

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

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**THE DAILY WORKER**

SECOND SECTION  
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# Slogans and Policies in Election Campaign

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

The recent decision of the Central Executive Committee calls for a straight, clean-cut Communist campaign in the coming elections. What does it mean?

Its general meaning would be this: to raise such slogans and to instill into the masses such ideas as to win over to the cause of Communism the maximum possible number of workers.

So far, so good. The only question—the real question—that still remains to be settled is, what should these slogans and ideas be? This question can be best answered by considering

the following two propositions.

1. What are the most pressing and burning issues in the lives of the American working masses at the present moment?

2. What is the best means available at present for mobilizing the maximum possible number of workers for an immediate struggle against capitalism?

Particular stress is laid here on the expression, immediate struggle. Why? For the sole reason that the masses can be won over to the ideas of Communism only thru actual struggle against capitalist exploitation. Not by propaganda alone, not by mere preaching of the ultimate aims of

Communism, but by leading the masses into struggle against capitalism can we succeed in eventually winning them for our ultimate aims.

What Are The Issues?

In reviewing the present day conditions of life of the industrial proletariat of the United States, what do we find? Unemployment, part-time employment and a feeling of general insecurity in finding the means of earning a livelihood. This seems to be the outstanding feature of the present situation as far as large masses of workers are concerned. Undeniably, this country is passing at present thru a period of industrial depression which has already produced

a widespread crisis of unemployment. We do not know how long the present situation will continue, altho our indications are to the effect that the present crisis is rather of a lasting nature.

Whatever its durability, the crisis is right now in our midst. Masses of workers have been seriously affected. They are restless. They are dissatisfied. They are looking for a way out. It is our duty to take the lead. Which means, in other words, that the problem of unemployment becomes one of our issues, one of our main slogans in the election campaign.

Proceeding further with the exam-  
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## LEADERS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM



1) Zinoviev. 2) Trotsky. 3) Bucharin. 4) Kolarov. 5) Steward. 6) Cackin. 7) Clara Zetkin. 8) Ruth Fisher. 9) Bordiga. 10) Katayama. 11) Roy. 12) Foster.

# After the Russian Communist Congress

A SUM-UP OF THE GREAT GATHERING WHICH PROVED THE PARTY TO BE AS FIRM AS A ROCK.

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN.

"The Congress of the Russian Communist Party has not justified expectations." This is how a bourgeois Russian paper, Rul, Berlin organ of the right wing constitutional democrats, characterizes the great gathering of the ruling party of Russia. Indeed, the congress was not to the liking of all yellows, pinks, whites and blacks. The counter-revolutionary crew had expected a row, a scandal, a rift, an explosion. The "men without a country" had disseminated thruout the western world news of an impending split in the ranks of the Soviet proletarian dictatorship. There had been already "learned" treatises published in the menshevist press on the social causes of the inevitable dissolution of Communist rule. Political fakirs had lived by the feeble light of newly kindled hopes. Russia herself was looking with eagerness toward the coming of the highest governing body of the republic. For had there not been a great political storm raging only a short while before? Had there not been two groups, two orientations, denouncing each other thruout the entire party, from the Central Executive Committee down to the last nucleus in the last shop of the remotest province of the union?

## Ironclad Unity.

Well, the Congress has come, and the Congress has gone, and such a manifestation of ironclad indestructible unity of the entire party from top to bottom the world has never seen. If the Russian revolution is the greatest event in the history of the working class; if the fate of the Russian Communist Party is of the most vital importance to the working class of the world, then this Congress, just finished in absolute harmony and with colors flying high, must be a source of happiness and pride to every class conscious worker in every country of the globe.

By their actions should one judge political bodies. By its results should a line of policy be tested. The policy of the Russian Communist Party, as expressed by its Central Executive Committee, has stood the severest historical tests—a front of hostility from without, a grave and evil-boding economic crisis within, a state of civil warfare within the party itself—and has proven successful, overcoming difficulties, removing obstacles, leading the republic toward peace, prosperity and socialism. Under this sign the R. C. P. Congress convened. Under this sign it conducted its deliberations. And tho heated skirmishes were not lacking, the most outspoken opposition (or, rather, the members of the former opposition) had to acknowledge the substantial achievements of the last several months and, with them, the correctness of the C. E. C.'s line of action.

## Political and Economic Achievements.

It will require a special article to enumerate the political and economic gains since last October, when the flame of discussion was kindled. We shall here confine ourselves to a brief mention of the most outstanding features. In international relations, a series of recognitions de jure, notably by Italy, England and the Scandinavian countries—recognitions due, to use Zinoviev's expression, not only to the "Tch" of Tchitcherin, but mainly to the "Tch" of the Tchervonetz, the stabilized Russian currency. In foreign trade, a growing import of raw materials to keep Russian industries busy, an export of grains, furs and other native products in increased numbers, a favorable trade balance which aided materially to the stabilization of the rouble. In the field of production, agriculture reaching about 78 per cent of the pre-war output, industry approaching the 50 per cent level, with coal running as high as 60 per cent of the pre-war production, oil 65 per cent, woolen textiles 58 per cent—a healthy growth in spite of the absence of large foreign concessions and the dependence of the Russian industrial mechanism on its own resources. In the question of prices, a steady increase

of prices on agricultural products and a steady decline of prices on manufactured goods, marking a narrowing margin between the famous "blades of the scissors" (Trotsky's expression), which on Oct. 1, 1923, stood like 54:172 for wholesale and 67:135 for retail trade, whereas on May 1, 1924, the divergence was 93:131 wholesale and 107:92 retail. In the budget, a rigid economy in expenditures, an opening up of new sources of revenue, a decrease of deficits, a possibility of realizing the 1923-4 budget without a deficit at all. In the problem of money, as a result of improved economic and financial conditions and as an expression of a brightening outlook—a stabilized currency which, for the first time in many years, opened before the workers and peasants on the one hand and before industrial and trade establishments on the other, the possibility of accurately calculating

uncertainty prevailed. A group of comrades under the leadership of Trotsky issued then a cry of alarm. In the economic field they demanded a series of measures which, in their totality, would have amounted to an increase of the power of capitalism in Russia (tho some of the opposition demanded more drastic measures against the NEP (New Economic Policy) and better regulation of the entire economic apparatus—measures which at that time could hardly be carried out and which, therefore, could only dishearten. In the construction of the party they demanded more democracy, special attention to the Communist students, curtailment of the rights and privileges of the old guard, i. e., those comrades who belonged to the R. C. P. before October, 1917, and who form the backbone of the party structure at present. It was not so much the list of demands as the

which in certain localities and industries reaches 80 and 90 per cent of the pre-war level. As to the situation within the party, an event of first magnitude occurred between the conference and the congress. The Lenin Enrollment took place. The party appealed after Lenin's death, and over two hundred thousand workers from the shop responded by becoming members of the party. Never in its history had the party seen the like of such a mass rush into Communist ranks. In two or three months the membership increased from over 500,000 to nearly three quarters of a million. The newly enrolled were only shop workers, proletarians of manual labor. This broadened the proletarian basis of the party, made it throb more energetically with actual proletarian life, brought it into most intimate contact with the lowest strata of labor, made it possible to draw new working class elements into the work of administration. The Lenin Enrollment was, undoubtedly, stimulated by the death of the great revolutionary leader; it was carried out in the heat of sentiment released by the loss. But the very fact that the masses manifested their love for Lenin by enrolling into the party of Leninism showed their great interest for the party. The very circumstances of the enrollment showed much more. The new members (the Lenin Draft) were actually elected by their non-party shop brothers to serve on the party. General meetings of the workers were held in the shops and factories, and after a rigid examination of the candidates and a thorough discussion, the mass of workers voted who should and who should not become a member of the party. The workers of the country thus plainly said that even if they are not all party members they look upon the party as their own and are interested in its progress,—which would have been impossible had the accusations of the opposition been true to any appreciable degree.

## Congress Unanimous for C. E. C. Policy

The Lenin Enrollment made the position of the C. E. C. easy. The Enrollment had changed the entire aspect of the party, had made criticism almost impossible. By the time the Thirteenth Congress convened, the Central Executive Committee had taken from the opposition those elements of constructive criticism which could be realized in practice and had thus improved the tone of party life pacifying many a noproponent. The Thirteenth Congress had only to sum up the situation. The delegates were unanimously for the C. E. C. with no dissenting vote and nobody refraining from voting. Trotsky's speech at the Congress was a defense of his former stand and an effort to prove that it could not be called an opportunistic aberration as it was characterized by the January conference and by many a speaker at the congress. Trotsky, however, said expressly that he is not only against definite factions within the party, but also against indefinite groupings according to tendencies and trends of opinion. It is known that he has decided to work in harmony with the new Central Executive Committee.

The Congress has thus closed a great chapter in the history of the party. The party of the Proletarian Dictatorship stands today solid as a rock. Its leadership is the Lenin guard; its army is the working class of the factories and shops. The party ideology has been tested in the heat of numerous battles. The outlook of the party is bright. There is a certain exhilaration thruout the membership. Everybody has a hopeful feeling. The party is without a fissure, without a crack. "We are not a patch party," said Zinoviev at a meeting of party functionaries at Leningrad, and the echo of this proud declaration reverberated all thru the party and the country at large.

## "Deeper Into the Masses."

If we were briefly to characterize the other decisions of the Congress, we could find no better expression than Zinoviev's "Deeper into the

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## OLD AND YOUNG



Joining Russian Communist Party

their incomes and expenditures and of making provision for the future. In relations of the various classes toward the Soviet system, a general and unshakable conviction that this workers and peasants' government, under the leadership of the Communist Party, is the most stable in the world, that its integrity is beyond dispute and that its closeness to the masses is the source of its strength.

## Causes and Claims of the Opposition.

With a record of this kind and with a reassuring prospect of further successes in every realm of life, did the Communist Party come to its annual Congress. What had the opposition been hammering at? What had been the source of its criticism? In October-November, 1923, immediately after the defeat of the German workers, the situation in Russia was rather gloomy. The workers were restless in consequence of inadequate wages, the peasants were chafing under high prices for industrial products which, with agricultural products selling very low, became almost prohibitive for the rural population. A general feeling of

tone of the criticism which set the entire party aflame. A man of Trotsky's size and achievements accused the party of bureaucratism, of moving away from the masses, of growing petrified in revolutionary tradition, of losing contact with the workers in the shops, of becoming more and more a purely administrative apparatus. Those accusations were flatly repudiated at a general party conference in January, yet the opposition, tho disavowed and severely reprimanded, continued its criticism. Trotsky himself a loyal and sincerely devoted party member, could not stop the activities of his followers, nor is he responsible for a great number of tactless declarations and accusations made by irresponsible elements who thought themselves his disciples.

## Lenin Enrollment—An Enormous Event.

When the Thirteenth Congress of the R. C. P. convened, the wide range of economic success had proven the correctness of the line of policy pursued by the C. E. C., not the least achievement being the rise of wages,

# GATHERING AND WRITING NEWS

Editor's Note—This is the second of a series of three articles written for the purpose of telling the DAILY WORKER staff of volunteer reporters how to make their contributions most valuable to their paper. This article gives some suggestions on securing an interview, and analyzes the "lead" of the story. The third article will mention a few common types of DAILY WORKER stories.

By KARL REEVE.

THE most important part of the newspaper story is considered the "lead," or beginning of the story. The lead is the first sentence or paragraph of the story, which summarizes briefly the most important features of the entire story.

The newspaper story may be likened to an inverted pyramid, or triangle with one corner pointing downward. The most important, significant and interesting facts are put into the first sentence. If the story is a long one, with several angles to it, the lead may cover several paragraphs. Each paragraph is a separate unit, with the facts in it able to stand alone.

The books on journalism tell us that the lead must answer the questions, "when, what, who, where and how." After the lead has given the essential facts of the story, the details can follow, a paragraph or two being devoted to each phase of the story. The most important facts come first, so that if the last few paragraphs are cut off, the essentials of the story still remain.

## Facts, Not Opinions.

The best written news story is that which is most definite and most concise. Brevity demands that facts take the place of personal opinions and editorial comment. An obscure fact or an involved situation must be interpreted and explained, but unnecessary comment clutters up the story and

wastes space. The most common fault of the stories sent to the DAILY WORKER is that little real news plus pages of editorial comment and opinions make up the story. It should be just the opposite. Definite facts, written from the angle of the working class, but unhampered by opinions, make the best news story.

Indefinite, hazy writing is another common fault of the news stories sent in. First names should always be secured. Time after time stories are brought into the DAILY WORKER office and when they are typewritten out the contributor cannot give the spelling of the names of those involved nor the addresses of the places mentioned.

## Be Definite and Brief.

At the time the news is gathered, haziness about the dates of occurrences and correct names and addresses can easily be eliminated. After the news is brought into the office it is often impossible to complete the story.

A definite plan of attacking the gathering of the news and preparation before securing an interview gains a better story. Interviewing is the main part of news gathering. Before interviewing a person, the reporter familiarizes himself with the man's past activities and fully understands his recent connection with the story sought.

A good reporter asks numerous questions. Before interviewing a person, he writes down on a card or slip of paper all the questions he can think of which bear on the story he seeks. After asking as many of these questions he remembers, he can take the card out of his pocket and see if he has asked all the questions.

The man interviewed talks more readily if the reporter is entirely at his ease, in a pleasant, receptive mood, listening attentively and transferring confidence to the person interviewed. It is a good plan at an early stage in the interview to express an opinion on the subject being discussed, thus showing capability of writing an intelligent, accurate story.

## A Lingering Farewell.

Every question asked and every opinion expressed furnishes a stimulus of which the response is added material for the story. When the person interviewed gets started, however, on a long statement or detailed story of himself, it is best to let him talk himself out before interrupting with a question. Stick to him as long as you have any questions to ask or as long as he will talk. If he is reluctant to talk, take a lingering farewell, popping questions at him one after another while he is showing you out.

Immediately after leaving, write down every word you can remember which the person interviewed has uttered. It is best to take no notes in front of him, as this is disconcerting and stops his flow of thought, unless he is accustomed to being interviewed. If it is absolutely necessary to take a note or two of statistics or very important statements, take them in such a way as to keep the person interviewed at his ease, without flourishes.

Just before leaving, ask for any literature which the organization or person you have interviewed can give you. This often adds to the story when quoted.

## Direct Quotations.

The notes taken of the interview, the literature gathered, and the material about the same subject in other papers and magazines, are the material the reporter has before him as he sits down to compose his news story.

Make direct quotations wherever possible in writing up the story. Do not state what you asked the person interviewed but construct his answers into a smooth running story. The answers do not have to be given in their order providing the meaning is not changed.

## Bob Minor's Story.

Robert Minor's story of the socialist convention, in the July 9 issue of the DAILY WORKER, is an example of the best kind of reporting. In the first paragraph he gives the most important news—that the socialists indorsed LaFollette and voted against running

their own presidential candidate. In the second and third paragraphs he mentioned the two most important speeches of the day—that of Abe Cahan and Morris Hillquit and points out the battle between these two men, giving their most significant statements.

In the fourth paragraph Minor tells of the effect of Eugene Debs' telegram on the convention. Not until, in these first four paragraphs, he had given a brief summary of the most important news of the convention does Minor go back and report the speeches of the leading figures of the convention in detail. Take your DAILY WORKER and study this story of Minor.

## Types of Stories.

The news stories mentioned above are by far the large majority of those which the volunteer reporters will send to the DAILY WORKER. In addition, there is the narrative method of writing up a story, where the summary is not put into the lead. "John Smith walked into a bird store to buy his wife some canary bird seed yesterday evening, and suddenly found himself confronted by a roaring lion just inside the entrance," is a lead for a narrative story. Written up in the regulation news story, the lead might run, "A circus lion broke loose on Main street last night, scaring many home-bound pedestrians, but was captured in a bird store before anyone was injured."

There is also the feature story which emphasizes incidents appealing to the emotions and to "human interest" rather than giving the bare facts. Feature stories may also be written as semi-editorials giving the paper's policy. For the DAILY WORKER, however, the regular news story style used by our correspondents is most valuable.

In the next article I will mention a few common types of news stories and how they should be handled for the DAILY WORKER, and will give some further suggestions on the actual writing of the story after the news is gathered.

# ON A HOSPITAL COT (A Story) By JOHN LASSEN

SO, I have reached another stage. Long rows of cots occupied by invalids. A crucifix on the wall. And at the entrance stands a vessel containing holy water. Nuns wearing large white bonnets and the priest who calls daily to administer the last rites to those that may need them.

The bells are tolling.

It is dawn. The deep darkness gradually dissolves in the first blush of morn. The cots cast penetrating lengthened shadows across the gloom. From afar comes the harsh ringing of a bell. Two shafts of light from as many lamps quiver thru the corridor. The ringing becomes insufferable. An invalid on the adjoining cot speaks:

"Someone is dying. . . ."

Two youthful ministers enter with lamps and bells in their hands; a third one holds a crucifix aloft.

The priest is attired in ritual vestments: a white blouse, richly brocaded with lace.

The boy, lying on a nearby cot, grumbles: "Why do they bother me? I want to live."

The bell in the corridor stops ringing.

Half asleep, the boy murmurs: "I want to live."

Once again the bell tolls mournfully. It is morning. Nuns enter, filling the ward with their prayerful murmur.

The morning drags its lumbering hulk onward. Amid spasms of coughing the patients talk of a brighter hereafter and the things denied them in this life.

The youngster nearest to me announces: "I'd need no more than \$100.00 to go to California. I have an uncle there who'd look after me. A hundred dollars isn't such a lot of money—is it?"

"Not an awful lot," says I; but he

sighs.

"It's quite a fortune, if you don't happen to have it," adding, "and I haven't it."

Jakie Rosenberg is his name. He has nothing in common with the crucifix on yonder wall. He was brought from some East Side death trap. It is six months now since he has been spitting blood.

I often wonder where he gets so much blood.

But Jakie Rosenberg is giving the Grim Reaper a heroic tussle.

"I'll bet it would be wonderful out in California. They have nothing but sunshine out there. Everybody that goes there comes back cured . . . it's a cinch that I'd get well, too."

I venture to ask: "Have you no one who could raise the hundred for you?"

"A hundred dollars? That mightn't be quite enough. Besides, we are not rich. We have a houseful of kids."

But suddenly his eyes grow bright.

"Our relatives are nice people. The whole family is together and, you know, they held a pow-pow the other day and decided to get up enough money to send me to California. Really I hate to talk about it for fear that it will never come to anything."

A deep sigh is followed by another fit of coughing. He sat up to relieve it. It was one of those ominous dry coughs. It seems to call for every ounce of strength; it fairly made my own lungs pant in agony.

"Maybe you have talked too much already," I caution him, recalling that only two weeks ago he spitted thick streams of blood.

"Oh, no. What was I saying? I have it, about my trip to California. Oh, yes. You know my sister Regina is a blessed old soul. She just had her chasene . . . I means her wedding. It was at her wedding that they decided to send me to California."

By now he is scarcely able to speak

coherently. He sputtered, not so much because of his cough as in consequence of the flood of tears which fill his eyes. But he goes on bravely: "The children were all taken out of school. Now they're all working to give me a chance to go to California."

"How wonderful."

"Yes, indeed."

It is visiting time.

Jakie's eyes light up. Regina has come; also little Moe . . . and all the others from the East Side. They all sit on and around the cot . . . at the feet of the Lord, Jesus Christ. They must have told Jakie something particularly fine, for his eyes glistened like glittering diamonds. And the whole family seems to bathe in the cloudless rays of true happiness. No particularly vivid imagination is required to guess that the fateful sum had been gathered: the fare to California.

What is there for me, the sentimental fool, to do but share the joy of Regina, Moe and Jakie, and the rest of the youngsters lurking around the cot.

Jakie's father came also. He sizes up the place; looks at the cross and the holy water and the nuns.

"What are you looking at, pa?"

"Ich kukmech im (I'm just looking around), my boy." Then: "Regina loves you seher."

The old man approaches my cot, saying: "Have you been here very long?"

"Two weeks."

"That all? You ain't very sick either. . . . My son (and his eyes grow moist) . . . he is going to California. We gottem all money now . . . Regina, you know, she . . ."

Visiting time is over. Once more Jakie and I are alone. He is still drunk with joy.

"I'm going to California, after all," he says jubilantly. "Think of it . . . they've collected all the money. Now to get well a bit . . . then off I'll go. Oh, just watch me build up quick. Regina told me about a lucky cases . . . Regina . . . there's a peach of a kid for you. . . ."

A physician cloaked in white makes one of his daily rounds.

"Howdy?" he asks.

And Jakie Rosenfeld feels "fine."

"I'm going to California," he replies. "Won't that be ripping. You'll be on your feet in no time," the doctor reassures him, passing on to the next cot.

The flickering glow of a night lamp fails to pierce the darkness. Brrr . . . what a black night it is. The clock ticks and strikes the passing hours monotonously. A quick, sharp rap draws my attention to the adjoining cot . . . Here, in this hospital of mercy, the electric bell is an unknown institution.

It is young Rosenfeld rapping . . . calling for an attendant . . . a stream of blood spurting from his mouth.

The attendant, obviously unaccustomed to the sight of blood gushing in jets, rushes wildly to the cot . . . then to a locker for a bowl to receive Jakie's oozing blood.

The boy's bulging eyes seem to want to say something, but he cannot. The bowl is filled to overflowing; he is clutching it convulsively. His eyes become blurred, furtively glaring in the air. They probably meet the eyes of Christ upon the wall. I wonder what is in his mind and in his heart? Very likely nothing.

His blood is still gushing in ever stronger streams. His head slips back. The bowl crashes to the floor. Another jet of blood spurts from a fast ebb-

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# Workers Party Central Executive Co

## PROGRAM OF ACTION

Adopted Unanimously by the C. E. C.

### The Program as a Whole.

IN March the Central Executive Committee issued a statement entitled, "Activities of the Workers Party," in which was pointed out the necessity for a balanced program of action for the party. At that time attention was called to the tendency of various groups in the party to unduly stress certain activities of the party and to neglect others. The consequence of this course naturally leads to a lopsided development of the party and to the growth of unnecessary factionalism. The C. E. C. stressed the necessity of so organizing its program of work that the tasks of building the party, educating its membership, and utilizing it in the class struggle would go ahead simultaneously and in such manner as to give the party a thoroughly rounded character. The present Program of Action, herewith outlined, is the putting into effect of the principles enlarged upon in the statement "Activities of the Workers Party."

The Program of Action contains several points: 1) Labor Party and election policy; 2) Trade union and industrial work; 3) party membership campaign; 4) educational work; 5) reorganization of the party on the shop nuclei basis; 6) unemployment policy; 7) DAILY WORKER subscription campaign. These propositions cover most of the main activities of the party and consist of the matters to which the party must direct its concentrated attention. This does not mean, however, that other activities of the party shall be neglected. On the contrary, they, too, shall be pushed with redoubled energy.

In order that the Program of Action may be put into effect systematically, energetically and uniformly thruout the organization, and all these activities carried on continuously in the sense of their comparative importance, a certain amount of specialization and

organization will have to take place around each policy. This will develop from the top to the bottom of the party. In the C. E. C. individual members will be commissioned to devote special attention to the various phases of the Program of Action, this specialization not to interfere with the proper centralization of the party. The D. E. C.'s will also carry out the same principle, organizing the necessary committees to specialize upon each of the points of the program. Likewise the C. C. C.'s and local branches will create the necessary specialization so that they can be brought systematically and effectively into the work of putting the whole Program of Action into operation.

In addition to creating the necessary committees around each phase of the Program of Action, a fundamental necessity is to require that all of these responsible individuals and committees submit regular reports as to what is being accomplished in the line of activity directly under their supervision. Thus the C. E. C. will require regular reports from those of its members commissioned to carry out these activities. Likewise the C. E. C. will receive similar reports from all district organizers explaining in detail what is being done in their respective territories relative to all the points in the Program of Action. So far as practical the D. E. C.'s, C. C. C.'s, and local branches should put the same principle into effect. Only in this manner, by creating the necessary specialized machinery and then seeing to it that this machinery functions effectively, will it be possible to achieve the highly beneficial effects possible under this program.

The following statement of policies and the manner of their application deals in the main with general principles. Detailed instructions on each policy will be sent to the party units.

## OUR ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

IN JUNE, 1922, our party declared, in a manifesto dealing with the application of the United Front policy in the United States, that the problem of the United Front politically was the problem of the formation of a Labor Party.

Since that time the party has carried on a consistent United Front campaign with the end in view of uniting those workers and farmers who were ready to break with the capitalist parties in a mass Farmer-Labor Party with which the Workers Party would be affiliated. This campaign has been the major political campaign of our party.

We have during this campaign advanced the cause of independent working class action and made the Farmer-Labor Party an issue in the American labor movement. We can also say, without danger of the statement being challenged, that our party had made the greatest gains for itself thru this campaign for the Labor Party. It is thru this Farmer-Labor Party campaign that our party has established itself as a political force in the United States. It is thru this campaign that it has established its prestige and its leadership among the masses of workers and farmers. Nothing has contributed so much to develop our party from a sectarian group to a recognized political force in the life of the labor movement of this country than our maneuvers in relation to the Farmer-Labor Party.

The Central Executive Committee declares that the campaign for a Farmer-Labor Party was a correct estimation of the situation in the United States. It declares further that the campaign for the Farmer-Labor Party must be continued and will be a major campaign of the party in the future.

We must, however, consider fundamentally the situation which our party faces in the present election campaign. The June 17 Farmer-Labor Party was not successful in mobilizing

all the Farmer-Labor forces of the United States for a Farmer-Labor Party campaign. The convention made tentative nominations and adopted a tentative platform and organization plan. It was considered possible that the Farmer-Labor elements which still adhered to the Conference for Progressive Political Action would break away from that conference when it again betrayed their hopes for a Farmer-Labor Party and that an alliance with these forces would create the basis for the Farmer-Labor Party campaign in this election struggle.

The group in the C. P. P. A. which is for a Farmer-Labor Party did not have sufficient courage to take a stand for the principle of class Farmer-Labor action in the United States. Without protest it accepted the LaFollette dictatorship and became the tail to the LaFollette petty bourgeois progressive movement. The Conference for Progressive Political Action has become a petty bourgeois progressive United Front extending from LaFollette to Debs.

It is the supreme duty of our party to raise against this petty bourgeois progressive alliance which is misleading the workers, the slogans of revolutionary class action. LaFollette is a menace to the labor movement. It is placing the workers under the leadership of the petty bourgeois class with a program in direct contradiction to the interests of the workers and liquidating their class movement. If the Farmer-Labor Party as formed at St. Paul represented a real United Front, unifying a mass movement of farmers and workers, which would stand firm and carry on the fight against LaFolletteism and the petty bourgeois progressive alliance, unquestionably the fight against LaFolletteism should be made thru the Farmer-Labor Party. This is not the situation. Part of the organizations participating in the June 17 convention are themselves infected with LaFolletteism and will be

swept along in the wake of the LaFollette petty bourgeois progressive movement.

Our party therefore faces the question whether it shall participate in a Farmer-Labor Party campaign in which the Workers Party will have to bear the brunt of the work and will have to largely conduct the campaign thru its organization, or whether it shall conduct a Communist campaign against LaFolletteism in the name of the Workers Party. A campaign in the name of the Farmer-Labor Party would, in the face of the Cleveland betrayal, unite only a relatively small part of the Farmer-Labor forces with the Workers Party. On the other hand, our Party would be greatly hampered in its agitation and propaganda and could not use the political campaign for the direct upbuilding of the party, if the campaign were conducted under the name of the Farmer-Labor Party. The United Front campaign is only of value to our party if it unites with us large groups of workers for common action. The degree to which this would be true in the Farmer-Labor campaign is not sufficient for such a United Front campaign. The Central Executive Committee of the party therefore has unanimously decided that the Workers Party shall enter the campaign in its own name, nominate Communist candidates and conduct a Communist campaign.

The alignment in the elections will be: the capitalist republican and democratic parties, the LaFollette petty bourgeois progressive alliance, and the Workers Party, raising the slogan of working class action on a Communist program against the capitalists and against the petty bourgeois misleaders of the workers. This situation should nerve every member of our party for the most aggressive and militant struggle our party has ever made.

Our program and policy during the campaign will be the following:

1. To run candidates nationally, in the states, and locally, under the name of the Workers Party, wherever it is possible for us to put these candidates on the ballot, this to include

the nomination of presidential electors in every state in which we can get on the ballot.

2. The National Executive Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party formed at St. Paul has indorsed the candidates of the Workers Party in this campaign and called upon all Farmer-Labor groups who stand for working class action to support these candidates. Our Party shall urge all local and state Farmer-Labor Party organizations to indorse the Workers Party candidates, maintaining their organization intact and using them to support the Workers Party campaign during the election struggle, thus also preparing the ground for continuance of the fight for the Farmer-Labor Party after the election campaign.

2. (a) A campaign fund of \$50,000 shall be raised thru circulation of subscription lists and donations from sympathetic organizations.

3. Every unit of the Workers Party must at once form election campaign committees for the purpose of organizing and carrying on the work in support of the campaign of the party.

4. The National Office will at once place in the field a corps of speakers who will be routed to every part of the country in a speaking campaign in support of our candidates and program.

5. The National Organization will issue a series of campaign leaflets which must be distributed by the party organization in millions of copies.

6. The Party National Organization will print during the campaign a series of campaign pamphlets dealing with the issues of the campaign and with the fundamentals of the Communist movement for the purpose of education of the workers to support our movement.

7. Party papers in all languages must give special attention to the election campaign supporting the party campaign in every way possible.

8. We must make consistent use of the election campaign for the upbuilding of our party. No meetings must pass without inviting the workers present to join our party. No piece of literature can be issued without containing a similar appeal.

## TRADE UNION AND INDUSTRIAL WORK

THE effectiveness of the Communist movement everywhere depends directly upon the success it has in sinking its roots into the industrial organizations of the working class. This principle is so generally recognized that the Communist International has reiterated time and again the supreme necessity for carrying on intensive and persistent work among the trade unions in all countries. The Workers Party, following the general policy, has also repeatedly insisted upon the need for well-organized effort among the industrial workers. But nevertheless our party has not yet come to realize the great importance of it. The trade union and industrial work is still in its infancy. Many units of the organization ignore it altogether. They seem to look upon the Trade Union Educational League as either some foreign organization or one capable of running along entirely upon its own resources. The consequence of this glaring neglect of trade union work is that the party is failing to draw sustenance from the richest field of opportunity lying before it. All its activities suffer accordingly. A firm grip in the industries is the first consideration for the success of our whole movement.

The C. E. C. is determined that the party shall take the industrial work much more seriously than in the past. For this purpose all the party units will be required to make it a definite and constant feature of their activities. The present state of neglect must come to an end at once. We must aim to a condition where in every industrial center there is a large and flourishing section of the Trade Educational League, and where every part of our party is functioning vigorously industrially. The real health and growth of our party depends upon the accomplishment of this condition. As the most vital present necessities of the industrial work, the C. E. C. calls

upon the party to put into effect the following general measures:

1. **Build the League.** In every industrial center where the party has local branches there must be formed local groups of the Trade Union Educational League. In the organized districts the district organizers shall consider it a part of their most urgent tasks to see to it that in every industrial city or town within their districts there is an active section of the league. They will be held responsible for the rigid fulfillment of this provision. The D. E. C.'s, C. C. C.'s and local branches shall give fullest co-operation in this matter.

2. **Industrial Registration.** A first necessity for successful work among the trade unionists and unorganized masses in the industries is a complete industrial registration of all party members. Such a registration will be carried out by the C. E. C. in the near future. All party units, including Federations, D. E. C.'s, C. C. C.'s, and local branches, are instructed to make this a special order of business. The district organizers are especially instructed to see to it that the industrial registration is a success in their respective districts.

3. **Industrial Organizers.** In order to carry out the industrial work successfully, it is necessary that the various units of the party commission industrial organizers and industrial committees to have charge of the work. The local branches shall each appoint an industrial organizer. The D. E. C.'s shall specialize themselves accordingly and shall devote direct attention to the industrial work. The function of the industrial machinery of the party shall be to bring the party membership into the league and into the industrial work generally, in accordance with the policies of the party.

4. **Union and League Membership.** It shall be a leading aim of the in-

dustrial work to class members mass trade union exist, they must party who work join the Trade League and take work. The members into the league must be by thruout the tom.

5. **Finances.** Trade Union E establish the ganda Fund. To be to regulariz of the league. membership r this fund the r look upon its duty. In addit the industrial least one pic: ment or dance Trade Union E

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# Committee Outlines Program of Action

all working party into the re none such ganized. The Educational League. District organizers will undertake to systematize the circulation of the Labor Herald in their respective districts.

6. **The Labor Herald.** The party shall give active support to the circulation of The Labor Herald, official organ of the Trade Union Educational League. District organizers will undertake to systematize the circulation of the Labor Herald in their respective districts.

7. **Build the Party.** The party membership must constantly bear in mind the fact that the prime aim of the trade union work is to build up the Workers Party into a mass Communist Party. To this end there must be a steady campaign carried on to bring all league sympathizers and members into the Workers Party. At the present time there are many workers who belong to the league but not to the party. The welfare of the party demands that all available workers made sympathetic thru the work of the league be brought into the party at the earliest moment and there developed into real Communists.

es is a mountain of strength for our party, but we can make it even of greater service if our party gives it organized support and thus builds up its influence among the workers thru extension of the number of its readers. As part of the immediate program of activity of the party we must carry on the organized campaign of support for the DAILY WORKER thru building the subscription of the DAILY WORKER. Just as the increase of our membership makes possible the increase of all of our activities, so the increase of the subscribers for the DAILY WORKER extends and broadens our influence and broadens the possibilities of our actually being among the masses.

**Combined Membership and DAILY WORKER Drive.**

The membership and DAILY WORKER subscription campaign will be combined as one campaign. The C. E. C. asks that every member of the party secure one new member and a new subscription for the DAILY WORKER. The program will be the following:

1. A letter from the Central Executive Committee to each member of the party will be furnished to the branches in such quantities as will supply every member. This letter will set forth the campaign for the DAILY WORKER and membership.
  2. With this letter each member will receive an application card and
- a DAILY WORKER subscription card which he must use to secure one new member and one new subscriber for the DAILY.
3. Each branch will create a Membership and DAILY WORKER Campaign Committee which will keep a record of every member who turns in the subscription and application card.
  4. When the subscription is turned in or the application is turned in the member of the party turning same in will be furnished a special stamp to be placed in his dues book certifying that he has done his full Communist duty in the campaign.
  5. Each branch is expected to appoint as a member of the Campaign Committee a DAILY WORKER subscription agent who will function permanently as the agent of the DAILY WORKER.
  6. All party mass meetings during the election campaign must be used for the purpose of securing new members.
  7. Subscription lists of all party papers must be systematically canvassed for new members. All members of unions and other organizations must approach those sympathetic with our party to bring them into the party.
  8. The party press will carry a series of articles on the necessity for the Membership and DAILY WORKER campaigns.

1. Issue in all election campaign meetings.
  2. Distribute the pamphlet on unemployment to be published by the party, giving it a wide circulation.
  3. Introduce resolutions in all labor unions and other bodies, calling for action to combat unemployment, along the lines of the W. P. program.
  4. Agitate for the organization of unemployed councils in districts, such as the New England textile towns.
  5. Bring the unemployed into close touch with the W. P. and recruit new members from among their ranks.
  6. Organize demonstrations in localities where unemployment is acute.
  7. The research department is to issue weekly bulletins on the unemployment situation, and all party papers are instructed to publish same and comment editorially.
  8. The program of the party is to be studied in all party units, and popularized among the masses of workers, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed.
- The campaign against unemployment shall be carried out under the following slogans, applied in each case to the particular conditions of the locality, industry or the circumstances of the action being taken:
- Political.**
- Government operation of non-operating industries and shops.
  - Inauguration of public works.
  - Maintenance of unemployed at union rates of wages.
  - Nationalization of mines, railroads and public utilities.
  - Abolition of child labor.
  - Recognition of and trade relations with Soviet Russia.
  - Unemployment insurance administered by the workers.
  - Grants by the government.
- Industrial.**
- Industry must be responsible for maintenance of its workers.
  - Equal division of work among members in each industry and shop.
  - Assessment of employed for relief of unemployed.
  - Establishment of control committees of workers to regulate production and investigate accounts.
  - Struggle against sabotage of employers.
  - Unemployment insurance supported wholly by the employers and administered wholly by the workers.

Central Executive Committee of the Workers July 8th and 9th the whole problem of work was considered. After discussion of the adopted a program covering the work

is in a constructive manner with the political leadership and DAILY WORKER campaign, of the party, educational work, the unemployment problem of reorganizing the party on itself.

subjects the Central Executive Committee program of work for which the party is to be carried is herewith printed in the DAILY WORKER. Every party member is urged to study this program in order to thoroughly familiarize himself with it before the party organization.

## EDUCATIONAL WORK

**E**DUCATIONAL work must be established in all sections of the party as an indispensable department of party activities to be carried on in a systematic manner thruout all periods of the year alongside of special campaigns of the party. In order to insure the permanence and continuity and Communist character of the party educational work thruout the party, all phases of work must fall under the central direction of the C. E. C. and be developed from year to year according to a national co-ordinated scheme. For the furtherance of the educational work, the following decisions are to go into effect:

1. The C. E. C. shall establish an educational committee, which shall have full direction and supervision of the party educational work in all of its aspects. The direct administrative responsibility of the national party educational work shall be in the hands of the national educational director who shall be a member of the Educational Department of the C. E. C. and shall be responsible for the carrying out of its decisions. The educational committee and the national educational director shall be directly responsible to the C. E. C. for the whole educational program of the party and must make regular and systematic reports of the progress of the work.
2. Every District Executive Committee and City Central Committee must immediately establish its educational committee and adopt its district or local educational director. The district and local educational committees and educational directors shall be responsible for the development of systematic educational work in their respective fields. Each district and local educational director shall be in direct communication with the educational director of the C. E. C. and shall develop the district and local work according to the general plan and under the general supervision of the National Educational Committee.
3. The Educational Department of the C. E. C. shall take steps at once to set the following program of educational activity into action:
  - (a) Develop the circuit system of educational lectures and classes in at least one district of the party according to the plans laid down in the educational program adopted last Fall and put into practice in the Chicago and Boston districts.
  - (b) Arrange for the systematic routing of party lectures on subjects dealing with the fundamentals of Communist principles.
  - (c) Begin the periodical publication of books and pamphlets of a theoretical nature and continue such publication according to a worked-out plan.
  - (d) Conduct a section in the party press on educational work in order to popularize this party activity and keep it constantly before the attention of the party members.
  - (e) Work out plans for holding of a party school in Chicago after the election campaign for the purpose of giving intensive instruction to a selected group of party leaders from the various districts.
  - (f) Work out the plans and make arrangements for the holding of special lectures by the most prominent party leaders on questions of Communist principle and arrange special debates with other political bodies on the same subjects.
  - (g) The New York party school, which is under the direct supervision of the C. E. C., must be encouraged and supported by every possible means in order that it may soon establish itself as a solid and permanent institution for the training of party comrades in the New York district.
  - (h) All the comrades responsible for the educational work in every department of the party must make special efforts to draw into this educational activity the most active members of the Young Workers League.
  - (i) Special means should be provided for the adequate financing of the party educational work. The Educational Department of the C. E. C. shall prepare and submit for the approval of the C. E. C. an approximate budget for the carrying on of the activities provided for in this program. Upon approval of the budget, the C. E. C. shall directly provide the required finances.

- HOW TO ORGANIZE FOR CAMPAIGNS**
- O**UR success in the work of carrying out the campaigns outlined in the previous pages depends upon the organized support which we put behind these campaigns. It is necessary that every branch, every C. E. C., every district organization and language section organize itself for systematic work in support of the program of action.
- To achieve this end, every party branch should divide itself into the following committees:
1. Political Campaign Committee.
  2. Campaign Fund Committee.
  3. Daily Worker and Membership Committee (the Membership Committee previously elected should be part of this Daily Worker Committee and one member should be the permanent agent of the DAILY WORKER).
  4. Industrial Work Committee.
  5. Educational Committee.
- All of the branch members should be drawn into the work and each member assigned to at least one of these committees.
- The C. E. C. should follow the same line of organization, organizing committees in support of the campaign.
- The District Executive Committee should, so far as possible, assign one of its members to keep in contact with the work of each campaign, the executive work being carried on thru the district organizer.

## SHOP NUCLEI

Communist organization. The Workers Party must follow suit. Everywhere the transition is a very difficult one. Especially is this the case in the United States, where the situation is greatly complicated by the language problem. Pursuant to the resolution adopted at the last convention of the Workers Party, the C. E. C. will now proceed directly to the formation of shop nuclei. Inasmuch as the problem is such a difficult one, the work will be done carefully and largely in an experimental way, so that our party organization will not be injured, but, on the contrary, will be strengthened from the beginning. The C. E. C. will instruct the district organizers to institute certain numbers of shop nuclei in their districts and to develop these directly under the guidance of the C. E. C. As soon as possible the network of shop nuclei will be extended and developed as the basis of the party. In order to make the shop nuclei campaign a success it is absolutely essential that the industrial registration be carried out 100 per cent. Only if the party is fully informed of the actual places of work of its members can it possibly organize them into nuclei. The membership generally are urged to give their active support to this beginning of the shop nuclei reorganization of the party.

## IP-DAILY CAMPAIGNS

party as campaign for membership. Our slogan during the election campaign must be: 10,000 new members for the party.

**The DAILY WORKER.**

Our party made a splendid successful effort in the campaign for the DAILY WORKER. The fact that we were able to raise the funds to establish the DAILY WORKER with its own plant is a monument to the willingness of the members of our own party to work for the upbuilding of the movement.

The establishment of the DAILY WORKER, however, does not complete our task. Our party, since the DAILY WORKER has come into existence, has not given it the organized support in the effort to build up its subscriptions that must be given. A daily paper, under any circumstances

**W**ITHIN the past thirty days the growth of the unemployment crisis has taken on a new impetus. There is little doubt that it will rapidly become worse. While up to the present this has resulted in activity among the unemployed, on a mass scale, only in a few centers, such as the textile towns of New England and in some mining fields, movement of the unemployed may be expected on

## UNEMPLOYMENT

a national scale before many months, especially if stimulated and organized by the militant unionists and Communists. In this situation it is the duty of every member and unit of the Workers Party to apply the unemployment program, making themselves thoroughly familiar with it, and to inaugurate the following immediate steps:

1. Make unemployment a leading is-

The comrades and sympathizers are urged to reserve these pages for future reference and study. This Program of Action will be the guide for our party's activities for months to come. As we go along in developing this plan of action, the comrades will feel the need of looking into the document again to refresh their memories on the different points and to make sure that the party work is proceeding in accord with the Program of Action.

# The "Spark" That Grew Into A Flame

By DAVID IVON JONES.

(Continued from last week.)

It is inevitable that we should become more and more familiar with their historical allusions, as allusions to our classic history. For Lenin was wont to say, "It is an axiom of the Marxian dialectic that there is no abstract truth, truth is always concrete." And one may say that what the "Communist Manifesto" is to Marxism in its first phase, so is "What Must We Do?" to Marxism in its second phase, the phase of action, in its Leninist phase. Take the second chapter of this brochure, entitled "The Elemental and the Conscious." Opportunism, at first taking the form in Russia of "economism," magnified the role of the elemental or the spontaneous in the workers' mass movement. The "economists" accused "Iskra" of exaggerating the factor of consciousness (vide Engels' definition of the party as "the conscious expression of an unconscious process.") The "economists" opposed what they termed their "tactic-process" to the "Iskra's tactic-plan." Lenin was filled with profound uneasiness at every spontaneous uprising of the workers in the absence of mature party guidance. The backwardness of the party disquieted him. He invented a special nickname for the "economist" tactic—"hang-on-the-tailism," which is used today in the Russian movement. He accused the "economists" by their genuflections before the "elemental" of wanting the party to be forever "studying the hindquarters of the proletariat," of making the principle of the class struggle an excuse for waiting on events, instead of forestalling them, dominating them. "Every exaggeration of the elemental, and depreciation of the conscious, factor in the Labor movement is a strengthening of bourgeois influences among the workers." He denied the current impression that Socialist consciousness comes to the workers inevitably from their conflicts with individual capitalists. "The workers by their own strength can only achieve Trade Unionist political action." "The spontaneous workers' movement of its own accord is capable only of forming (and it inevitably forms) trade unionism; and trade unionist political action of the working class is precisely bourgeois political action." Lenin roundly accuses the "economists" of an "oblique attempt to prepare the ground for transforming the workers' movement into a tool of bourgeois democracy." Further on Lenin devotes several pages to "Trade Unionist versus Social Democratic political action," with copious references to English Trade Unionism. Reading these chapters, one receives a flash of revelation as to why great waves of working class mass action have swept over England and receded again, leaving hardly a trace in the collective experience. For this collective experience can only be garnered by a Communist Party. This responsibility of the individual before history, the role of human initiative

of the party, is the great Leninist corrective to the conception of Marxism hitherto prevailing in the West. If the "great man theory" he regarded as the thesis, and historical materialism (vulgarized) as the antithesis, then Leninism, the restoration of the emphasis on conscious initiative, is the synthesis of it all. In "What Must We Do?" we feel this power, this revolutionary driving force, permeating every phrase. He conceives the role of the revolutionary as the liquidator of outworn historical periods, the refuse of which encumbers the way. He concludes the preface to this book with the words, "For we cannot move forward unless we finally liquidate this period (the period of the groups)."

Lenin's chief antagonist among the "economists" was Martuiov (not to be confused with Martov). Now Martuiov is in his own person a living symbol of Lenin's driving power on history. Martuiov started his career with the "narodniki" (the Populists) and left the "narodniki" when their position became untenable from the attacks of Plekhanov and Lenin. He then became an exponent of "economism" in the Social-Democratic movement. "Economism" in its turn was smashed under Lenin's sledge-hammer blows, and Martuiov had to move forward to a more consistent position. Later he took the Menshevik side in the great division, and even became its official theoretician. Last year, after twenty years, Martuiov unconditionally capitulated to his old opponent and signalled the complete downfall of Menshevism by going over to the Communist International. "Thou hast conquered, oh Galilean!"

Before leaving the subject of "Elemental versus Conscious Action," let us indulge ourselves in one more quotation: "Only the most vulgar understanding of Marxism, or the 'understanding' of it in the spirit of Strouvisim,\* could engender the idea that the uprising of the spontaneous mass movement of organization as that of the zemlevolio,\*\* nay, of forming an incomparably more efficient organization of revolutionaries. On the contrary, this mass movement precisely imposes upon us this duty; for the spontaneous struggle of the proletariat does not become a real class struggle until it is directed by a strong organization of revolutionaries."

"What must we do?" devotes much space to the question of party democracy; and the recent discussion in the Russian Communist Party can only be fully comprehended in the light of these early works of Lenin. In the days of "Iskra" it was a question of party democracy in a severely conspirative organization, but the Leninist axioms retain their force. "A revolutionary organization," he says, "never could and never can with the best of intentions, instal the broad democratic principle." Primitive dem-

\*\* Zemlevolio (Land and Freedom) preceded the "narodvotzi" (Peoples Freedom Party) in the revolutionary seventies.

ocratic notions, such as the one that a people's newspaper should be edited directly by the people, were rife among the revolutionary youth, as a revulsion from absolutism. Lenin had to fight against these primitive notions in order to establish his organization of "ironsides." "The broad democratic principle is impossible without full publicity." Lenin was a sworn enemy of the principle expressed in the words "from the bottom up." He demanded that the Party be organized from the top down. Not on democracy, but on the mutual faith of comrades. "Vulgar democratic tendencies in the Party reflect bourgeois democratic party tendencies."

Lenin published a reprint of "What Must We Do?" in 1907, during the temporary spell of political freedom under the Duma. In the preface to that edition, he refers to the organization of professional revolutionaries as having well completed its work and planted the party on impregnable foundations. In the same connection, he welcomes the introduction of the elective principle in the party organization owing to the greater freedom of action. But that freedom was short-lived. The party had to return underground. And it is only now that the Party, emerging from the period of civil war, has been able to apply "workers' democracy" to the Party apparatus. Nevertheless, Comrade Kamenev warned the Party against "vulgar democracy," which is only bourgeois democracy, excluded from all other avenues, knocking at the door of the Party.

Who said that Lenin had no humor? His was a versatile, many-sided genius. "What Must We Do?" like all his brochures, teems with humorous asides, a certain pawky Scotch humor which keeps close to the gist of the matter. He refers for example to Soubatov, the Czarist agent, who was known to be in favor of legalizing trade unions, and who instigated strikes, Lenin said in effect, "All right, we'll gain from it in spite of the tares in the wheat, we don't want to grow wheat in flower pots."

The spirit that animated Lenin was a pride in the working class, unbounded faith in the proletariat. He denounced any and every attempt to degrade its political role. "The consciousness of the working class cannot be a truly political one unless the workers respond to every case of oppression, violence and abuse, no matter to what class they are applied." (p. 78). When the Czar's government drafted 133 students of Kiev University into the army, in punishment for insubordination, "Iskra" called for workers' demonstrations of protest. And the workers responded, a fact which Lenin exultantly shows to the "economists."

This exalted view of the role of the proletariat is balanced by a sense of tremendous responsibility. "Our backwardness," he says, "will be inevitably taken advantage of by more agile, more energetic 'revolutionaries' outside Social Democracy; and the workers, no matter how boldly and energetically they may fight the police and the soldiers, no matter how revolutionarily they may act, will be only a force in support of these 'revolutionaries'; they will be just the rear-guard of bourgeois democracy, in stead of being called the Socialist-Democratic (read Communist) advance guard."

He hurls the word "tinkers" again at the "economist" defenders of party backwardness. And then, all at once, we have another Lenin, the master, unsparing above all towards himself. "Don't be aggrieved with me for this harsh word," he says. "For, in so far as it is a question of unpreparedness, I apply it to myself. I worked in a group which set before itself a very broad, all-embracing task, and to all of us members of that group came the torturing feeling that we were nothing but tinkers, at a historic moment when it was possible to say, adapting a well-known phrase: 'Give us an organization of revolutionaries, and we will conquer

Russia.' And, since then, the more I recall that bitter feeling of shame, which I then experienced, the more does my choleric rise against those false Social-Democrats who, by their preachings, debase the revolutionary name; against those who do not understand that our task is not to condone the debasement of a revolutionist into a tinker, but to raise the tinker to be a revolutionist."

These lines are written many years before the October revolution, but, in reading "What Must We Do?" one feels that the critical days of the October revolution were not the days of October. It would have been too late in 1917 to form that ironclad Party—steeled in two revolutions, and in innumerable contests with the Czar's police—capable of leading the proletariat along the inconceivably difficult paths of the proletarian dictatorship. And this titanic struggle of the Russian proletariat, a struggle which has also cleared the path of the Western revolution, was only possible as the fruits of an equally titanic theoretical struggle waged by Lenin in the first years of the century. And Lenin, in "What Must We Do?" pierces into this future, as is his wont. Marvellous prophet—in the power of his revolutionary logic the future blends with the present in one iron inevitability. He has just been quoting Engels on the leading role of the German proletariat in the international movement, and says:

"Before the Russian workers now stand immeasurably heavier trials, now stands a struggle with monsters, compared with which the exceptional laws in a constitutional country are a mere bagatelle. History has placed before us the immediate task, which is the most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks of the proletariat of any country. The realization of this task, the destruction of the most powerful buttress, not only of European, but also (we may now say) of Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the advance guard of the international revolutionary proletariat. And we have a right to expect that we shall achieve this honorable role, already earned by our predecessors of the seventies, if we can inspire our movement which is a thousand times deeper and wider than theirs, with the same unsparing devotion and energy."

And so it came to pass. Whatever Lenin set himself to do he achieved. And his deathless name shall still lead us on from strength to strength; and revolution after revolution shall be monuments to his memory.

## Finnish-Russian Rail Pact.

MOSCOW, July 18.—A railway conference is to be opened very shortly at Helsinki between the U. S. S. R. and Finland, to draw up agreements in development of the Russo-Finnish railway convention. Among others, there will be concluded an agreement on direct passenger and freight traffic between the two countries; another co-ordinating the regulations of passenger, baggage and cargo transport; an agreement, too, ruling the mutual settling of accounts and the movement of trains at frontier stations, etc.

## ON A HOSPITAL COT

(Continued from page 3)

ing fountain of life.

The attendant, having lost his head completely, rushes from nun to nun... then behind the screen. Jackie Rosenfeld's head hangs limp over the edge of the cot. His eyes are rigidly fixed upon the picture of Christ. The last stream of blood forms a clot on his face... He is crhason and white... it is poor Jackie Rosenfeld.

Jackie Rosenfeld is no longer to be seen. A nun fetches a pan. Nothing but the splashing of water is heard. The attendant has collected his wits... Whispered commands from behind the screen... A long white gown makes its appearance... Another splash in the pan.

It is late... nearing dawn. The nun in charge has come to see Jackie Rosenfeld.

Here he lies amid the sixteen cots

that had been his neighbors.

Sixteen invalids have felt his dying breath.

Morning. A bleak wintry sun blinks thru the window.

An attendant enters, accompanied by another. They carry a pair of white stretchers. The screen is removed. There lies Jackie Rosenfeld, white and clean, shrouded in a long gown. His face looks like chalk; his eyelids are tightly closed.

Two hands, two transparent hands are folded symmetrically, held together by two strips of white linen.

Cautious yet unsteady feet carry Jackie Rosenfeld to the waiting hearse, whose tires are of heavy rubber.

Jackie Rosenfeld is placed gently on the hearse. A white sheet tops it all. The carriage rolls away.

Silently it rolls far, far away... far beyond California.

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is the site selected for the

## Commune Herald

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# THE COMING WAR

By M. PAVLOVITCH

The danger of war is always imminent in capitalist society. But never was this danger so apparent as in the present period, when even bourgeois journalists and statesmen, as for instance Nitti, Caillaux, Lloyd George, Keynes, etc., who until recently attempted to persuade the public that the world war of 1914-18 was the last war, which would usher in eternal peace, are now compelled to recognize the truth, that at present, thru the economic development and the international position of the imperialistic Great Powers, a situation has arisen in the whole world which is making for war. At present there are incomparably more reasons for a world war than on the eve of 1914.

Comrade Lenin was much occupied with the question of the approaching world war. In a remarkable document which he wrote on the 4th of December, 1922, as instruction for the delegation of the Comintern to the Hague Conference of the Second International held to consider the question of combatting the danger of war, he said among other things:

"In the second place every present day conflict, even the most trifling, must be adduced as an example of how a war may break out any day with no further cause than a quarrel between England and France with regard to some detail of their agreement with Turkey, or between America and Japan over some unimportant difference referring to a question of the Pacific Ocean, or between any of the other great powers with regard to disagreements about colonies, tariffs or general commercial policies."

In this Lenin gave a short but profound analysis of the facts which are driving to a new world war. It is a great mistake when scientists explain the whole meaning of the war of 1914-18 as a rivalry between Germany and England. Doubtless the competition between Germany and England for the hegemony of the world was one of the most important facts of the world war and played a prominent part in causing the outbreak of the world conflagration. But apart from the Anglo-German conflict, the outbreak of the war was also caused by the rivalry between Tsarist Russia and Germany and Austria for the hegemony in Turkey and in the Balkans, as well by the Franco-German competition for the possession of Africa and the mineral ores on the European frontier of both countries. And precisely because, on the eve of the world war, not only the imperialistic interests of England and Germany clashed together, but also those of Germany and Russia, of Germany

and France, of Russia and Austria, of Italy and Austria, of Serbia and Bulgaria, etc., the result was not an Anglo-German but a world war, whose immediate cause was a trifling incident in Sarajevo.

At present, not only the imperialistic interests of America and Japan, but also those of England and France, of France and Italy, of France and Spain, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Hungary, Poland and Lettland, etc., are colliding with each other and therefore a "trifling" difference can cause an explosion to the accumulated combustibles at the different points of junction of international policy, as in Tangier, Singapore, in the Ruhr, the Banat, in the Philippines, and set the whole world in flames.

## The Armaments Race.—The Chemical War.

The first symptom of the extreme tension that has arisen in the relations between the capitalist powers, consists in the extraordinary war preparations of all states, which by far surpass those preceding the world war. According to the statistics of the English general F. Morris, in the year 1922, there were in Europe 4,354,975 men under arms, while in 1913, the total European armies amounted to 3,747,179 men. Considering the fact that the combined standing armies of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria have been reduced to 696,135 men, General Morris comes to the conclusion, that the remaining European powers have increased their armies by 1,303,921 men. In Europe, France has got the largest army. On the 1st of January, 1923, it numbered 831,828 men, including the colonial garrisons and the officers.

These armaments consist not so much in the numerical increase of the armies, altho this increase is quite remarkable compared with pre-war time, but in the unexampled improvement in war-technics, as well as in the expenditure upon the same. Thus, for instance, the "pacifist" England of MacDonald intends, according to the budget for 1924-25, to reduce the home forces by 12,000 men (to 152,000 as against 164,000 in 1923-24) but at the same time the budget provides for an increase in the air fleet of two million Pound Sterling, while eight new air squadrons are provided for.\* England is increasing her navy by the construction of five new cruisers and two destroyers, she is devoting enormous sums for the "chemicalization" of the army, for the invention of new explosives, for the construction of hundreds of light and heavy tanks for the home forces, etc. From the end of the world war up to 1923,

England had already spent 290 million pounds on armaments.

France also attaches the greatest importance to the development of her air forces, which already far surpass those of England. The creation of 132 fighting squadrons is provided for. The air fleet will comprise 30,000 men in peace and 300,000 men in war time. The expenditure of France on the air forces surpasses that of all other great powers. The French government devotes the greatest attention to the development of war chemistry. In France a military corps has been formed of engineers and chemists, whose task is the invention of new means for the chemical war. The French imperialists are dreaming of bombs which could, if necessary, destroy Berlin or London in a few hours. And as the French chemical industry is far behind that of England, not to speak of that of Germany, the French government intends

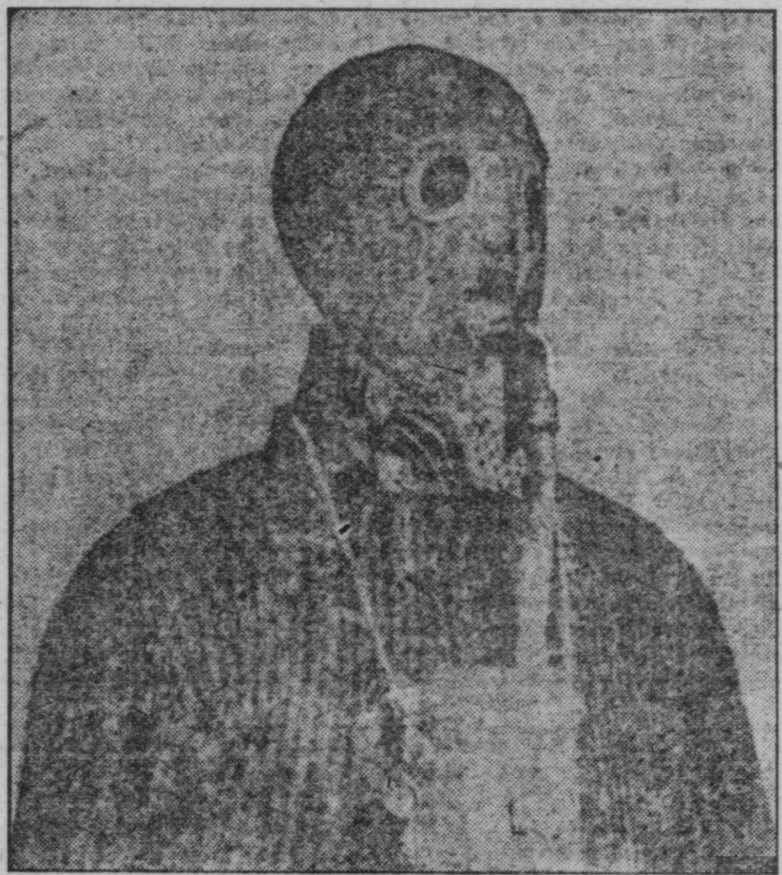
themselves incapable of keeping up the pace in the race for armaments any longer. And perhaps the moment will soon arrive, when the nationalist press of all of these states will proceed, as did the German chauvinist press on the eve of the world war, by pointing to the terrible burden of armaments necessitated thru the threats from the foreign enemies, to incite the population to enter the war under the slogan: "Better a finish with horror, than a horror without end!"

## The Anglo-French Antagonism as the Basic Factor of the Coming War.

The main guilt for these feverish preparations in Europe and for the approaching European war, which threatens to become a world war lies upon France and England.

France of the notorious Comite des Forges is striving for domination on the European Continent and the displacement of England from Europe.

## A RELIC OF THE GOOD OLD DAYS



Gas Mask

to keep in their hands the occupied area of Germany if not for good at any rate for a very long time.

This unprecedented increase in armaments which characterizes the period after the war, is the result of two facts. On the one hand, the acuteness of the industrial crisis and of unemployment in the capitalist countries, as well as the restriction of the foreign markets, induce the bourgeoisie to see in the intensification of militarism and navalism, in the increase of the military air forces, a means of promoting capitalist accumulation and of avoiding an enormous surplus of goods. On the other hand, as international relations are becoming more and more strained and as war is approaching with elemental force, there is a natural tendency to arm to the teeth in order to be capable of crushing the enemy and getting hold of the coveted booty. But the increase of armaments in the various countries has its limits and its consequences. If the United States of America owing to their financial and economic position are capable of preparing for war with the same or even with greater intensity than hitherto for a further ten years, then a relatively poor country like Japan cannot do the same. Many European states as Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and to some extent even France in consequence of the falling France and the alarming expansion of state debts, will likewise find them-

For this purpose France adopts two methods: first, by increasing the army, the air and submarine fleet, by concluding military conventions with Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Roumania, both of which latter are military semi-colonies of France, which in case of need will put at the disposal of France their whole military forces; second, by means of strangling Germany, by destroying all her possibilities of life and before all by seizing the Rhineland.

It is a matter of course that England cannot assent to the plan of a French hegemony on the continent. (Continued on page 8)

\*—In this connection the following advertisement, which has repeatedly appeared in the advertisement columns of the Daily Herald, the organ of the English labor movement, is not without interest:

"The Royal Air Force requires Armors, Carpenters (for training as Carpenter Riggers), Electricians, Electrical Fitters, Instrument Repairers, Power Station Tradesmen, Tinsmiths, and Sheet Metal Workers, and Wireless Operators. Age limits: Ex-Service or skilled and semi-skilled tradesmen, 18 to 30; all others, 18 to 26. Pay from 21s. to 33s. 6d. per week, on enlistment, and all found. Allowance for wife and children to men 26 and over.—Write, stating age, or call: Inspector of Recruiting, Royal Air Force."

## AFTER RUSSIAN COMMUNIST CONGRESS

(Continued from page 2)  
masses!" The resolutions of the Congress form a booklet of 90 pages of large size. We shall enumerate the most important. Internal trade: seizure by the government and the co-operative trading agencies of the retail market, not thru legal pressure on the private merchant, but thru more efficiency and better service (private capital embraces now 64 per cent of the trade, and this is its only stronghold, since it has failed to take roots in industry). Foreign trade: continuation of the present government monopoly which has proven an enormous economic lever in the hands of the State. Industry: particular attention to the metal industry as the most vital; this sector of the labor front to be considered of first importance. New economic policy to remain unchanged, peasants to be allowed to sell freely the products of their toil, private merchants not to be interfered with, the government, however, making every effort, in conjunction with the co-operatives, to outbid the private business men and thus to drive a number of them out of the market. Co-operation has been reaffirmed as one of the two roads to socialism under the dictator-

ship of the proletariat, the other being the growth of the fundamental industries managed by the state; particular attention to be paid to the peasants' and workers' co-operative organizations. Peasant Question: further union between the city workers and the peasants; aid to the poorer peasants in organizing co-operatives; agricultural credit; aid to the poorer peasants in their efforts to occupy responsible positions in the local Soviets; union of land laborers and poor peasants against the incipient village bourgeoisie; unification and order in the land distribution; special attention to agricultural instructors and village school teachers; furthering of the Young Communist movement in the village; a wide range cultural work in the village.

All these activities and many others, notably in the field of propaganda, demand of the party to permeate the entire life of the country, to penetrate every pore of the social organism, to organize, instruct and lead,—to augment the elements of socialism and pave the way for a final victory of Communism.

"Deeper into the masses!"  
MOSCOW, June 11, 1924.

# Slogans and Policies in Election Campaign

(Continued from page 1.)  
ination of the present state of mind of the American workers we find that certain sections of them are reaching out after government ownership of the industries in which they are employed. This is particularly true of the railroad and mine workers. With these workers government ownership of the industries has been an issue for quite some time, and is becoming more so every day. For this reason government ownership must be made also into one of our issues in the election campaign.

It goes without saying, of course, that our manner of treatment of these issues, our slogan and election program will be something totally different from that of the chiefs of the railroad unions, or the C. P. A. or LaFollette. We shall speak of that presently. For the moment we are interested mainly in this, to discover the shortest approach and best available opening to the minds of the working masses for the introduction of Communist ideas. Considered from this angle, it must be admitted that unemployment and government ownership presents excellent issues for our election campaign.

Then the question of independent political action. This problem does not present itself in exactly this way to the millions of the industrial workers of America. The majority of them may not even be familiar with the phrase. However, this is beside the point. The thing that counts most from the point of view of our campaign issues is the undeniable fact that large masses of workers lost confidence in the old capitalist parties. More than that. These workers want a party of their own to serve their own interests.

Of this fact our party had taken note more than two years ago. We have adopted the slogan of the United Front in the shape of a Farmer-Labor Party. We have carried on an extensive campaign for such a party with the result that the political consciousness of the American workers has been considerably advanced. We failed, however, due primarily to the betrayal at Cleveland, in creating the

mass Farmer-Labor Party. But this is no reason why the idea of such a party should cease to be one of our issues. Quite the contrary. Just because everybody but our party surrendered to LaFollette and betrayed the Farmer-Labor movement, it devolves upon us more urgently than ever to stand by the idea of a Farmer-Labor Party and carry the fight further.

Why? Because the idea of such a party is at present in the United States the most concrete, the most understandable expression of the principle of independent political action. Because the campaign for independent political action contributes directly toward the awakening of the American working masses, thereby promoting the class struggle.

And in connection with this—the menace of LaFolletteism. We have got to fight this menace. It must therefore, become one of our main issues in the election campaign. The question is, how can we best fight it? We will say LaFolletteism is a menace. Then the question will be asked: a menace to whom? We can reply to this question by saying that LaFolletteism is a menace to the working class or, which is the same thing, to the political independence of the working class. Which is correct, of course. But the trouble with this answer is that it is too abstract. It wouldn't carry conviction to large masses of workers.

While, on the other hand, if we can prove that LaFolletteism is a life-menace to the Farmer-Labor movement (which it is) we shall at once have proven a revolutionary truth to thousands upon thousands of American workers and exploited farmers. And it wouldn't be hard to prove either. The workers and exploited farmers in a number of states in the northwest (North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Minnesota) can already see with their own eyes how the agents of LaFollette are beginning to break up the Farmer-Labor movement in those states.

Thus it can be seen that also for the sake of most effectively combating LaFolletteism, the idea of a Farmer-Labor Party must be made into

one of our central issues in the coming campaign.

And then the issue of imperialism, militarism and war. The danger of new imperialist wars is beginning to penetrate the consciousness of large masses of workers. The growing burden of naval and military expenditures in the United States. The complete hegemony of the big capitalists over the foreign policies of our government as evidenced by its backing of the Dawes plan and every other imperialistic venture of our capitalists in the Latin-American countries and in China. All this tends to awaken the working masses to the actual danger of a new war. This opportunity must be utilized for carrying across our Communist message and for mobilizing large masses against capitalism.

The agricultural workers and the exploited farmers must be reached by our propaganda in this campaign as thoroughly as possible. No set of slogans and no election platform will be complete which does not take into account the state of mind and the desires of the oppressed masses of the farms.

## Slogans and Election Platform.

The basis of our election platform and agitation is our program—the program of the Workers Party which stands for the seizure of power by the working class, the introduction of a proletarian dictatorship, the abolition of capitalism and the substitution for it of a Communist society.

We shall also have campaign slogans, or partial demands, these to serve as a means of approach to the minds of the large masses, as a starting point for carrying across our full Communist message, as a means of organization of these masses for immediate struggles against capitalism.

By way of illustration, we might attempt to formulate some of these slogans.

**On Unemployment — Work or Bread!**—We demand employment at public works or maintenance by the government at union-scale wages. We demand that the government seize closed-down factories and begin operations for the benefit of the workers and under workers' control.

**On Government Ownership**—Government ownership of all concentrated industries and national resources with workers' control in the factories and management. The immediate setting up of factory committees in all concentrated industries to train the workers for the assumption of such control. No compensation to owners of nationalized industries.

**On Imperialism and War**—Not a cent for the maintenance of the navy and army. No interference by the U. S. government in the internal affairs of other countries. Down with the Dawes plan. Recognition of Soviet Russia.

**Menace of LaFolletteism** — LaFolletteism seeks the destruction of the Farmer-Labor movement. LaFolletteism means the subjection of the working masses to the manufacturer, banker, merchant and rich farmer. LaFollette stands for the small capitalist and against the workers and exploited farmers.

**On Farmer-Labor Party**—To fight for a Farmer-Labor Party means to fight against LaFolletteism. The Workers Party is the only working class party that fights for a Farmer-Labor Party. We who want to support the idea of a Farmer-Labor Party must support in this campaign the Workers Party.

**On a Workers' and Farmers' Government**—None of our partial demands will mean anything unless the power of government is in the hands of the workers and poor farmers. The workers and poor farmers of the country must take possession of the government and run it in their own interests. The struggle for a Workers' and Farmers' government is a struggle for the abolition of the present form of government which is a dictatorship of the capitalist class.

These are a few of the slogans dealing with the main issues of the election campaign. They have been formulated here for one purpose only. To show in a concrete way how this election campaign ought to be conducted in order to result in the greatest possible advantage to the proletarian class struggle and to the principles of International Communism.

## COMING WAR

(Continued from page 7)  
The refusal of England to withdraw from Europe, the concentration of the world policy of Great Britain upon the European Continent, was bound to be followed by an aggravation of Anglo-French relations. Hence, the new preparations of these two countries, hence the increase of the air forces of England, the creation of new airship bases, the establishment of a new permanent arsenal in the north of Great Britain and the extension of the military depots in London, hence the demonstrations in the Mediterranean (the manoeuvres of a great English fleet from the Balearic Isles, over the route from France to her North African colonies); hence the approaching of England to Italy and Spain. Hence on the other hand, the new French preparations, the testing at the artillery range in Le Havre of new long-range guns which can shoot nearly 100 kilometres (97km) and which are intended to be placed along the coast in order to bombard London and the English coast; further the construction of new strategic railways by the French in Belgium, the fortification of the Belgian port of Zeebrugge, etc.

If a war were to break out between England and France it would of course, be the signal for an armed collision thruout the whole European continent. The mobilization of the English and French forces will at once be followed by the mobilization of the forces of Belgium, Poland, Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria, Turkey, Austria, Hungary and countless millions of men will be called to arms.

And if we agree with that which comrade Lenin wrote concerning the national wars resulting from the Versailles treaty, we shall doubtless see that at this moment the millions of Germans of Germany and Austria will not stand by with folded arms and quietly wait the issue of the war between England and France. Nor will the suppressed nationalities in Yugoslavia, Poland, Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia remain indifferent, and the flames of national revolts, rebellions and wars can spring up in Galicia, Bessarabia, Transsylvania, Carpatho-Russia, Macedonia, etc.

### The Japanese-American Antagonism and the War in the Pacific Ocean.

The spectre of an imperialist war is not only arising in Europe. The aggravation of the Japanese-American relations in consequence of the interdiction of Japanese immigration into the United States, an interdiction which aroused greatest indignation among the broad masses, brings the question of Japanese-American relations again to the forefront. In the period preceding the Conference of Washington, the relations between Japan and America were already so strained that a war between these two countries seemed to be inevitable. Since the conference many pacifists have declared that the danger of a Japanese-American war is now removed. Harsh reality has, however, soon dispersed these pacifist illusions. When the United States started the construction of the Panama canal, it became apparent that America was attempting to realize the program formulated by Theodore Roosevelt in the following words: "The command of the Pacific Ocean belongs to the

United States."

In this way the United States collide with Japan, for whom China is the chief market, which not only absorbs the products of Japanese industry but also represents the chief field of investment for Japanese surplus capital.

If the assertion of several military specialists be right, that a duel between America and Japan presents insurmountable technical difficulties which under certain circumstances, altho not preventing the outbreak of war, nevertheless will render impossible a definite issue in favor of either the one or the other party, then the character of the problem of the Pacific Ocean is even more tragic. Because it follows from this that America will not be alone in attacking Japan but will be in alliance with Australia, New Zealand and perhaps also with England, China, etc. If England in her preparations for war against Germany could obtain such allies as Russia and France, not to speak of such smaller states as Portugal, then America will be able to find the necessary assistance when the occasion arises.

The war in the Pacific Ocean will also be accompanied, like any European war, with big national upheavals in the shape of revolts, rebellions, perhaps even of great national revolutions in a whole series of Asiatic countries. The war will arouse the masses suppressed by Japan and Korea, in the Isle of Formosa, in Sachalin and will also not be without effect in the American Philippines, French Indo-China and British India, etc.

Can the working class of Europe,

America, and Japan at the present moment prevent the approaching war? To this question Comrade Lenin replies in the document already quoted as follows:

"It must be definitely explained how great is the secrecy surrounding the birth of a war and how helpless is an ordinary labor organization in face of a really impending war. It must be explained over and over again in a thoroughly concrete manner, how the situation was during the last war and as to the reasons why the situation could not be otherwise. Special attention must be called to the fact that the question of 'defense of native country' will inevitably be put and that the overwhelming majority of the workers will inevitably solve this question in favor of their own bourgeoisie."

Wherein lies the only real means of fight against war?

In the maintenance and extension of an illegal organization for the permanent work against war of all revolutionaries participating in the war. The Communists cannot prevent the outbreak of a war, but they must strive to change this war into a civil war, the world revolution.

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