this great man, whose extraordinary gifts were always at the service of every great cause, refused this time to give a donation. He himself explained to me the ground for his unusual refusal.



"I did not want to make an attack on the only anti-imperialist government," he said. In 1922, he wrote a personal letter to Lenin, in which he spoke of Lenin as the "greatest living statesman."

I could quote from letters written to me, which would prove that France was a Communist. But to what purpose? Let people read his books carefully. They are just one long cutting satire directed against the money rule, against blood-stained capitalism. His book "L'Île des Pingouins" is particularly noteworthy in this respect. He stigmatizes bourgeois democracy, bourgeois parliamentarism, which are directed by the money powers. We can compile from his books a brilliant volume of sound Communist propaganda.

The bourgeoisie made no mistake when it decried the gifted author, who flayed them unmercifully in their nakedness, as a "destroyer," an "overthrower."

Yes, Anatole France, along with Jaures, was one of the greatest revolutionists of our time, even if these two men were not always in accord with us on questions of tactics. France hated the black reaction and believed — tho not always — that the left wing is in a position to strike a fierce blow at rampant reaction.

As a close observer, France also knew our weaknesses. He advocated a united front of all working class groups, without interference in the particular nature of our party tactics. It is true that France lived outside of our everyday struggle. But he never failed to do us a service, or to strike a blow for our cause. We could mention countless elections in which he supported Communist candidates.

As a gifted observer, France was convinced that capitalist society was nearing its end. In the working class he saw the bearers of the future.

Who Fights White Terror!

By ROSE KARSNER

WHITE TERROR stalks triumphantly through the governmental chambers of European parliaments. He carries the double-edged sword of capitalism in one hand and the cajoling club of social-democracy in the other. From his bestial lips come the phrases "freedom of press; freedom of conscience; freedom of organization; constitutional guarantees; justice." All the while he resorts to the most brutal methods conceivable of intimidating and terrorizing all fighters against the existing order of capitalism. This he accomplishes with the passive and active assistance of socialists and social-democrats in parliaments and other adherents of the Second International in liberal parties and labor organizations. At the same time the Red Aid International uses all its organizational forces to fight White Terror.

What form does White Terror take?

Tearing the tongue out of the head, the arm of its socket, the limb from the body. Burning the eyes out with cigarettes or piercing them with sharp-pointed metal. Suspending men by an arm and leg until they become unconscious. Outraging women, starving and killing children. Shooting and drowning. Imprisoning in foul and filthy cells unfit for animal habitation. Raiding homes and burning entire villages. Breaking up presses and prohibiting workers' organizations. All this in behalf of capitalism, against the workers and peasants, and with the aid of the Second International which instead directs its wrath against the first Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

These are not mere statements. They are facts. Let us look at some of them.

Germany for example. Germany, the country that boasts of its culture. Germany, where the socialists are strongest and where they have a say in the government which parades as a friend of the workers. Germany where the most prominent spokesmen of the

Second International are loudest in their abuse of Soviet Russia because it does not free the counter-revolutionary prisoners.

What form does White Terror take in Germany? Let's see.

In Zelle prison, for instance, it was found upon investigation that prisoners are kept in punishment cells without lavatories. In this prison they have another kind of punishment cell where the victim has a ten pound iron pole tied to him from the waist line to the hands and is kept in this fashion for **THREE WEEKS**.

In the Rensburg prison the incarcerated are permitted to see their relatives only **ONCE IN THREE MONTHS**.

In the Gellivits Prison (Silesia) forty workers who are imprisoned because they belonged to a local trade union were savagely beaten because they went on a hunger strike. They are charged with "high treason."

In the fortress of Lukach prisoners were beaten with the butt ends of rifles and wounded by bayonets for protesting against putrid food.

In the prison of Sonnenbourg prisoners who asked for water when it was not left, by the night watchman were told "Why don't you spit in each other's throats if you are thirsty?"

In the prison of Schwerin two prisoners committed suicide because they could no longer bear the torture. Reich died in the prison of Ulm as a result of the treatment meted out to him and Agageminster died in the fortress of Niederschoenfeld.

It is interesting to note here that many of these prisons, the courts that sentenced these men and the police that took them in charge are under the administration of social-democrats. The same social-democrats who are so righteously indignant at Soviet Russia.

Not all who are arrested in Germany are sentenced to prison. Many of them are set free for "lack of evidence." But before they are set free they are subjected to all possible beastly treatment.

The Dusseldorf court for instance, confirmed the following story:

Mrs. Petrovskaya was arrested the night of November 19, 1923 with a thirteen month baby in her charge. She was taken to the police station. When it was found that there were no charges against her she was beaten with rubber whips and hit on the head and in the stomach with the butt ends of rifles in an effort to get a "confession" out of her. They did not succeed and finally released her.

Comrades Fischer and Bach were arrested in a similar manner — no charge. In an effort to get them to "confess" they were pulled by the hair, kicked, trampled under foot and beaten until blood flowed.

As late as June 1924 comrade Gari was arrested in Neubrandenburg. The policeman who brought him in claimed that the prisoner tried to escape. He was kicked and beaten for that then they began to get a "confession" out of him. He refused to tell his name or divulge any information. He was bayoneted, beaten some more, wounded, kicked and generally abused until he died. But he gave **NO INFORMATION**.

And what have the German socialists and social-democrats to say about these facts? **NOTHING!** They acquiesce by their silence in this brutal treatment of workers and peasants who protest against conditions. And in many places their trusted men actually help in this work.

Do the social-democrat members of the reichstag send up a protest? Does the socialist party send up a protest? Does the Second International send up a protest?

No! Instead they get up righteous indignation at the imprisoned counter-revolutionaries in Soviet Russia. They try to befuddle the minds of the workers. They cover their own guilt by attacking Soviet Russia. They are silent about the brutalities committed upon workers and working farmers by the capitalists and shout loudly about the imprisoned in Soviet Russia. They identify themselves with and

justify the crimes committed by White Terrorists and protest from the housetops against Soviet Russia. They help in breaking up of labor organizations in capitalist countries where the workers and peasants are fighting for a decent standard of living, higher wages, the eight-hour day and their right to organize, and protect the counter-revolutionaries in Soviet Russia who organized and plotted with Denikin; Kolchak, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Mussolini and the like for the overthrow of the first Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

They fight **AGAINST THE 380,200** workers and farmers in capitalist prisons and they fight **IN BEHALF** of the 1,500 counter-revolutionaries in Soviet Russia prisons. And what are the conditions under which these 1,500 prisoners are kept in Soviet Russia? Contrast them with those of Germany where the social-democrats are part of the government which hounds and imprisons workers and peasants.

Most of these counter-revolutionary prisoners are kept in the Suzdalsk and Solovetsk concentration camps. From letters written by them to their families we find out how they are treated. These letters are written by such prisoners as Danilin, social-democrat; Dorozhkov, social-democrat; Chaikin, social-revolutionary; Block, social-democrat; Svetitsky, Krasnianskya, and many other anarchists, etc.

The climate in these camps is dry and healthy. The rooms in which the prisoners are kept are spacious and light and are devoid of the atmosphere of the prison cell. Meat is given twice daily. Tea, sugar and cigarettes are served. In addition to this, each prisoner gets 43 kopecks daily for spending money. Letters are permitted each week. Not once in three months as in Germany.

To illustrate how these prisoners react to the treatment accorded them by the Soviet government we quote the following incident.

(Continued on page 7)

Keeping Them Young and Red - *By Max Shachtman*

NOTE:—This is the first of a series of three articles to be published in the magazine section on the Communist children's movement. In the two articles to follow, Comrade Shachtman will write on The Group Leader, Teacher of the Future, and The New Relations Between Old and Young.—Editor.

HOW many of the adult Communists in this country know of the existence of an organized movement of revolutionary working class children, numbering almost 5,000, formed into regular units, school fractions, city central committees, and having their own national organ?

Of those few that are aware of this movement, I am willing to wager that an even smaller percentage have come into closer contact with it than having listened to one of these Communist children recite a revolutionary poem at a mass meeting to the tune of murmured: "How sweet! How cute!"

And yet the formation, activity and education of these 5,000 members of the junior groups of the Young Workers' League is one of the most interesting examples of Communist pedagogy and organization, a completion of the revolutionary principle that the workers are exploited, in one form or another, from their childhood; that it is therefore, imperative that they be organized and trained for the struggles of the day and the morrow.

Train Wage Slaves.

The keen bourgeoisie, unlike its predecessors, has realized almost from the beginning of its rule, the importance of gaining the youth, for its own purposes, of course. Besides the steady flow of poison it administers to the children in the public schools, it has conscientiously subsidized organizations like the Boy and Girl Scouts, numerous young people's religious leagues, and social and sport clubs. The purpose of the sum total of these institutions has been to make efficient wage slaves out of the workers' children, to believe firmly in the eternity of that which is, and to have a holy horror and hatred towards any radical movement. Based on the old Jesuit principle of controlling the education of a child up to a certain age, the success of the bourgeoisie has been capped with a big measure of success.

Socialists always recognized the necessity of counteracting the influence of capitalist education upon proletarian children, and various ways and means were devised to accomplish this. The problem that then confront-

ed them was: Is it possible to make the child class conscious without at the same time depriving him of the joyful innocence of youth?

Socialist "Sunday Schools" Fail

The fact that this "joyful innocence of youth" was being taken from the children by every hour of class room teaching was not considered; and the good old social-democrats forthwith cut the Gordian knot with the establishment of socialist Sunday schools, which neither made the children rebels nor kept them youthful. It did, however, leave them in joyful innocence of the class struggle.

The adult leader of the school would discipline the children as sternly as the average old hatchet face in the public school. The curriculum consisted either of painfully "simplified" discourses on theoretical subjects or else of lectures on the brotherhood of man, peace on earth and the horrors of class strife. In the Sunday schools the child was never made a rebel. He left it with a vague feeling of the necessity of brotherhood and an admonition on the wisdom of joining the socialist party when he came of age. They were never told to—

“ . . . stick a mental pin in this—

“The warfare of the classes isn't honey or molasses;

“And you'll need a sharper weapon than a kiss!”

The training of the children in the young Communist groups is based on an entirely different principle. The junior groups are not intended to give the workers' children a "liberal" education, with a so-called broad-minded, tolerant view of things. Not at all. They are formed for the purpose of making working class, revolutionary fighters out of the children, teaching them to regard all things from the point of view of the working class. The aim of the Communist children's groups is to make the proletarian child a participant in the class struggle! Not merely one who understands what the class struggle is all about, not one who can repeat a few well-learned revolutionary phrases, but one who forms as definite and important a part of the working class children as the adult Communist does among the adult workers.

The achievement of this state of affairs is no mean task. It requires more of the group leader than it does of the child.

Communist Leadership.

In the simplest manner does the leader of a junior group train the children in the elements of the class

struggle. By taking the children thru the proletarian and bourgeois districts of a city, by skillful questioning of the children on their impressions of the contrast, there is instilled in the children the knowledge of the existence of classes.

Not only is the child given an understanding of the fact that the class struggle exists, but in that understanding is embodied the principle that the child himself must participate in the struggle. This does not mean that his participation shall be limited to aiding in strikes, lockouts, demonstrations, political campaigns, and other activities of the adult workers; it means also that the child shall be a fighter for his class where it affects him directly: in the school.

In the school the child is made a receptacle into which is regularly dumped bourgeois refuse. Be it mathematics or history, it is the ruling class viewpoint that is rammed into the minds of the children. In the higher grades, the study of history, "current events" and "civics" in particular is the occasion for the vilest attacks and misinformation about the labor and revolutionary movement. The mildest reformers, if they are alive, are painted the deepest black and pointed to as horrible examples of evils to be shunned; if the reformer happens to be dead, and his ideas already embodied in the status quo, his "constructive" side is emphasized and his more revolutionary outlook is depreciated, excused, perverted or ignored.

The School Struggle.

It is the struggle against this bourgeois miseducation that the Communist children groups carry on. Sometimes this struggle takes on the relatively mild form of distributing their official paper. At other times, when the movement is sufficiently strong and the grievances are felt more than usual, the activity of the red children ranges from interpolations to the teacher in the class room, to the calling of school strikes.

To the bourgeois heroes and jingoes like Roosevelt, the children oppose working class or revolutionary heroes like Joe Hill or John Reed, John Brown or Jacob Leisler. To the anti-labor teachings of the instructor with regard to strikers, Communists, jingoism, and the like, the children oppose their verbal and written protests, open up discussions and ask questions that serve to enlighten the children and confound the teacher. Where teachers are expelled for their sympathy to the workers, the children conduct an agitation for reinstatement. In the

numerous instances where children are subjected to the brutal tyranny of corporal punishment, the children are shown how to carry on a mass struggle for its abolition, for the establishment of children's councils for the regulation of discipline.

Learn Thru Struggle.

In all of these activities, which bring the child into conflict with some institution of capitalist society, the child is educated in the spirit of an active soldier in the army of the workers, fighting in the class struggle. Thru this personal participation in the fight, the child learns more of the sway of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, of the existence of classes, of the necessity of revolutionary organization—than he would in a hundred lectures. In the Communist children's groups, the working class child prepares himself for the sharper struggles, first in the Communist youth organization and finally in the Communist Party.

In struggle there is life and youth. It is in the struggle that the children are enabled to become revolutionists without foregoing their "youth." Their minds are not stultified with a hard and fast dogma; they are not burdened with the necessity of repeating high-sounding revolutionary phrases; they are not cramped or hampered by the existence of their older leader, who, far from imposing himself or his discipline upon them, far from being their obvious instructor, seeks as much as possible to obliterate himself from any prominence, to permit the children to work out their own reactions to the phenomena of the class struggle, to educate themselves to the ideal of service to their class under capitalism and to the community under Communism.

For Service to Working Class.

Their very games, while chosen and composed for the purpose of strengthening class solidarity and ideas

children, are used to give the combination of reality and imagination that keeps the spirit of youth in the class struggle. In these games, in their dramatics and socials, the aim is always to remove the mental servitude imposed upon them in school, to free them from the choking influence of discipline and the obliteration of the individual child in favor of the manufacture of goslings; to inculcate in the child the essence of free childhood: service to his class in order that he may be able to serve the community; the emancipation of humanity in order to accomplish the emancipation of the individual; work, play and study in the spirit of the struggle!

THE RED SOLDIER'S MANUAL

By L. Trotsky

Aims and Structure of the Red Army

1. The Red Army is an armed force intended for the defense of the interests of the toilers against the assaults and violence on the part of the oppressors and exploiters. The Red Army will continue to exist as long as there remain in the world monarchies or bourgeois republics. Only the final victory of the toilers of Europe and then of the entire world will forever secure peace among the nations and will make unnecessary the existence of armies of any kind.

2. The Red Army is composed of workers and working peasants who do not exploit the labor of others. Bourgeois, nepmen, rich peasants as well as corrupted elements from among the workers are not admitted into the ranks of the Red Army. In order that the Red Army may preserve under all circumstances its unshakable devotion to the cause of the working class it must remain an unalloyed part of the working class.

3. The bourgeois elements of military age are called only into the non-combatant service and remain unarmed all the time. In a Soviet Republic the privilege of carrying arms belongs to the toilers only. The exploiters have no access to arms, so that they may not take possession of them and with the aid of foreign ex-

plorers again subjugate the workers and peasants.

4. The principal aim of the Red Army is to secure the independence and freedom of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, to safeguard them against all possible encroachments of the outside capitalist world, so that the workers and peasants may remain undisturbed in the pursuit of their peaceful occupations and in their work of building up a socialist society. The ideas of conquest and of enslavement of other nations are alien to the Soviet government. The Soviet government is striving to preserve peace by all possible means.

5. All the bourgeois classes and their governments, monarchist as well as republican are hostile to the first government of workers and peasants who have overthrown their oppressors and have taken away from them the means of oppression. During the first years of the revolution the bourgeois of the entire world has supported with money, munitions and armies the Russian White Guards, i. e. the armed bands of the Russian landlords and capitalists. Only the heroic struggle of the Red Army has presented the world bourgeoisie from stifling the Workers' Republic. During a period of six years the leading capitalist governments persistently refused to recognize the Soviet Republic in the hope of overthrowing it. Only the

stability and perseverance of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic and of its army, and also the support of the revolutionary workers of the entire world, have compelled the bourgeoisie of several countries to recognize our government and to enter into economic and diplomatic relations with us.

6. However, even after they recognized us the hostility of the exploiters to the Workers' and Peasants' Republic did not cease nor weaken, but assumed other, more subtle forms. At the first opportunity the bourgeoisie will again make attempts to attack us. The working class of the capitalist countries, being unarmed, may not be able with its own forces to prevent the bourgeoisie from attacking us. We must therefore be prepared with armed force to assist the workers of the entire world in their struggle against the rapacious, bloody intentions of the bourgeoisie. There is no higher task in the history of mankind than that which fate has assigned to the first workers' and peasants' army, the champion of the cause of the oppressed.

Military Technique and Militant Morale

7. Capitalism is creating all the time new implements of destruction, more perfected, more cruel machines for killing. In order not to fall again into serfdom, in order not to become a colony, the Union of Soviets must

continually improve its armaments. The growth of industry, especially of war industry, the development of transportation are the most important factors in the strength of the Red Army.

8. Alongside with the development of the old branches of military technique and with the constant perfection of firearms, the foremost place in modern warfare is occupied by military aviation and war chemistry. Side by side with the development of high explosives, poisonous gases are gaining greater and greater importance. The Soviet government, with the friendly co-operation of the workers, is doing and will also in the future do its best to make the Red Army an effective means of defense by perfecting the technical equipment of the army, developing a strong air fleet and encouraging the invention of powerful war chemicals.

9. However, military technique alone is not the only deciding factor in war. War machines, just as machines in industry require men for their operation. The capitalist countries have a superior technique, because they are richer. However, after the experience of the late imperialist war which left the laboring masses of all countries destitute and disillusioned, the bourgeoisie of those countries can no longer be certain of the loyalty of the soldiers drafted (Continued on next page.)

Problems Facing the A. F. of L. Convention

By J. W. JOHNSTONE

THE working class of America is facing a critical situation. More than 2,000,000 of workers are unemployed. In the textile and mining industries large numbers of workers are on the verge of starvation, and all indications point to the conclusion that this winter will see conditions becoming worse, with the army of unemployed greatly increased. The election of Coolidge and Dawes has consolidated the capitalist dictatorship, which feels that it now has a free hand for carrying out its purposes of reducing the standards of the workers. The "open shop" drive, begun in 1921 but temporarily halted on account of the building boom and other industrial and political factors, will now be carried on with greater vigor. This is the situation that confronts the convention of the American Federation of Labor when it meets Monday, Nov. 17, at El Paso, Texas. What will the convention do to solve the burning problems that arise for the workers out of this critical situation?

The "open shop" drive of 1921-22, lowered the general standard of living of the working class, destroyed some unions completely, and demoralized the labor movement to a great extent. The next "open shop" drive, now being prepared, will aim at the complete destruction of the labor movement. The aim of the American capitalist class is to destroy all possibilities of resistance by the working class at home, that it may have a free hand not only in America, but particularly in carrying out its imperialistic program of world domination abroad.

Officials Ignore New Dangers

The capitalists interpret the election results as an endorsement of such an "open shop" drive against the movement. The result will be

sed exploitation, lengthening of hours, lowering of wages, decrease in the standard of living, and "bad times" for the workers in every way. The unemployed workers may soon be given "employment" in the army and navy because there also follows from the election and the general economic conditions an intensive drive of American imperialism for the more complete subjugation of South and Central America, the conquest of the far eastern markets, and the control of European industry and labor thru the Dawes plan—all of which is heading the United States directly towards the central position in a new world war. The working class of America, and especially the unemployed workers, will be told soon to protect their "liberties" by fighting for the defense and extension of the wealth of Morgan and Rockefeller.

What can we expect the convention of the A. F. of L. to do in meeting these problems? The Trade Union Educational League approaches the delegates to this gathering with many misgivings. In the past, conventions of the A. F. of L. have stood solidly in the path of progress, blocking every

effort of the militant rank and file members to strengthen the economic and political position of the labor movement. Industrially, the conventions of the past have stood for division and perpetuation of the old status of pure and simple craft unionism, which is responsible for the sorry condition of the trade unions today. Politically, they have adhered to the organizations that represent the program of and are dominated by the worst enemies of the working class, the big capitalists and their petty-bourgeois hangers-on.

That this convention will be of the same order, is indicated by the course of events since the Portland convention of one year ago, and particularly by the events of recent weeks. That the official leadership is determined to steer just as reactionary a course as ever is shown by their recent approval of the so-called "Educational Week" organized by the blackest labor hating forces in America, and the principal aims of which is to bombard the workers, particularly the youth, with "anti-red" (which means anti-labor) propaganda. This "Education Week" is designed to educate the working youth of America to the task of strike breaking, yet it is given the blessings of Gompers and his lieutenants. It would be Utopian to expect a convention that is dominated by such an officialdom to take any progressive or radical stand or any of the burning issues now before the workers.

But however reactionary the officials who control the A. F. of L. convention, it is still necessary—even more than ever necessary—that the vital issues of the workers shall be raised in El Paso sharply and clearly. Not because we expect that these officials will ever tread the paths of militant action in the class struggle, but because by speaking to the convention we speak to the broad masses of the membership who still accept the "leaders", placing beside their half-heartedness in the struggle against capitalism the contrasting militant program of the left wing. The masses in the trade unions must be made to see and understand the difference between the program of class collaboration, which means surrender to the bosses and defeat for the labor movement, advocated by the trade union officials, as against the program of class struggle, which means to consolidate the power of the working class for fighting against the bosses, advocated by the Trade Union Educational League and the Communists.

A Year of Betrayal.

The Portland convention of the A. F. of L. last year marked the definite establishment of "systematic surrender" as the policy of the big officials. Major Geo. L. Berry, fresh from breaking the strike of newspaper pressmen in New York City, was greeted by the gathering as a conquering hero. The official pronouncement on policy, under the high-sounding title of "industrial democracy", proclaimed the abandonment of struggle against the employing class. The seal was placed upon the surrender by the expulsion

of Wm. F. Dunne, Communist delegate from the Silver Bow (Montana) Trades and Labor Assembly.

In the year that has elapsed since that time the officialdom have, more openly than ever, abandoned the class struggle. Every activity entered into by the labor bureaucrats has been towards the development of various schemes of class collaboration. The killing of the labor party, labor banks so-called, B. & O. plans, discriminations and expulsions against the left wing, selling out of strikes under cover of "arbitration awards," and countless other acts of treachery, and of union with the enemy class, have marked this period.

A united front with the bureaucrats of the labor movement for struggle against capitalist exploitation is an impossible thing, because they have accepted the capitalist system as final and to be protected at all costs, even against the labor movement. Any pretence of struggle organized upon such a basis is doomed to defeat and betrayal, because it is a basis of assumed common interest between workers and capitalists, between exploited and exploiters, between the victims and the robbers—a common interest which does not exist. The problem of working-class solidarity, the building of a united front of labor, can, therefore, not come from the top. It must up from the bottom. This must be accomplished by uniting the lower units of organized labor for the common struggle. One of the principal means to this will have to be the formation of shop and factory councils in which the organized and unorganized workers come together and jointly act for their common protection thus eventually bringing the unorganized workers into the general labor movement.

Prior to the capitalist offensive of 1921-22, the labor movement had been on the upgrade. It had reached its highest peak in membership and achievement. It had been moving forward for some time. The morale of the membership was good, it had confidence in its own strength. In spite of its lack of class consciousness and the inherent weakness of its craft form of organization, it was in comparatively good shape to do battle. Even the unorganized workers were in a fighting mood, as shown by such incidents as the strike of the Fayette County (Pa.) miners in 1922 during the general coal strike.

The army was deserted, however by its officers. John L. Lewis betrayed the miners when they were on the point of a great victory; he aban-

doned the splendid opportunity also to organize the unorganized sections of the industry. The railroad union officials gave up the national agreement without a struggle, and, retreating from point to point, were finally forced by an outraged rank and file to call a strike which, first sabotaged by the leaders, finally crumbled under the infamous Daugherty injunction. On a smaller scale the same experience was gone thru in other industries.

This organized betrayal by the leaders aided the attack of the capitalists materially. The destruction of labor organizations and the wage slashes that followed, resulted in a demoralization of the entire labor movement from which it is suffering today. The unions are weaker now in every way than they were in 1920. But the employers have been strengthening themselves, and preparing for a new "open shop" attack upon labor.

Side-Tracking the Protest

Millions of workers were growing restless and discontented with the course of affairs. One manifestation of this was the growing weight and volume of the demand for a farmer-labor party. In this the Communists and the Trade Union Educational League were playing a leading part. Gompers and his official family saw a great danger to their domination in this movement. This was undoubtedly one of the major reasons that brought Gompers finally and unwillingly to the support of the LaFollette movement in the presidential campaign, risking a split in his official machine. This action was forced, on the one hand by the pressure of the rank and file demanding a new policy, and on the other by the cynical repudiation of all pretence of consideration for labor by the two major parties of capitalism.

Gompers, the C.P.P.A., and their allies, were able to divert the threatening farmer-labor party movement into the LaFollette stream. Now, after the election, the LaFollette movement stands without its expected victories—but this does not mean the defeat of LaFollettism which, on the political field, corresponds with the latest fads of class collaboration machinery in industry. Millions of workers voted for LaFollette—more than were counted—in spite of the fact that LaFollette "forgot" to give even lip-service to the cause of labor in his campaign. LaFollette is accepted by large numbers of the confused workers as their spokesman.

Great masses of workers are still, however, under the domination of the old capitalist parties, as shown by the big vote of Coolidge and Dawes. The working class is still at a very low political level. Large numbers of working class votes were gathered for the strikebreaking puppet of Wall Street, Coolidge, and the exponent of the "open shop" and Fascism, Dawes, thru the crude terrorization symbolized in the slogan of "Coolidge or Chaos", with the threat of closed factories and unemployment should the candidates of America imperialism not be elected.

A Struggle for Spoils.

But LaFollettism defeated is more dangerous to the labor movement than LaFollettism victorious at the polls. The latter event would have disillusioned masses of workers and prepared them for the inevitable step to class action. In defeat the middle-class politicians will be more radical with their phrases and in condemnation of big capital, thus confirming their hold upon the confused workers. At the same time the sense of defeat, where victory was expected by many, will cause a reaction away from all political activities, strengthening syndicalist and indifferentist tendencies. Confusion reigns in the ranks of the labor movement on the question of political action. Reaction has won in the swallowing up of the labor party movement.

What we will witness in El Paso on the political question will be a wild scramble of the bureaucrats for political merchandise to sell to their masters. One group—and a strong one—

(Continued on next page.)

RED SOLDIER'S MANUAL

(Continued from Page 3.)

from among the workers and peasants. The great advantage of the Red Army consists in the fact that its soldiers are defending their own government, their own mills and factories, their own land. Between the Soviet government, Soviet diplomacy, the commanding staff of the army and the mass of Red soldiers there can be no conflict of interests. This fact assures the Red Army a high quality of military morale for the inevitable battles of the future.

10. The immediate aim of war is to overthrow the enemy by physical force, to crush him, to undermine his organization, to destroy his force, to break his spirit and render him unable to fight. The outcome of war is decided in battle. Armies exist not for military reviews, parades, exercises and military games, but for actual battle. Drills, reviews and maneuvers

are important only inasmuch as they prepare the army for battle.

All other conditions being equal the war will be shorter and more victorious, the more there is in the army determination, and the higher its aggressive spirit. There may be in war periods of suspense, periods of rest and retreat, but all such tactics are only preparatory measures caused by a particular situation. The final victory, however, belongs to the army which is able to take the offensive, to attack and to deal a decisive, smashing blow.

The Red Army as well as the entire country of workers and peasants wishes to preserve peace, but should the Red Army be compelled to fight, it will fight like one single soul, devotedly and desperately. Even if our enemies are better equipped technically, the final victory will be ours.



Unfurling Banner of Soviet Republic in China.

Campaigning For Communism

By Wm. Z. Foster

(EDITOR'S NOTE:—In his next article, Comrade Foster will point out some of the organizational lessons to be learned from the campaign.)

In the presidential campaign just closed it was my fortune to travel approximately 18,000 miles, visiting fifty big industrial centers in thirty-two states, and speaking to over 50,000 workers in mass meetings. I talked to miners in Ohio, steel workers in Pennsylvania, clothing workers in New York, textile and shoe workers in New England, lumber and migratory workers in Washington, in fact, I talked to every important section of the working class in the great centers in which they toil and are robbed by the employers. During such an extended trip one gathers many impressions. Only a few of these can be registered in the brief space at my disposal.

The most interesting and instructive phase of the trip was to watch our party go into action in this, its first national election campaign. For it to get under way in full vigor serious obstacles had to be overcome. It was not such a simple task as might be imagined. Ever since the organization of the Workers Party, the truth has been pounded into the membership that it is the duty of Communists to participate in mass movements of the workers. This propaganda, which had been accompanied by our active campaign for the formation of a farmer-labor party, for amalgamation, etc., had struck home. Consequently, when our party, just on the eve of the election, cut loose from the skeleton national farmer-labor party and set up a presidential ticket of its own, it was difficult for the membership to readjust itself to the new situation. Something of a crisis developed. It was evident everywhere.

There were the masses undoubtedly going with the LaFollette movement, at least great sections of them that were advanced enough to break away from the two old parties. Our membership displayed a strong instinct, if I may so describe it, to go with them. This was due not only to our propagation of the necessity for participation in mass movements of the workers, but also to the enormous pressure that was brought to bear upon our comrades in the unions and elsewhere. It was a great test of the intelligence and discipline of our party membership that they were able to understand so quickly that the LaFollette mass movement was not one that they could participate in. As the campaign progressed one could sense everywhere the growing confidence of our membership. The feeling of isolation, of nakedness in the political struggle, gradually disappeared and gave way to a militant defense of our own party, as against the treacherous arguments of the LaFollette movement. When the campaign ended, our party had fully established itself and was making a struggle that did credit to it.

The great strength of the LaFollette sweep was also a marked characteristic of the first stages of the campaign. Counting the million or so votes that were certainly stolen from him, LaFollette probably ran up a total of at least 5,500,000. Undoubtedly most of this came from trade unionists and others of the more advanced sections of the workers and poor farmers. In my travels I came into contact with great numbers of these. They had LaFolletteitis badly. To a remarkable degree they looked upon LaFollette as the great champion who was going to solve all their problems for them. It was not that they were familiar especially with the LaFollette program, but the movement had developed into a sort of crusade for them. The pressure of exploitation had been so great for so many years, and the opportunities for organized opposition to it so few, that they rushed pell-mell and blindly into the LaFollette movement.

Everywhere the socialist movement collapsed before the LaFollette drive. Men, who a few years ago called themselves socialists and revolutionists, not only defended the LaFollette can-

didacy on the basis that it would lead to a mass labor party, but they openly and militantly defended all the planks in LaFollette's program, completely abandoning every conception of the class struggle. In many places I met anarchists wearing big LaFollette buttons and loudly touting his cause. Forgetting their anti-parliamentarianism, they were dragged along with the mass. The I. W. W. was also considerably afflicted, many of its members being avowed LaFolletteites. As for the trade union bureaucrats, most of them, at least of the minor types, looked upon the LaFollette movement as a godsend. It seemed a broad white way to the pie-counter. The Gompers' political policy has been such a failure that few of them have been able to work their way to political office. But when the LaFollette movement came storming along, with even conservative leaders like Wm. H. Johnston claiming that it would poll 20,000,000 votes, they saw at last the longed-for political jobs within their grasp.

Up till the last three weeks of the campaign the LaFollette movement kept gaining momentum. After that, it went into evident decline. This was to be seen by the lowered morale of the trade unionists whom one encountered. The great capitalist propaganda machine was getting into action and getting real results. Not only did the great newspapers carry on their "red" scare effectively, but the bosses on the job openly told the workers that if they didn't vote for Coolidge they would soon find themselves among the unemployed. At many of my meetings workers told me they were informed that if LaFollette was elected they should not come back to work after election. The result of this was a crumpling of the LaFollette movement. The action of the Central Labor Union of New York, in cutting loose from LaFollette and declaring for Davis just on the eve of the election, was a symptom of what was going on among the masses generally. They were being scared away from LaFollette en masse.

In the campaign it was made strikingly evident the wisdom of the change of party policy in cutting loose from the national farmer-labor party and the placing of candidates of our own in the field.

At many places where I talked I asked the comrades to try to visualize what would have been the situation had we gone ahead and made the campaign under the banner of the farmer-labor party. Almost unanimously they were appalled at the thought. It would have meant that we would have had in our meetings just about the same people that we did have. The difference would have been that in the one case we would have had to defend farmer-labor candidates and a farmer-labor program. The result would have been demoralization and confusion, which would have amounted to a first class disaster to our party. As it was, we were able to present Communist candidates upon a straight Communist program. We introduced the Workers Party formally to the masses as a factor in the political struggle.

The campaign was a striking justification of the policy of the Communist International to participate in election struggles. It was evident everywhere that the masses were in a thinking mood and it was a splendid opportunity to present our program to them. Besides the capitalist dictatorship was considerably less rigorous with regard to free speech than at any other period. All over the country I, in common with our other speakers, was able to present our program and to advocate the adoption of Soviets and the proletarian dictatorship without serious interference from the authorities. Besides, our party gained much invaluable political experience. This was sadly needed in many localities. In my judgment the New York district showed the greatest responsiveness in exploiting the situation to the advantage of Communism. The two big mass meetings I addressed there, which together comprised about 6,000 people, were an inspiration. Those leftist elements in our party who still believe that partici-

pation in election struggles is not profitable for Communist Parties, would do well to study the lessons of the campaign just ended.

If the campaign was a justification of the party policy of severing its connections with the farmer-labor party and running candidates of its own, it was also a striking justification of the correctness of the decision of the Communist International that there should be no "third party alliance." This justification was because of the almost complete absorption of the farmer-labor party movement by the LaFollette movement. In the famous controversy over the "third party alliance" both sides were wrong in that they overestimated the strength of the farmer-labor movement. The anti-third partyites took the position that there was sufficient definite farmer-labor party sentiment in the country to make practical the running of a farmer-labor party in the campaign with its own candidates. The other group held that the only way the farmer-labor movement could be preserved was thru the proposed alliance. But both were wrong. The sweep of the LaFollette movement shrivelled the tender plant of farmer-labor party movement like a hot blast from the desert. Not even the proposed "third ment. If the alliance had been made,

party alliance" could have held enough of it together to make it a mass movement. The practical effect of it would have been to saddle a dead farmer-labor party upon the back of the Workers Party. We would have been in pretty much the same situation in that respect as we were after the St. Paul convention. I am forced to this conclusion after seeing, during my trip, the sad wreckage of the budding farmer-labor parties by the LaFollette movement. They were simply knocked dead everywhere. The Comintern was right in its decision.

This campaign was an historical event. It was the opening round in a long and desperate struggle against the hard center of world capitalism. In this fight it was my privilege to be the standard bearer of the Communist movement, to lead the attack against the great fortress of the international capitalist class. This was the supreme honor of my life. This campaign was just the merest skirmish, a faint indication of the tremendous battles that are yet to come, a forerunner of the time when the organized millions of the proletariat will strike to earth the capitalist system and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(To be continued.)

Problems Facing the A. F. of L. Convention

(Continued from Page 4.)

adheres to the democratic party, and will have Major George L. Berry, strikebreaking head of the Pressmen's Union, as spokesman. Another, tools of the republican party, will rally behind John L. Lewis, president of the Miners' Union, and W. L. Hutcheson, of the Carpenters. A third, the railroad shop unions associated in the C. P. A. with independent unions, headed by Wm. H. Johnston, will seek to adapt the LaFollette movement to the non-Communist idea. Gompers will try to ride all three horses, defending the independent candidacy of LaFollette this year while keeping himself free for any kind of political alliance that may seem expedient in the future, and openly bidding for re-entry into the democratic fold.

The Left Wing Stands Firm.

Into this mess of political trading, corruption, and middle class illusions, it will be the task of the left wing militants, the T. U. E. L. adherents and the Communists, to bring the message of clear-cut working class action on the political as well as the industrial field. Against the LaFollette illusion, which means the control of the workers politically by their class enemies, we must bring the conception of a party of the working class, fighting against the capitalists and all their hangers-on—which means a revolutionary party, the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

The political and industrial proposals of the left wing present a practical and comprehensive program of class struggle, to be placed against the whole program of class collaboration of the labor officialdom. This includes the demands for amalgamation of the craft unions into powerful industrial unions; formation of a solid network of shop and factory committees by all workers in each industry; organization of the unorganized; equality of all races in the labor move-

ment; nationalization of the basic industries with workers' control and operation; struggle against wage cuts and lengthening of hours; organization of unemployed councils, and struggle for relief of the unemployed; against Fascism, the Ku Klux Klan and the American Legion, and against "education week"; against deportation of workers, against syndicalism laws, and for the release of all labor prisoners; unconditional recognition of Soviet Russia; struggle against American imperialism and the converting of the Pan-American Federation of Labor from an instrument of the U. S. department of state into an organ of working class struggle for freedom from Morgan's imperialism; for national and international unity, affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions and support of the world unity movement initiated by it; for the class struggle and the formation of a revolutionary mass party of the working class.

The program of the Trade Union Educational League is a practical program, laying down the necessary basis for any effective struggle by the workers against the exploitation of capitalism. The working class will rally to such a program, in the degree that the "open shop" aggressions of the employers force them to fight—and in the degree that the militants themselves make the workers familiar with the program. In order to put such a program into effect, the workers must also learn that it requires struggle against the labor officials, against the bureaucrats who, holding the offices of the labor movement, at the same time are the greatest defenders of the capitalist system—more zealous even than the capitalists themselves. The slogan must be: "Away with the bureaucratic leaders," "Abandon the class-collaboration policy," "Enter the fight upon the basis of the class struggle and under revolutionary leadership."

COME AND FIND OUT

THOSE who missed last Sunday's Open Forum, which is held every Sunday night in the lodge room at the Ashland Auditorium, Van Buren street and Ashland boulevard, will never know what they were deprived of by not coming to hear Oliver Carlson lecture on the life of young folks in Soviet Russia.

But as there is no way of making amends for the past except by future behavior, it is expected that everybody will be there tomorrow night at 8 o'clock, to listen to Earl R. Browder, editor of the Workers' Monthly and members of the Central Execu-

tive Committee of the Workers Party, who will speak on "The Meaning of the Election Returns."

With the whole labor movement in confusion and demoralization, the A. F. of L. divided in its support to two old capitalist parties and the LaFollette "progressives," reaction triumphant in the election of Coolidge and an industrial crisis threatening along with the open shop to reduce the workers to new low standards, the problem of what to do is of immediate and vital importance. The struggle must go on. But how? Come to hear Browder Sunday night and find out.

Workers Party Educational Department

Conducted by James P. Cannon, Educational Director

"Without a Revolutionary Theory a Revolutionary Movement Is Impossible."

Developing the Party Educational Work

THE propaganda theses of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, which have been published in this department during the past three weeks, have had a noticeable and wholesome influence on the party. The results are already to be observed in the greatly increased interest in the party program for systematic educational work. It is to be hoped that every active member of the party will thoroughly familiarize himself with these propaganda theses, since they constitute a clear guide for the whole of our educational activities. The more thoroughly the contents of these theses are assimilated by the party, the more certain will it be that our educational work will start off on the right track and that its fundamental importance for the health and growth of the party will be recognized.

A firm grasp on revolutionary theory, without which a revolutionary party is impossible, is not a gift which will fall to us from heaven. The propaganda theses of the Fifth Congress lay great stress on the fact that party members can acquire theoretical knowledge only thru the process of deliberate and systematic study, which has to be combined with the practical activities and struggles of the party. To this end it lays it down as a prerequisite that special organs must be established in the party for the supervision and conduct of educational activity, and for the maintenance of it in a uniform manner. The periodical printing of theoretical literature, the establishment of party

schools and classes, the arrangement of lectures and discussions on theoretical questions—these are the means whereby the teachings of the theses can be realized in life.

In line with the directions of the theses, a special Educational Department has been established within the Central Executive Committee, and the same procedure is being followed in the party down to the basic units. The Educational Departments of the branches, locals, and district organizations, organically connected with the Educational Department of the Central Executive Committee, and guided and directed by it, constitute the apparatus for the development of Communist education in the party ranks. By means of this apparatus, our educational work is already beginning to move forward with a mighty drive.

System and Central Direction.

Educational work up till the present time has been of a fragmentary and sporadic character. Now, for the first time, it is being systematized and centrally directed as the Comintern thesis requires it to be. This step was necessary not only to secure the stimulation and development of the work, but also—what is of equal importance—to guarantee that it will all bear a uniform stamp. We must not play fast and loose with the term, "education." What we want is not a loose and general assortment of classes dealing with any subject which may happen to be labelled "workers' education," but systematic instruction of the party members in the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Lenin. Our educational apparatus from top to bottom is designed for this purpose.

While all of our instruction must be of a uniform character from an ideological standpoint, it is obvious that the classes cannot all be cut according to one pattern. On the contrary, the educational apparatus of the party must have sufficient flexibility to adapt itself to special needs and requirements of localities and districts, and to the varying degrees of theoretical and political understanding of the various strata of the party members. It must also take into account the resources of the party and the limited number of comrades capable of leading and directing theoretical work and it must establish

a variegated series of classes, designed to serve the needs of comrades needing instructions in elementary principles, as well as those who already possess a knowledge of Communist fundamentals and who require a further and higher development of this knowledge.

To this end, the educational department of the party has already worked out a comprehensive and flexible program of work, which is already being put into actual practice. An explanation of this program will undoubtedly be of interest. In this article, the broad outlines of the program as a whole will be dealt with. Other articles, which will follow in this department, will explain each item of it, in detail and at length, in order that the comrades affected may have a complete understanding of the aims of the Central Executive Committee Educational Department in respect to that phase of the work which they are carrying out.

Our Educational Program.

1. Publication of Theoretical Works.

This will consist of a number of volumes containing the most important writings of Comrade Lenin and giving a complete outline of his teachings. They have already been printed under this title in Russia and are now in organized on a permanent basis and have fairly comprehensive curricula, process of translation for publication in America.

2. Party schools in the larger cities. In New York, Chicago and Boston, Party Schools are being established which are to give systematic courses of study thruout the year. They are with a number of instructors. Such schools will undoubtedly grow into powerful institutions for stabilizing the party and giving it a uniform ideology. Only in the larger cities, which have a number of leading comrades capable of successfully teaching classes, is it possible to develop schools of this character at the present time.

3. Self-instruction Classes in the "ABC of Communism." A whole network of local self-instruction classes

present indications are that at least forty or fifty such local self-instruction classes will be in full swing in the near future. This is a promising beginning indeed and will undoubtedly lead to greater achievements. By the time these classes finish their elementary studies, plans will be completed and outlines provided to guide them to more extensive study.

4. Study Class Circuits in the Districts. The Circuit System of Study Class work, conducted by a professional teacher, which was successfully developed in the Chicago district last fall and winter is now being organized in two separate districts of the party. In the Ohio and Philadelphia districts the necessary organization plans are nearing completion. Instructors have been assigned by the Central Executive Committee and the circuits will be in operation in the very near future.

Under the circuit system, a traveling instructor covers five different cities in the district, conducting a class one night each week in each different city for eleven weeks. These classes are based on the lecture-question method and are calculated to give the students a general outline of Communist principles and tactics and to prepare them for wider study.

In order to stimulate the interest of the party members in the educational work and to give a general lead to it, the Educational Department of the Central Executive Committee will conduct a weekly department in the DAILY WORKER Magazine. In this department the progress of the educational work will be reported and commented on. Practical

advice and suggestions to the comrades engaged in educational work will be given, and the problems which confront the active comrades in the course of their work will be dealt with. A large number of comrades active in educational and theoretical work will contribute to this department from time to time.

The subject of next week's article will be "How to Organize and Conduct a Self-Instruction Class in the ABC of Communism."

"The American Boom Is at an End . . ."

Says Prof. E. Varga in his "The Decline of Capitalism," a pamphlet just received from Europe. Also: "Will not the militaristic-imperialist policy of Poincare gain the upper hand, which fact would lead to a new catastrophe of the mark, since the Rentenmark, an artificial creation, would by no means be able to withstand such a blow?" A most timely pamphlet25c

From the 4th to the 5th World Congress.

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NOTICE!

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Workers Party,
Local Chicago

DAWES ASSUMING CHARGE



Misery for the Workers—More Profits for the Rich.

One item in the program provides for the periodical publication of theoretical literature with the aim of gradually building up, as rapidly as our resources permit, an extensive Library of Communism in America. The Central Executive Committee has already approved and ordered the publication of the following books: (1) "Theses and Resolutions of the Second Congress of the Communist International." This volume contains the fundamental theses of the Comintern adopted at the Second Congress, dealing with the questions of Trade Unionism, Parliamentarism, the Role of the Communist Party, the National and Colonial Question, the Statutes of the Communist International, Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International, Conditions of Admission (the 21 points), Conditions for the Formation of Soviets, and the Agrarian Question. (2) "Leninism," by I. Stalin, secretary of the Russian Communist Party, one of the oldest collaborators of Lenin and one of the foremost leaders of the Comintern. (3) "The Selected Works of Lenin."

of an elementary nature, using Bukharin's "ABC of Communism" as a text, are now in the process of organization. In order to facilitate this essential development and to make it possible for groups of comrades who have no experienced teachers to successfully conduct the classes, the Educational Department of the Central Executive Committee has prepared a special supplementary pamphlet as a guide, and with the general direction and advice of the Educational Department of the Central Executive Committee, it will be possible for inexperienced comrades to make a successful start in acquiring the necessary theoretical knowledge.

It is our aim to eventually establish such a class in each city in the country where the party has an organization. We will not reach this goal all at once, but the response already received has exceeded all expectations and is, in itself, a sure indication of the widespread ambition prevailing amongst the comrades to arm themselves with a knowledge of the fundamental theory of the movement. The

HOW MUCH?

By Robin E. Dunbar

IN bourgeois society everything is measured by how much it fetches. Man's honor, woman's virtue, genius, love, the family affections and relationships, home and mother, the parental blessings, the graces of childhood, the prattlings of babyhood—all are put on the scale and valued in dollars and cents. Human life itself is merely a matter of "How Much?" and it is bought and sold like any other merchantable commodity, as is daily witnessed in the purchase of dare devil stunt performers in the movies, who give their lives in the end for a price. Babies are bought and sold and given away, and it is all accepted by the pillars of bourgeois society as part of the day's work. Murder is a matter of purchase and sale, and can be made the subject of play, as seen in the Franks' case where it was indulged in just for the thrill, and the murderers bought themselves off with the hiring of a high priced lawyer. No one is silly enough to expect they will long be confined behind prison bars. What is money for, if it isn't to buy the boys out?

All this is not to be wondered at. Capital is the booty stolen from labor; and booty is ever a pirate in action. The signers of our Declaration smuggled in tea, liquors and slaves; and when caught bought off the courts or bulldozed them into silence. The older bourgeoisie may have been an agent of civilization, but that day has past. Now no one believes it means well for us. It has become so corrupt it is rotten—every root and branch. Bourgeois art, science, music, government, religion, journalism and politics all poisoned with hypocrisy. Let all healthful play stop and not even a hymn be sung, without an eye to profit. With sensation-

al success follows the rapid fire clean-up. All get busy and exploit the thing to the limit, so as to make as much out of it as they can while the getting is good. This was the case with "Damaged Goods"; "Under Fire"; "Birth of a Nation"; "Lightnin'"; and will be the case with "What Price Glory?" and all other bourgeois pieces of drama, art, literature or what not. How much? is the question. What will it pay? What do we get out of war? Ask Doheny, Fall, Sinclair, Daugherty, Jess Smith, Burns, et al. They are not only the exemplars of bourgeois opinion, they are the reflectors and the manufacturers of bourgeois morality and esthetics. What they praise and esteem is what the whole bourgeois world must praise and esteem, be it the latest oil field boot-legging joint, Wall Street, bomb explosion fairy tale, labor injunction leg show, moving picture, or rustic melodrama. They are the public, they and their pimps, prostitutes and panders of press, pulpit, stage and rostrum. They are the ones who make the world safe for plutocracy—they and their bankers, lawyers, merchants, chiefs, etc.

Where property is king, life is slave. When a bourgeois dies the question is not "What good did he do for humanity?" but "How much did he leave to his heirs and mistresses?"

Take sport. Take baseball. If the magnates meet and decide it is more profitable for Washington to win the pennant than for New York, that is well and good. It is so ordered and no one has a right to complain. But should the hired players try to interfere with the plans of their masters, that is treason, fraud, bribery, and foul crime. How much? is not a question for slaves to discuss; it is only fit for the masters to bother about such important matters. The slaves

should accept what the masters dole out to them without question. They must carry the message to Garcia for a crust and a kick. Have not all the courts decided again and again that the matter of "How Much?" is none of labor's business? The going wage is what labor must accept, when there is a job open. If no job is to be had, there is the river, the gas jet, or the pistol from the pawn shop by which to solve the equation. Death is the bourne for which workers should thank their masters, who have been so kind as to allow us that exit from our woes.

Death without fuss is the boon we are permitted as our share of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Then we hear their grumble because they have to provide us a grave instead of a ditch full of lime. That is why they like war so much better than peace; not only do they make more money, then, but they get rid of us so much easier. War is indeed a great blessing to the rich; it inflates their pocket-books, their stomachs, and satisfies their thirst for our blood; besides it stocks up the market with war widows, who can be had for a song then. War not only makes the world safer for plutocracy, it makes it cheaper besides. Then there are the spoils! Look at how much they will take out of the workers of Germany, thanks to the Dawes graft! China is next! The millions of cheap laborers there are a toothsome morsel to Morgan and his pals. If only Soviet Russia weren't quite so near! How much they could swallow up at one gulp! Japan isn't considered at all. To crush that imperialist country would be child's play for our renowned pacifists, who are again building all sorts of craft, weapons, armaments, gas bombers, and flying ships in the interests of peace and world harmony.

The most successful dips are those who throw their victims off the scent by crying, "Look out for pick-pockets!" The greatest bourgeois statesmen are those who can mobilize the largest forces for war while prating of peace. The masters ask themselves, How much can we get out of a fight? and if they decide the profits justify the attempt they tell their office boys to get busy and declare war at once. The office boys get out and shriek how "we" are being attacked by "our" enemies and immediately start dropping gas bombs on non-combatants, and thus carry out orders. They begin slaughter that ends only with the total exhaustion of one of the parties to the affray; rather of the workers on one side. For war as we know, is never fought by those who declare it. War is for the master by the workers. Death is the only reward of the warriors; dollars, of the masters. A dollar a day while able to fire a gun and a ditch full of lime when not is the pay of the worker; and a dollar a year AND side money with board and keep and nursing for the patriots who sit at the capitol sacrificing themselves and their mistresses in the service of their country, while the war lasts; that is the pay of these who declare it.

How much? . . . millions . . . and then some. Ask Forbes or any other of our public spirited rotarians.

Comrades, the question is now which road will you follow? Will you ask at every turn. How much . . . is there in it for my master? or How many of my own class members can I convert to my cause? How many can I turn away from supporting the bourgeoisie? How many can I enlist in the proletarian army with the Communists? For I know it is human life vs. profits; humanity against wealth; and I stand for humanity.

WHO FIGHTS THE WHITE TERROR?

(Continued from Page 2.)

The well known menshevik party member Rostov and B. Vassiliev, member of the central committee of the party, proposed once to the rest of the prisoners to organize a political demonstration against the regime. The majority of the prisoners refused to participate, and the group of Georgian mensheviks replied thus:

"If in answer to our hunger strike the Soviet government were to have an investigation and inspection made, even the ultra-anti-Soviet commission of European socialists would declare that altho the Soviet system and Soviet justice is bad, the regime in the Suzdalsk prison is satisfactory."

So the Georgian mensheviks felt they could not get away with it and therefore considered it bad tactics to protest.

And who are these 1,500 prisoners? They consist of monarchists, four White Guard generals, social democrats, social-revolutionaries and anarchists. Such as took part in the Moscow explosion of 1919 when seven prominent Communists lost their lives and scores were seriously wounded. This explosion was organized by anarchists during Denikin's march on Moscow.

But the Second International and its adherents considers these 1,500 "heroes" and attacks the Soviet government for not letting them "free." At the same time they say nothing against the imprisonment of the 380,200 workers and peasants in capitalist countries.

The Second International and its adherents treacherously mask under the cloak of "freedom for workers" in Soviet Russia because they want to hide their own perfidy to the workers and peasants in capitalist countries where 380,200 militants are imprisoned under unbearable conditions.

The leaders of the Second International want to smoke-screen the real issue so as to be able to continue to pose as a friend of the workers and working farmers. They sit in parlia-

ments and help passively and actively in wholesale arrests and brutalities, while their henchmen shout loudly "freedom of workers" in Soviet Russia. They try to befuddle the minds of their followers so they won't see how these Second Internationalists are aiding and abetting capitalism in its prosecution of the working class. They raise not a finger against the imprisonment of the 380,200 class war victims of capitalism, but they raise a whole hand against the few counter-revolutionaries imprisoned in Soviet Russia. They do nothing to fight against the White Terror which is fast spreading over capitalist Europe, because it is against their own interests. Instead they vent their righteous indignation at Soviet Russia.

The Red Aid International which is a non-party organization is the only

workers' organization which is fighting White Terror in Europe. It gives legal aid to the prisoners and material assistance to their wives and children. It grew out of a desire on the part of the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia to help the class war victims in capitalist countries. It has already helped 18,000 people and conducted in Germany alone 8,448 lawsuits between January 1 and April 1, 1924. It has now agencies in all the important countries which it controls strictly from its international office. In the

United States the International Workers' Aid has undertaken to raise funds for this purpose.

The International Workers' Aid is conducting a campaign at present for the raising of \$100,000. Send for their collection lists and literature to 19 South Lincoln St., Chicago.

Long live the Red Aid International.
Long live the fighting proletariat.
Long live the spirit of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht!

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The Alignment of Revolutionary Women in the Class Struggle

By JEANNETTE D. PEARL

Generally speaking the broad masses of women may be classified as a part of the unskilled labor supply of the country. As unskilled laborers, the difficulty of organizing women becomes at once apparent. Of the four million workers in trade unions, only a quarter of a million are women. The A. F. of L. calculates the organizational strength of women at 5 per cent, to demonstrate how difficult is the task of organizing women. This calculation of the A. F. of L. is no doubt brought into evidence to conceal its own guilt in having sabotaged the unionizing of women. As unskilled workers the A. F. of L. practically made no attempt to organize women while such of the skilled women that sought membership in the A. F. of L. were excluded from many of the unions as competitors, threatening the job trust of the A. F. of L.

The discrimination against women is not a matter of sex as is contended by the feminists, but is based on economic grounds, the source of practically all discriminations. The increasing number of women entering industry, their attempt at organization, make them a factor that must be reckoned with, industrially as well as politically.

Women are organizable. There are over eight million women (of all classes) organized in social and civic

clubs thruout the country. In the last presidential election, the eligible voting women, voted to the extent of 43 per cent.

The calculation that the organizational strength of women in trade unions is but 5 per cent is incomplete. Since women constitute but one fourth of the working population, the 5 per cent should be multiplied by four. Male workers are organized in proportion to men employed to the extent of 11 per cent, women to the extent of 2.5 per cent. The organizational strength of working women compared with working men may be taken as 20 per cent.

The number of working women organized in trade unions is not a constant factor. Two thirds of women in industry, according to the women's bureau at Washington, are continually leaving industry because of marriage. That proportion may also be assumed for organized women, so that the constant factor for organized women is roughly 100,000 with 150,000 as a perpetual fluctuating figure. But even the 100,000 is not altogether a constant factor, because psychologically working women in the main regard their work as a temporary condition.

The apparent temporary character of women's employment, her comparative newness to industry, her lack of skill, together with the peculiarities arising out of her maternal functions and duties, have all materially con-

tributed in checking the class solidarity of women.

To draw working women into the class struggle, the peculiarities arising out of sex differences (that does not mean sex inferiority) together with the social and political inequalities must be carefully studied. An apparatus should be created to consider the entire woman's problem in its relation to the class struggle, with the view of establishing closer contact with the broad masses of working women, to develop their social and revolutionary psychology and to draw the class conscious women into our party.

The Women's Bureau should be made up of comrades in sympathy with the work. The secretary of the bureau should sit at the executive sessions of the C. E. C., or a member of the C. E. C. should be in the bureau. All woman's work should be under the jurisdiction of the Women's Bureau subject to the approval of the C. E. C. The functions of the bureau should be to study conditions peculiar to women's activity, to carry on work of education, agitation and organization among the broad masses of women and to equip Communist women for that task—a proper psychological approach. The women's work is not to make for the organization of a women's political party.

Every branch should have a women's committee, reports on women's work should be rendered at all branch meetings and all other subdivisions of the party. At every party conference and convention women's work should be on the agenda of the day. In our national program of action, an eighth division should provide for woman's work.

The duties of the women's committee of the branches should be to study the local conditions of the district as they effect women and to make plans how to best serve the revolutionary movement thru the local conditions prevailing at any given time. The study should include industrial conditions incident to sex differences and discriminations, social and political inequalities, problems effecting housewives and mothers, the public school system as it effects the children of the working class, etc. All women of the branch must be mobilized for women's work.

Women Communists should penetrate all working women's organiza-

tions, openly join as members of the W. P. and act as standard bearers, tactfully portraying the Communist viewpoint, bringing the principles of the W. P. to the attention of an ever increasing number of women and so create sympathy and confidence in our party and its leadership.

In every strike, our women must be ready at a moment's notice to organize relief committees among strikers' wives and sympathisers and support the strike thru the W. P.

Women W. P. members must systematically engage in the industrial work and strive to draw industrial women into the union and shop nuclei. Women of little social contact respond more freely when approached by members of their own sex.

Working class housewives represent a constant factor in society and deserve serious consideration. Entirely ignored by the A. F. of L., greatly influenced by the church, they are the conservative props of things as they are. They not only exert a retarding influence upon their husbands, they also exert a most reactionary influence upon their children. We must rescue the children, thru an approach to the housewives and mothers.

The housewives' problems center around prices. That interest should be linked up with the organizational possibilities inherent in co-operatives and civic clubs. There exist in many trade unions women's auxiliary organizations, composed of workers' wives. These in reality are social clubs but these clubs should be given labor and political impulses. The T. U. E. L. ought to take it upon itself how best to organize such women's auxiliaries for the purpose of the class struggle.

Any plan regarding women's work must necessarily be in the nature of an experiment. A real working plan can only grow out of our experience with work among women. We must not study women as a sex but rather as a subdivision of a sex. Each grouping should be separately studied in order to adopt a more effective approach.

General agitation thruout our press should be started in the interest of woman's work. Our literature must be built up on an intensive study of the women's problems in relation to Communism, out of which will follow methods best adapted for the drawing of women into the revolutionary ranks.

SOUND THE ALARM

(Continued from Page 1.)

than one-third, of the total vote. Also that in a few of these states LaFollette was on the verge of victory. It is practically certain that had the petty-bourgeoisie, whom he represents, voted for him, he would have carried most of those states. Which establishes the fact that the LaFollette movement is, at least, the practical agrarian northwest.

Then read the following table which gives the comparative vote and LaFollette's percentage in the industrial cities of the east and middle west:

State	Coolidge	Davis	LaFollette	Total	LaFollette %
Connecticut	244,528	109,788	37,839	390,255	9.7
Illinois	1,450,000	560,000	336,000	2,346,000	14.3
Indiana	761,720	532,451	66,769	1,360,940	4.9
Massachusetts	698,725	276,335	140,309	1,115,369	12.5
Michigan	770,315	126,510	100,785	996,610	10.1
New Jersey	622,686	280,711	99,123	1,002,430	9.8
New York	1,807,787	964,301	454,888	3,217,475	14.1
Ohio	1,069,967	438,335	332,279	1,870,581	18.0
Pennsylvania	1,261,194	356,128	239,153	1,856,475	13.0
Rhode Island	125,385	76,782	7,636	209,753	3.6
	8,812,267	3,710,041	1,814,781	14,337,089	10.2

LaFollette's average vote in these states is 10.2 per cent. In New York and Illinois it was over 14 per cent, and in Ohio it was 18 per cent. What does it prove? It proves that large sections of labor in the industrial centers accept at present the political leadership of the objectively petty-bourgeois LaFollette movement.

The switch in labor's ranks from the old capitalist parties is seen more clearly when we compare the vote for Debs in 1920 with the vote of LaFollette in 1924 cast in the industrial centers.

Read the table:

State	Debs	LaFollette
Illinois	74,747	336,000
Indiana	24,703	68,769
Ohio	57,147	332,279

Pennsylvania	70,021	239,153
New Jersey	27,217	99,123
New York	203,201	454,588
Connecticut	10,350	37,839
Massachusetts	32,267	140,309
Total	499,653	1,709,160

Almost four times as many workers voted for LaFollette in 1924 than for Debs in 1920. The breakaway movement of the petty-bourgeoisie and in the direction of a movement which the masses believe to be more their own is very definite. Putting together the conclusions from each of these tables, we are justified in saying: That the LaFollette movement, objectively a movement of the petty-bourgeoisie, was not supported in the elections in any large measure by the petty-bourgeoisie, but by the workers of the east and middle west and by the poor farmers of the northwest.

Altho the achievements of the LaFollette groups fall far short of their expectations, yet the movement will undoubtedly continue towards further crystallization into a definite party. It will continue as an alliance between the ideologists of the petty-bourgeoisie and labor bureaucracy and will be recognized and supported for some time to come by large sections of labor and poor farmers. What we had in America until practically the beginning of July as a farmer-labor movement was completely swallowed up by the LaFollette-socialist-Gompers alliance.

The Workers Party and Its Tasks.

I reserve a fuller treatment for a further article. Here the following must be pointed out. The Workers (Communist) Party succeeded in the election campaign in bringing its message of class struggle and Communism to wide masses of workers. Our party established itself for the first time in its existence, as the only party of working class struggle, as the only uncompromising enemy of capitalism. By our election campaign we have prepared the ground and ourselves for the leading role in the class struggle which we are bound to assume.

This must be followed up with a concrete program of action based upon the everyday struggles of the workers, in the spirit of the United Front tactics of the Communist International. Our main line of action must be:

A United Front between the toiling masses and the Workers (Communist) Party for everyday struggle against the strikebreaking government and against the LaFollette petty-bourgeoisie ideology in the labor movement.

Forward to the struggle!

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