

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

Special Magazine Supplement THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
January 19, 1924. This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

OUR PARTY--THREE TENDENCIES

By C. E. RUTHENBERG
Executive Secretary, Workers Party

The discussions in the Workers Party before the last convention and the alignments in the convention itself have brought out the fact clearly that there are at the present time three tendencies developing within the party. It is important that the members of the party understand what these tendencies are.

It is only thru frank discussion of these tendencies and repudiation of false policies that the party can be kept on the road, which during the past year, enabled it to make the great progress which was so signally recognized in the greetings of the Communist International to the third convention.

The First Tendency

The majority of the members of our party came into the Communist Movement from the Socialist Party. It is not at all surprising that some of these members carried with them into the Workers Party some of the ideas which dominated their thinking while in the Socialist Party.

It was from the Left Wing of the Socialist Party that we inherited our membership and this Left Wing sprang up in part from the former "impossibilist" group of the Socialist Party. This group was, quite correctly, opposed to the "immediate demands" of the Socialist Party. It argued that it was impossible to achieve anything for the workers under the capitalist system and therefore the role of party should be to carry on propaganda and education for the revolution. It offered no program of revolutionary struggles in opposition to the reformist campaign of the dominant faction of the Socialist Party. Its viewpoint was well characterized as "impossibilist," for in effect its attitude was: Nothing can be achieved before the revolution, so our task is merely the educational work of preparing as many workers as possible for the revolution thru educational work along the line of Marxian science.

Actually this group was afraid of struggle in any form. Even the reformist struggles of the Socialist Party were an indication of life. The "impossibilists" preferred to attend branch meetings and discuss the fine points of the theory of surplus value or the materialist conception of history than to mix into the actually fighting. In the worst form this "impossibilist" viewpoint manifested itself in the "spittoon philosophers" who infested most Socialist headquarters discussing the coming revolution but never turn their hand to help build up the force which would bring that revolution.

It is this same tendency which manifests itself today in our party in the group which argues that we are in the period of educational and propaganda work and that our most important task is to build up our party, not thru participating in the actual class struggles in this country, but by winning workers for our party thru the method of propaganda and education.

This group was or is opposed to the united front policy. It was, or is, opposed to the labor party policy of the party. It made up the opposition to the Third Party policy proposed by the C. E. C. It is afraid of policies which mean actual participation in the rough and tumble fighting of the class struggle. It is so much nicer to have a party with educational forums and lectures, with stupid papers discussing the fine points of Marxian science and branch meetings which are taken up with similar discussions.

This group is afraid of venturing out into the stormy sea of reality. On that sea there are great waves dashing here and there. One is apt to get knocked about a bit if one cannot steer a straight course, if one is not entirely certain of the way one is going and does not have a firm hand on the rudder. Why venture upon that stormy sea when one can have a nice self-admiration society in the form of a party of propaganda and education! It calls policies which take the party out into

the stormy seas of the class struggle "adventurism".

This is the tendency of the Lore group on the right of our party. This tendency also has its expression in that pseudo leftism which wanted to stay underground. These "leftists" were for the underground for the same reason that the "right" is for a party or education and propaganda. They are afraid of actual fighting of the class struggle and the underground was the best hiding place from such fighting. It is therefore not at all surprising that Wagenknecht and Lindgren are the allies of Lore in this new group in the party.

Salutsky, outside of the party, represents this same tendency. Salutsky was expelled from the party for his betrayal in refusing to fight for the party in the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action. We are in the period when our party must be a party of propaganda and education, he argued in his defense. Therefore we had no business to be knocking at the door of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and why should I fight for the party when it is where it has no business to be?

The Second Tendency

The members of the party who represent the second tendency have quite different antecedents. They come into the party from industrial organizations, from the trade unions and from the I. W. W. They have

that the slogan of "Amalgamation" and the formation of industrial unions is an end in itself!

As a result of these factors we have the industrial tendency in the party.

It was the party members of this tendency who were strongly opposed to the policy of the C. E. C. after the July 3rd convention, in setting down as the party policy that we must aid in the work of the organizing the Federated Farmer-Labor as an actual party. The opposition engendered thru the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party made itself felt most strongly on the industrial field. The political struggle for the Federated interfered with the progress of purely industrial policies, and for those who overemphasized the industrial policies this was a condemnation of the policy of aiding in the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

This tendency was expressed by Comrade Foster in his speech in the New York District Convention, in which he said that the main reason he was for the Third Party policy of the C. E. C. was not because the formation of a petty bourgeois Third Party would weaken the centralized capitalist power, but because a LaFollette split from the old parties and the formation of a Third Party would split the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor and help to smash the

strengthening the influence and building up the party. It is free from the tendency of thinking of our program in the unions as a goal in itself.

While thus, and for the purpose stated, supporting the industrial work, it lays at least equal stress upon the political campaigns of the party. It sees in political campaigns the means of gaining influence for and building up the party as well as in the industrial policies of the party. It seeks to throw the party into actions which will win for it the support of the wide masses of unorganized as well as the organized workers. It has pressed those policies which would win for the party influence among the masses of exploited farmers.

This group is for throwing the party into every political or industrial struggle which effects the lives of the workers and farmers of this country. It has no fear of the stormy seas of actual struggles. It has confidence that its fundamental communist principles will enable it to hold the rudder firmly and steer our party ship thru the stormiest seas. It may make minor errors of judgment, but not major errors of policy.

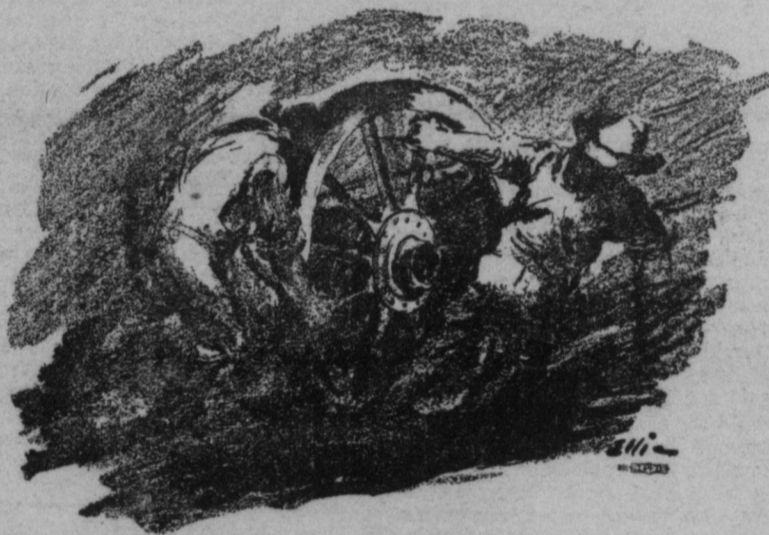
To the group which desires to make of our party an organization of education and propaganda and not a party fighting the actual class struggle, this group says: You will never build up a party through your methods. Your party of propaganda and education will be a lifeless, spineless sectarian self-admiration society, but not a living force in the lives of the workers of this country. To the industrial group this third tendency says: You must subordinate your industrial program to the political struggles of the party. The political policies of the party must dominate over the industrial work.

The third tendency, of which I count myself in the matter of policies, which Comrade Pepper has strongly expressed in his work in the party, represents those policies which if put into effect will continue the upbuilding and strengthening of party which we have achieved during the past year and make it a revolutionary power in this country.

The Convention Result

The abnormal result of the last convention is in the fact that the alliance between the second and third group, the industrial group and political was broken and a majority formed in the convention by an alliance of the first, sectarian group and the industrial group. Such an alliance does not make for the health and progress of the party. It is an alliance and co-operation between the second and third tendencies which brought the progress of the last year. The renewal of that alliance and co-operation will assure the future progress of the party.

A UNITED EFFORT



For a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

been in the actual fighting of the class struggle on the industrial field and they do not shrink from that fighting.

Because of their origin and their past experiences the members of this group are, however, apt to look at the party policies from a biased viewpoint. They are apt to over-stress the industrial side of the party work and to judge of the correctness of party policies from the standpoint exclusively, or if not exclusively at least give the greatest weight to effect of those policies upon the standing of the party in the trade unions.

The party as a whole has helped to strengthen this tendency because of the emphasis placed upon the work in the trade unions by the party during the last year or two. It required heroic efforts to induce the members of the party who were infected by dual union ideas and almost completely divorced from the trade unions to go to work in the trade unions. In pounding away so steadily and emphasizing the need of every member becoming a member of a trade union and carrying on party work there, we have pounded into the heads of some of our members the equally wrong idea that the work in the trade unions is the only thing of importance for a Communist party.

Thru our emphasis upon the industrial work we have actually made some of our members believe

power of Gompers.

This tendency is also apt to look askance upon campaigns to win the support of the exploited farmers and to neglect the great mass of unorganized workers.

The danger of this tendency, unless it has its counterpoise in the party, is that the party will become the instrument for achieving certain transformations in the trade union movement, in place of the trade union movement becoming, thru the work of the party there, its instrument in achieving the political ends which a communist party exists to achieve—that is the conquering of political power for the workers and farmers.

The Third Tendency

It is the third tendency which dominated the policies of the party during the past year, and which, with the help and co-operation of the second group, achieved the progress which our party made during that year.

This group is for the trade union work of the party. It helped to initiate this work and has given the struggle to force our members into the unions and into the work there its complete support. It is whole-heartedly for the party policies in this field and has never wavered in developing the industrial work of the party farther and farther.

The trade union work means to the third group the means of

DIGGING COAL.



THE OCTOBER COUNTER-REVOLUTION

By F. WEBER

(Note: This article is the official expression of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, and the writer is one of the leading comrades of the Party.)

The New Orientation of the Policy of the Communist Party of Germany

HAVING determined that Fascism at present possesses the real power in Germany, we must make it clear to the masses that Fascism, which draws a good deal of its force from their sympathies now bears the responsibility for their fate. Regardless of what the Parliamentary scene looks like, General Seeckt has the power in his hands. The lower middle class masses who, with longing awaited the dictator, the Saviour, must receive an object lesson now before they can get rid of Fascist illusions. And the Communist Party of Germany must help them to it by comparing day in and day out the words of Fascism with its deeds, its promises before the victory with its actions after. The more thoroughly the lower middle classes discard their Fascist illusions, the quicker they do so, the sooner and more decisive will be our victory.

We can see more clearly the political effect upon our tactics resulting from our realization of the victory of Fascism if we call to mind the most outstanding points of the tactical developments of the Communist Party of Germany.

Tactical Changes

In the year 1918-19 the working class was engaged in the direct struggle for power: proletarian dictatorship or middle class democracy, the power of the working class or of the capitalist class, these were the objects of the struggle. Our program and the first phase of our tactic was in keeping with this situation. Our fighting program called for the proletarian dictatorship, our tactic consisted in splitting away all the labor elements from the Social Democratic Party, all those who, fired by revolutionary struggles, found themselves together under the flag of proletarian dictatorship and Soviets. As the direct aim which we set for ourselves was the conquest of power by the working class, we had to aim also directly for the destruction of the Social Democracy, the decisive opponent of the proletarian dictatorship.

The second phase of our tactic began when it became apparent that the capitalist class and the Social Democracy proved to be stronger than the revolutionary movement of the workers. The middle class democracy remained intact after it had with ease overcome the Kapp-Putsch. The Social Democracy played a big role in the middle class democratic state, the same as though taking part in the government, whether openly or tacitly. The various cabinets counted upon the leaders of trade unions, which were one of the most important props of the November system. The conquest of power by the working class ceased being an immediate object of the struggle, although every action of the Communist Party was determined by considerations of the later struggle for the dictatorship. But the masses of the working class, even of the Communist masses, fought during this period, not for power, but against the offensive of capital, against the continual, even though concealed, deterioration of the living conditions of the working class.

As a result of this change in the general situation of the working class a change necessarily took place in our tactic. The immediate demand became the object of struggle. All workers suffered from the high cost of living, which was caused on the one hand by the financial chaos, on the other hand by the economic chaos. How could the economic chaos be met? Through the seizure of real values. The seizure of real values entailed the government trustification of industry, which measure, although it was rather neglected in our agitation, was even considered as an opportunist original sin by the left comrades; but it nevertheless represented the connecting link between the slogan of control of production and seizure of real values. What kind of organs could put into effect control of production in the historical sense? The factory councils, which, besides the eight hour day constituted the only achievement, even though a limited one, of the November revolution. The Social Democratic as well as Communist workers rallied to-

gether on the ground of this demand. The Social Democracy was formally for the seizure of real values, and for control of production.

How was it possible to defeat it on the ground of these slogans which it recognized? Only if the Communist Party would say to the Social Democratic workers: You are for the same fighting aims as we, therefore, we want to fight in common for these aims, we want to establish the united front.

United Front—But How?

How was the united front to be established? The left comrades said: Only from the bottom! The Communist International and the majority of the Communist Party of Germany declared: This attitude is incorrect. If we would rally the Social Democratic masses to the common struggle for common slogans, it is necessary to show concretely that the Social Democratic leaders do indeed recognize the common fighting aims in words, but do not want to move a finger in the fight for them. The establishment of the united front from the bottom necessitates the attempt to form the united front from the top. Only when the Social Democratic leaders rejected our demands for common action to fight for the necessities of life of the workers, were we able to convince Social Democratic masses that we alone are the defenders of their necessities of life.

But if the Social Democrats agree to our proposals, the Lefts ask, what becomes of the unmasking of the Social Democracy? We reply to them: The seizure of real values, the control of production necessitates revolutionary mass struggles. The capitalist class, which pays no taxes, which lays its hand on the last utilities still found in the hands of the democratic state (the demand of Stinnes for pawning of the railroads) will neither pay taxes nor permit the control of industry by the organs of the working class without a bitter struggle. This struggle will require of the Social Democracy to break with the policy of co-operation of the classes, to break with the policy of coalition with the capitalist class. The Social Democracy as an entirety will not join in with this break. Its leaders of the right will strive with might and main against the liquidation of their policy carried on since August 4, 1914. It is thus that they will best unmask themselves before the Social Democratic masses. The laboring masses which we cannot separate from the Social Democracy through the propaganda for the dictatorship of the proletariat we will break away on the ground of the struggle for the immediate demands.

Should the Social Democratic workers succeed in forcing out the leaders of the right, and replacing them from below with left Social Democratic leaders who though not Communists as yet, nevertheless wish to fight honestly for the transitional demands, then we will fight in common with them a part of the way.

The Slogan of the Workers' Government

For this common struggle we fixed the slogan of workers' government as the controlling idea, that is, as a political guide. In the final instance it meant the readiness of the Communist Party to fight together with the left Social Democracy for the conquest of power for a while even on the road of democracy. The theses of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International state that wherever the united working class has captured majorities in Parliament, we are ready to form workers' governments for the purpose of instituting control of production, seizure of real values, arming of the workers. We know that in this attempt the Democratic framework would burst, that the capitalist class would not submit through ballot, to control by the working class. And we know at the same time that the slogan of "workers' government" will once more bring to the fore the question of the seizure of power, and that in the second place, wherever the working class will strive for the realization of this slogan it will be led into the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, with all its consequences. Should it succeed, under favorable circumstances to realize this slogan of workers' government if only for a few weeks, that would facilitate greatly the struggle for the dictatorship.

It was very unlikely that this slogan could be realized on a national scale.

But even if realized only on the scale of Saxony, Thuringia, Braunschweig, with a correct revolutionary policy it would facilitate greatly the fight for the dictatorship on a national scale. In the south of Germany, in Bavaria, there was the seat of the peasant counter-revolution. In the north and north-east, in Mecklenburg, Pomerania and East Prussia, was the seat of the land owner's counter-revolution. Both constitute the mass basis of the Fascist counter-revolution of big capital. The way of their union lies over Middle Germany. In Middle Germany with its crowded laboring population, the leaders of the right of the Social Democracy went bankrupt. The policy of the Social Democracy was influenced here much more powerfully by the sentiments of the Social Democratic workers than was the case in the bureaucratic centers, in Berlin and Hamburg. The formation of the workers' government in Middle Germany was to give us the means of power for beginning the struggle for the dictatorship on a national scale. Middle Germany was the marching ground of the working class, just as Bavaria, Mecklenburg and East Prussia are the marching ground of Fascism. Wherein does the victory of Fascism liquidate this tactic? What are the main features of our tactic in the third period which we now enter upon?

The Victory of Fascism and Our New Tactics.

The Social Democracy has been thrown out of power, even though General Seeckt considers it necessary to retain it in the government as a fig-leaf. The ground of coalition policy of the lower middle class and the middle strata of the capitalist class with the Social Democracy has disappeared. Stresemann and Ebert handed the power over to Seeckt, but they can no longer take it away from him; for, the reason that they handed the power over to Seeckt, was not to accomplish a temporary task, but because they are bankrupt. The capitalist class has come to the realization that it is no longer in a position to conclude any compromise even with only a part of the working class, that it must load upon the entire working class the cost of the reconstruction of capitalism. As this cannot be done without force, it has created the force of the Reichswehr and the Fascist organizations. That is the meaning of the events of October.

But if the Social Democracy no longer finds itself in power, if there is no democracy on the ground of which it is possible to fight for immediate demands even if temporarily, then these immediate demands disappear as a basis for the united front of the working class. It is up to us now to fight for the overthrow and annihilation of the Fascist dictatorship. What can we oppose to it? Democracy? There is no going back to Democracy, because the lower middle class and the middle strata of the capitalist class were already in doubt over the method of democracy. The landowners whom General Seeckt represents can be opposed only by the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class will attempt to assemble about its banner the suffering lower middle class and the poor peasants; its dictatorship will be a genuine workers' and peasants' government. But history has destroyed the half solutions which were to facilitate the fight for the dictatorship. If today the unified working class captures the majority in Parliament, it captures no real power; even the municipal police are subordinated to the military powers that be. History says to the working class: Everything or nothing. The lesson is: The dictatorship of the proletariat is the object of the fight, the armed uprising is the way. And only upon this ground is it worth while to assemble the masses.

Against Right and Left Socialists

Can this be done by way of negotiations with the leaders of the Social Democracy? These negotiations are impossible, even for the purpose of exposing the leaders. There is nothing more to expose. After Radbruch, Sollmann and Schmidt gave their consent to driving out of office the Saxon workers' government through military intervention, after Ebert put his signature to the act giving full power to the dictatorship of Seeckt there is no necessity of determining through negotiations that they are opposed to an armed uprising. They help openly to prepare the armed overthrow of the working

class. And the left Social Democrats? To this day they have not summoned up enough courage to break with the leaders of the right, in face of this enormous betrayal of the working class, in face of the delivery even of middle class democracy to Fascism. They have been opposed to every defensive action of the working class. What they represent is belly-aches, tears and sighs for the lost paradise of the November republic.

Toni Sender, the left Social Democratic virgin from Frankfurt on the Main, the Brunhilde of the left wing, publishes now, after the victory of Fascism, two articles which show that there is no left wing of the Social Democracy. The brave Valkyr clings to the corpse of the November republic and tries to breathe new life into it. There are left Social Democratic workers, but there are no left Social Democratic leaders. We must prepare the ground for the new struggles only through the most ruthless fight against the phantom of left Social Democratic leaders, only through making clear the fact that Fascism has won, and that it is now time to lead the masses to storm Fascism, and that for this purpose it is necessary to break absolutely with the Social Democracy. The liquidation of the Social Democracy is the prerequisite for the liquidation of Fascism. Whoever is not openly for the dictatorship of the working class, is for the dictatorship of Fascism. Whoever is not for preparing the armed uprising is for completing the victory of Fascism, for the crushing of the defenseless working class through armed bands of whites. The third period of our tactic, which began with the occupation of Saxony by General Mueller and with the betrayal of the Social Democracy, calls for the resumption of the entire program of the Communist Party of Germany, calls for the life and death struggle with the Social Democracy, as a prerequisite to winning the laboring masses to the armed uprising.

We have stressed so sharply the connection between the new orientation of the Communist Party of Germany with the victory of Fascism in order to ward off the attempt of our "lefts" who would ascribe the new tactic to the recognition that the tactic which the Communist International has pursued in the last three years, has failed. We could cheerfully leave the honor to the left comrades of having always said the same thing in the years 1918, 1920 and 1923, although in these five years conditions have undergone a violent development. But this theory would have fatal results for the German as well as for the other Communist Parties, our sister-parties, which continue to carry on the tactic of the Third and Fourth World Congresses in their countries until events in their countries will show this tactic to be obsolete. They must naturally learn from the German experience, but in the first place they cannot substitute for the object lesson of their own country an account of the German experiences; secondly, the occurrences in Germany must not be repeated mechanically in the other countries. As for the German Party, by accepting the "theory" of the "lefts" it will not only sign a declaration of bankruptcy, but it would bar the way to taking hold of the real new tasks. For if we only had to make up today for that which we neglected out of stupidity in the years 1920-23, we would have no new tasks before us, except the task of the propaganda of "pure Communism."

COMFORT

I used to say
Give me a cow,
One room with windows all around,
An open fire, plenty of elbow space:
I'll be content.
But now income translucently conspires
With innocence to put me here
Immured in seventeen ghastly chambers,
Waited on by seven
Asses in full livery.—Cow of my dreams,
Accept my most sincere regrets!

—BERNARD RAYMUND.

KARL LIEBKNECHT, AFTER FIVE YEARS

BY MAX SCHACHTMAN

THE celebration of International Liebknecht Day on January 20th of this year brings again to the forefront the martyr of the revolutionary movement in Germany and one of the foremost representatives of the spirit of revolt and struggle that is now leading the German working class to the overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of a soviet republic.

Of the five leading spirits in the early communist movement in Germany, Luxemburg, Jogiches, Mehring, Zetkin, and Liebknecht, the last was not the best equipped theoretician. But Liebknecht was endowed with an unflagging devotion and a fearless passion for the fight of the workers against the capitalist masters. When cowards flinched and traitors sneered, Liebknecht kept the red flag of revolution waving aloft.

He was born in Leipzig in August, 1871; the same year in which his famous father, Wilhelm Liebknecht, was arrested on the charge of high treason against the government. Karl studied first in Leipzig, then in the university of Berlin, from which he received his doctor's degree in political economy and law. In Berlin, after a period of organizing literary societies for the study of social problems, he became acquainted with the socialist movement. By his untiring efforts, he became one of the leading spirits in the party. He stood strongly against any attempts of the revisionists led by Bernstein to emasculate the class program of the socialists.

Fights Militarism.

It was thru his anti-militarist activities that Liebknecht became known all over the nation. In September, 1906, he delivered a lecture on Militarism to a conference of young people in Germany. The lecture was enlarged upon and printed as a book. After some time, the authorities confiscated the book, charged the author with high treason and after a farcical trial of three days found him guilty and had him sentenced to a year and a half imprisonment. It was afterwards discovered that the Kaiser had kept constantly in touch with the proceedings of the trial by a special wire. Liebknecht declined to plead guilty and took the entire responsibility upon himself. Upon hearing the sentence pronounced he said boldly:

"The aim of my life is the overthrow of monarchy as well as the emancipation of the exploited working class from political and economic bondage. As my father, who appeared before this court exactly 35 years ago to defend himself against the charge of treason, was ultimately pronounced victor, so I believe the day not far distant when the principles which I represent will be recognized as patriotic, as honorable, as true."

Elected to Landtag.

In answer to the reactionary measure of the government, the workers of Berlin elected him to the Prussian Landtag. There it was that he started his attacks against Prussian militarism with a bitterness and keenness that made the reactionary Junkers writhe in their seats. Nothing could halt him; he knew how to make revolutionary use of bourgeois parliaments in spite of innumerable tricks used by the Right to call him to order, to hiss him down, to shout, and even to go to the extreme of removing him from the floor of the chamber.

Liebknecht represented the workers of Germany in other bodies. He was their spokesman in the common council of Berlin. In 1912 the workers of Potsdam-Spandau selected him to represent them in the national Reichstag. The joy of the workers all over the country was great, for Liebknecht had gained a reputation of integrity, fearlessness and of being an uncompromising fighter. He had been elected in spite of all the machinations of the governmental authorities to manipulate the vote against him.

In the Reichstag his voice rang out against the war intrigues of the militarists. He exposed the armament trust and its insidious control of government officials and the press. A man whom the Kaiser had been about to select as war secretary was shown by Liebknecht to be nothing but an ordinary swindler. Liebknecht dared even to speak for the

abolition of the monarchy and the substitution of a republic, at a time when merely entertaining of such an idea was considered heresy, and as a result he brought upon himself the most invectives of the supporters of the status quo.

Against the War

The story of Liebknecht's part in the war is too well known to detail it here. When the Social Democratic faction in the Reichstag met to decide if they were to vote for war credits, Liebknecht's was the single strong voice in the desert of vacillation and treason. Where Haase counseled voting for them, and Kautsky advised for abstention from voting, Liebknecht presented the issue clearly and demanded a straight vote against the war credits. "This war is an imperialist war for domination of world markets, and for the benefit of bankers and manufacturers. It is also a war tending to destroy the growing labor movement. It is not a war for defense. It is therefore our plain duty to vote against the war budget."

But the position of the social traitors carried in the caucus. So strong were the bonds of discipline that even Liebknecht voted for war

credits in the Social Democracy, wrote letters from prison on the political situation, signed Spartacus. When she, together with Liebknecht, was released from prison, they organized the Spartacus Bund, which later became the Communist Party. The Spartacists began an intensified campaign for the organization of the workers for the struggle.

On the fifth of January, 1919, the Rote Fahne, organ of the communists, called for demonstrations. The masses poured into the streets. Liebknecht is seen everywhere. At first in the Sieges Allee, then in the Alexander Platz, always surrounded by a bodyguard of red sailors from Kiel with rifles and sabres in hand, Liebknecht speaks to the masses with his clear incision. From the balcony in Alexander Platz, he speaks to thousands; so do Ledebour, Dammig and Eichhorn, who is deposed from police presidency of Berlin because of his revolutionary stand. Arms are distributed to the workers nevertheless, just as he promised. The revolutionary workers entrench themselves in the Vorwaerts building, the Boetzow brewery and behind other barricades. But Ebert and Noske, the social-democrats are

national at the conferences at Kienthal and Zimmerwald. The "Junius" pamphlet, for example, is considered one of the fundamental works of the Communist International, along with Lenin's Collapse of the Second International.

The international movement has grown more powerful. Its sections grow in power from day to day. The great, powerful Communist Party of Germany stands now as the inheritor of the spirit of Liebknecht, ready to carry on his work to a successful conclusion.

Today, in the face of the Hittlers, the Ludendorffs, the Von Seeckts and the lesser lights of counter-revolution, the communists are gathering their forces, preparatory to flinging the decadent bourgeois order over the brink. The workers of Germany, who have met with so many disappointments at the hands of the capitalists and the Social-Democrats, are now turning to the leadership of the communists.

In the achievement of this great task, the winning of the majority of the working class which is the preliminary to a proletarian revolution, Karl Liebknecht must be set down as one of the pioneers. The establishment of his splendid work and a final assurance that the martyrdom of Liebknecht and the innumerable fighters in the ranks was not futile.

THE PENINSULA OF SOMALILAND

(Translated from Russian by Leonid Chatsky.)

I remember that night and the dreary sand
And the moon in the sky just above that land.

I remember that I could not turn my eye
From its golden way in the glittering sky.

And that evening as soon as the shadows grew long
In my ears crept the sound of Somali's war gong.

Their leopard-like chief with a crown of red hair
Was the bringer of death to the white and the fair.

I knew well that at dawn would the arrows rain
And I and my slaves would have fought in vain.

But I looked at the moon and thought all the night,
That there I would have no men to fight.

When the morning came near and the moon sank low—
Not more as a friend, but a scarlet foe—

It was clear to me that it was a shield
Shining for the heroes who fell in the field.

Then I ordered my slaves to withdraw and to run,
And I bound my soul to my Winchester gun.

—NICHOLAS SCUMILEV.



KARL LIEBKNECHT

credits on the first vote. But at the second session of the Reichstag in December, his revolutionary heart burst the bonds of treasonable discipline and he stood forth, one against all, and voted against the war budget.

On May 1, 1916, he spoke at a May Day Peace demonstration in Berlin, and called for the cessation of the war. For this crime he was arrested despite his claim of immunity accorded to all members of the Reichstag. On June 28, 1916, he was sentenced to 30 months in jail. The workers were indignant and a movement was set afoot for an appeal. The appeal resulted in the increase of his term of imprisonment to four years and one month; so little did the Junkerdom of Germany mind the voice of the masses.

The Struggle for Power.

The revolution which overthrew the Kaiser, effected the freedom of Liebknecht. The compromises made by Ebert and Noske with the capitalists showed the real revolutionaries that it was necessary to have a revolutionary political organization for the assumption of complete power by the working class. Rosa Luxemburg, who had written the

famous "Junius" pamphlet on the massing monarchist troops on the outskirts of the city. In a swift move, the incipient revolution is crushed. Liebknecht and Luxemburg are arrested. In a short while, the two brave leaders of the German working class are brutally murdered by sotted officers of the Horse Guards. These brave gentlemen shot the half-unconscious Liebknecht in the back in the darkest spot of the Charlottenburger Chaussee and bludgeoned and shot Rosa Luxemburg, disposing of her body by throwing it into the Landwehr Canal. And all this with the assent of the social-democrats, whose official organ, the Vorwaerts, carried pretty little verses on this vile deed. The murderers went scot free.

Liebknecht and Luxemburg were murdered in Berlin on January 15, 1919; Leo Jogiches was murdered in prison during the same year. Klara Zetkin remained the only outstanding leader of the revolution from the advent of the Spartacists to the present day.

These revolutionists were murdered or died. They helped to lay the foundation of the Communist Inter-

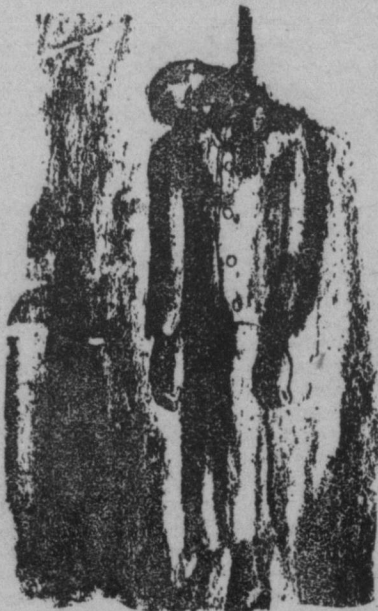


Womanhood.

"A WEEK"

"A WEEK", by Iury Libedinsky, translated from the Russian by Arthur Ransome, published by B. W. Huebsch, New York City, \$1.50 net, on sale at the book-sellers or the publishers.

A book by a young Russian who understands the revolution because he lived thru it, and he tells you



A Victim of the Lynchers.

about it as only a revolutionist can. It is said of this novel that counter-revolutionists find their vindication in it; but even the devil will quote scripture to vindicate himself. The

counter-revolutionist Repin, who disguises himself as a Red Army officer to carry out his treachery surely is no hero. His treachery stands out dark, sinister, against the heroism, the forgetfulness of self of the Communists.

Lisa the non-partisan school-teacher, the naive, shy, simple Lisa who teaches the Red Soldiers and is timid in their presence, sees the treachery of Repin, his cruelty to the consumptive Robeiko, she lives thru the harrowing events of that murderous attack by bandits, counter-revolutionists, revolting peasants upon the defenseless town, and when she comes out of it all, she joins the Communist Party. She is no longer non-partisan after what she has seen.

The writer, Iury Libedinsky, may not be as accomplished a stylist as some of the other young writers in Soviet Russia, but he does possess the art of narration. He is not of the modernist school, as for instance the great young Russian writer, Boris Pilniak, but he cannot escape its influence altogether. The book is dynamic, swift-moving, not too long drawn out, dramatic. It lights up the revolutionary period, or rather the period when the gains of the Revolution have to be conserved and defended. The revolution is no longer a matter of political tracts, but is dramatized, vitalized. It becomes vivid and real.

The Communist Party decides everything, it holds the welfare of all in its hands, it has in its keeping the fate of the Revolution. It is the breath of life to the comrades. As Stalmakhov says, "I dislike all

that talk, Communism, for and against Communism. . . . Is Communism some sort of philosophy? What is there to be talked about? You know, for me, it is a friendly word."

And Klimin, the Chairman of the local Communist organization and head of the local Cheka says, "We, workers, somehow take the Revolution differently. . . . But for the intellectuals the Revolution is something outside, a little God demanding sacrifices, but for me, for example. . . . I can say something like what some king or other said, 'The State . . . that's me.'"

Twenty-eight comrades, the best, the responsible Communists, experienced men, tried and brave unto death, all killed by the bandits, while the Red Army battalion was away. The battalion went off to cut down wood in the forest at the monastery which was at a distance of twelve versts from the town. The wood would provide fuel for the trains, so that the seed for the sowing could be brought from far away for the peasants. This would pacify the dissatisfied peasants, would prevent a revolt, and would save the people from famine. The comrades were the very ones who had voted for it at the Party meeting, the knowing the danger to those left behind. But there was no other way. The consumptive Robeiko proposed it and it was passed.

"I'm sorry for the lads," said Karaulov (the military commander)

abruptly. "Died for nothing. . . . And you and I were right. . . . The battalion ought not to have been taken from the town."

"Gornuikh was silent, thinking, and then said, speaking as if he were piling heavy, uniform stones into a solid wall:

"No, Karaulov, we were both wrong. You see, there they are bringing the wood. You just think," he added with rare animation for him, "that wood gives us seed-corn and corn, for peasant revolts, is like water for fire. Not for nothing the comrades died."

And love, too, is in the book. The revolution parts these, but brings those together. Yet there is hardly time to love; violent death overtakes the lovers too soon.

And Gornuikh the new hero, like Hawkeye of the "Last of the Mohicans," but a real Gornuikh, not merely a character of romance. He can beard the lion in his den, afraid of nothing, knows what the enemy is up to, always on the watch, he is everywhere, a heroic Chekist, yet a plain fellow for all that, but a regular devil when the bandits are up to mischief. Gornuikh sobbing over the corpse of Klimin his chief, Gornuikh leading the railroadmen against the bandits, with a smoking revolver in his hand. It is he on whom the leadership falls when the rest are dead, for the Revolution is still alive.

"A Week" is a great epic of the great Russian Revolution.

—SIMON FELSHIN.

THE SITUATION IN OKLAHOMA

By J. E. SNYDER

By J. E. SNYDER.

The Oklahoma political situation has attracted the attention of the entire nation. The collapse of the Walton administration, after a few brief months, has left the whole state in a mental mess. The administration started off with a program of promises to the farmers and wage workers such as have not appeared since the days of populism. Thousands turned out to the Walton barbecue with bands and parades. The



What of the Klan?

whole state went wild with joy that at last the workers and farmers had a governor who would deliver them from the clutches of the greedy landlord, machinery trust, coal dealer and high interest taker. They saw in Walton the personification of their pioneer hopes that at last marketing conditions and farmers' loans would be such that the old house might be repaired and the sheds rebuilt. Hardly an improvement had been made, down in the cotton belt and very few in the wheat belt, in that state in 25 years. Poverty reigns supreme and one touch of misery has made them all kin. Therefore they dreamed of so many benefits to come, that when Walton fell by the wayside a wave of hate and revenge swept the entire state.

Not all this hate is centered on Walton. "The Ku Klux Klan 'Got Walton' and we will get the Klan," is the sentiment among many thousands of farmers. Those who were on the Walton campaign committee, have on the other hand, turned most of their hate on Walton and on each other. There are at least six factions in the ranks of the reformers

who fell so hard for Walton. "The Oklahoma Leader" group were the first to turn against him and lose no opportunity to expose his shortcomings. The followers of Wilson, who was appointed president of the Agriculture college, and then deposed by Walton, are relentless in their criticism. Those whom he appointed to office and have been let out, constitute another faction. Most of them know a lot to tell about this fallen hero, and they tell it wherever they go. A few of these, however, feel that, altho Walton fell short of expectation and that he turned much oil contribution to his own account, still he is an angel besides his traducers and therefore are out with him to get the scalp of the Klan and all who uphold the deposing of the Governor. Still another group busy exposing Walton is the State Federation of Labor officials who were not even invited when Walton took office.

The Anti-Klan movement has drifted into a distinct political party to wage a fight at the democratic and republican primaries with almost the sole issue to defeat the candidates of the Ku Klux Klan. This political movement has little virtue, so far as labor is concerned. It does, however, have a decided effect on the labor struggle, for almost the entire state is divided Klan and Anti-Klan. In hotel lobbies, on trains, on the streets, business houses and homes of Oklahoma, Jack Walton, the Klan and the Anti-Klan are the eternal topic.

Out siders ask, as we travel away from the scene of battle, if things



Walton is Thru.

are very exciting down there and we have to disappoint them by saying that everything, so far as action is concerned, is very quiet and only the pens of editors and the tongues of hate are fanning the flames of hate.

The deplorable thing is that men and women, who should be devoting their time to the much neglected labor movement, in Oklahoma, are hating and browbeating each other, accusing each other of high crimes and misdemeanors.

The indictment of officials goes on. Those who started the action against Walton could not stop when once started and so some of the big capitalist officials have been dragged into the meshes of the law and stand indicted along side the man they "got." Walton may become the next United States Senator because the Oklahoma farmer feels more than he thinks. So much does he despise the Klan, that he is swept by the flame of discontent which "Jack Walton's Paper" carries in headlines that can be read a block away. Every Klan atrocity that has happened for years is played up as lurid as were the atrocities of the Germans during the war, while on the other hand, the "Flaming Cross" shines a brilliant red from many a high building or hill and the newsboys cry the sales of the Anti-Klan papers which shout to the nation of "red," Catholic, Jew, and negro domination which is but a smoke screen to hide the attack on labor.

In the midst of this muddle and mess the Workers Party is attempting to get a hearing for the farmer-labor movement. The "Daily Oklahoma," thanks to the kindly editor, is helping by giving eight column headlines with five column write ups of our coming into the state, and how we were there to "Capture the state of Oklahoma for Red Russia and to overthrow our sacred democratic institutions, and establish the Soviet."

We took little part in the Walton controversy and paid little heed to the "Oklahoman's" silly drivel; but we did sit up and take notice when we found that Walton had signed a text book law that contained an amendment ordering the school authorities to purchase no school books that advocate "The materialistic conception of history: i. e. Darwinian Evolution." Not Walton alone is guilty of this silly act of command-

ing the law of nature to stop in their orderly course, but most every one of the legislature voted for the bill, as amended, and it became a law with the sanction of the "reformers" of Oklahoma. Mentally and physically Oklahoma is fertile for cul-



"IT'S ENOUGH TO MAKE A FELLA ROCK, FEELPANT."

tivation, and the discontent that capitalism and its "black-hundred" are stirring to the boiling point, is helping us wonderfully along.

Oh, yes!—It's a Different Kind of Fertilizer!

In regard to an offer for Muscle Shoals, a Washington dispatch says in part: "The principal purpose of those back of the new offer, the secretary explained, is the manufacture of fertilizer."

Will they allow them to compete with Congress?

THE PEN PUSHER.

Disasters Shenandoah Avoided

Four giant dirigibles of the Shenandoah type have met disaster within the past three years.

January 1, 1921—H-34, which flew from East Fortune, Scotland, across the Atlantic to New York and returned safely, was wrecked in a gale at Howden, England.

August 24, 1921—ZR-2, built in England for the United States burst into flames, exploded, broke in two and fell near Hull, England, with loss of 42 lives.

February 21, 1922—The U. S. Army dirigible Roma exploded over Hampton Roads. 34 died of injuries.

December 21, 1923—French naval dirigible Dixmude struck by lightning and lost in Mediterranean storm; 50 lives lost.

The Farmers and the American Revolution

By JOHN PEPPER.

It was a characteristic and interesting scene in our Party Convention. The chairman announced that Joseph Manley would make the report on the agricultural question. Comrade Manley walked up from his place to the front of the hall. He was received by giggles from many delegates. Many comrades and good comrades and good trade unionists at that, found it funny that Manley, the typical city worker, for twenty years a member of the Structural Iron Workers' Union, should appear before the Convention of the Workers Party to picture the bankruptcy and misery of the farmers, to describe the political revolt of the modern American "peasants."

The giggling comrades could not understand the fundamentally revolutionary significance of the fact of a city worker, a typical trade unionist, appearing as an ardent advocate of the idea of the solidarity of workers and farmers and of the revolutionary resolution of the Central Executive Committee on agriculture, as a fervent exponent of the idea that the Communists shall attempt to assume leadership of the rebellious farmers.

Not a Temporary Bankruptcy.

Our Party must understand that the most important revolutionary fact of our last Party Convention was our stand on the agricultural crisis in the United States and our bold attempt to place ourselves at the head of the farmers' revolt.

I know there is a big opposition in our Party to that idea. Many comrades think that we overemphasize the importance of the farmers, that through our agricultural work we divert precious forces from the work in the labor movement, in the trade unions, or from direct Communist propaganda. Many comrades maintain the opinion that the farmers are a born counter-revolutionary class, inseparably bound to private property, and that therefore, an alliance between Communists and farmers will only soil our revolutionary virginity. Many comrades think that the bankruptcy of the farmers is something temporary. They say that one or two good crops, and the farmers who are discontented today will be again conservative citizens.

We must state emphatically that these comrades do not understand how to analyze the most elemental facts of American social and political life. The bankruptcy of the farmers is not something temporary. The last crop was one of the best in the history of the United States. The deepest cause of the bankruptcy of the farmers is the unbridgeable internal conflicts of capitalism itself. The final, the imperialist, phase of capitalism has created, thru the trusts, an absolute monopoly on industrial products. The farmers must pay for industrial products, the prices dictated to them by the trusts, and they are forced to sell their products at less than the cost of production. And ruling capitalism has no remedy for the farmers. President Coolidge declared that the farmers must help themselves. At the same time, the government power, which is in the hands of the trusts, concentrates its gigantic and ever growing force, for the deliberate ruination of millions of farmers.

The Chinese Wall of the Fordney McCumber tariff excludes the cheap industrial products of foreign countries, and renders the monopoly of the trusts impenetrable.

The Department of Agriculture reported that no less than 30 per cent of the farmers' income goes for taxes.

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace reported that "Investigation has disclosed that, of the owner farmers in fifteen corn and wheat-producing states, on an average over 5 per cent had lost their farms through foreclosure or bankruptcy, while nearly 4 per cent had turned over their farms to creditors without legal process, making a total of about 8½ per cent. In addition, more than 15 per cent were in fact bankrupt, but were holding on through the leniency of their creditors."

The government itself has to admit that not less than 23½ per cent of the owner farmers are bankrupt.

In 1922 no less than two million farmers and their families left the farms. In 1923 it is estimated that not less than three million farmers and their families were forced to abandon their land. And millions

more are only tolerated by the mortgage-holding bankers because the bankers can do nothing with the land, because the cultivation of the land by farm-laborers would cost more than the products which can be produced.

At the same time that the owner-farmers are being ruined by the millions, the trend to tenancy is dangerously and rapidly growing.

A Part of the World Crisis

We see before us the madness of capitalism grown to imperialism in its final development. Great Britain and Germany are faced with the problem of reducing their industrial working class by many millions. Unemployment as a mass phenomenon is menacing them ever more. There is no hope for selling industrial products to an impoverished world, and there is no hope, therefore, of feeding the British and German industrial population. And at the same time there is the enormous agricultural crisis in the United States. Millions of farmers are unemployed, the acreage of cultivated land is shrinking more and more, simply because the farmers cannot sell their products at such prices as will make it possible for them at least to receive wages for their labor. We must understand that the reduction of the farming class in the United States is one side of that same process, the other side of which is the reduction of the industrial working class in Great Britain and Germany.

Many comrades do not realize the

farmers as a mass phenomenon are inevitable. Secretary of Agriculture Wallace said: "It will be conceded that the unrestricted operation of economic laws in course of time will bring about better material conditions for those who farm. These laws are at work. They are driving people from the farms and will continue to do so until farm production is reduced to a point where the demand for food will compel a fair price. They are transferring the land from those who farm it to those who do not, increasing the number of non-resident land owners and the attending evils. They are compelling those farmers who manage to hold on to follow methods of farming which deplete the fertility of the soil and permit their buildings, fences, and the productive plant to deteriorate at a rapid rate, thus using up capital investment. They are reducing the standard of living in the farm home, compelling hard labor by the farm mother, depriving the farm children of their rightful educational and social opportunities and creating in them a hatred for farm life which will lead them to leave the farm at the first opportunity. The free operation of economic laws is working all these evils, and more."

The representative of the capitalist government of the United States admits the complete bankruptcy of the government and of the present economic system in solving the present agricultural crisis. The spokesman of the government admits that

Third Party and Labor Party movements represents nothing else than the political expression of this terrible bankruptcy and misery. When, under these circumstances, comrades persist in declaring that we must sit comfortably on our dogmas which prescribe (as they imagine) that the crisis of the industrial side of imperialism must come first, without seeing the existing agricultural crisis, it shows that these comrades do not understand the most elementary duty of revolutionary Marxists, namely, to analyze, and reckon with, facts as they are.

The Farmers and the Proletarian Revolution

We can arrive at the correct estimation of the importance of the farmers for the communist movement only if we connect it with the question of the seizure of power by the working class. We must understand that as long as the capitalist class can maintain political leadership over the farmers, the working class has no possibility or even hope of coming into power.

That is true for every country, but especially for the United States. We should not forget that the United States is not as thoroughly industrialized as Germany or Great Britain. Industry in the United States is the most highly centralized and concentrated in the world, but it covers only certain parts of our country. The United States is at the same time the greatest agricultural country of the world. The United States has a tremendous agricultural population. In this respect our country resembles Russia more than it does Great Britain which has no agricultural population to speak of. And we ought to bear in mind that the overwhelming majority of industrial workers in our country are foreign-born, who, just because they are foreign-born are greatly handicapped in their role of a political factor. The Workers Party, as a faithful mirror of the composition of the American working class, with its 25,000 members would play a seventeen fold greater political role if it had not contained by necessity seventeen foreign language federations. The bulk of the native-born workers are skilled workers and foremen, and belong to the labor aristocracy. It is of vital interest to our party to win over and influence as great a mass as possible of native-born English-speaking workers. But it is highly improbable that we can win over in the near future the majority of this labor aristocracy corrupted by imperialism. The farmers as a class present a different picture than the working class. We have many foreign-born farmers, especially Germans and Scandinavians, but the bulk of the farmers are native-born Americans.

A revolutionary movement in the United States which embraces only the foreign-born proletarian workers of the basic industries and only a narrow stratum of the native-born workers, has no real hope of gaining power without the support of the millions of native-born, working farmers. Nor should we forget this fact, that in no country (with the exception of Russia) have the farmers such an old political tradition, or have made so many attempts at political upheaval against capitalist leadership (Greenback Party, Populist Party, Non-Partisan League) as in the United States. It is an untested fact that (with the exception of Russia) in no other country is there such an old and deep-rooted tradition of political co-operation between farmers and city workers as in the United States. It would be political blindness not to see the gigantic importance of the fact that all these numerous farmer-labor parties, spontaneously sprung up, are everywhere the expression of a political alliance between city workers and farmer.

Guild Interests or Revolution?

It is not revolutionary Marxism, but on the contrary, a caricature of Marxism for communists to reject the alliance with the farmers in the name of proletarian purity. Marxism does not mean the representation of the interests of the working class narrowed to a guild basis. It means the representation of the general interests of the proletariat as a revolutionary class. We communists must conduct all our campaigns and actions in such a way as not to lose sight of the proletarian revolution

(Continued on page

A BIRD OF PREY



The Capitalist Shadow on the Farm.

tremendous revolutionary significance of the agricultural crisis in the United States. Many comrades see only the proud industrial structure of the trusts, the lofty financial edifice of the banks, and they think that American capitalism is basically sound and does not feel a particle of the convulsion caused by the world war.

The world crisis of capitalism does not follow a fixed pattern. It started on the industrial side in Germany and Great Britain, but it attacks the agricultural side in the United States. The capitalists themselves, altho they try to hide the crisis, see much more clearly than do many communists. Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, in a speech recently made before a meeting of the Farm Economic Association, said: "Now the need is not for greater production but for a better adjusted production, and to some extent, for a reduced production. That is a very difficult matter. The plowing up of meadows and pastures and seeding to grain fields back into grass is not so grain fields back into grass is not so easy."

Capitalism has only one remedy for the agricultural crisis: reduction of the acreage of cultivated land, return to more primitive modes of production and driving the farmers by the millions off the land. And the capitalists see—that certain communists fail to see—that under the rule of capitalism and capitalist government the bankruptcy and misery of

the economic laws of capitalism drive the farmers inevitably into bankruptcy, that they lower the standard of living of the farmers to that of the Russian peasants of Czarist times, and lead to inevitable and complete expropriation of the farming masses. A process of the greatest historical import is taking place before our eyes. A process which finds its counterpart only in the "Bauernlegen" in Germany after the Thirty Years' War and the mass expropriation of farmers in Great Britain thru the then new and ruthless capitalism.

Many comrades have accused me of exaggerating, not only the revolutionary importance of the farmers, but the significance and tempo of the agricultural crisis. But the picture which Secretary Wallace gives of the effect of the economic laws of capitalism bears out the analysis of the Central Executive and political situation of the United States, and the analysis of the agricultural resolution adopted by our last Convention.

On the contrary, if we make a mistake, it is in not emphasizing enough our agricultural work, and the revolutionary import of the farming crisis. We must understand that the economic bankruptcy of the farmers goes so rapidly forward that our work among the farmers cannot keep pace with it. And we must understand further that the political revolt of the farmers, the entering of the farmers into the various

THE TAXATION TANGLE

By JAY LOVESTONE

PERHAPS the most pressing problem before Congress today is taxation.

Taxation is a question which vitally affects every farmer, every worker, and the family of every farmer and worker.

The total gross debt of the National, State, Municipal, and County governments increased 361 per cent. in the last decade. In this period the national debt increased nearly 700 per cent.—to be precise, 672 per cent.

Exclusive of the tariff law which is an annual tax of about three and a half billion dollars on the country, our yearly tax bill is in the neighborhood of \$7,750,000,000. The steady rise in the government bureaucracy entails the expenditure of billions of dollars every year.

The reactionaries launched their attack on this taxation affecting them in the Sixty-Seventh Congress. Then 50,000-60,000 of our wealthiest taxpayers were relieved of \$511,500,000 through the lowering of the surtax rates and the repeal of the excess profits tax.

Before the new Congress opened the bankers and manufacturers organized a powerful campaign to cut their own tax bill still further. Through their control of the National Government in this case it was the Treasury of the United States they put forward the well-advertised plan sent out in the name of Andrew W. Mellon Secretary of the Treasury.

The Mellon Plan

Though it was not before December 29th that the Mellon tax reduction plan was made public its general principle of "soak the poor and save the rich" was known weeks in advance. Never before not even in the worst fever days of jingoism and preparedness was the country subjected to so well organized a country-wide advertising campaign as the one launched by the Chamber of Commerce, the Union League clubs and the numerous other employers' associations indorsing the Mellon millionaire tax evasion scheme. We reproduce the following typical piece of capitalist propaganda in behalf of the scheme:

"The George L. Dyer Co.,

42 Broadway, New York.

December 18, 1923.

"Publisher, Herald, Louisburg, Kansas.

"Dear Sirs:

"Our clients, including some of the largest manufacturers from all parts of this country, have asked us to write every newspaper, regardless of party, to endorse the Mellon tax reduction plan as the best and most constructive idea now before Congress. They strongly suggest that this can only be made effective by continuous front page publicity.

"All business will be greatly helped and the resulting prosperity will be shared by all.

"Yours truly,

"THE GEORGE L. DYER CO.

"(Signed) W. L. Dotts,

"Vice-President."

This letter is from the heart of Wall Street and the above address

is the national home of the Association of Stock Exchange Firms.

An analysis of the Mellon scheme shows exactly why the Big Business interests lost no time in taking up the cudgels for it.

The chief feature of the Mellon tax scheme is a reduction of the present surtax from 50 per cent. to 25 per cent. This means a reduction of about \$200,000,000 to the big capitalists. The normal tax is to be fixed at 3 per cent. instead of 4 per cent. on the first \$4,000 net income. The present 8 per cent. tax on the next group ranging up to \$10,000 would be reduced by Mellon to 6 per cent. Surtaxes are to begin at \$10,000 instead of at \$6,000 as at present. Taking the subject out of the realm of percentages and into the realm of dollars and cents, one finds that the Mellon plan would mean that a person with a \$5,000,000 income would save annually about a million and a half dollars; those receiving an annual income of one million dollars would save over a quarter of a million every year; those having an annual income of a quarter of a million dollars would save about \$50,000; people paying taxes on an income of \$100,000 would save annually more than ten thousand dollars; those whose income is \$50,000 a year would save almost \$2,000; those having an income of \$25,000 would save more than a thousand dollars a year; those having no dependents and an income of \$5,000 a year will save \$25; the people in the \$4,000 group without dependents will save \$15; and the people having no dependents and who are in the \$3,000 group will save only \$5 a year.

Thus four hundred heads of families each having an income of \$2,500—total one million dollars—save nothing under the Mellon scheme, while one millionaire saves more than a quarter of a million dollars. Two hundred and forty-six taxpayers with incomes ranging from \$300,000 up whose annual tax bill amounts to about ninety million dollars save about \$45 million dollars

a year on the Mellon basis. This is an average saving of about \$180,000 annually for the biggest financiers and bosses.

Democratic and Insurgent Measures

No sooner had the Mellon plan been whispered to the press than the Democratic solons put their political heads together to offer something different. The Democratic spokesman, Representative John N. Garner of Texas, then came forward with the following proposal: All single persons having incomes of \$2,000 or less and all married persons or heads of families having incomes of \$3,000 or less are exempt. All taxes on incomes up to \$10,000 are cut in half. The surtax begins at \$12,000. While the Mellon plan would reduce the surtax on incomes above \$10,000 to the maximum of 25 per cent. the Democrats would reduce these rates to 44 per cent. as their maximum.

The plan proposed by Representative Frear of Wisconsin is the taxation program of the insurgents. This plan would cut the present tax of 4 per cent. on incomes of \$4,000 to 2 per cent. and reduce from 8 per cent. on incomes over \$4,000 to 4 per cent. The present surtax of 50 per cent. is to be continued. Frear also proposes to restore the excess profits tax, to tax state and municipal securities, increase the inheritance taxes, and tax undistributed profits and gifts.

Class Line Seen

The above summary of the proposed tax reduction plans show how the tax question reflects the dominant class divisions of Congress. Mellon's scheme plays right into the hands of the biggest capitalists and disregards to a large extent the mass of small income taxpayers. The Democratic plan caters to the less big capitalists, makes a harmless scratch or two on the 12,000 wealthiest men, and makes an empty gesture to the mass of taxpayers—the gesture becoming emptier the lower down the line of income one travels. The Republican Mellon plan stresses the im-

portance of the interests of the upper most strata of the capitalist class; the Democratic scheme favors the next layer of the employing class; and the Frear plan defends the interests of the lowest section of the city and rural owning class.

Conclusion

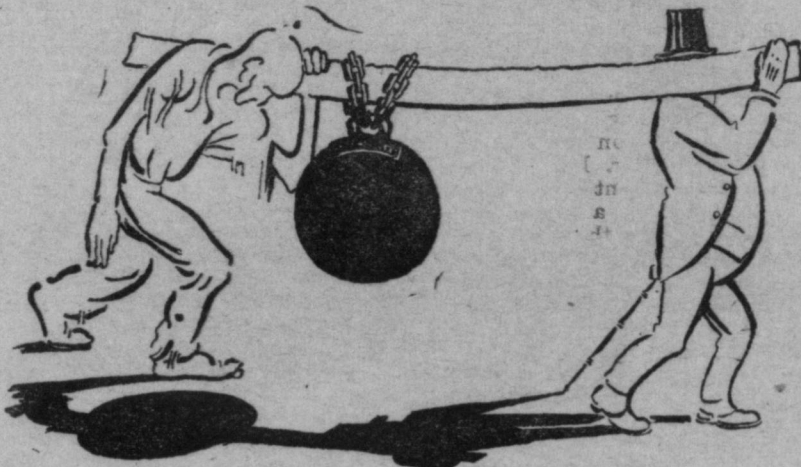
The problem of taxation is of utmost importance to the working and farming masses of the country. In 1922 the farmers paid \$1,749,000,000 in taxes. This sum was more than 30 per cent. of what they received for their eleven crops—corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye, buckwheat, flaxseed, potatoes, sweet potatoes, hay and cotton. The farmers actually gave away almost 25 per cent. of the value of the total yield of their farm crop. In short, last year the farmers were compelled to give away the monetary equivalent of their entire wheat, oats, and tobacco crops, and of one-half of their potato crops in order to meet the tax and interest demands.

Obviously the workers and poor farmers have a tremendous interest in the character and plan of taxation that is in vogue. It should be our policy to force the growing burden of taxation on the owning class. Instead of a 50 per cent. surtax we should strive to have a hundred per cent. surtax. An excess profits tax of 100 per cent. is also desirable. Likewise a 100 per cent. inheritance tax should be favored by us. The taxation program of the Communists today should be the minimum possible to be paid by the workers and the maximum possible to be paid by the capitalist. The workingmen and exploited farmers should be exempt from all taxation. The capitalists and wealthy land magnates should be compelled to bear the entire burden of taxation.

The taxation tangle is most closely interwoven with the whole problem of the growing government bureaucracy that is weighing capitalism down. Practically one-seventh of the country's national income is devoured by the maintenance of government. In the last hundred years America has seen its civilian government payroll increase about 6,000 per cent. Every family in the country pays \$400 a year to help run this gigantic machine.

The growing class conflicts of capitalism compel the ruling class steadily to increase and strengthen the government bureaucracy, the machinery of which it keeps the working masses in subjection. But this vital political necessity is a staggering economic burden. It should be the task of the Communists to throw as much as possible of this burdensome load of the cost of maintaining the capitalists' official strikebreaking machinery on the shoulders of the employing class. It is the task of the Communists to relieve the workers and farmers as much as possible of the oppressive payments the capitalist class now compels them to make for the maintenance of the very machine that serves to perpetuate their exploitation.

THE TAXATION BURDEN



The Heavy End of the Pole.

THE FARMERS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(Continued from page 10) for a moment, whether the revolution be near or far off. In America we are not at the threshold of a proletarian revolution. But we stand at the threshold of one of the deepest social and political crises of our country. In this crisis our greatest tasks are to develop a communist mass party of industrial workers and to win the confidence of the masses of working farmers. In other words, during the present crisis and thru the present crisis we must forthwith lay down the foundation for the proletarian revolution which sooner or later will come and must come.

In the correct estimation of work among the farmers, the Workers Party has played the role of pioneer in the whole Communist International. We can be proud that our young and in many respects imperfect party was the first in the whole Communist International which grasped the great lessons of the Russian revolution and the deepest sense of Marxian-Leninism (expressed in the writings of Lenin, Zinoviev, Radek and Bucharin).

Many comrades say that the alliance with the farmers is well enough for Russia and that it is perhaps correct as a policy for certain Euro-

pean countries, but it is not right and timely for the United States.

The Communist International has a different opinion. We wish to quote here Zinoviev's article which was written for our "Daily Worker," and in which the chairman of the Communist International approves fully the pioneer work of the Workers Party of America on the agricultural field: "It is quite natural that the American Communists have concentrated their activities above all in the working class, in its trade unions. From here only was it possible to begin the work of revolutionary enlightenment of the American proletariat, and the rallying of it under the standard of communism. Those successes which the American Communists have had hitherto in the American labor movement (the uniting of the left wing) in no way can be called little. But it is yet more important that the American Communists are able alone among the first to raise and bring forward the question of work among the small farmers. This fact best of all testifies to the great vitality of American Communism.

"Whoever desires to aid the Communist Party to become, not a guild organization, defending only the

narrow class interests of the proletariat, but a party of proletarian revolution, of socialist upheaval, of the hegemony of the proletariat, such a person must, after having established a workers' party, direct its attention also to the conquest of the peasantry.

"In this respect the American Communists first felt out the new path. The American Communists have helped to found the Federated Farmer-Labor Party (preserving to be sure their communist, proletarian party as an independent organization). Not everywhere and not always will precisely this form prove the most suitable. But in any case the experiment initiated in this respect in America deserves serious study by an assiduous attention from the whole international communist movement.

"The failure to appreciate properly the role of the peasantry is the fundamental original sin of international Menshevism. The essence of Bolshevism consists just in this, that it has clothed in flesh and blood the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that it has begun to transform into actuality the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution; and precisely for that reason it seeks an

ally in the person of the indigent peasantry (in America, small farmers which with correct tactics on our part will aid the proletariat to fulfill its historical mission."

Zinoviev says that the Workers Party of America was the first which felt out the new path leading to the alliance with the farmers. Zinoviev says that the rejection of the alliance of communists with farmers is the original sin of international Menshevism. The alliance with the farmers is not opportunism, but on the contrary is the real revolutionary Leninism. The position against alliance with the farmer means that we conceive our role to be as a steady opposition within the capitalist order, and it means that we do not consider seriously our role in overthrowing the capitalist order. The rejection of the alliance with the farmer means (unconsciously and unwillingly) the maintenance of the dogmatic revolutionary phrase, but the practical abandonment of revolutionary realism.

Watch for "A Week," the stirring story of the Russian Revolution by Jury Libedinsky, will appear soon in the Worker.

HER LOVER

Translated from the Russian by
J. SUTTON-PATERSON

An old acquaintance of mine once told me the following story.

When I was a student in Moscow I happened to live alongside one of those excellent ladies whose reputation is of rather a transitory kind. She was a Pole and they called her Heresa. She was a tallish, powerfully-built woman, a brunette with black, bushy eyebrows and a large coarse face, the sort of face one would imagine to have been carved out with a hatchet—the bestial gleam of her wicked eyes, her cabman-like walk and the whole immense muscular vigour of her filled me with horror and loathing. At that time I lived on the top flight and her garret was directly opposite mine. Never on any occasion would I leave my door open if I knew that she was at home. But this, after all, was only on very rare occasions, for she seemed to spend all her time in cafes and other places of the sort. Sometimes I chanced to meet her on the staircase or in the yard, and then she would smile at me with a sort of leer that seemed to be cruel, sly and cynical. Occasionally I saw her drunk, with great bleary eyes, tousled hair and a particularly hideous grin. On such occasions she would speak to me.

"How d'you do, Mr. Student?" and her stupid laugh would further accentuate my intense dislike of her. I should have liked to change my my quarters in order to avoid such encounters and greetings, but in many ways my little chamber was a nice one; there was such a charming view from the window and the street beneath was always quiet and orderly—so I stayed on in spite of her.

One morning as I lay lazily enough on my couch, trying to imagine some excuse for not attending my Class, the door opened and the loud voice of Teresa the terrible came to my ears.

"Good health to you, Mr. Student."

"What do you want now?" I said. I saw that her face was confused and supplicatory. . . . A very unusual sort of face for her, certainly.

"Sir, I want to beg a favor of you, yes, indeed I do. Will you grant it?"

I lay quite silent and thought to myself:

"Good heavens . . . Come now, courage my lad. What can she want of me?"

"I want to send a letter home. . . . That's what it is," she said, her voice becoming beseeching and timid, like the voice of a frightened child almost.

"Deuce take you," thought I, but I jumped up, sat down at the table, and, taking up a sheet of paper, said: "Come here. Sit down and dictate."

She came towards the table, sat down rather gingerly and looked at me with a guilty look.

"Well, to whom do you want to write?"

"To Boleslav Kashput, at the village of Svyepstyana; on the Warsaw Road."

"Well, fire away!"

"My dear Boles . . . My darling . . . My faithful lover. May the Mother of God protect thee! Thou heart of gold, why hast thou not written for so many weeks to thy sorrowing little dove Teresa?"

I had great difficulty to keep from laughing. "A sorrowing little dove!" More than five feet six inches tall, with fists like a boxer's, and as black a face as if the dear little dove had passed all its life in some coal-house without ever washing! Restraining myself somewhat, I asked:

"Who is this Boles?"

"Boles, Mr. Student," she said, with an almost offended air, as if she resented my having mispronounced the name. "He is Boles, my lover—my young man."

"Young man?"

"Why, yes. May not I have a young man then? Surely I am a girl after all, eh?"

"She. A young girl. Oh dear, oh dear."

"Oh, why not indeed?" I said. "Well, let us write your letter!"

And I tell you very candidly that I would willingly have changed places with Boles if only his mistress had been someone other than Teresa.

When I had at last finished, she said to me with a most polite curtsy:

"I thank you most heartily for your kindness, sir. Is there, then, nothing I can do to requite you for

the great trouble you have taken in writing this letter for me? Your shirts or your trousers may need mending, perhaps, eh?"

"No, I most humbly thank you all the same."

I felt for the moment that she had made me go quite red with shame, and yet I knew of no cause for the feeling of such shame before her.

Then she went away, slowly as if she would have wished to stay longer with me. Thank God, she did not, however.

A week or two passed and I saw hardly anything of her. One evening, rather late, I was sitting at my window and whistling to try and drive away some of the terrible monotony. I was horribly bored. The weather was vile and I felt myself entirely at a loose end for something to do. From sheer tiredness of life I began a desultory sort of self-analysis. God knows this was dull enough work, and I was about to abandon it when suddenly the door opened. God be thanked. Someone entered the room.

"Oh, Mr. Student, you have no very pressing business, I trust!"

It was Teresa. Humph.

"No, what is it?"

"I was going to ask you to write me another letter!"

"Very well. To Boles, eh?"

"No—this time it is from him."

"What?"

"Stupid girl that I am—it is not for me, Mr. Student, I beg your pardon. It's for a friend of mine—that is to say, not exactly a friend but more an acquaintance, perhaps—a man acquaintance. He was a sweetheart just like me here, Teresa. That's how it is you see. Will you be good enough to write me a letter to this Teresa?"

I looked at her. She was obviously troubled. Her fingers trembled. For a moment it all seemed very foolish and hidden to me, then suddenly I saw how things stood.

"Look here, my lady," I said. "There is no Boles at all and neither is there any Teresa. You've been telling me a pack of sheer lies, and that's all there is about it. Now, I don't want your company at all, I assure you, and you had better let the matter drop now, once and for all."

Suddenly she seemed to grow very terrified and distraught. She began to balance herself on one foot and then upon the other. Her face was suffused with a violent blush and she began to splutter in a comical manner. I instantly saw that I had made a great mistake in imagining that she wished to draw me from the path of virtue. No, it was evidently something very different.

"Mr. Student," she began, then suddenly she turned and, with a wave of her hand, left the room. For

a few minutes I sat there with a decidedly unpleasant feeling in my mind. I listened. Her door was flung violently to—plainly the poor wretch was very angry. . . . I thought it over and at last decided to go to her, and, inviting her to come into my room, to write whatever on earth she might fancy.

I entered her room and looked around. She was sitting at the table, leaning her head on her hands and down her face ran two great tears.

"Listen to me," I said.

Now, whenever I come to this part of my story, I always feel most idiotic and childish. Heaven knows why, but it is so.

"Listen to me."

She seemed to leap from her seat, such was her haste, and, coming to me, she placed her two hands on my shoulders. Then she began to whisper in a peculiarly low voice.

"Look now. It's like this. There's no Boles at all and of course there's no Teresa. But what in the name of God is that to you. Is it then such a hard thing for you to draw your pen across a sheet of paper for my pleasure? Eh? Answer me that! Still such a fair-haired little boy, my God I almost love you as if you were my own son. No, there's nobody at all; no Boles, no Teresa; there you have it, and much good may it do you also."

"Pardon me," I said, utterly dumbfounded by such a reception. "What does all this mean? There's no Boles, you say. No Teresa. Come, tell me all about it like a good little girl. Come now."

"No then—so it is. Exactly like that."

I didn't understand it at all. I fixed my eyes upon her and tried to make out which of us was losing his or her senses. But she went slowly to the table, searched for something, and then returned to me, saying in an offended tone:

"If it is so terribly hard for you to write to Boles, there's your letter. Take it. Doubtless others will write to him for me."

I looked. In her hand was the letter I had already written to the non-existent Boles. "Hum," thought I, "this is getting more complicates every moment."

"Listen, Teresa. What is the meaning of all this? Why must you get others to write for you when I have already done so, and yet you haven't sent it?"

"Sent it to where?"

"Why to this—Boles!"

"There's no such person."

Absolutely and utterly I failed to understand her or it. There seemed nothing for me but to split and go, as they say in little Russia. Then, with an effort it seemed, she explained.

"What is it?" she said. "As I told you, there's no such person on earth. Boles never existed for a minute even. I wanted him to exist so terribly, you see. Am I not then a human person like you and other people? What harm was there in my writing to him even if he never received the letters. No, surely I did harm to nobody at all by this silly trick of mine."

I said nothing; as far as I could see, there was nothing to say.

"When you have written a letter to me from him, I take it to my girl friends who read and are jealous. They all wish they had a lover like me. Some of them even have the courage to tell me so."

At last I understood and felt horribly ashamed of my stupidity. By the side of me, not three yards away, was a poor human creature for whom no one in all the world had the least love or sympathy. This poor creature had been forced to invent a friend for herself. A good and true friend that never existed, or ever could.

"You see," she continued, "when they read these letters to me it seems as if he almost existed and really loved me a little. It makes life so much easier for me in every way."

"Deuce take me for a fool," said I, when I heard this.

And from thence onward, twice a week, I wrote her a letter from Boles, and an answer from Teresa to Boles. I wrote these letters well, I can assure you, and she listened to them and wept—wept! Roared, I should say, for her great bass voice filled my little room entirely. That was really the last I saw of her. She left the house some little time afterwards and vanished entirely. I heard that she had stolen something or other and been put in prison for it. Heaven alone knows.

My acquaintance shook the ash from his cigarette, looked up at the sky pensively, and thus concluded:

"Well, well, the more a human creature has tasted of the bitter things of life the more he hungers for the sweet ones. And we, wrapped round in the rags of our virtues, and regarding others through the hellish mist of our self-sufficiency, and firmly persuaded of our own impenetrability, do not well understand such things."

And the whole thing turns out stupidly enough—yes, stupidly and very cruelly into the bargain. The fallen classes we say. And who are the fallen classes, I should like to know? First of all, they are people with the same bones, flesh and blood as ourselves. We have been told this day after day for ages and ages. Yes, they tell us things like this and we actually listen, yes, listen, and the Devil himself only knows how horrible and cruel the whole thing is. Or are we completely depraved by the loud sermonising of humanism? In reality we are all fallen folk, and, as far as I can see, very deeply fallen into the abyss of self-sufficiency and the terrible conviction of our own superiority.

But enough of this. It is all as old as the hills—so old that really it is a shame to speak of it, or even think of it perhaps.

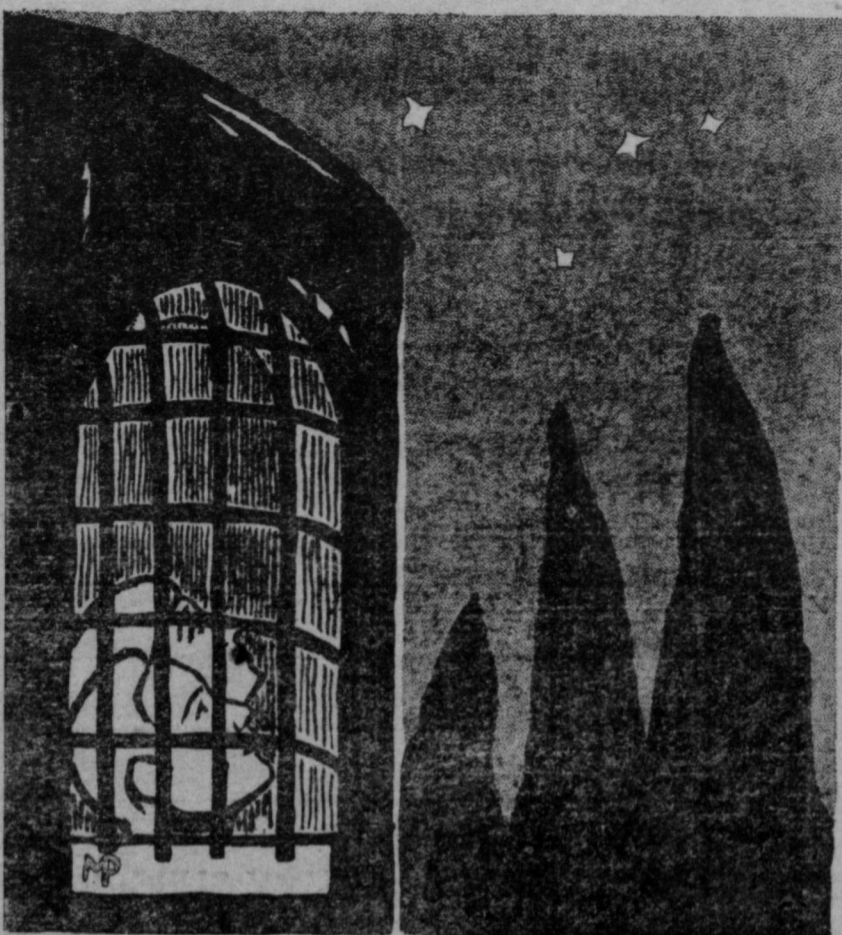
Yes—very old, indeed. That's where it is.

The Sifter

Odd little figure, God!
Working in an earnest swelter,—
Shaking thru his skyey sieve
All that does and does not live;
All that falls in helter-skelter
Tumult to the earth. . . .
He is sober in his sifting.
Not a flare of sunny mirth.
Down the woeful ash comes drifting,
All the things we think of worth,
King and sinner, crook and savior,
Drifting, sifting, sifting, drifting,
Like a horrid filth of ashes
Spread upon the earth.

Shrewd little worker, God!
All the rest—the things that are
Fit to shine on a young star—
Stay within the cautious sieve.
They're not wasted on this planet.
They are saved to build some far
World, where life may live!

—CLEMENT WOOD.



Prisoners.

TREASURES ON THE WORKERS' BOOKSHELF

The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-Twenty, by Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor of the U. S. from 1913-1921. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co. For sale, Workers Party Literature Department.

IN THESE days of Secretary of State Hughes' effort to create a new red scare in order to cover up the stupidity of his attitude toward Soviet Russia, this book of the former Assistant Secretary of Labor Post makes interesting reading. The lawless, unconstitutional procedure of Attorney-General Palmer and his agents, the methods manufacturing the red scare, the kind of "evidence" used to save the face of the government officials when their actions were challenged, all these show what "honest" government officials will do in order to make their case.

In summarizing his story, Mr. Post can find no other comparison to indicate the character of the "red raids" of 1919-1920, than the methods of secret police in the blackest days of Czarist Russia. No one who will read his calm, careful statement of the facts about the attack on the Communist Party of America, and the Communist Labor Party will disagree with his characterization, unless he happens to belong to that group in our social system which was responsible for, and profited by these raids.

Mr. Post begins his story with the May Day bomb explosion in 1919 and traces the development of the systematic propaganda through which public opinion was prepared for the arrest of more than four thousand men and women at the end of the year. Coming down to the raids themselves he takes up in detail the activities of the agents of the Department of Justice in New England, New York and vicinity, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, etc. In each instance the number of persons arrested, the illegal actions of the agents of the Department of Justice, the suffering of hundreds of men and women

packed together in crowded cells, corridors of public buildings and every character of makeshift prisons, without food, without sanitary provisions, unable to communicate with their friends, are set forth. Altogether the picture drawn of the descent of the Department of Justice agents upon the four thousand workingmen and women, whose rights under the law and as human beings were absolutely disregarded by Mr. Palmer's detectives, makes one of the blackest pages in American history.

Following his striking picture of the nation-wide raid, Mr. Post takes up typical cases of those arrested and shows over and over again the absurdity of the charges against the victims of the raid. He deals in detail with his own action on many cases, particularly those which were later the cause of impeachment proceedings against him. The impeachment proceedings are described.

This book is not only a creditable piece of work for Mr. Post, who has rendered the service of presenting the truth about an historic event which is a damning characterization of "American Democracy." It is an epic of the Communist Movement in the United States. A movement which has withstood an attack such as Mr. Post describes, which has maintained its organization, which in spite of the terrorism directed against it by the powerful federal government using all the forces at its command still stands before the workers of this country, voices its principles and is winning influence and leadership, such a movement will live and grow. It cannot be destroyed. In its resistance to and victory over Palmer's terrorism there is the determination and spirit which promises future victory.

Mexico—An Interpretation, by Carleton Beals. Published by B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York. Price \$2.50.
Readers who want to know what is happening in Mexico in the struggle

between Obregon and De La Huerta cannot do better than to turn to this book by Carleton Beals. In it one finds the key to the maze of revolutions and counter-revolutions which have shaken Mexico during the past ten years.

The impression gained from reading Mr. Beals is that the struggle which was begun when Cortez invaded Mexico four hundred years ago is still going on. Eighty-five per cent of the population of Mexico he tells us is still Indian or of a mixed racial group. There still exists in Mexico the racial antagonism between the Aztec rulers of the land of the time of Cortez and the more peaceable Mayas, and these antagonisms are played upon by the rulers of today in their name to maintain their position as a privileged class and to support the various groups of foreign capitalists who are exploiting Mexico.

In his analysis of the social fabric of Mexico, which composes part three of the book, Mr. Beals presents a picture of an exploited class sunk into poverty and degradation and a profligate ruling class such as is hardly equalled anywhere on the face of the earth today. It is any wonder that Mexicans are ready to take up arms, and fight at the slightest suggestion of anything better for themselves

when it is known that millions of workers are forced to live on "kidneys, intestines, stomach-linings" and to eke out this diet with "rats, squirrels, ditch-eels and maguey worm?"

American capitalists, according to the figures given, own about half of the wealth of Mexico, which is a sufficient explanation of the intervention and threats of intervention in Mexican affairs by the government of this country. Mexico is shown, in the facts cited by Mr. Beals in regard to the economic interests of the American capitalists and the activities of the American government, as a classic example of the working of imperialism.

GREETINGS!

We feel sure that this paper will lead the workers to their freedom.

J. PODGAETZ

and

M. MAKOWSKY.

Daily Worker Entertainment PULLMAN, ILL.

Sunday, January 20th, 3 P. M.
STANSICK'S HALL, 205 E. 115th St.

—Speaker—

J. LOUIS ENGDahl, Editor Daily Worker.

MASQUERADE BALL, 8 P. M.

ADMISSION 40 CENTS.

ARE YOU ENJOYING

"THE DAILY WORKER"

Thousands of workers all over the country are reading it every day.

Thousands are proclaiming it the best daily paper ever published in America.

There are millions of workers who haven't seen THE DAILY WORKER, who don't even know what they're missing.

To reach these millions is the task of THE DAILY WORKER and its readers.

Get A New Subscriber Today

When you are thru reading this paper show it to a fellow-worker.

Tell him what it means to you and to the working-class.

Get his subscription and send it in.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

BY MAIL—

1 year\$6.00
6 months...\$3.50
2 months...\$2.00

IN CHICAGO

BY MAIL—

1 year\$8.00
6 months...\$4.50
2 months...\$2.50

BY CARRIER—

1 year\$10.00
1 month\$1.00

THE DAILY WORKER,

1640 N. HALSTED ST.,
Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed please find \$..... for.....months' subscription to THE DAILY WORKER.

NAME:

STREET: FLAT:

CITY: STATE:

"EVERY READER A SUBSCRIBER"

"EVERY SUBSCRIBER A BOOSTER"