

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

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Three Principles of the Program of Action

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

THE development of the Workers Party into a mass Communist Party is a tremendous task, one that calls for the exercise of the utmost intelligence, militancy and courage of the whole membership. The work of party building must be carried on much more plentifully, continuously, and determinedly than is now the case. There is far too much sluggishness, too many lackadaisical methods in existence at present. The sooner our party gets rid of these evidences of youthfulness the sooner it will lay the basis for a real organization.

In the program of action, recently adopted by the Central Executive Committee and then laid before the membership as a whole, there is offered the means to develop our party along the way it must go if it is to take on the ideological, structural, and functional of a real Communist mass party. The party units, high and low, should study this program carefully and put its provisions diligently into effect.

Three principles of the program of action deserve especially to be called to the attention of the membership. These are, (a) the concept of a balanced program of work; (b) the creation of the machinery necessary to get this work accomplished; (c) the means to make this machinery actually work. The first deals with the ideology, the second with the structure, and the third with the functioning of the party. Let us consider these principles one at a time:

A Balanced Program of Work.

Because of the complexity of modern social organization, the Communist Party must carry on activities simultaneously in many spheres. This necessity is seen best expressed, of course, where the party is in power. Then it has to supervise and direct every living institution, including the government, the industries, agriculture, the army, the trade unions, the schools, the co-operatives, etc. The party must have the breadth of vision not only to develop proper policies for all these institutions, but also to put them into effect simultaneously and continuously. Great injury, if not actual disaster, results if any of these urgent tasks are neglected.

Even under capitalism the need for a highly diversified activity exists all the more naturally upon a minor scale than in a proletarian society. Our party is confronted with a multitude of tasks, all imperatively demanding attention. It must, of course, wage a militant struggle against capitalism at all points, including the carrying on of vigorous election campaigns, creation of united fronts around burning political issues, leading of strikes, warring against the reactionary union bureaucracy, organizing the unorganized, establishing shop committees, defending class war prisoners, etc. But while the party is waging this struggle, which is its reason for being, it must not forget the vital task of educating its membership, of utilizing every possible opportunity to attract sympathetic working class elements into the party, of reorganizing itself upon the basis of shop nuclei, of building the party press, etc., etc. In short, we must not only use the party continuously in the class war, but we must also carry on continuously the process of strengthening it numerically and ideologically.

Unfortunately our party membership has not yet reached the point where it realizes the necessity for such continuous work on all the fronts of party activity. A most decided tendency is for the members to concentrate upon certain issues

whether these in given instances be the maintenance of some struggling paper, the organizing of labor parties, or the carrying on of trade union work, and to disregard everything else. Consequently, vitally necessary work is not done. The final effect is that as a whole the party has neglected many of its most urgent tasks, including the bringing in of new members and the education of the membership at large. The tendency to neglect the industrial work is also quite marked, only a very small percentage of the members taking any interest or part in it whatever. Naturally, the party suffers from this tendency to neglect necessary work: it fails to properly exploit the opportunity to develop itself into a well-rounded mass organization.

A leading principle of the program of action aims to correct this evil by educating the party to the necessity for carrying on work systematically

and educating itself and the masses, it will begin to make real strides towards its goal of a mass Communist Party.

The Necessary Machinery.

It is not enough, however, that the membership be educated to the necessity for activity in all the fields above indicated and then equipped with the necessary policies. The party must also be organized to put these policies into effect. This the Program of Action proposes to accomplish thru a series of committees for its various policies.

For an organization, whether it is the W. P., a trade union, or whatnot, to legislate without creating the machinery necessary to carry out its decisions is futile. Nothing is accomplished. Everyone engaged in any kind of organized activity knows this well. To get results an individual or a committee must be charged with the responsibility. The mass cannot

a big committee to build up the meeting. This committee, headed by J. W. Johnstone, hired the Coliseum, the biggest hall in Chicago, got a speaker of national repute, and advertised the meeting widely. Result, 20,000 people in attendance and one of the greatest labor meetings in the history of Chicago. Organization got results.

Many examples such as the foregoing could be cited to show the value of committee organization. But they are needless. Recognizing the principle involved, the Program of Action provides organization for each of its policies. In the C. E. C. some one member or committee will be held responsible for the enforcement of each policy. The same principle shall apply in the C. C.'s, D. E. C.'s, and local branches. All shall have their committees on the election campaign, industrial work, membership, DAILY WORKER, education, and unemployment. In the smaller branches of 25 or less, every member should be attached to some committee. Only in this manner can results be achieved with the Party policies. The Workers Party must not remain an amorphous mass; it must become an organized body which actually brings the membership directly into the Party work. The Program of Action provides the way. By now every unit of the Party should have the necessary committees organized to apply the several policies of the Program of Action.

Making the Machinery Work.

But the setting up of the essential committees is not enough in itself. Such machinery must be made to work. This is a very important consideration provided for in the Program of Action.

Every one with experience in organization work knows that often committees are created which do nothing. Such committees instead of being a help, hinder even the slight degree of action that would take place without them. They are a delusion and a snare. Hence, the units of our Party must not only establish the necessary committees, but they must see to it that they actually function and are the means of drawing the mass into the work.

For this purpose the Program of Action proposes that all committees and individuals who are instructed to direct the work of applying the policies shall be required to report regularly to the units commissioning them. In the C. E. C., the various committees must report from time to time relative to the progress that is being made in working out the policies which they are specializing in. The District Organizers shall also submit regular reports to the C. E. C. as to what is being done in their districts to enforce the Program of Action. Following out this principle, the D. E. C.'s, C. C.'s, and local branches must likewise insist upon periodical reports from the committees they have appointed on the Party policies. To simply appoint committees and then to let them vegetate is futile. The success of the Program of Action depends upon a constant check being kept upon its series of committees.

In addition to being a fighting movement, the Communist Party must be a working movement. Every member must be a militant, an eager toiler in the cause. Mere dues payers and card carriers are of little or no value to our Party. The time will come, with our growing power and prestige, when they will be weeded out as useless lumber. The Communist movement is a poor resting place for

(Continued on page 5.)

WHEN YOU ARE CALLED UPON TO CELEBRATE "DEFENSE DAY"—



Remember the Results of the Last War!

and continuously in all the fields open to it, and then to provide the necessary policies for such work. The seven policies of the program of action, including the election campaign, intensification of the trade union work, the membership drive, the DAILY WORKER drive, the reorganization of the party upon the basis of the shop nuclei, the organization of the unemployed, and the extension of the educational work, constitute a balanced program of work corresponding to the most necessary tasks now confronting our party. If the membership can be educated into applying these policies vigorously then the power and influence of the Workers Party will be enormously increased. Advancing on all fronts simultaneously, fighting the capitalists on the political and industrial fields, organizing

lead itself spontaneously. It must be organized. A case in point: Several years ago the Chicago Federation of Labor voted to hold a mass meeting for Tom Mooney. Ed Nockels went to the job in the usual unorganized way that prevailed in the federation. He merely sent out a letter to the affiliated local unions inviting their members to attend the meeting. These letters met the customary fate of such communications, winding up mostly in the unions' waste baskets. Consequently the meeting was a complete failure, not over 200 workers attending. Indignant at this typical failure, the rebel delegates in the federation determined to really organize a Mooney meeting. They had the federation adopt another motion for a meeting, over the protest of Nockels and Fitzpatrick. Then they created

The New Culture

By a Teacher

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION has turned life topsy-turvy. Haughty culture has performed several interesting gyrations, feeble and feebler as its strength was being sapped by numerous collisions and humdrum needs. Experimental science has gained space. The marvels of the universe (no longer idly adored as holy mystery) are being utilized for common drudge's sake. A socio-political metamorphosis is everywhere fermenting. Socialism has leaped to the front. These rattling changes have necessitated a newer culture: The socio-scientific or sociologic culture. By a series of terribly wasteful conflicts, the dawning culture has emerged partly triumphant, shining too often by the reflected light of the older resistant cultures.

Though Professor James Harvey Robinson smartly defines theology as an imaginary subject, many intelligent persons still cling lovingly to its consoling mysteries. Mystery worship maketh ignorance at home in a hostile world! Metaphysics is still the exclusive delight of those merry men who are so bored by the sordid problems of workaday life that they needs must romp and frisk in the green fields of El Dorado. They "corrupt" youth by shunting its limited capabilities from immediate intelligible things to remote, largely meaningless abstractions. Still, peace be with them! Had habits do not die in a day.

The ancient linguistic culture has so demoralized the educated snobs, they actually believe science to be of secondary—possibly tertiary—importance in a well-balanced curriculum. Schopenhauer made the hysterical prophecy that the world of culture was committing suicide by permitting the supersession of Latin and Greek by "modern" languages. He forgot that before Greek and Latin had become transcendent cultures, great civilizations had flourished and vanished, like the Minoan in Crete, the Hittite, Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, etc. al. What exasperating nonsense it is to claim that there is only one royal road to Salvation by Culture. A scholar may be chock full of linguistics and yet be a pathetic dillard in analyzing his own emotions and prepossessions. What a babbling incompetent such a scholar really is! More poetry, more drama, more knowledge, more reverence and wisdom are to be culled from the study of embryology or geology or any other of the marvelously stimulatingologies than the most inscrutable linguist could ever garner from his worshipping, memoriter studies. Languages should not only not be studied as desiderata "per se," but solely as aids to understanding the scientific achievements of man. The whole evolution of life is our star witness to prove that language stumbled in to the world as an aid to recording and facilitating useful inventions. Language itself is a useful invention. Excessive leisure, dwelling on a mount of security, remote from the afflicted vulgar, prostituted scholarship by its too exclusive worship of culture for culture's sake, i. e. for the sake of prestige.

Our immediate inference is that the logic of culture's evolution unmistakably points to the ascendancy of a socio-scientific culture, (Professor Robinson called it anthropological), as the best adapted to an understanding of the age in which we live. Shortly we shall witness in high school and college (later in university and elementary school) a radical change in curriculum. There will be either no absolutely required subjects at all or more probably social sciences will be gladly accepted in lieu of linguistics. We shall all learn as of necessity to orient ourselves in our new cultural spheres. And the generations to come will be equipped to be critically active citizens in a vital social democracy.

The sociologic culture consists of three interrelated branches: the physical-scientific, the industrial, and the social-scientific. No sooner have you begun to teach "pure science" with

its useful generalizations then you touch at once upon so-called "applied" science, i. e. industrialized science. (Huxley objected vigorously to the artificial separation of these aspects of science because as he clearly pointed out, the laws of science are prerequisite for any intelligent improvement in the processes of manufacture. Theory and practice are not opposed but supplementary). When you have touched upon science in industry, you have opened the first gate that leads to social science. The interdependence of the physical, industrial and social sciences is abundantly clear. Our high school and college curricula must take their clue from life's needs and establish numerous courses in these useful knowledges. Sociological subjects should be centralized as containing those vital problems of our social life which the critically active citizen must understand in order to serve the collectivity, usefully. Industrial science courses deservedly come next as providing an intelligent appreciation of the correlation between science and productive industry. Thirdly comes the physical sci-

ence striving for perfection. (It should like to add that the first need of any culture is a striving for perfection in its choice of intelligible terms). "Perfection" is so imperfect a symbol of each man's conceit that we get nowhere by employing it. To strive for "Sweetness of Light" is not objectionable if, seduced by that idealization, you do not blunder into asking energetic human beings like Tolstol, Nietzsche, Voltaire and Heine to bow down to the prejudices of their contemporaries for the sake of "Peace, brother, peace." No, sir. The world is desperately in need of aggressive radicals, muckrakers, fearless fighters, iconoclasts. Sweetness and light must wait yet awhile, beloved Quietists! What more noble, but more silly ideal, than Arnold's: "Culture should seek to make reason and the will of God prevail." Hasn't the bungling world of man had enough bitter fun out of the sport of trying to decipher the will and codicil of God? Even the shrewdest attorneys at law have found the will hopelessly confused. Let's not bother our little heads about the will of God.

His own poignant confession that he could not endure the very light of day nor paint nor enjoy the passing hour because of the distress of his bruised fellows is the humane counterpart of the sociological culture; a culture which worries its head over living proletarians and incidentally squanders a leisure hour with peacocks to bygone ages, dead philosophers and their dead philosophies. Ruskin's lectures to the workmen on their own homely (bread and butter) problems marked the turning point in culture's evolution. Soullessness of antecedent cultures broke Ruskin's heart with the bitter knowledge of their willful irrelevancy, their contemptuous unconcern for the uncultured. The loving admiration bestowed by the quickened common people on Thomas Huxley was another tribute to the efficacy of the newer democratic culture. Speaking of Savants and Amelioration, I recall with delight Monsieur Berthelot's great view of duty. In "Some New Conceptions of Science," Carl Snyder gives us a fine pen-portrait of one of our most genuine humanitarians:

"He answers to the fine conception he himself drew, when, a few days later, he stood in the great hall of the Sorbonne. It is not, he said, 'For the egotistical satisfaction of our private vanities that the world today renders homage to the savant. No! It is because the savant worthy of the name consecrates a disinterested life to the grand work of our epoch. I mean the amelioration—too slow, alas, to our view—of the lot of all, from the rich and the happy to the humble, the poor and suffering. That was what was implied by the public nine years ago in this same hall, in honoring Pasteur. It is what my friend Chaplain has endeavored to express on the beautiful plaque which the President of the Republic is about to offer me. I do not know if I have completely filled the noble ideal which the artist has here delineated, but I have tried, at least, to make this the object and end, the directing purpose of my existence."

Superior brains had actually become ashamed of its quondam ineffectual intellectuality. It essayed the great experiment of the ages: To discover what latent powers "inferior" men possessed, what development they were capable of inaugurating, what responses they could make to "higher" appeals. This experiment is now in process.

Those who sympathize with the masses are unanimous in their desire to experiment some more; not to cease, until every available electron of superior talent has been given off to polarize the minds of common men. These experiments in democratic culture are the hope and inspiration of our age; the generous endeavors of a richly scientific epoch. The reader may remember the apt illustration in Maeterlinck's "Wisdom and Destiny" of what may be called the telescopic and microscopic views of life. Two men were strolling peripatetically along golden fields of wheat when in the distance they espied peasants laboring. The rhythmic sway of hands, the lovely undulations of bodies, the burnt golden hair of the workers shining brilliantly in the sun—what poetry in that labor of love. This the key-distance view! But oh, what sadness of mien, what tragic ignorance of speech, what ignoble bent backs, as the space was foreshortened and the short distance view clarified the vision. The microscope is more dependable than the telescope! It probes mysteries more searchingly, more accurately. And yet our perverse human minds are set in the very opposite bent. We love to prattle about the moon long before we have any knowledge about Mother Earth. Strange lands are more fascinating far than our own countries. The prophet is appreciated in all lands, but his own. Distance lends enchantment. The upshot of our perverseness is that we love to meddle with all manner of things and interests provided they tantalize us by remoteness, by novelty. All the cultures pre-

(Continued on page 8)

SO FAR IT'S DONE!

By Oskar Kanehl.

Who console still: the time will come!

So far it's done.

The white muskets are willing to shoot.

The white bayonets are willing to spit brute.

The white horror cries for blood.

Prolet, guard up!

Who console still: the time will come!

So far it's done.

The generals are commanding.

The gold-larded mercenaries are obeying.

The fascist-pack goes off set-to.

Prolet, and you?

Who console still: the time will come!

So far it's done.

The misery blooms on paid lips.

The hunger grins through your naked ribs.

If you duck, it's too late.

Riot, prolet!

Who console still: the time will come!

So far it's done.

The capital panders to every vice.

The working bees on the pavement he drives.

Behind you is barred the way.

What do you delay?

Who console still: the time will come!

So far it's done.

Dead or slave? What like you rather?

Clear stand master and servant against each other.

For last assault. To fire go on!

So far it's done.

Translated by Paul Accl.

ence group with its study of the large assumptions and fruitful hypothesis of science. As Tyndall (in his historical Belfast Address) said: "Science does not isolate, but freely combines with every effort toward the bettering of man's estate. If the time now devoted to languages (especially ancient) and mathematics and other "cultural" odds and ends were transferred to the sociological science, an amazing transformation would ensue with profit to student and to our social citizenship." A consummation devoutly to be striven for! To understand one's own passionate age is task enough for the best brains. Why saddle the younger generation with the irrelevant culture of the "dark" ages? The scholarly Bernard Shaw has autobiographed the following: "I deal with all periods, but I never study any period but the present, which I have not yet mastered and never shall." Is there not a lamentable lack of Huxley's common sense in the minds of those haughty culturists who desire our "educated" youth to understand Greek and Roman cultures, to boot?

Matthew Arnold, in his sentimental essay on culture, swam triumphantly in a nebulous eternity where clouds were a superfluity. Only with Timelessness as our base, can we endorse so vague an ideal as his, that culture

He has ample time for that amuse himself. Why mar His pleasure? We must not be too severe with the noble Arnold. He was limited by his own ignorance of science. His ideal, the vague and incoherent, was something sacred to him. He realized that "the sweetness and light of the few must be imperfect until the raw and unkindled masses of humanity are touched with sweetness and light."

He believed naively enough that the acquisition of culture, "the passion to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere," would do away with classes! He had never pondered the iron historic truth that no "superior" class has ever voluntarily yielded any of its prerogatives to other less fortunately-circumstanced groups. Enough of haughty culture! It has been a failure: An obstacle to the progress of the disinherited.

Ruskin's passion for human service lucidly discerned the inadequacy of a hot-house culture in a world like ours. He understood profoundly what Arnold wrote superficially and sentimentally:

"We are here as on a darling plain, Swept by confused alarms of struggle and flight, Where ignorant armies clash by night."

Nations and Colonies -

By P. MANULSKY

REPORT TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from previous issue)

The many mistakes made by the various sections of the Comintern in connection with this question are due to the fact that many of our comrades are not yet rid of social democratic ideology. These mistakes can be said to be of four fundamental types, all of which are survivals of the attitude of the Second International on the national question. The first type of these mistakes is personified in the attitude of some Yugo-Slavian comrades, especially of comrades Sina Markovitch and Milokovitch who are now in prison. I have already given you figures of the national composition of the Yugo-Slavian Communist Party. And yet, according to the opinions of comrades Markovitch and Milokovitch the national question in Serbia is a purely bourgeois invention. According to comrade Markovitch the question as to whether Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes are three nations or one, is only a purely theoretical question which should not influence the practical policy of the party. Comrade Milokovitch goes even further than that. He asserts that in Yugo-Slavia there are no nations, but only linguistic differentiations. In his pamphlet "National Question in the Light of Marxism" and in a number of articles published in the organ of the Yugo-Slavian Communist Parties, "Radnik," Comrade Markovitch brings forward, as a practical slogan for the Communist Party, the fight for the revision of the constitution, that is to say, he places the whole question of national self-determination on a constitutional basis. Very characteristic is Comrade Markovitch's attitude towards the Macedonian question. You know that Macedonia plays at present, after its partition between Serbs, Greeks and Bulgarians, the very same role in the Balkans that the Balkans play in Europe. A fierce fight is being waged around Macedonia, and especially around the question of an outlet into the Aegean Sea and the fight for the port of Salonica between the small robbers in the Balkans. At the same time, there is in Macedonia a strong national movement for the re-establishment of an independent state. What is Comrade Markovitch's attitude to this national movement? In his articles he expresses the opinion that the Macedonian question is not by any means a Balkan but a European problem, which cannot therefore be finally solved before a victory of the European proletariat over the bourgeoisie has been achieved. If the question is put in this way, what will be the result? Only a passive attitude of the Communist Party to one of the most burning questions which are agitating the various Balkan nationalities at present. A careful study of the situation will show you that the origin of this kind of view is to be sought in the Second International. Markovitch holds the view that the proletariat must accept the bourgeois state such as it has been created by a series of wars and violations. We find signs of this theory in the interpretation of the national question by the "famous" Austrian school of thought (Otto Bauer and Renner). In connection with the national question this Austrian school of thought insisted on the preservation of the frontiers of the former Austrian Empire at all cost. Therefore, the entire national question resolved itself for this school of thought in a country with as many nationalities as the former Austro-Hungary, into a fight for the revision of the constitution. Comrades, we know that our Russian school of thought on the national question declared war to the "knife on the Austrian school of thought" at that question. And nevertheless, after our polemics with Otto Bauer and after the Communist International has been in existence five years, we witness a revival of the views of this Austrian school among our Yugo-

Slavian comrades. Similar mistakes are made by our Greek comrades in connection with the Macedonian question. A few months ago, when an armed conflict, seemed imminent in the Balkans, the Executive Committee of the Balkan Federation issued a manifesto which called upon the proletariat of the Balkan countries to stand up for Macedonian independence. The Greek Communist Party not only did not publish this manifesto, but even sent a reasoned protest against the issue of such a document by the Executive Committee of the Balkan Federation.

Where, I ask you, should we search for the cause of such a state of mind? Undoubtedly in the survivals of the views which at that time were energetically expounded by the Austrian school.

The second type of mistake is bound up with certain traces of social imperialism. As the Austrian school in the course of the European war stood for the recognition of the integrity of

imperialism? You, French comrades, have 500,000 native workers in France. I ask you, what have you done to organize these workers, to prepare revolutionary agitators for the colonies from among their ranks? In your army there are 250,000 black soldiers. Do you think that you will be able to make a social revolution if these 250,000 are on the other side of the barricades? Will your working class be able to win a single strike if the bourgeoisies have at their disposal these black reserve troops which they can invite at any minute against your heroic proletariat? Have you carried on any anti-militarist propaganda among these black troops? (From the French section: Yes, Yes, Yes.)

No. No I do not know of a single serious documentary proof of it. I do know that we must wage a vigorous fight against this attitude in the party. I will cite a certain fact which on the surface may seem to be quite unimportant, but which is extraordinarily indicative of the psychology of



Colonial Slaves in India in the Service of British Imperialism.

the Austrian boundaries, so the German social-imperialist school of Cuno and Peppas and the rest started from the conception of a state in which the productive forces had outgrown the limits of the country. This school approaches the position of the obscure Dutch Socializer, Van Kolja, who at one of the International Congresses of the Second International recommended that each social party should formulate its own colonial policy. However distressing it may be to admit it, we find that this viewpoint even finds reflection in the political conclusions of certain individual party members. About a year ago the Comintern addressed an appeal to the colonial slaves, calling on them to revolt against their subjugators. When this appeal reached one of the Communist sections of the French Communist Party in Algeria, Sid Bel-Ahmed, that section passed a resolution condemning such appeals of the Comintern to peoples of other races exploited by French imperialism.

In its declaration this section expressed great agitation over the fact that at the very moment when the noble French nation was bringing civilization to the colonies, the organization of the international working class should appear, calling on the colonial people to answer the benevolent efforts of the French colonizers with black ingratitude. (Laughter.) I ask the French comrades whether they possibly exclude Franchimon, but very indifferent Communists have been excluded from the party. I take the liberty of inquiring further of those comrades the whereabouts of those documents in which the French Communist Party loudly proclaimed the slogan of the separation of the colonies (Sollier interrupts: "In the program of the Party.") Where are your declarations supporting the liberation of the colonies from French

our parties. During the Lyons Congress the Comintern addressed an appeal to the French workers and the colonial peoples. The editors of the Central organ of the party, "Humanite," in publishing the appeal deliberately cut out from the text the words "to the colonial peoples." Is it possible for a party having an attitude like this to carry on propaganda among the "natives"? I heartily wish that in this question at least the French Party would return to the traditions of Jaures. We differ greatly from the dead leader of the French Socialist Party in both theory and practice. Jaures was a pacifist, he personified all the genius and all the weakness of a whole epoch in the development of the labor movement. But anyone who remembers those years which preceded the war knows that Jaures always expressed himself firmly and decisively against the colonial adventures undertaken by the French government. You remember what a courageous campaign Jaures conducted at the time of the Moroccan adventure which threatened to bathe all Europe in blood. I will cite one more fact from recent events. Not long ago general elections were held in your country, comrades from France. Why was there not a single native among the seven candidates allowed to the colonies? Why could you find only representatives of the ruling race who have stirred up general indignation against themselves, to act as candidates for the colonies?

Still greater reproach is due to our English comrades for their passivity in the matter of colonial propaganda. The British comrades represent a proletariat more infected with colonial prejudices than all others in the Comintern. Marx once wrote on the question of Irish independence that the English workers would never be free, until Ireland was free. Marx understood very well that the British

proletariat would never succeed in destroying the powerful capitalist organism of the British Empire without the support of those peoples suppressed by the English Lords. These words were uttered many years ago when the British Empire did not yet represent so great a colonial power in the world, occupying one-third of the earth's surface. Do our English comrades think that the revolutionary process begins with the English proletariat liberating itself, and then in the capacity of a Messiah, carrying deliverance to the colonial peoples? We do not think so.

In none of the documents on the relations of the British Communist Party to the colonies which have been brought to us for perusal have we found a single declaration in which our British comrades have clearly and unmistakably demanded the separation of the colonies from the British Empire. Show us the documents in which you have defended Ireland's right to independence. And yet there are constant opportunities for declarations of this kind. Since the labor government of MacDonald has been in power you have not taken advantage of a single opportunity to bring this question before the proletariat of your country. Under the labor government the oppressive burden of British imperialism weighs down the colonies as it did before. Lord Reading, the celebrated hangman of British India, the same vicerey under whom the famous trials were conducted against even such moderate revolutionists as Ghandi, the Brothers Ali, and others, remains intact in his post. MacDonald's government has not taken the trouble even to replace the 200,000 literate whites who are ruling over the population of British India. Where is your lightning spirit, English comrades? Where is your readiness to carry a decisive struggle for freedom into the most far-flung corners of India?

The Russian comrades are grateful to you for launching the slogan "Hands Off Soviet Russia!" at the time of the armed intervention of Russia. But the entire International would rejoice even more if you were now to launch another no less courageous call: "Hands Off the Colonies."

2. To the third class of mistake belong those connected with the theory of Rosa Luxemburg. Rosa Luxemburg's viewpoint might be characterized as the theory of national nihilism. Rosa Luxemburg based her theory on the assumption that in the imperialist epoch every national movement is inevitably doomed to be used by the imperialist powers in their own interests. Therefore Rosa Luxemburg believed that the proletarian party should eradicate from its program the clause relating to the self-determination of peoples. Just as Cuno's theory of government represented the latest phase in the development of imperialism, so Rosa Luxemburg's theory represented the childhood stage of the labor movement when the question of the seizure of power seemed a far off problem to the working class.

It was only the Leninist Bolshevik school which put forward the question of the seizure of power as a question of the present day, and which was able to connect this problem with the interests of those millions who represent the intermediate stage in the social mechanism and on whose behavior depends, in the last analysis, the victory of the proletarian revolution. We have only to examine some of the resolutions on tactics of our European comrades to realize that we are still not quite free from the influence of Rosa Luxemburg's views. I have already cited the resolution of the Yugo-Slavian comrades who subordinate the self-determination of peoples to the victory of the proletariat in the Balkans and throughout Europe. A still clearer refutation of

(Continued on Page 6)

The British Left Wing

By Alexander Bittelman

It is true that what we are witnessing at present in the trade union movement of Great Britain is only the beginning of a Left Wing, the first move in the right direction. But because it is based on the awakening rank and file, and is prompted to action by the ever-sharpening critical position of British Imperialism, and because it is inspired by the ideals of the revolutionary class struggle, this British Left Wing is headed directly towards victory all along the line in the not very distant future. We refer here to the National Conference of the revolutionary minorities in the British trade unions recently held in England.

The Illusions of "Progressivism."
Many have been wondering at this side of the ocean, as to why this British left wing was so terribly slow in crystallizing, so late in coming. In our own party, many have been asking the question: How is it that the British militants and Communists do not make themselves felt in the trade unions? Why don't they organize? Why don't they fight. Aren't conditions ripe for a successful militant Left Wing?

The answer was, it is hard to tell. On the one hand, conditions in England seemed to be over-ripe, rotten-ripe for such a left-wing to come into existence. For didn't we see the British trade unions actually going backwards, losing membership, prestige and power? Didn't we see a whole series of strikes broken and the workers driven back to the shops in defeat because of lack of centralized organization and militant leadership? And, lastly, did we not hear of a wave of "unofficial" (we call them outlaw) strikes having taken place in England in recent months in opposition to and in defiance of the express will of the official leadership? All of which would seem to indicate to us that the conditions were all there for a left wing to make its appearance and, by organized effort, to attempt to bring back to life the British trade union movement.

But then, on the other hand, there

were in the British trade-unions (and still are) the so-called "progressives," many of them holding very responsible positions of leadership, men of the type of A. A. Purcell, Will Lawther, Robert Williams, who refuse to be classified in the same category with the reactionaries of the Henderson type and who are accepted by the rank and file as something different and better than these reactionaries.

Now, it stands to reason, particularly if we add to our reasoning a little of our actual experience in building the left wing in the American trade-unions, that the presence of such a group of "progressive" leaders would, as a rule, tend to deter and to hamper the crystallization and development of a militant Left Wing.

Just one little illustration. If we ask ourselves, where was it in what particular union did it happen that we found the most difficulties in crystallizing and organizing a definite left wing? the answer will be: in those unions that are being led by a so-called "progressive" leadership. Take, for example, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (A. C. W. A.). Its president is Sidney Hillman, a "progressive." Its secretary is Joseph Schlossberg, a man of still more pronounced "progressive" tendencies. This "progressive" leadership, whatever its real nature, does one thing effectively, it breeds illusions in the rank and file, it makes the workers believe (for a time, at least) in its sincerity and ability to do things for them, to move ahead, and to meet successfully the new problems of the class struggle. What happens, under such conditions, is this, that before a left wing can begin making real headway in an organization which is led by "progressives," the rank and file must pass thru a period of at least partial disillusionment in the sufficiency of "progressivism." When the rank and file has had a chance to learn the true value of its "progressive" leadership, it is then that the rank and file becomes ripe for the acceptance of the militant policies of the left wing. And it is then also that a left wing can definitely crystal-

ize its ideology and organization. That's what is happening in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and in the Chicago Federation of Labor which has the "progressive" Fitzpatrick at its head, and in many other similar organizations. The same thing is beginning to happen in the trade unions of Great Britain.

The Illusions of MacDonaldism.
Another factor that undoubtedly exerted a powerful deterrent influence upon this crystallization of a definite left wing in the British trade unions was the Illusion of MacDonaldism. What was it?

It was the belief in the second coming of Christ. It was the ardent hope of the masses that when the Labor Party comes into power it will do something to make life better, easier and more secure. That's what it was. That's what we call the illusion of MacDonaldism.

Now, one has got to realize what this state of mind of the British masses meant for the development of a Left Wing. It meant a state of comparative tolerance and patience with the evils of the official trade union leadership. Why? Because, well because whatever is wrong with the trade unions will surely be corrected when we get a Labor government; because whatever we fail to get thru the trade unions will certainly be given to us by a Labor government, and because the Labor government, being our government, will surely stand by the unions with all the tremendous powers of the state in any conflict between ourselves and the capitalists. Just wait till the Labor government gets into power! And don't do anything to spoil its chances!

With such a state of mind it should be very difficult, indeed, to arouse the masses to militant action of any kind. But now the Labor government is here. MacDonald has been in power for quite some time. His government has begun to show itself up for all it is worth. Hence, the beginning of disillusionment in MacDonaldism. Hence, a gradual change of mind and spirit of the rank and file, a strong urge to move, to organize and

to act. And as a result of all this, the beginning of a definite, militant Left Wing in the British trade-unions.

Symptoms of Awakening.

That we are dealing here with a new spirit in the ranks of British Labor can be seen from the fact that even the so-called "progressives" felt compelled to assume a somewhat more aggressive and militant position. When we saw the British delegation at the Vienna Conference of the Amsterdam International (held recently) demand an understanding with the Red Labor Union International (R. I. L. U.), we knew the reason. It was because of the restlessness and demand for action by the rank and file. When we find that Robert Williams speaks in Hamburg, at the Congress of the Transport Workers' International, in favor of joining hands with the Russian unions, we know where to locate the cause: the British rank and file. And when we see the British trade Union Congress, in session at Hull, granting more power to its General Council, authorizing it to call general strikes, and framing all kinds of demands upon the capitalists and the government, we know that the British working class is at last beginning to move.

And in order that there be no misunderstanding, we want to* say right here that we have very little trust in the ability of the British "progressives" to assume leadership of a real militant movement. Even if they go along for a while, it will be only as a result of pressure—constant pressure by the rank and file. All the important decisions of the Trade Union Congress at Hull will not be worth the paper they were written on, if there is no militant Left Wing, based upon rank and file organization, to compel and to drive to action. Fortunately for the British Labor movement and for the working class the world over such a Left Wing has begun to crystallize. The recent Conference of the revolutionary minorities in the British trade unions has laid the basis and has created the machinery for the successful development of such a Left Wing.

Political Horse Thief Confesses

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

To call a man a horse thief is a serious charge. To accuse a man of being a horse thief without sufficient evidence to back up the accusation is a foolhardy venture. But when the horse thief admits his guilt, no further proof is necessary and the only thing left is to pronounce sentence.

The Communists have repeatedly accused the socialists of the world and those of Europe in particular of being the agents of capitalism. Since the Dawes plan was framed and the leadership of the capitalist forces that urged its adoption was handed over to the socialists, the Communist charges were supported by overwhelming evidence. But yet, there was something lacking. That was a confession of guilt. Well, it has come at last.

In two editorials unsurpassed for coherence and crazy logic, by any piece of journalism seen by the writer since the notorious Harry K. Thaw gave his famous "rabbit" interview to the newspapers after his successful fight to dodge the insane asylum, Victor Berger's Milwaukee Leader in its issue of Sept. 3, admits that left for the socialists of Europe the Dawes Plan would now be as dead as the slain bone of Saint Anne, yet attempts to justify this act of treason to the working class.

Berger has bitterly attacked the Dawes plan since it was first broached. So have many of LaFollette's supporters. Denunciation of the Dawes plan was usually mixed with eulogies of James Ramsay MacDonald, the plan's chief midwife. Suddenly it dawned on Victor Berger and the LaFollette crowd that in denouncing Dawes for giving birth to his plan, they were inconsistent in showering

praise on the socialist midwife.

The political horse thief, at his wit's end to get out of a nasty mess, prepares a careful confession. After beating around the bush and indulging in windy threats against the ferocious Dawes, for his slam at the socialists, the Leader in a "don't bite the hand that feeds you" spirit pens the following:

"We call the general's attention right at the start to the important fact, that the experts' plan would never have been adopted by the governments of Europe, if it had not been for the socialists." (Bold face ours. Communist villains that we are, this catching of a yellow socialist, politically shirtless in the market place gives us joy.)

The editor proceeds with the confession:

"Every European reactionary fought the plan to the last ditch. It would never have become the basic law of European economy with Poincare, Lloyd George or Ludendorff in power. It was adopted after French and British democracy with socialist help had overthrown the reactionaries and after German socialists had forced the Marx government to disavow the nationalists."

At this stage of the confession His Honor the infuriated and betrayed proletariat turns down his thumbs and mutters: "To the lions with the vile cat!" but the People's Commissar of Justice, stop the wrath of the mass jury. He allows the culprit to proceed, and asks if he has anything to say in mitigation of his crime. The culprit says:

"But European socialists did not accept the Dawes Plan because they loved it for itself. They accepted

it because it gave them a chance to force European imperialism under the yoke of American bankers. This was the only available way to prevent the European imperialists from starting another war right away."

This is where the editorial apologist knocks Harry Thaw's "rabbit" disertation for a head full of ossified brains. The capitalists feared that another war would spell their doom. Therefore they hatched the Dawes plan to prevent a war or at the worst postpone it and the socialists, faithful servants of capitalism stepped up and told the workers that the Dawes plan would bring them prosperity and prevent war.

The scheme worked. Sending the socialists forward as a smoke screen in order to cloud their intentions, the capitalists succeeded. But what ungrateful wretches they are. While the socialists were serving them so faithfully, here is what was taking place in Europe according to Berger's Leader:

"We know that Hughes, Mellon and Dawes conspired with the reactionaries in London, Paris and Berlin to start a grand fight on Socialism after the European socialists should have done Wall Street the favor to have put the Dawes plan over . . ."

This is a confession with a vengeance. But every cloud has a silver lining and even the European socialists may have acted as the tools of Wall Street, out of evil good will come, because forsooth Ramsay MacDonald is a Christian and well versed in the ways of the Lord. The Leader continues. It is now in the field of prophecy:

"The Dawes Plan will work out as a peace plan, but not in the way that

the House of Morgan figures. It will be a peace plan without the House of Morgan and without Wall Street generals. . . . Thanks to the Dawes plan, socialism will triumph, first over Europe then over American capitalism."

The culprit began by admitting that the socialists were the tools of Wall Street. The oft-made charge of the Communists is hereby admitted by the daily organ of the socialist party of America. The socialists are condemned out of their own mouths, but the sentence cannot be yet rendered. The betrayed workers of Europe will deliver it some day and it will not be light.

Meanwhile Victor Berger is hammering away at the Dawes plan in his daily column on the front page of Milwaukee Leader, blissfully oblivious of the editorial page viewpoint that the Dawes plan, will bring peace and socialism.

European socialists are surely a pack of accomplished traitors. American socialists, like Barkis in the Dickens novel are also "willin'" but in addition they seem to be candidates for the madhouse.

SOCIALIST PREMIER'S SON PRESENTED TO STRIKEBREAKER CAL

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12.— Malcolm MacDonald, son of Premier MacDonald, of Great Britain, was presented to President Coolidge today by Secretary of State Hughes. Young MacDonald is in the United States with the Oxford debating team.

Foreign Policies of British Government

By KARL RADEK

II. The Policy of the English Labor Government

The policy of the English Labor Government regarding the Reparations Question is pursuing the same ends as those which the Lloyd George and the Baldwin cabinet pursued. These aims are: Stabilization of European capitalism in order to restore the European markets, reduction of expenditure on armaments, limitation of the possibility of the restoration of Germany as a strong competitor, removal of the danger of an economic and military hegemony on the part of France. The policy of the labor government differs very little in its methods from the policy of the preceding cabinets. And even that difference in methods which is to be observed is not due to the fact that MacDonald is now occupying the position of Foreign Secretary instead of Lord Curzon, but that MacDonald came into power at a moment when France had become somewhat weakened and there was a certain change in the attitude of the United States.

In order to judge English foreign policy it is necessary to bear in mind the fundamental facts of the economic situation of England. This has considerably improved in the last year or so. The output of coal for last year amounted to 278 million tons and was only 11 million tons behind the output for 1913, the output of iron amounted to 7.04 million tons, while in 1913 it amounted to 10 million tons. The textile industry is still laboring under a crisis. This can best be seen by the fact that whilst in 1913 England imported 19 million cwts. of cotton, in 1923 she imported only about 12 million cwts. The import of wool, which in 1913 amounted to 21 million cwts, in 1923 only amounted to 7.04 million cwts. Imports of jute flax etc. fell from 600,000 tons to 285,000 tons. English foreign trade, reckoned according to the index of prices for the year 1913 affords the following picture:

	Price index in million pounds	1913	1922	1913	1923	1922	1923
Imports	725.7	659.4	768.7	93	85.8		
British							
Export	404.4	361.8	525.2	74.5	68.9		

Exports 94.0 89.3 109.6 81.3 81.5
As is known, England has always covered the deficit in her trade balance by the interest on capital invested abroad, with income from shipping, banking etc. Unlike France she has not lost the greater portion of her capital invested abroad. This balance of so-called invisible exports, according to the figures of the Board of Trade Journal of 31st January 1924, is made up as follows:

	1913	1922	1923
Income from capital invested abroad	210	175	150
Income from shipping	94	110	110
Income from banking	35	40	40
Total of invisible exports	339	325	300
Surplus of imports	158	170	203

Favorable trade balance 181 155 97
When it is remembered that the pound has lost 42 percent of its value, it is seen that the favorable balance has decreased by 124 million pounds. All these figures however do not give a clear indication of the economic position of England. Prof. Bowley, the English economist, is of the opinion that in 1923 England only reached 87 percent of her pre-war production. The "Economist" disputes these figures and claims that England has reached 95 percent of her pre-war production. Keynes (in the "Nation" of 12th of April) agrees with the latter, but points out that the population has increased by 3 million. The difficulties in all these calculations are best to be seen by the fact that prices of raw material have increased by 50 percent, the prices for articles of necessity by 78 percent, and the prices of exported goods by 90 percent. It is very difficult on the basis of these factors, which indicate a very different grade of development, to give a uniform picture. That England has not yet reached the pre-war level in industrial production is best shown by the fact of the existence of one million unemployed, even if one bears in mind

that which the editor of the "Economist", Layton, in the discussion over the economic position of England (London "Nation" 3rd May 1924) rightly points out: That the average number of the unemployed before the war amounted to 400,000.

But the English bourgeoisie are not comforting themselves with this improvement in the economic situation. Before all they ask what will happen, if the economic power of Germany is re-established. Already last year Lloyd George said: "If we assume that the reparations question is settled to-morrow and Europe has a real peace; will it bring you prosperity? The moment when peace is restored in Europe and the valuta stabilised, you will be face to face with a real competition." Lloyd George referred to this question again in April last, when he wrote: "The monthly surveys indicate improvement and a decrease in unemployment. Can any reasonable man however risk his fortune and calculate that normal conditions will recur in the next five years."

English trade has maintained in the last years that level to which it attained as a result of the increase of economic relations between England and her colonies. Whilst imports from Europe since 1913 to 1923 have fallen from 41.6 percent to 34.01 percent, the share of English colonies in the imports have increased from 24.08 percent in 1913 to 29.07 percent in 1923.

offer resistance, have decided to take an active part in European affairs again. Their role as spectator during the time of the Ruhr adventure was an enforced one; by what means could they hold back France when she had taken the solution of the reparations question in her own hands? They were not only unable to venture on war, from the blows of which they had not yet recovered, they could not even venture to oppose sharply the policy of the French, for this would have meant the breaking up of the Entente. How could England decide to break with France, when she did not have a single ally in Europe, and when she did not know what would be the relations of the United States to her in the future?

The only thing to do was to hope that Poincare would break his neck against the German resistance, or that he would exhaust himself, even in the event of a victory over Germany. The latter is what actually occurred. The time came when England intervened. Its first form was the participation of England in those manipulations which brought about the fall of the Franc. This led France to recognize the Experts' Plan. The present task consists in compelling France to evacuate the Ruhr basin. This assures in the first place equal conditions for England and France in the attempts to arrive at a bargain with the German coal and iron kings, and abolishes the danger of the creation of a Franco-

ing from England a guarantee for the territory occupied by France and a pledge that she, together with France, adopts punitive measures against Germany in the event of the latter failing to fulfil the obligations taken over by her. England is endeavoring to avoid the last named obligation by depriving the reparations commission of the right to decide whether Germany has failed to fulfil her obligations. This right is to be transferred to the banks who have granted the loan. By this means England seeks to transfer the blame for showing clemency to Germany on to America, without whose help it is impossible to finance the loan. MacDonald, who in Paris was driven to the wall, has thought out a temporary formula for the participation of a representative of America in the solution of the question of default on the part of Germany, according which the representative of America will appear as the agent of the Experts' Commission. He hopes that with the help of the Americans he will succeed in arriving at clear decisions at the London Conference which will remove the possibility of the French sabotaging the proposals of the experts. As regards the guarantee for French security, England is endeavoring with all her powers to transfer the responsibility for this to the League of Nations.

The active policy of Macdonald appears in this light as the result of a weakening in the position of France and of America's participation in the solution of the reparations question.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL ENSLAVES.



THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL LIBERATES!

Whilst the share of Europe in English exports has decreased from 36.09 percent in 1913 to 35.02 percent in 1923, the share of the colonies has risen from 37.2 percent in 1913 to 39.2 percent in 1923. This was due in the first place to the fact that the export of English capital was chiefly directed to the colonies. In 1913 England exported capital amounting to 200 million pounds, in 1922 only 150 million pounds and in 1923, 139 million. ("Statist" of 5th January 1924.) These capital sums are invested as follows: in 1913 England invested 98 million pounds in foreign countries; and 99 million in her own colonies; in 1922 foreign loans absorbed about 20 and in 1923 about 30 million pounds less than colonial loans. If England desires now to participate in the restoration of European economy, she must reduce her export of capital to the colonies which will mean reducing their purchasing power. At the same time she must reckon with the fact that the industrial production of her colonies is increasing and as a result, the prospect of their forming an ever-increasing market for English goods is fading.

In view of these facts the English bourgeoisie at the last elections renounced the utopian ideas of the Conservatives to disregard Europe and rely in the first place on the colonial markets. The English bourgeoisie, who since the Ruhr expedition of Poincare have looked passively on the events in Europe, only attempting behind the scenes to egg Germany on to

German coal and iron trust; and secondly, it reduces the pressure of France upon Germany in general, lowers the prestige of France in Poland, Czechoslovakia, in Roumania and Yugoslavia, in which countries England has recently begun very successfully to counteract French influence. If the loan for Germany amounting to 200 million dollars is carried out, half of which is to be contributed by America and the other half by English banks, then not only Germany, but France also will be rendered dependent upon Anglo-saxon capital. The carrying out of the experts' plan internationalizes the German liabilities. Germany will not be the debtor of France. France's place will be taken by the International stock exchange. France will then not be in a position to put pressure on Germany, to disorganize her economy and by this means to limit the English market. So soon as things are proceeding in this direction France will be strongly impelled to reduce her armaments. Thus reckons English capitalism.

France demands as recompense for her concurrence in such decisions, the renunciation by England of the debts owing to her from France. The English government has not agreed and does not agree to cancel the French debts. MacDonald has refused upto now to give any promise in this respect and certainly will not do so unless France makes certain concessions as regards foreign policy and the armaments question. France is aiming at obtain-

Program of Action

(Continued from page 1)

drones and sluggards. It wants doers, not observers.

At present the degree of activity of our membership is very low. Only a comparatively few members are really active. They carry on the life of the Party. This is an unhealthy condition. The mass must be brot into the Party work. The fate of our Party depends upon this. The Program of Action provides the way to do this. The membership must be educated to the necessity of working in all the fields of Party activity; they must be organized to carry on this work effectively; and finally, this committee machinery must be made to function. If these principles are borne in mind and applied faithfully, then our Party will rapidly advance in size, intelligence, discipline, and influence. It will soon become a real power in leading the workers to their eventual goal of the Communist Revolution.

Russian Dramatists to Present Famous Revolutionary Play

Do you understand Russian? If you do, attend the performance given by the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia this Sunday, Sept. 14th, at 7:30 p. m., at the Soviet School, 1902 W. Division St.

The Russian Dramatic Playwrights at the head of which is the well-known Russian actor, Anatoly Pokatloff, will present "The Convert," a drama in four acts, from the life of the nihilists, by the famous Russian revolutionary writer, Stepanik-Kravinchinsky.

Who's Next?

Japan announced a Defense Day for Nov. 8th. The report says every able bodied man in the Japanese empire will participate in a war maneuver. An army of 80,000 will lead. The latest military devices will be employed.

Japan officially declared that the maneuver will be executed to work out a problem of defense "should an imaginary enemy cross Bering Sea, march thru Siberia, take Korea and cut off Japan from the continent."

It is said that Japan's defense day is directed entirely against America because of the recent Japanese exclusion immigration law.

How To Be a Trade Union Reporter

By EARL R. BROWDER.

As I write I have before me a telegram supposed to be reporting an important labor convention for the DAILY WORKER. It was sent by a very good comrade, a fighter and a real militant, and he spent almost five dollars of our funds (ouch! it hurts, for money in a working class paper is almost as scarce as hen's teeth), because this was such an important convention. But we couldn't print a story about that convention, in spite of it all, because this good comrade knew so little about reporting that in more than 300 words he didn't tell us anything from which we could write a story.

We haven't got enough reporters. The DAILY WORKER cannot hire experienced writers to go around everywhere, where things of importance are happening. Our readers must be our reporters. The DAILY WORKER, to a great extent, must be made in

reality a workers' paper, in that you, the readers, must write for it as well as read it. And so, with that telegram in front of me, to add fervor to my sermon, let me put down a few sides, with conservatives on the other: "golden rules of writing" about trade union matters, that may help some of our comrades to get onto the DAILY WORK staff.

What is important enough to report? All conventions, whether they be international, national, state, or district, that are composed entirely of trade unions or in which trade unions take an important part, should be reported for the DAILY WORKER. In addition, all regular meetings of local unions, city central bodies, and executive councils, in which action is taken upon issues of general political importance, on issues of wages and hours, on strikes or demonstrations against grievances, should be written up.

What should a report contain? Whenever one is reporting such a meeting, the following points should be included by all means, whether anything else is or not, remembering that what the DAILY WORKER needs, above all, is FACTS:

(a) Name of organization being reported upon.

(b) Date and place of meeting, and whether it is regular or special meeting, whether it is a convention, and otherwise the nature of the gathering.

(c) What the important issues were that came up for action.

(d) What action was taken? This means to state, as briefly as possible, what resolutions were presented, whether they were passed or defeated, what action they called for, and on which side of the question did the union align itself.

(e) What sort of struggle took place over the question? Were the radicals and revolutionists on one

What were the principal arguments on each side? Give the names of the outstanding figures on each side of the question.

The question of how to write these things up has already been dealt with very ably, in the articles by Karl Reave, published in previous issues of the DAILY WORKER. This does not pretend to tell you how to write; it points out the most important things to write about, the things that it is necessary for us to know, if we are going to publish anything about the event in question. And if you send in such information as this, we will write the story for you in shape for publication, if you cannot send it to us in a finished form. The big thing to remember is, THAT THE DAILY WORKER WANTS TO KNOW EVERY IMPORTANT OCCURRENCE IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Give us this information and the job is more than half done.

NATIONS AND COLONIES

(Continued from Page 3.)

Rosa Luxemburg's views is to be found in the position of some of our German comrades.

Finally it is necessary to call attention to the fourth type of mistakes. To this category of mistakes belongs the position of our Turkish comrades from "Aidynak" who actually advocate the class collaboration of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This position represents nothing new. Anyone who remembers the position of the Ukrainian Social-Democrats of the former Austrian Empire and that of the Polish Socialists of Austria will understand that the mistake of our Turkish comrades has its root in the entire social patriotic ideology of the Second International.

THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS.

A Great Experiment in Solving the National Question Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

PASS on to the last part of my speech—the question of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics that was formed during the interval between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses. You know, comrades, that Russia, from the point of view of its national composition was much more complicated than the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. There were only eleven nationalities in Austria before the war while we have more than a hundred different large nations and small nationalities on the enormous territory of the previous Tsarist empire. It was very difficult to solve the national question in a country with such a variegated national composition, and the methods applied for its solution must serve as a lesson for comrades from other countries.

Another difficulty was that the proletariat was Russian in nationality while the peasantry, for the most part was of other nationalities. There are sixty-nine million Russian and sixty-five millions of other nationalities in the U. S. S. R. Our first problem was to establish solidarity between the three millions Great Russian and the millions of peasantry of other nationalities. There was still a third difficulty that confronted us. This many millioned mass was, in reality, at different stages of economic development. Side by side with highly developed industrial centers we have about ten millions that have not yet developed from being nomadic tribes. The formal declaration of equality was insufficient, and would have had little value and achieved as few practical results as the declaration of equality in the great French Revolution. The proletariat of our country had to get itself the problem of establishing a real economic equality, which is the only security for the normal development of nations forming part of our workers and peasants' republic. We had to solve this prob-

lem in a country with limited economic resources.

Comrade Lenin once said that Soviet Russia, because of its geographical position, is a natural bridge between Europe and Asia. This is undoubtedly true. Our revolution had a double result. It reacted on the European proletariat in the sense that it made him believe in his own power and in his ability to seize power. Simultaneously, it reacted on the Oriental nations. Kautsky prophesied, after the 1905-1906 revolution, that the Russian revolution would awaken the nations of the Middle East and Asia to historical life. This prophecy has proved to be correct. After the October Revolution, 1917, Soviet Russia became the center of gravitation and attracted the

helped us to smash Dutor, Semonov, Koltchak, and Denikin, the leaders of the counter-revolution in the border countries. The notorious renegade Paul Levi, can ridicule the Bashkir and Kalmik Communism as much as he pleases, but we know that the jokes of such gentlemen as Paul Levi, serve to show their colonialist character.

Such clauses are characteristic of our constitution, and professors of bourgeois state law cannot understand this. For example, Monsieur Milyukov recently in a white-guard newspaper occupied himself with an investigation of the legal nature of the constitution of our workers' and peasants' Union and he expressed the opinion that it was without any legal foundation since it lacked the element

public property of the population of the U. S. S. R. According to the theory of bourgeois state law all the riches and natural resources are the property of that nation that exists on this bourgeois theory of law. Naturally the question of sea routes, ports, borders, and customs acquires enormous importance and is the source of armed conflicts between bourgeois states. The formation of the Soviet Union advanced a new theory of state law, where the question of borders has a secondary importance. In our Union a man from Murmansk has the same right to the Black Sea ports and the Donets Basin as a peasant from Poltava or a miner in the Donets coal basin. At the same time the populace of Odessa and the Don basin have the same rights to the Siberian gold mines as the Siberian peasant or a nomad from Turkestan. You understand comrades that the question of borders between states forming the Soviet Union, can have only an administrative importance in such a state of affairs, and cannot cause any conflicts.

The formation of our Union must be a powerful weapon of propaganda in the hands of our European parties, since it gives them the ability to compare the methods of solving the national question adopted by the Soviets and those applied by the bourgeois states. This is why our experience must become the property of all the European proletariat. I wish to conclude my speech with this generalization and I know that in the commission on the national question that will be formed at the Fifth Congress we shall be able to find those practical solutions that will stimulate the national movements in different countries and impart to them a revolutionary character. The time for declarations of a general character has passed; we have now a period of creative revolutionary work in the colonies and among national minorities. If we fulfil these tasks we will have created half the chances for the success of the international revolution to which we are devoted and which is guarded for the workers of the world by the Communist International. (Applause.)



A French Colonial Negro in the Service of French Imperialism

of force, and therefore such a government with a variable composition cannot take upon itself any international obligations. Monsieur Milyukov considered that his legal analysis must create a fearful impression on the Western European bourgeois governments, and withhold them from recognizing the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. However, comrades, the very fact that this element of force is lacking in the organization of our union forms the tremendous power of our moral influence over nationalities taking part in our Union. The other means whereby we succeeded in uniting the different nationalities into one brotherly amalgamation was the socialization of the riches and natural resources of the country and converting them into the

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Cleaning House in the International By O. Carlson

EXIT HOGLUND.

Editor's Note—The following is the first of a series of three articles by Comrade O. Carlson on the intense situation in a number of European Communist parties. The writer has been engaged for the last 18 months in active party work in the Scandinavian countries, in Germany and in Great Britain. He was also present at the Fifth Congress of the Communist International. He is, therefore, well equipped for his task of familiarizing the readers of the DAILY WORKER with what is going on in the Communist parties of Europe. The next articles will appear in the following issues of the magazine.

WOE unto him who does not follow the decisions of the Comintern! Mistakes committed by the rank and file of the parties can be forgiven and forgotten, but not so in the case of the leadership. The International may not always be in a position to act as quickly or as drastically as some of our more eager members desire—but act it does once the proper objective and subjective conditions make it possible. Those who have been entrusted with the task of guiding and directing this world-wide revolutionary movement of ours are fully aware of the fact that Communist parties and Communist leaders are not made nor founded overnight. They develop; they grow. It is only in the process of the struggle that the weak and strong, the demagogues and the sincere revolutionists are separated from each other. Each world congress of the C. I. has been a gathering of the ablest and best forces within the whole movement, where a critical examination was made of the strong and weak points of the movement, nationally and internationally. Each world congress has been the means of tightening up the movement, uniting it more and more into a WORLD PARTY. As this process has gone on we have witnessed the dropping off of many would-be revolutionary leaders. To the degree that our International has made actions and not words the criterion of membership and leadership within it, it has gained the confidence of larger masses of the exploited and has lost the approbation of phrasemongers, centrists and opportunists of all descriptions. Many of the well-known revolutionists of former days have fallen by the wayside. The last of these is Zeth Hoglund of Sweden, whose actions within the last few months in particular, have been of such a character that he has been excluded from the C. I.

Opportunism in the Swedish Party.

The fight within the Communist Party of Sweden against the opportunist deviations of Hoglund and his group have been going on for over three years, but had never become acute until within the past year. The E. C. of the C. I. has taken Hoglund to task many times for his attitude

on fundamental questions, trying in this way to have him see the error of his ways and to bring him and the whole of the party on the right track. Time and again he has given statements or declarations to the effect that he accepted the decisions of the International and would do all within his power to put them into effect. This he did as late as at the Fifth World Congress which was held this summer, although immediately upon his return to Sweden he launched into a most vitriolic and dastardly attack upon the C. I. and in particular upon its real adherents in Sweden. All attempts at unity have failed, although the C. I. was exceedingly lenient in the case—too lenient in the eyes of the writer.

"The executive committee of the Communist International is of the opinion that all possibilities of working together with Hoglund are at an end. By a persistent continuation of the false road which he is moving on he most certainly will put himself outside of the Communist International," declares an official statement from the praesidium of the C. I., dated August 11, addressed to the members of the C. P. S., in which it reviews the various actions of Hoglund that were contrary to the principles and tactics of the C. I.

Hoglund Expelled.

Less than a fortnight after the C. I. had issued the above statement, we find Hoglund officially excluded from the C. I. and the C. P. S. A statement issued by the representative of the E. C. in Sweden, dated August 23, declares: "Hoglund and those members of the C. E. C. who identified themselves with him are outside of the C. I. and the C. P. S., which even as formerly continues to remain a section of the C. I." The basic reasons for this action are that the party majority in the C. E. C. (Hoglund had four members, the minority three) had excluded the minority members from the party, although the minority actually represented the big majority of the party membership; that the Hoglund majority on the C. E. C. refused to allow a referendum to take place on the question of accepting the decisions of the C. I. although a far greater number of members had petitioned for such a referendum than was needed according to the statutes; that Hoglund gave out statements to the bourgeois and socialist papers which were direct lies relative to his own place on the party paper (the board of directors of the central organ of the party had decided to establish an editorial board of three—Kilbom, Hoglund and the representative of the C. I. to be responsible for the paper instead of Hoglund alone); that he refused to continue working on this basis but instead accepted a position on a syndicalist paper, editing once in the name of his party group. The Hoglund group has been attempting to force a split within the party in such a fashion that those who were the supporters of the C. I. would leave the C. P. S. but in this it has not been successful. Not only that, but the Hoglund outfit has lost the central organ of the party, "Politiken," as well as the following daily, semi-weekly and weekly papers: Norrskensflamma, Vestsvenska Kuriren, and Kalmars Lans Kuriren. The Communist Women's magazine Roda Roster and the Y. C. L. paper Stormlocken are also supporting the Comintern. Hoglund has on his side two weekly papers. His group have also issued notices that they intend beginning the publication of a new central organ for their group.

These are the bare facts in the case as seen in the most recent developments—but behind these facts lie a mass of interesting material which throws light upon the struggle and the split. What I want to do is to deal with this material, to explain the why and wherefore of the case, and in general, to see what lessons it may have for us. I shall begin with some of my personal experiences or observations.

Hoglund Supported Levi.
My first contact with the mighty

Hoglund, or Zeth—as he is called in the Scandinavian countries—took place at the time of the national convention of the Y. C. L. of Sweden, May, 1921. I had just come from Germany, where the C. P. was in the throes of a bitter internal struggle arising out of the now famous "March Action" of that year. Paul Levi, who up to then, had been the leader of the German party, had denounced the party and the central committee for its participation in the uprising. At a time when large sections of the workers in central and southern Germany were rising in armed revolt and when, more than ever before, it was necessary for the party to act as a unit, Levi resigned from the central committee, sabotaged the party decisions and issued articles and pamphlets attacking the party. Hoglund became an ardent supporter of Levi. In long leading editorials in "Politiken" he attacked the German party executive and praised Levi to the sky. At the Swedish League Convention he followed the same policy, using the Levi case as a means of attack against the more aggressive and militant elements within the league who demanded a more revolutionary policy. We were called "foolish and irresponsible yonkers," "putschists, suffering from Bakuninism," etc., etc. But the Y. C. L., despite the thundering and threats of Hoglund took the road of the Comintern.

Just at that time there was a great deal of unemployment in Sweden. The party officialdom was not doing any too much to cope with the situation, although the unemployed were not only willing but anxious to be given leadership and a program. They came in thousands to hear the Communist speakers. I spoke with Strom, the party secretary, about the unemployed problem. To my surprise he told me that the C. P. could get 15,000 members directly from the ranks of the unemployed at any time if it only made an attempt to get them. I wanted to know why the party was not drawing them into its ranks. He replied, "They can't pay any dues, so we won't let them in."

I had expected almost any other answer but this. Imagine, not allowing workers to join the party because they were unable to pay dues! How can a Communist party become a mass party under such conditions?

Last winter when I was in Sweden this same party secretary, as the leader of the Communist group in the Stockholm city council, brought in a motion to the effect that the city of Stockholm take the initiative in arranging for an Inter-Baltic States' Exposition in 1925. They wanted to advertise to the world the white-guard states like Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania. Of course, the motion carried. But it seems unbelievable that a Communist should vote for such a motion, much less introduce it. Nevertheless, it was Hoglund's right-hand man and most staunch supporter who did this. At about the same time there appeared two particularly remarkable articles in the Saturday supplements of "Politiken," official organ of the C. P., and of which Hoglund was the editor. The first was a two-page laudation of American prisons, but of Sing Sing in particular. Why, it was enough to cause anyone to want to go to the United States for the special purpose of gaining admission to Sing Sing. I wonder what some of our comrades who have made shorter or longer involuntary stays there have to say about it. The second article (clipped directly from a big bourgeois sheet in Great Britain) dealt with the wonderful work done by Scotland Yard in Britain and the Pinkertons in the United States. They were held as two of the greatest and finest achievements of mankind. Not a word was said about their role in spying upon workers' organizations, upon their tasks in framing up revolutionists, in hounding them about from place to place, in intimidating workers and in general serving as mercenaries of the capitalists. At the time when General Von Seeckt had become the virtual dictator in Germany and was crushing all economic and politi-

cal organizations of the working class there appeared a lengthy article from Germany stating that now for the first time the German workers were really enjoying the eight-hour day. Never an editorial correction or statement on any of these glaring articles ever appeared, although Hoglund's attention was called to them on more than one occasion.

Hoglund was and still is an important figure in the National Journalists' Association—an organization made up of the editors of all the capitalist papers in Sweden. Under his editorship the "Politiken" has in the last few years become an extremely "respectable" paper. Of course, the other papers attack in on occasion, but this is always done in a slightly sarcastic manner, and they inevitably refer to it as, "our worthy, the Communist contemporary." Time and again Hoglund refused to put able workers and Communists on the paper because they were not "journalists." Consequently, the paper ferreted scandals, murders and other sensational news, while the really pressing problems confronting the workers of Sweden were given scant attention and were dealt with in a few sentences or paragraphs on the inside pages.

Only a short time ago, Gustav Molter, secretary of the social-democratic party of Sweden, wrote a lengthy article, wherein he maintains that Hoglund, despite his radical phrases is at heart a social-democrat. He is glad to see that Hoglund has been regaining his senses and is not allowing himself to be pulled about under orders from Moscow. Not only have many of the social-democrats spoken words of praise in honor of the valiant (!) fight which Hoglund has been waging against the "asiatics," but even bourgeois papers make him the savior of Swedish "culture and freedom."

For every paean that is sounded by the socialists and the bourgeoisie on behalf of these "good and true but mistaken men" we have a growing feeling of disgust on the part of the wide-awake sections of the workers. That is why every large industrial section where the C. P. is organized, has repudiated Hoglund and Strom. They say that their fine phrases are empty and cannot win the day. They are not afraid of being called "Moscovites," for their aim is to accomplish that which the Russians already succeeded in doing—to rule in their own class interest.

A Courageous Judge.

NEW YORK, N. Y., Sept. 12.—In refusing to grant an anti-trust injunction to Gottleb and Steff, garment manufacturers at Jamaica on August 29, Supreme Court Justice MacCrate held that employers should not ask the courts for injunctions in labor disputes until all other remedies have been tried.

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THE DAWES' MAN IN GERMANY



Chancellor Marx.

POINCARÉ'S MAN IN HER RIOT'S CABINET



General Nollet.

Letters From Moscow

By Anna Porter

(Continued from previous issue)

How else should I have known some nights ago that all over Moscow they were celebrating the 10th anniversary of the outbreak of war, with protest meetings against the capitalist preparations for the next outbreak. We could not get tickets for the meeting at which Trotsky spoke, but perhaps there was no more interesting one than that we did attend; a meeting of women delegates each representing a group of 20, and accredited to a permanent central body formed for the purpose of encouraging solidarity among the workers. These women filled the great white marble—or near-marble—pillared hall of the Moscow Central Labor Council, formerly a nobleman's club. With the exception of one man, all the speakers were women, among them a Chinese delegate to the Red Trade Union International. She spoke with the hardly suppressed violence of voice and gesture, of the woman still in subjection, while it seemed to me that the others, however impassioned, expressed a sense of liberation—liberation of their class rather than of their sex, for the one implies the other. After each address, the band played a few strains of the International, all rising and in the change of attitude relaxing and resting for the next address.

Suddenly the roll of drums was heard without the door, and way was made for a company of Young Pioneers, boys and girls, with their gorgeous red and gold banners and red neck-kerchiefs. Down the aisle they marched to the roll of their own drums, and up to the stage, where they formed in two long lines across it, while one of their number stepped forward and spoke for them. Great enthusiasm was shown for the little band, for these young people are the government pillars of the future. Two hundred thousand of them there are, enrolled throuthout the country, with a large membership in Moscow. Their watchword is "Be prepared!" and they know very intelligently just what they must be prepared for—to stand for their class against the armed threat of the capitalist world without. Again the international, this time sung by the whole audience thru three long stanzas. I have never heard it so cheerfully sung, with no hint, in the tone, of the dismal and rebellious idea conveyed by the words; rather, a suggestion of happy fulfillment.

After a short intermission, the stage was cleared for a children's performance. A mixed group of boys and girls from Homes and Trade Union schools gave in song and dance, a very beautiful interpretation of the Carmagnole, which had to be repeated. A little play in dance and song was put on by the Young Pioneers, called "The Pioneers' Dream." The preliminary acting was spontaneous, and the dancing of flowers, butterflies, frogs, fish, etc., pretty and amusing, but this part might just as well have been anywhere in America. Then came an effective drill; the bare-legged girls, in

white blouses and short skirts carried sickles at their hips, or large army stars held high, the boys, stripped to the waist, swung huge hammers over their shoulders; and all went to work with an energetic rhythm. The whole little company then gave a marching drill in army fashion, with a great deal of snap. Finally a group of young people, gathered from the famine districts, from all sorts of alien races, gave songs in chorus from some of their own music. Two young boys sang together a strange barbaric thing, with plaintive unfamiliar intervals. They were in charge of a very unassuming leader, who led them out and simply indicated when they should begin, and then effaced himself. I should have mentioned that the children opened their program with an artistically sung memorial song for Lenin, whose huge portrait hung behind them, decorated with greens. Everywhere "Leninism" is the conspicuous inspiration, and in spite of Max Eastman, this is not a static conception; its very essence is flexibility.

About midnight, the International again, and when we came out, keyed up with the inspiration of it all, we found ourselves faced with an American movie thrown high on the wall of the building across the square. A beautiful girl on horse back in a wild country was being rescued from a low browed villain by a handsome officer. It seems to be a permanent free show, and not having paid for it, you can go on when you please without a sense of extravagance. Perhaps the workers sit at the windows of their noblemen's club, and view it at ease. They are run at a much slower tempo than our films. The next night as I passed, the electric army star still blazed above the labor temple and the sickle and hammer above its door, framed in scarlet bunting, and on the film canvass they were throwing anti-war propaganda in cartoon and text, while the great cobble-paved square was filled with thousands, standing or sitting cross-legged on the cobbles, in silent interest. And it is no pacifist propaganda, this anti-war protest, for the watchword of the Workers' Government, like that of the Young Pioneers, and like that of every government, but with more sincerity of purpose, is "Be prepared."

Yesterday, I just missed entrance to the Lenin Mausoleum in the Red Square, with a contingent of correspondents, to whom, with some nerve, I should have attached myself had I known in time. Every day at 5 P. M. long lines of the devout assemble at the doorway opposite, where permits are given. Instead, I was shown about the Kremlin, (which is now difficult of access) by Mrs. Fischer of the Children's Improvement Committee whose office is there in a beautiful old 16th Century palace, and who sacrificed her valuable time to go about with me in the hot sun, and through the state room of the palace. But alas, I could not enter the group of old churches with their picturesquely-massed domes and towers, whose som-

berly beautiful interiors I remember of old.

Leaving the Kremlin gate, I saw long lines of marching citizens with scarlet banners and bunting, with portraits of Lenin and Marx, and texts and slogans, pouring in from all directions and massing for a great demonstration march. My way lay with theirs, so I paralleled them on the side-walk. Companies of soldiers, companies of workers, of women, of students, of Young Pioneers,—school and gymnasium groups, down to the smallest tots, who marched as valiantly as their elders through the hot sun and the long hours. In front of the Comintern, where an official group was gathered on a high balcony, each company halted for salutes and "yells," for like our own youths, each group has its yell. I dropped out for awhile and had lunch at a small cafe, and when I came out, they were still passing. On they went, past the Moscow Soviet, where the saluting and yelling was repeated, while the hands played continuously the "International." Long ranks of mounted troops passed, blocks of them; each time I thought the end had come, more swung into sight around the bend of the street. Finally, I gave up my review of the Labor parade and went home to rest, while they seemed to go on endlessly,—and I hope this is symbolic—in their great demonstration against Capitalist war.

This morning, in an aimless ramble, I skirted the walls of the Kremlin in

the little terraced patios of the park that surrounds them. The park-strip was full of people but most of them were occupied, in a leisurely way. Children played about under the trees. The long grass and weeds had just been cut with the traditional sickle, and students and young intellectuals lay about reading or discussing with open books. It had a restful withdrawn atmosphere, very pleasant in contrast with the confusion of the streets; for everywhere I go,—in the streets, the shops, the offices and bureaus,—I feel that things are out of order, and that everyone is working very hard to get them in order again. The streets are kept clean, nothing is really disordered, I find plan and system everywhere, but there is the feeling you have at home when the rugs are up and the furniture moved into useless corners and you sit on the chair-arms. But you know it is getting into order, and you don't mind for awhile. There is a sense of impermanence and transition with a clear object ahead. Moscow is getting into order,—Russia is getting into order,—you feel that everywhere, in spite of what seems to be—and is—confusion.

A company of red soldiers, in dust-colored uniforms and peaked caps with the army-star in front, and with camping blankets slung across their shoulders, have just passed by, singing lustily, and in their wake a clearing thunder-shower is sweeping up the street.

NEW CULTURE

(Continued from page 2)

ceeding the proletarian—the Metaphysical, the Theological, the Linguistic—were long-distance views of life. Concrete aspects were overlooked as insignificant; common life suffered accordingly. Proletarian culture alone is potent to make us realize the large significance of common things. The great lesson of Darwin's life work: "The cumulative importance of infinitely little things" is also a true basis for our Use Culture. Bygone cultures declared with contempt that the toiler's life was an infinitely little thing, but they knew not the cumulative importance of infinitely little things! Hence their perverse bungling.

The Nouveau Regime is well on its way. No longer shall it be legitimate to assail Superior Brains with a formerly just condemnation; "tho ye boast an hundred wise ones amongst ye, what shall it profit me, too, hard-

driven as I am for the enjoyment of culture and wisdom." Culture versus Life shall one day simply become an apt phrase for denoting the colossal mistakes of caste-rule. Henceforth our ideal shall be a social democracy guided by a sociologic culture generously devoted to the discussion, analysis and solution of life's daily problems. Lilies must be made to bloom otherwheres than on dung hills.

In the humanized tomorrow, no man of genius will repeat but with deep humiliation those callous sentences of Oscar Wilde's:

"The poor are poor creatures and must be hewers of wood and drawers of water. They are really the dung hill out of which men of genius and artists grow like flowers. Their function is to give birth to genius and nourish it. They have no other raison d'etre."

Haven't they?



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